BEYOND THE BASELINES:

BASEBALL IN THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS AS A TRANSNATIONAL SPORT, 1840-1945

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ABSTRACT

This study traces the historical development of baseball in the Hawaiian Islands as a transnational sport that, between 1840 and 1945, reflected several world historical processes. These processes include cultural exchange and diffusion, identity formation, imperialism, and migrations. As the position of the Hawaiian Islands shifted within a global context during this time period, so too did the development of baseball change course.

While recognizing the important role of the United States in the growth of baseball abroad, the world-historical approach of this dissertation focuses on a range of other influences and discusses how the development of baseball is linked to the ways transnational forces were negotiated within local conditions in the Hawaiian Islands. To that end, this study utilizes extensive newspaper research, including Hawaiian-language sources, to frame the sport's growth within a context of larger influences operating on and within the islands. In doing so, it highlights the involvement of non-American actors and groups who are often elided or obscured by narratives that emphasize the role of the United States in baseball's development.

By considering transnational and world-historical processes, this study frames the history of baseball in the Hawaiian Islands in a global context rather than solely an American context and offers comparisons to baseball's growth elsewhere in the world. In doing so, this study shows not only the value of sports to the study of world history, but the value of a world-historical perspective to the study of sports. And finally, by providing an in-depth survey of baseball in the Hawaiian Islands, this study adds nuance to the understandings of social interactions in the islands between 1840 and 1945.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS i
ABSTRACT ii
A NOTE ON LANGUAGE iv
INTRODUCTION 1
Brief History of the Hawaiian Islands 8
Why Look at Baseball? 15
Structure of this Study 23
CHAPTER 1
SPORTS AND WORLD HISTORY IN OCEANIA 31
Sports and Identity Formation 34
Sports and Cultural Diffusion and Exchange 48
Sports and Imperialism 59
Sports and Migrations 73
Conclusion 83
CHAPTER 2
THE DEVELOPMENT OF BASEBALL IN THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS (1840-1890) 86
Origin Stories and Americanization Narratives 88
Organized Clubs, Modernity, and Masculinity (1867-1887) 108
Politics in Baseball and Baseball in Politics (1888-1889) 128
Conclusion 143
CHAPTER 3
THE HAWAIIAN BASE BALL ASSOCIATION (1890-1895) 145
Background of the Hawaiian Base Ball Association 150
Opening Day for the HBBA! (1890) 159
Turnover Between and Beyond the Baselines (1891-1892) 173
Baseball, Political Overthrow, and Provisional Government (1893) 188
Baseball, Republic, and Rebellion (1894-1895) 201
Conclusion 215
CHAPTER 4
THE EXPANSION OF BASEBALL IN THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS (1895-1945) 217
Baseball, Annexation, and Americanization 218
Traveling Teams and Transnational Players 243
Baseball, Militarization, and World War 264
Conclusion 277
CHAPTER 5
A TRANSNATIONAL SPORT: CONTEXTS AND COMPARISONS 280
The Spread of Baseball Around the World (1840-1945) 283
Comparable Colonial Contexts in the USA, the Philippines, and Taiwan 300
Colonial Contrast but Transnational Similarities: The Case of Cuba 314
Conclusion 335
CONCLUSION
TWO TOURING TEAMS AS ISLAND REPRESENTATIVES 339
APPENDIX: FIGURES AND ILLUSTRATIONS 350
BIBLIOGRAPHY 352

A NOTE ON LANGUAGE

Although this dissertation is written in the English language, it discusses and uses several words from ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi, or Hawaiian language. Because Hawaiian words are not foreign words in the islands, they have not been italicized or otherwise marked separately throughout this text, though they are glossed upon their first usage for English-language speakers. Where it is appropriate, the following study utilizes the ʻokina (ʻ) to signify a glottal stop, and the kahakō (¯), or macron, to signify a long vowel, according to current conventions. However, when using words or language from nineteenth-century materials, I have not inserted either diacritical mark and instead have left the terms as they are printed in the sources.

INTRODUCTION

"There is no legitimate point of contact, no possible kinship, between baseball and the Sandwich Islands." So declared Mark Twain on a Monday evening in early April of 1889. To Twain, baseball was "the very symbol, the outward and visible expression of the drive, and push, and rush and struggle of the raging, tearing, booming nineteenth century," while the islands were "one long slumberous Sabbath, the climate one long delicious summer day," and it was completely incongruous for the sport and the place to be associated with each other.[1] His toast was received with great cheer by those in attendance, all of whom agreed that the notion of baseball in the Hawaiian Islands was such an unlikely feat that anyone who accomplished bringing the sport and place together should be feted with a hero's welcome.

This particular hero's welcome was a banquet held at Delmonico's restaurant on Fifth Avenue and 26th Street, one of New York City's most elegant establishments. The honored guests were a group of ballplayers who had just returned from a world tour under the guidance of Albert Goodwill Spalding, a former star pitcher and current owner of a budding sporting equipment empire. The entrepreneurial Spalding had organized the expedition in order to promote the sport globally in hopes of increasing the demand for balls, bats, gloves, and uniforms, a demand that his company would in turn, be happy to supply.[2]

As the first stops for this world tour, Spalding targeted the Hawaiian Islands, Australia, and New Zealand, hoping to appeal to American and British settlers who shared "a racial love for outdoor games and enjoyed a climate that made their playing possible nearly the entire

[1] "New York Greets the Boys," *The Sun*, April 9, 1889.
[2] For discussion that places Spalding's tour within growing American imperialism, see Thomas Zeiler, "A Night at Delmonico's: The Spalding Baseball Tour and the Imagination of Empire," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 23, no. 1 (February 2006): 28-45.

year."[3] The baseball tourists then continued on to Ceylon, Egypt, Italy, France, and England, where they were roundly welcomed. Upon their return to the United States, they were received as conquering heroes with a ten dollars per plate, nine-course meal inspired by the different tour stops: a soup from Ceylon, a dessert plate of candies piled high in the shape of pyramids, and other such concoctions.[4]

In addition to the ball-playing tourists, Twain's audience on this particular evening was filled with over two hundred fifty prominent and influential figures. Among the guests in attendance were New York Central Railroad President Chauncey Depew, United States Consul G. W. Griffin, who had been stationed in New Zealand, Samoa, and Australia, Maryland Senator Arthur Gorman, future United States President Theodore Roosevelt, and a host of other prominent people which included several city mayors and representatives. The speech by Twain, which also asserted that the baseball players "carried the American name to uttermost parts of the Earth – and covered it with glory everywhere," fit within jingoistic toasts made by Chauncey Depew, Daniel Dougherty, and others who linked baseball to the United States' growing power on the world stage. According to Depew, in the face of such a display of American manliness as baseball, "the effete monarchs of the East and the mighty powers of the West bowed their heads in humility and rose in acclaim."[5] Judge Dougherty asserted that these baseball tourists, who carried with them such an "athletic spirit" that characterized their generation, showed that outdoor sports such as baseball served to "ignite the fires of emulation, create thirst for

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[3] Albert G. Spalding, *America's National Game: Historic Facts Concerning the Beginning Evolution, Development and Popularity of Base Ball With Personal Reminiscences of its Vicissitudes, its Victories and its Votaries* (New York, NY: American Sports Publishing Company, 1911), 251.

[4] For more description of the foods, drinks, toasts, guests and general atmosphere of the banquet at Delmonico's, readers should consult Mark Lamster, *Spalding's World Tour: The Epic Adventure that Took Baseball Around the Globe – and Made It America's Game* (New York, NY: Public Affairs, 2006), xii-xvi; Thomas W. Zeiler, *Ambassadors in Pinstripes: The Spalding World Tour and the Birth of the American Empire* (New York, NY: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2006), 162-165.

[5] Quoted in Lamster, *Spalding's World Tour*, xvi.

distinction, the longing desire to win a name that will mark them among their fellows," and most importantly "rear a race fit for peace and war."[6] Charles Byrne, the president of the Brooklyn Bridegrooms Ball Club, called the players "magnificent specimens of American manhood" who epitomized the best of their home country while touring abroad.[7]

Such sentiments were echoed by *Sporting Life* owner Thomas Dando who called the tourists "heroes who so successfully carried this gigantic enterprise which adds not only immeasurably to the grandeur of our national game" but also "appeals directly to every American heart, insofar as its inception and execution is entirely typical of the essentially American characteristics, originality, pluck, liberality, unwavering steadfastness, unyielding courage, sagacious management, and brilliant execution."[8] For those in the United States, baseball was quintessentially American and playing the sport was associated not only with manliness but also being part of an expanding United States of America. Spalding's baseball tour and the celebrations thereof, provided a platform from which to espouse such associations and ideas.

But beyond the borders of the United States, baseball was being played by people who did not necessarily share the associations and sentiments professed by Mark Twain and his fellow toasters. In the Hawaiian Islands, forms of baseball had been played since at least the 1840s. It is highly likely that Mark Twain would have had knowledge of early forms of baseball games being played in the Hawaiian Islands, having visited the islands between March and July of 1866, even staying with early island baseball player James Black upon his arrival.[9] But to

[6] Harry Clay Palmer, et al., *Athletic Sports in America, England and Australia*... (Philadelphia, PA: Hubbard Brothers, Publishers, 1889), 446.
[7] Lamster, *Spalding's World Tour*, 243.
[8] Zeiler, *Ambassadors in Pinstripes*, 169-170.
[9] James E. Caron, "Mark Twain Reports on Commerce with the Hawaiian Kingdom," *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 44 (2010): 42.

acknowledge the sport's popularity prior to the arrival of the baseball tour would be to diminish the white American accomplishments that the feast was celebrating and shatter much of the exoticism of foreign lands for his audience.[10] Perhaps, in tailoring his speech to cater to his audience's preconceptions about the sport and the rest of the world, Twain, the noted humorist, was sharing an inside joke with the players who encountered several baseball-playing populations throughout their tour.[11] However, by framing his toast in such a way as to ignore the prior popularity of the sport, Twain illustrates how baseball has been fitted into preconceived narratives of baseball's relationship to the United States and its place in the world in general.

As baseball developed around the world, it carried with it multiple connotations depending on different perspectives. The sport was indeed viewed as a tool of Americanization and identity formation, but also as an avenue for resisting imperialism and colonialism, and a gateway to new opportunities, sometimes all at once. In the Hawaiian Islands, these understandings of baseball overlapped and contradicted each other at numerous times as the sport grew over one hundred years amid a tumultuous political, economic, and social environment.

More than being just the steady growth of a tool of Americanization and identity formation, or the formation of a gateway to new opportunities, the development of baseball in the Hawaiian Islands between 1840 and 1945 is a reflection of the world historical influences on

[10] It is notable that Theodore Roosevelt was among the audience for these toasts since he would be instrumental in advocating for a racial supremacy in United States policies during the 1890s and 1900s. Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, *Drawing a Global Colour Line: White Men's Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality. Critical Perspectives on Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 100-113.

[11] James Caron notes previous examples of Twain misleading his audiences for comic effect while lecturing about the Hawaiian Islands in the United States. In 1867, for example, Twain denied the existence of a constitution in the kingdom, and called the monarchy an "empty name," which, according to Caron, was "either wishful thinking to flatter the Americans living in Hawai'i or comic amnesia." James E. Caron, *Mark Twain: Unsanctified Newspaper Reporter* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2008), 379. For further discussion of Twain's use of comedy when lecturing about the islands, see Caron, *Mark Twain*, 283-337 and 380-388.

and within the islands. These influences include Christian missionary efforts, European and American imperialism, transnational migrations, global economic integration, and world war. As the position of the Hawaiian Islands shifts within these global connections, so too does the development of baseball change course. By tracing the development of the sport of baseball in the Hawaiian Islands over one hundred years, this dissertation accomplishes three main tasks.

First and foremost, this discussion contends that sports are an effective avenue through which to study world history. The international popularity of a range of sports speaks to their importance across national and cultural boundaries. Although the cross-cultural spread of sports was accelerated by the colonial efforts and transnational migrations of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, sports had previously served as an arena displaying the interplay of both global and local forces. The development and spread of sports, in Oceania and elsewhere, are enmeshed in a variety of transnational forces that include not only imperialism and migrations, but also the spread of religion, the formation of ethno-national identities, and understandings of gender, class, and race that were then adopted and adapted by new groups who, in turn, promoted them on their own terms. By analyzing a football, rugby, or cricket match, it is possible to consider the effects of not just one transnational force, but a combination of global forces that influence and are informed by local populations in a variety of different ways.

Despite the close relationship between the spread of sports and a variety of transnational forces, sports have received sparse treatment as part of either world history or global history.[12] There have been recent efforts "to retrieve sport from the margins of global history" however,

[12] Although there is an ongoing debate regarding the relationship between world and global history, the basic difference seems to be one of perspective. Where world history tends to focus on a variety of large-scale processes that reach across regional or national borders within a set time period, global history tends to focus on the historical forces that have resulted in the ongoing process of globalization as it exists today. For a brief discussion, see Bruce Mazlish, "Comparing Global History to World History," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 28, no. 3 (Winter, 1998): 385-395.

including a 2007 special issue of *Global Networks* and a 2013 special issue of the *Journal of Global History* whose contents explore the relationship between sports and globalizing forces.[13] For the most part though, those who look at transnational or world-historical processes tend to overlook sports as a useful avenue of analysis or lens for comparison.[14]

Secondly, this study illustrates how sports can be used to study world history by using the development of baseball to examine the world-historical processes operating on and within the Hawaiian Islands. In doing so, this dissertation attempts to get beyond the standard narratives of Americanization that dominate the historiography of both the sport and the islands. Many of the global historical processes that have been connected with the growth of sports operate on and within the Hawaiian Islands during this time period. For many authors and scholars however, the history of the Hawaiian Islands has been imbued with an "inevitability of colonialism" that shapes their narratives to downplay Hawaiian resistance as well as obscure the influence of other global forces.[15] As a result, many histories tend to highlight and emphasize the actions of the United States and its citizens as the primary agents of change in the archipelago, a trope that is strongly evident in most discussions of baseball in the Hawaiian Islands. Through a case study of baseball in the Hawaiian Islands, this dissertation offers an example of how sports can be used

[13] Matthew Taylor, "Editorial – Sport, Transnationalism, and Global History," *Journal of Global History* 8, no. 2 (July 2013), 201. The two journal issues mentioned are *Global Networks* 7, no. 2 (3007) and *Journal of Global History* 8, no. 2 (July 2013).

[14] The *Journal of World History* for example has devoted just one article to sports since its inception in 1990 with Theresa Runstedtler's, "White Anglo-Saxon Hopes and Black Americans' Atlantic Dreams: Jack Johnson and the British Boxing Colour Bar," *Journal of World History* 21, no. 4 (December 2010): 657-689.

[15] Although Jon Osorio is primarily discussing the works of Ralph Kuykendall and Gavan Daws when he uses the term "inevitability of colonialism," this idea can be further applied to several more recent works such as Julia Flynn Siler, *Lost Kingdom: Hawaii's Last Queen, Sugar Kings, and America's First Imperial Venture* (New York, NY: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2012) and the popular history by Sarah Vowell, *Unfamiliar Fishes* (New York, NY: Riverhead Books, 2011). Jonathan K. Osorio, "Living in Archives and Dreams: The Histories of Kuykendall and Daws," in *Texts and Contexts: Reflections in Pacific Islands Historiography*, edited by Doug Munro and Brij V. Lal (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), 192.

to study world history and frames the development of baseball within a world-historical context rather than solely an American one.

And thirdly, by using baseball to examine world-historical processes, this study provides an in-depth survey of baseball in the Hawaiian Islands. To date, there have been no sustained efforts to outline in detail the development of baseball in the Hawaiian Islands between the 1840s and the 1940s, apart from a handful of pages in particular studies. Such attempts tend to focus either on brief time periods, or a specific team, league, or person. Examples of such subjects include the teams of Punahou School, the involvement of Alexander Cartwright in baseball's development in the islands, the growth of the Americans of Japanese Ancestry (AJA) leagues, or the "Serviceman's World Series" during World War II.[16] In limiting their focus, such studies elide certain groups and influences from the development and growth of the sport in the Hawaiian Islands and from the history of the islands in general.

Of the many histories of Hawai'i that address events between 1840 and 1945, numerous studies obscure, ignore, or even erase Hawaiian-led initiatives which, as Noenoe Silva has noted, contributes to a larger historiographical colonization of the islands.[17] Through a sustained discussion of the development of baseball in the Hawaiian Islands, this study reaches across political, economic, social, and ethnic divisions to illustrate some of the nuance in social relationships and interactions among a variety of people and underscores oft-discounted influences and groups within the sport's history. At the same time, this study is transnational in

[16] For these specific topics, see Frank Ardolino, "Missionaries, Cartwright and Spalding: The Development of Baseball in Nineteenth-Century Hawai'i," *NINE: A Journal of Baseball History and Culture* 10, no. 2 (Spring 2002): 27-45; Monica Nucciarone, *Alexander Cartwright: The Life Behind the Baseball Legend* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2009); Michael M. Okihiro, *AJA Baseball in Hawai'i: Ethnic Pride and Tradition* (Honolulu, HI: Hawaii Hochi, 1999); Jennifer Day Tope, "Fighting the Second World War in Paradise with a Bat and Glove: Major League Baseball Comes to Hawai'i," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 42 (2008): 265-276.
[17] Noenoe K. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000), 123-125.

its scope in the sense that it recognizes national boundaries of the Hawaiian Islands and the United States, but contextualizes interactions across those boundaries or, as historian Ian Tyrrell has suggested about such an approach, focuses "on the relationship between nation and factors beyond the nation."[18]

While recognizing that the United States plays an important transnational role in the development of the sport of baseball around the world, this dissertation takes a more world-historical approach in order to highlight numerous influences on the sport as it develops in the Hawaiian Islands. Such a world-historical perspective emphasizes "the many systems of networks that transgress the national, political, cultural, linguistic, geographical, and other boundaries" that tend limit historical frames of analysis.[19] To achieve a world-historical perspective, let us first establish a brief historical survey of the Hawaiian Islands that emphasizes these transnational processes and thus places the history of the islands in a global context.

A Brief History of the Hawaiian Islands

Transnational migrations have long been part of the history of the Hawaiian archipelago, as Hawaiian accounts and archaeological data suggest that people were permanently settling in the islands from the Marquesas by the thirteenth century CE.[20] This arrival was followed by continued travel between the Hawaiian archipelago and other islands of Oceania as more

[18] Ian Tyrrell, "Reflections on the Transnational Turn in United States History: Theory and Practice," *Journal of Global History* 4, no. 3 (2009): 473-474.
[19] Jerry H. Bentley, "The Task of World History," in *The Oxford Handbook of World History*, ed. Jerry H. Bentley (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2011), 2.
[20] This date as well as a summary of previous studies can be found in Timothy M. Rieth, Terry L. Hunt, Carl Lipo, Janet M. Wilmshurst, "The 13th Century Polynesian Colonization of Hawai'i Island," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 38 (2011): 2741-2742; See also, Patrick Vinton Kirch, *On the Road of the Winds: An Archaeological History of the Pacific Islands before European Contact* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000), 291.

islanders arrived.[21] Following the establishment of European commercial interests in Oceania beginning in the sixteenth century, the Hawaiian Islands became a regular point of contact for European ships traveling through and across the Pacific after 1778.[22] By the late-eighteenth century, Hawaiians accompanied Europeans traveling throughout Oceania, expanding old trading networks and creating new ones that extended to Asia, North America, and Europe.[23] These increased interactions with Europeans, Americans, and Asians brought a variety of new technologies and ideas into the islands, including military technologies such as knives, muskets, and cannons that helped shift long-standing rivalries between chiefs such as Kamehameha and Kahekili.[24] These interactions also introduced new diseases to the archipelago which contributed to large-scale depopulation throughout the islands.[25]

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[21] See, for example, the stories of Moʻikeha and Laʻamaikahiki and their travels between Tahiti and Kauaʻi. Versions can be found in Samuel M. Kamakau, *Tales and Traditions of People of Old: Na Moʻolelo a ka Poʻe Kahiko*, trans. Mary Kawena Pukui, ed. Dorothy B. Barrere (Honolulu, HI: Bishop Museum Press, 1993), 105-110; Abraham Fornander, *Fornander Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folk-Lore: The Hawaiian Account of the Formation of their Islands and Origin of their Race with the Traditions of their Migrations, etc., as Gathered from Original Sources*, vol. 4, trans. and ed. Thomas G. Thrum (Honolulu, HI: Bishop Museum Press, 1917), 112-128. For more connections between the Hawaiian Islands and Kahiki and the influences of those connections, see Carolyn Kēhaunani Cachola Abad, "The Evolution of Hawaiian Socio-Political Complexity: An Analysis of Hawaiian Oral Traditions," (PhD dissertation, University of Hawaiʻi, 2000), 264-303. Additionally, Kerry Howe notes the presence of rats in Hawaiʻi came from the Society Islands, Cook Islands, and the Marquesas, suggesting travel between those island groups as well. K. R. Howe, *The Quest for Origins: Who first Discovered and Settled the Pacific Islands?* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 2003), 80.

[22] There are oral accounts regarding Hawaiian contact with Europeans, most likely the Spanish, prior to the arrival of James Cook during the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries. These possibilities are discussed by Tom Dye, "Population Trends in Hawaiʻi Before 1778," *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 28 (1994), 13-16. For a specific example of these earlier accounts, see James J. Jarves, *History of the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands…*, 2nd ed. (Boston, MA: James Munroe and Company, 1844), 98-105.

[23] For examples, see the travels of Kaʻiana in 1787 and 1788, or the later voyages of Jack Atu and Kalehua. Drew Christina Gonrowski, ""*He Nui Na Poe Hawaii Maanei"*: Using the Hawaiian Literary Device of *Huakaʻi* as Historical Methodology" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the North American Indigenous Studies Association, Uncasville, CT, June 6, 2012), 19-20; David A. Chappell, *Double Ghosts: Oceanian Voyagers on Euroamerican Ships* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 1997), 100-101.

[24] Samuel M. Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*, Revised Edition (Honolulu, HI: Kamehameha Schools Press, 1992), 144-149.

[25] David Stannard estimates the population of the islands to be 875,000 prior to 1778, a number that would decrease by nearly eighty percent over the next fifty years. David E. Stannard, *Before the Horror: The Population of Hawaiʻi on the Eve of Western Contact* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 1989), 30.

In 1810, after a series of battles and negotiations, Kamehameha I succeeded in uniting the Hawaiian archipelago under one rule. As a unified kingdom, the Hawaiian Islands became further involved in transoceanic trade, first as an exporter of sandalwood, which lasted as a thriving trade until the late 1820s. This trade connected the islands to the Americas and Asia as European and American merchants bought sandalwood and paid anchorage fees while in the Hawaiian Islands to then trade with China.[26] Eventually, as sandalwood exports declined, port cities such as Lahaina and Honolulu then became key entrepôts within a whaling industry that thrived in the north Pacific until the 1860s.[27]

Like the sandalwood trade before it, the whaling trade further enmeshed the Hawaiian Islands within a growing global economy, this time as sites of supply, refitting, and trade for ships traveling between Asia, the Americas, and the whaling grounds of the Pacific. As David Chappell has noted, the participation of Hawaiians in these trades and their travel on Euroamerican ships during the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries illustrates continued exploration by Pacific Islanders who utilized new avenues for travel to gain new experiences and technologies from their time abroad.[28] The era of a thriving whaling trade also saw the beginnings of commercial cultivation of sugarcane with the founding of the Koloa Plantation on Kaua‘i in 1835 which would eventually lead to further connections in a global economy, although that industry would not takeoff until the 1870s.[29]

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[26] As Dorothy Shineberg has noted, the "sandalwood trade of the Pacific Islands owed its existence to a domestic revolution in England" since tea had become the most popular drink and fulfilling demand for tea required trading goods demanded by the Chinese. This trade illustrates an early example of the islands' involvement in a developing, global capitalist economy. Dorothy Shineberg, *They Came for Sandalwood: A Study of the Sandalwood Trade in the South-west Pacific, 1830-1865* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1967), 12.
[27] Richard Macallan, "Entrepôt to the World: Richard Charlton's Observations of Trade via Hawai‘i, 1828-1841," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 34 (2000): 93-111.
[28] Chappell, *Double Ghosts*, 98-116 and 157-174.
[29] William H. Dorrance and Francis S. Morgan, *Sugar Islands: The 165-year Story of Sugar in Hawai‘i* (Honolulu, HI: Mutual Publishing, 2000), 11-21; Noel J. Kent, *Hawaii: Islands Under the Influence* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1993), 35-55.

Thanks to the increased travel opportunities afforded by wider trading networks, many Hawaiians explored new regions, discovered new technologies, and encountered new ideas. Among those who traveled was Henry ʻŌpūkahaʻia who converted to Christianity, studied religion in New England, and eventually helped convince Christian missionaries to go to the Hawaiian Islands.[30] Although ʻŌpūkahaʻia would pass away while attending the Foreign Mission School in New England, his fellow Hawaiian classmates returned to the Hawaiian Islands in 1820 and were accompanied by Congregationalist missionaries from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missionaries (ABCFM) who settled in the islands and attempted to convert Hawaiians to Christianity.

The arrival of Christian missionaries was directly preceded by the breaking from traditional religious and social customs on the part of Liholiho, King Kamehameha II, and his Kuhina Nui (Prime Minister) Kaʻahumanu following the death of Kamehameha I in 1819. This religious upheaval created an avenue through which Christian missionaries had success in gaining Hawaiian converts as they spread their message through teaching reading and writing skills.[31] Amid changing demographics due to migrations and diseases, Kauikeaouli, Kamehameha III, enacted a number of changes to the legal system that codified the relationships between aliʻi (nobles), makaʻāinana (commoners), and foreigners in the islands.[32] The written

[30] While attending the Foreign Mission School in Cornwall, Connecticut, ʻŌpūkahaʻia encountered other Hawaiians who took advantage of travel opportunities, including George Humehume Kaumualiʻi, the son of Kauaʻi chief Kaumualiʻi, who came to the school following time in Asia and Europe as well as a stint in the United States Navy. Wayne H. Brumaghim, "The Life and Legacy of Heneri ʻŌpūkahaʻia: Hawaiʻi's Prodigal Son" (master's thesis, University of Hawaiʻi, 2011), 81; Douglas Warne, "George Prince Kaumualiʻi, the Forgotten Prince," *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 36 (2002), 60; John Demos, *The Heathen School: A Story of Hope and Betrayal in the Age of the Early Republic* (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 2014), 16-43.

[31] Noenoe Silva notes that there were many Hawaiian men and women who were capable of reading and writing in English prior to 1820 as a result of frequent contact with British and Americans since the late-eighteenth century. Part of the 'civilizing mission' of these missionaries however, was to reduce the Hawaiian language to writing in order to help spread their message. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 30-35.

[32] For further discussion of this, see B. Kamanamaikalani Beamer, "Na wai ka mana? ʻŌiwi Agency and European Imperialism in the Hawaiian Kingdom" (PhD diss., University of Hawaiʻi, 2008), 174-181.

laws enacted between 1820s and 1850s included a constitution in 1840 which helped to define the Hawaiian government and legal system in a form that was recognizable to the individual foreigners who interacted with the islands as well as the imperial powers of Europe and North America.[33]

Despite the establishment of a constitutional monarchy in 1840, the ensuing decade featured increased pressure on the Hawaiian Islands from imperialist nations.[34] In the same era when Great Britain, France, and the United States used threats and military force to increase economic and territorial gains in places such as China, the Marquesas, and Fiji, the Hawaiian Islands were briefly claimed by British Captain George Paulet in 1843, who was returning to England after imposing an unequal treaty on China following the First Opium War.[35] The British government in London refused to recognize the claim however, and restored sovereignty to the Hawaiian Kingdom, a sovereignty that was further recognized by France and the United States.[36] So while imperialism was certainly an active and powerful force in nineteenth-century Oceania, direct colonization was not an inevitable outcome.[37]

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[33] Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs*, 376-378. According to Lilikalā Kameʻeleihiwa, to foreigners, the primary purpose of these laws and subsequent constitutions over the next decade was seen not only as limiting the power of the aliʻi, but also "to provide protection of property, so that each class might have equal opportunity to enrich themselves." Lilikalā Kameʻeleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai?* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 2003), 174-175.

[34] Earlier examples of imperial pressure on the islands through gunboat diplomacy include the actions of United States naval captain Thomas Jones in 1826 and the actions of the French naval captain Cyrille-Pierre Laplace in 1839, both of whom forced unequal treaties on the Hawaiian government. Robert H. Stauffer, "The Hawaiʻi-United States Treaty of 1826," *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 17 (1983): 47-49; Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs*, 331-332.

[35] Jane Samson notes that while gunboat diplomacy did not characterize British policy in the region until the 1870s, this instance was one of a handful of violent coercive acts in the islands by British naval vessels. Jane Samson, *Imperial Benevolence: Making British Authority in the Pacific Islands* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 1998), 130-131.

[36] John Quincy Adams, *Ka Nonanona*, July 4, 1843; Jean Ingram Brookes, *International Rivalry in the Pacific Islands, 1800-1875* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1941), 136.

[37] Despite recognition of Hawaiian sovereignty following the restoration of the monarchy in 1843, there would still be instances of military coercion by imperial powers seeking economic and religious concessions from the Hawaiian Islands. See for example French efforts on behalf of Catholicism in 1849. Jean Charlot, "An 1849 Hawaiian Broadside," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 4 (1970): 96-104.

A few years following the restoration of the monarchy, Kamehameha III created a land commission in 1845 which set in motion the Māhele of 1848 and Kuleana Act of 1850. Taken together, these acts established a system of land tenure more recognizable to foreigners than the ahupua'a (land division) system previously in operation and, as noted by Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa, "further paved the way for foreigners to gain *'Āina* [land] in the towns."[38] This shift to private land ownership led to an increased amount of foreign investment in the islands, which contributed to the growth of the sugar industry following the 1850s and led to increased migrations of workers to fill the demand for plantation labor.[39] As sugar became a more prominent export, King Kalākaua negotiated a Treaty of Reciprocity with the United States to ensure the tax-free export of sugar from the islands in 1876. This treaty further increased labor migrations from Japan, China, Portugal, Korea, the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and elsewhere to meet labor demands, but also exacerbated nationalist divisions within the Hawaiian community.[40]

In the face of such immigration, political unrest, and imperial ambitions by rival nations, King Kalākaua sought to foster a cultural nationalism by promoting Hawaiian practices of hula (dance), mele (song or chant), and lua (a fighting-style) while attempting to organize an alliance with the leaders of Sāmoa. Threatened by this assertion of Hawaiian sovereignty, a small group of haole (white people) living in Honolulu coerced the King into signing a new constitution in 1887 that severely limited the monarch's control of the government.[41] Following the death of

[38] Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, 212; Jon M. Van Dyke, *Who Owns the Crown Lands of Hawai'i?* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008).
[39] The specific changes were the Government of Masters and Servants Act of 1850 and the establishment of the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society (later to become the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association) that same year. Van Dyke, *Who Owns the Crown Lands*, 39; Ronald Takaki, *Pau Hana: Plantation Life and Labor in Hawaii, 1835-1920* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 1984), 82-83.
[40] Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 162.
[41] Noenoe Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 88-89.

King Kalākaua in 1891, his sister, Queen Lili‘uokalani, attempted to restore power to the monarchy through a new constitution. The Queen was met with resistance by prominent haole businessmen who would ultimately overthrow the government with the support of troops from the U.S.S. *Boston*, an American warship anchored in Honolulu Harbor in 1893. The usurpers briefly established a provisional government before declaring a Republic of Hawai‘i in 1894. Through the rest of the decade, the Republic sought annexation by the United States while being opposed by many Hawaiians and others through a wide range of methods including numerous petitions and legal recourses, international political pressure, and even attempted armed revolution.[42]

In conjunction with imperial expansion during the Spanish-Cuban-American War, the United States annexed the Hawaiian Islands in 1898. The territorial government then imposed a number of colonial policies on the islands to help ensure the continued hegemony of the haole business leaders. Five main firms came to dominate the sugar industry thanks to the increased economic integration following annexation, leading to more labor migration and plantation conditions that helped solidify ethnic identities, while at the same time creating shared local experiences.[43] Oppressive and colonial economic, legal, and educational systems sought to alternately segregate and assimilate different ethnicities but actually led to formations of local identity based on shared exploitation.[44]

Continued imperial expansion in Oceania through the twentieth century, combined with the Hawaiian Islands’ strategic location and increased militarization by the United States,

[42] Noenoe Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 129-161.
[43] For a discussion of the “Big Five” businesses and their influence in the islands, see Noel Kent, *Hawaii: Islands Under the Influence*, 69-91.
[44] John P. Rosa, “Local Story: The Massie Case Narrative and the Cultural Production of Local Identity in Hawai‘i,” *Amerasia Journal* 26, no. 2 (2000): 93-115; Jonathan Y. Okamura, “Aloha Kanaka me ke Aloha ‘Aina: Local Culture and Society in Hawaii,” *Amerasia Journal* 7, no. 2 (1980): 119-137.

embroiled the archipelago in global conflict in December of 1941. For the next four years, the Hawaiian Islands played a major part in World War II as home to several military installations integral to the United States' war effort, and the islands were governed under martial law until 1944. During these years, Hawai'i and its residents experienced a massive influx of migrations as military troops and various support personnel passed through the islands.[45]

Prior to 1945, the Hawaiian Islands experienced a range of world historical processes and it is clear that the islands' history through the twentieth century was not solely guided by the actions of the United States and its agents. Instead, the history of the Hawaiian Islands has been influenced and affected by people and processes not only from within the islands themselves, but from a larger Pacific world that stretches from Asia to the Americas. Throughout baseball's development, such processes and forces as migrations, economic integration, imperialism, nationalism, and global war have resulted in similarly transnational influences on the sport in the islands. By tracing the diffusion and development of baseball within the Hawaiian Islands and emphasizing how transnational processes are reflected in that development, this study makes comparisons across national and colonial borders with ball-playing countries such as Cuba, Taiwan, the Philippines, and Japan in addition to the United States.

Why Look at Baseball?

But why choose the baseball diamond as a site through which to consider larger global historical processes? In his 1963 memoir, *Beyond a Boundary*, Trinidadian historian and

[45] For a discussion of the military policies imposed on the islands during this time, including mandatory curfews and blackouts, press censorship, and the suspension of habeas corpus, see J. Garner Anthony, *Hawaii Under Army Rule* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 1975).

philosopher C. L. R. James observed that "when the common people were not at work, one thing they wanted was organized sports and games. They wanted them greedily, passionately. So much so, that the politicians who devoted themselves to the improvement of the people, the disciples of culture, the aesthetes, all deplored the expenditure of so much time, energy, attention and money on sports and games instead of on higher things."[46] If the people of particular regions hold sports in such esteem, then sports should be explored with equal fervor by historians looking to study aspects of that region or era. In regards to the sport of cricket in the British West Indies, James elaborated:

> I haven't the slightest doubt that the clash of race, caste and class did not retard but stimulated West Indian cricket. I am equally certain that in those years social and political passions, denied normal outlets, expressed themselves so fiercely in cricket (and other games) precisely because they were games…The class and racial rivalries were too intense. They could be fought without violence or much lost except pride and honour. Thus the cricket field was a stage on which selected individuals played representative roles which were charged with social significance.[47]

What James illuminates in regards to West Indian cricket is a situation where larger social, political, and economic tensions are not abandoned upon crossing the boundary of a playing field, but rather carried over and, on occasion, exacerbated on the field. Since the publication of James' *Beyond a Boundary*, scholars have increasingly explored sports within larger social, cultural, economic, and political frameworks.[48]

Since its development as an academic field in the 1970s, sports history has experienced a boom in production due to the plethora of subject material and scholarly interests from a variety

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[46] C.L.R. James, *Beyond A Boundary* (New York, NY: Pantheon Books, 1983 repr. 2007), 152.
[47] James, *Beyond A Boundary*, 66.
[48] The efforts by numerous scholars to build on the work of James and explore sports from different perspectives have been helpfully summarized by Jeffrey Hill in a 2011 survey entitled *Sport in History*. Overall, Hill notes that the issue of identity and "how a sense of both self and group have come into being through the agency of sport," have been the key to the study of sports. The sense of identity is not limited to individuals or small communities, but also includes larger collectivities such as nations, social classes, race, and gender. Jeffrey Hill, *Sport in History: An Introduction* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 52-90.

of perspectives.[49] As Amy Bass has noted in a recent article, cultural approaches such as the one used by James, demonstrate many of the key issues in the field of sports history including "the politics of media and spectacle, constructing and contesting identities such as gender, race, sexuality, class, religion, ethnicity, and nationality (and their multiple combinations)," and it is the work by James and others that inspires this study.[50] Through examination of the many links between political, social, and economic issues in the development of baseball in the Hawaiian Islands between the 1840s and the 1940s, this discussion connects the sport to both local conditions and transnational forces operating on and within the Hawaiian Islands, including issues of cultural diffusion and exchange, migrations, imperialism, and identity formation in terms of national, gender, and ethnic identity.

The difficulty in using baseball as a lens for world-historical analysis is the sport's close association with the culture of the United States of America, an association that has been ongoing since the mid-nineteenth century. As early as 1856, the sport was called the "national game" and "national pastime" of the country.[51] Two years later, *The Atlantic Monthly* was pleased to note the growth of the "indigenous American game of base-ball, whose briskness and unceasing activity" fit much better with the United States' "national character," especially when compared to cricket.[52] Thanks to a series of campaigns by the likes of Albert Spalding and his compatriot Abraham Mills, the links between baseball and American national identity would be further cemented through the late-nineteenth and into the twentieth century. In a 1921 article,

[49] Unfortunately, as historian Adrian Burgos has noted, academia in general has not matched the general public's interest in sports since while the sports related literature has increased dramatically, the number of sports history positions remains limited among university faculty. Adrian Burgos, Jr., "Wait until Next Year: Sports History and the Quest for Respect," *The Journal of American History* 101, no. 1 (June 2014): 174.
[50] Amy Bass, "The State of the Field: Sports History and the 'Cultural Turn'," *The Journal of American History* 101, no. 1 (June 2014): 150.
[51] *New York Clipper*, December 13, 1856; *New York Mercury*, December 5, 1856.
[52] "Saints and their Bodies," *Atlantic Monthly*, March 1858, 593.

Walter Camp observed that "students of society have long recognized that sport is the folk highway of a country, and more people march together and contentedly and in democratic spirit along that highway than along any other of the roads that are trod by human kind throughout their lives."[53] With this in mind, Camp identified baseball as "the true National Game of America," since the sport served as the widest folk highway, being played by and for the largest amount of people of the United States.[54]

Consequently, efforts throughout the first half of the twentieth century promoted baseball as the American pastime at home and abroad. By the 1950s, roughly one hundred years after the first reports of a sport recognizably akin to present-day baseball, Jacques Barzun would declare that "whoever wants to know the heart and mind of America had better learn baseball, the rules and realities of the game."[55] The observations of Camp, Barzun, and scores of others have reinforced the connection between baseball and the cultural identity of the United States. This association allows us to approach baseball similarly to how C. L. R. James approached cricket, as an avenue through which historians can view everyday interactions within social institutions as part of a larger national or regional context.

But how do such analyses help us when looking at baseball outside of American contexts? As is evident from the 1889 Delmonico's banquet mentioned above, baseball during the late-nineteenth century was not confined within the national borders of the United States. Indeed the sport spread abroad partly through the efforts of commercial agents such as Spalding, but also through religious agents, military personnel, expatriates, and, once the American empire gained its sea legs in the late-1890s by claiming Hawai'i, Guam, the Philippines, Samoa, and

[53] Walter Camp, "The Broad Folk Highway of American Sport," *The American-Scandinavian Review* 9 (1921), 257.
[54] Walter Camp, "The Truth about Baseball," *The North American Review* 213, no. 785 (April 1921): 483.
[55] Jacques Barzun, *God's Country and Mine: A Declaration of Love, Spiced with a Few Harsh Words* (New York: Vintage Books, 1954), 159.

Puerto Rico, colonial officials and educators.[56] These agents of American influence generally promoted baseball since they valued the sport's link to American culture. Consequently, whenever scholars study the spread of baseball as it relates to transnational processes, they do so through a lens of American agency in terms of United States imperialism or foreign policy. Some recent studies to this effect have been conducted by Thomas Zeiler, Gerald Gems, Robert Elias, and Sayuri Guthrie-Shimizu.[57]

In his analysis of the Spalding tour of 1888 and 1889 that would be triumphantly toasted by Mark Twain and others, historian Thomas Zeiler identifies the roots of future imperial expansion. For Zeiler, while the American imperial domain existed only in an "embryonic stage of ideas and desires" during the late-1880s, the ball-playing tourists expressed the imperial ambitions of the United States through their interaction with various globalizing forces.[58] This interaction includes the use of new technologies in transportation and communication, participating in free enterprise through the opening of new markets, and defining a national identity by projecting attitudes of racial and cultural hierarchy on a global stage. To Zeiler, these baseball tourists are not the instruments of empire themselves, but rather the tour is informative in that it illustrates the path and processes through which the United States would expand its empire in the ensuing decades. Nonetheless, Zeiler notes in his conclusions that Spalding's "tour introduced baseball to the world," a point that assigns agency to one group for the spread of

[56] Ty P. Kāwika Tengan, *Native Men Remade: Gender and Nation in Contemporary Hawai'i* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008), 31.
[57] Zeiler, *Ambassadors in Pinstripes*; Gerald Gems, *The Athletic Crusade: Sport and American Cultural Imperialism* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2006); Robert Elias, *The Empire Strikes Out: How Baseball Sold U.S. Foreign Policy and Promoted the American Way Abroad* (New York, NY: The New Press, 2010); Sayuri Guthrie-Shimizu, *Transpacific Field of Dreams: How Baseball Linked the United States and Japan in Peace and War* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2012).
[58] Zeiler, *Ambassadors in Pinstripes*, ix.

baseball while flattening out the nuance and complexity of the transnational forces that enabled the tour.[59]

Similarly, Gerald Gems links the spread of baseball and other sports from the United States as part of a larger "athletic crusade" on the part of American imperialists. Like Zeiler, Gems notes the numerous avenues through which sports spread and acknowledges that, "sport not only followed the flag but often preceded it" in the Philippines, Puerto Rico, Hawai'i, and elsewhere through the efforts of various cultural agents such as religious missionaries, expatriates, and students.[60] While Gems notes the agency of some groups in rejecting many of the "religious and racial impositions that accompanied [American] imperialism" and cites the pluralistic culture in sports that served to undermine white, hegemonic American control, he emphasizes those efforts within a framework of overarching American cultural imperialism.[61]

In his 2010 book, *The Empire Strikes Out*, Robert Elias attempts to link baseball to United States foreign policy and argues that baseball "was used to sell and export the American dream," not only being "employed to help manage immigration and the nation's own internal colonies" but also "to promote American identity and nationalism."[62] To Elias, baseball achieved its position as the national pastime of the United States by engaging in a trade-off whereby Major League Baseball specifically adopted "an often militaristic and jingoistic nationalist that sometimes makes baseball into merely an extension of the government or armed forces."[63] Throughout his study, Elias links baseball to imperial pursuits, military endeavors,

[59] Zeiler, *Ambassadors in Pinstripes*, 190.
[60] Gems, *The Athletic Crusade*, 148.
[61] Gems, *The Athletic Crusade*, 149-150.
[62] Elias, *The Empire Strikes Out*, 1-2.
[63] Elias, *The Empire Strikes Out*, 284.

and the official policies of the United States in the larger world, both politically and economically.

For historian Sayuri Guthrie-Shimizu, baseball is similarly viewed as an integral part of foreign policy in her 2012 study of United States and Japanese diplomacy, *Transpacific Field of Dreams*. Unlike Elias though, Guthrie-Shimizu sees the sport's spread not as an American imposition but rather as a negotiation in Japanese and American diplomatic relations. Baseball proves invaluable to enhancing the cross-cultural relationships that form between the two nations while also providing a site for identity formation at home and abroad. Japanese people living in the United States were able to organize and maintain connections to Japan through baseball, while Americans living in Japan were able to do the reverse. In Guthrie-Shimizu's analysis, the Hawaiian Islands occupy a mediating space between the two nations due to the massive migrations of both Japanese and Americans to and through the islands, adding considerably to the ethnic diversity and number of baseball teams in the islands. This idea of baseball and the Hawaiian Islands as mediating spaces between Japan and the United States is a valuable one, but for Guthrie-Shimizu, any mediating is done by Japanese or American agents.

At the 1889 banquet for Spalding's baseball tourists, the relationship between sports and spreading American influence was overtly celebrated in the many speeches and toasts. Over the next century, such relationships have often been regarded as positive for all parties involved or, in the words of writer John Krich, baseball in the Americas was "arguably the most benign gift the one America has presented to the other."[64] Consequently, discussions of the spread of baseball are couched in narratives of Americanization or cultural imperialism even when the sport is adopted and adapted by local populations for their own purposes. Because of such views

[64] John Krich, *El Beisbol: Travels Through the Pan-American Pastime* (New York, NY: The Atlantic Monthly Press, 1989), 21.

that attribute the spread of baseball to American agents and policies, agency and involvement of other peoples in the sport's development has been largely obscured and, in some cases, ignored.

But intentions on the part of one group of people do not automatically dictate how or why a sport is adopted and becomes popular. Nor do such policies always work the way in which they are intended. Instead, the adoption of different sports across national and regional borders varies depending on the local context. Even in cases where sports such as baseball are introduced in colonial settings for colonial purposes, they still carry with them a distinct colonial genealogy that depends on the associations and experiences of the region. Part of what informs that colonial genealogy are the ways in which the sport is influenced by a combination of different transnational forces and local conditions.

In the Hawaiian Islands, while baseball may have served as a tool of Americanization at times, the combination of transnational forces and local conditions created a sporting history that cannot be neatly fit under an umbrella of American cultural imperialism. Baseball in the Hawaiian Islands has been utilized not just by American agents, but by a variety of different actors that includes Hawaiian, Japanese, Chinese, Korean, and Filipino residents of the islands from across multiple classes. Furthermore, by emphasizing the ways in which baseball's development in the Hawaiian Islands is imbued with transnational forces, beyond those emanating from the United States, while at the same time influenced by local contexts, this dissertation identifies baseball as both a mediating and mediated space between a variety of cultures and nations. In doing so, this study emphasizes how the development of the sport resulted from the global context in which it grew and how transnational and local forces were intertwined within baseball in the Hawaiian Islands.

Structure of this Study

The following narrative is separated into five chapters that illustrate some ways in which sports can be used as an avenue for doing world history. By providing an in-depth survey of the development of baseball, these chapters also examine an underexplored aspect of the history of the Hawaiian Islands in a global rather than an exclusively American context. The first chapter examines the different ways in which sports in Oceania have been connected to central processes in the study of world history. Since peoples of the Pacific Islands played a variety of sports and games, and that catalog was augmented with the arrivals of Europeans to the region, scholars have studied a myriad of different sports in the region. This initial chapter looks at how sports in Oceania have been related to processes that reach across national borders such as identity formation, cultural diffusion and exchange, imperialism, and transnational migrations. Consequently this chapter draws extensively on secondary sources that examine sports such as football, surfing, rugby, cricket, and others in order to lay the groundwork for ensuing chapters to approach baseball in the Hawaiian Islands as a world-historical development.

After establishing several of the ways that scholars have connected sports to larger transnational themes within the context of Oceania, the next three chapters look specifically at the sport of baseball in the Hawaiian Islands. These chapters trace the development of baseball over one hundred years in terms of who participated in the sport, possible motivations they might have had, and the ways in which world-historical forces influenced the sport. These chapters utilize primary sources from the time period in question including newspaper articles, letters, unpublished papers, and manuscripts to provide background for the development of baseball as

well as specific examples of players, scores, and outcomes regarding teams, leagues, and the sport in general.

Chapter Two presents an overview of the development of baseball in the Hawaiian Islands between 1840 and 1890. This chapter first outlines the various origin stories that surround the sport's introduction to the Hawaiian Islands before considering the organization of the sport through the 1870s and 1880s, and finally looking specifically at two instances where political turmoil had a direct effect on baseball and ballplayers directly influenced politics in 1888 and 1889. Through consideration of this time period, this chapter analyzes and challenges narratives involving Americanization, modernity, and masculinity as they apply to both baseball and the Hawaiian Islands more generally. Numerous newspaper articles of the time period, combined with secondary sources that utilize those journalistic accounts shaped these narratives of Americanization, modernity, and masculinity.

Among the secondary sources that have looked at the development of baseball in Hawai‘i, the most scholarly study of baseball in Hawai‘i prior to 1890 is Frank Ardolino's article, "Missionaries, Cartwright, and Spalding: The Development of Baseball in the Nineteenth Century."[65] Ardolino emphasizes the role of Christian missionaries through Punahou School and the visit of Albert Spalding's baseball tour in 1888 in conjunction with the involvement of New York Knickerbocker Alexander Cartwright's Honolulu social life as the key factors to baseball's development in the islands. In emphasizing these three factors for the development of baseball in Hawai‘i, Ardolino follows the timeline laid out by Robert Schmitt and Dan Cisco in their compendiums of Hawai‘i sports facts.[66] For the most part, ensuing discussions of nineteenth-

[65] Frank R. Ardolino, "Missionaries, Cartwright, and Spalding: The Development of Baseball in Nineteenth-Century Hawaii," *NINE: A Journal of Baseball History and Culture* 10, no. 2 (Spring 2002): 27-45.
[66] Robert C. Schmitt, "Some Firsts in Island Leisure," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 12 (1978), 109-110; Dan Cisco, *Hawai‘i Sports: History, Facts, and Statistics* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1999), 1-4.

century baseball in the Hawaiian Islands have built upon the conclusions made by Ardolino and have focused primarily on missionary influence or the role of Alexander Cartwright in the promotion of baseball.[67]

Although this second chapter touches on both of these influences, as well as that of the visit by Albert Spalding and his baseball-playing tourists, it focuses more on how these influences and their consistent retelling have contributed to larger narratives of Americanization. In challenging these narratives, I provide a more global view of baseball's development prior to 1890 by emphasizing the early growth of baseball as the result of cross-cultural exchange and diffusion rather than an American imposition. The transnational influences of migrations, imperialism, and economic integration that are evident in baseball's early growth illustrate the decidedly global context of the Hawaiian Islands during that time period. By doing so, this chapter not only provides a more complete survey of baseball in the Hawaiian Islands between 1840 and 1890, but also illustrates the ways in which studies of sports such as baseball can integrate a specific region into a broader world history.

Following this discussion of baseball's development between 1840 and 1890, Chapter Three takes a detailed look at baseball in Honolulu over a period of five years, from 1890 to 1895. The focus of this chapter is the Hawaiian Base Ball Association (HBBA), which, over these five years, featured fifteen to twenty games per season in a league consisting of three to five teams from April to August. The teams who participated in this league often had been together for several years as organized clubs, but 1890 marked the incorporation of the Hawaiian

[67] An example of such a discussion of nineteenth-century baseball in the Hawaiian Islands is Monica Nucciarone's 2010 biography of Cartwright. Nucciarone provides a thoughtful discussion of baseball in the islands during that time, but her focus is on Cartwright's role (or lack thereof) in the sport's development in the Islands. Monica Nucciarone, *Alexander Cartwright: The Life behind the Baseball Legend* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2009).

Base Ball Association to oversee the organization and operation of league play, field maintenance, and stadium upkeep. This chapter examines how imperialism, migrations, and the formation of ethno-nationalist identities specifically influence events between and beyond the lines of the baseball diamond. At the same time, this chapter considers how baseball served as a mediating space during a time of political, economic, and social turmoil.

The first half of the 1890s saw the death of King Kalākaua, a political *coup d'état* against his successor, Queen Lili'uokalani, the formation of a new government, and an armed rebellion against that new government. Many of the social impacts of these events have been examined by other scholars but no previous studies have considered the social space of the baseball diamond during this time period. Amid such political tensions, the games played by the teams of the Hawaiian Base Ball Association as part of the Hawaiian Base Ball League (HBBL) featured players who occupied different positions within the political spectrum. Some players fought to restore the monarchy while others violently upheld the Provisional Government, but the majority of players found themselves somewhere in between. Heated political arguments appeared on the floor of the Legislature, in published circulations, and elsewhere, all contributing to a charged political climate. These different political positions were not exclusive however, and they did not necessarily preclude people from competing with and against one another on the baseball diamond.

Within such a tumultuous era of politics in the Hawaiian Islands between 1890 and 1895 then, perhaps, as Simon Barnes the chief sportswriter for the *Times* has suggested, "sport matters because it doesn't matter."[68] The results of games did not determine legislative votes or official government policy, but the field was a space where political opponents could interact socially

[68] Simon Barnes, *The Meaning of Sport* (New York, NY: Short Books, 2007), 9.

with one another and, consequently, the games were imbued with tensions and conflicts that reached, to borrow from C. L. R. James in regard to West Indian cricket, beyond the baselines. Through consideration of the games played by the Hawaiian Base Ball Association between 1890 and 1895, this third chapter illustrates social connections, collaborations, and competitions between and among people who would be political and sometimes military enemies, while exploring specific effects of baseball's transnational nature in the Hawaiian Islands.

For source material, this chapter relies extensively on newspapers such as *The Daily Bulletin*, *Ka Leo o Ka Lahui*, *Ka Makaainana*, and the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, not only for reports of baseball games, statistics, standings, and news, but also for the way in which baseball fit into larger political, economic, and social tensions. For the most part, studies of baseball in the Hawaiian Islands are exceedingly sparse when discussing this time period, and they generally choose to emphasize the political changes rather than consider how those changes immediately affected baseball. The studies that do touch on baseball and describe it being played in the Hawaiian Islands during this time period, such as Elias' *The Empire Strikes Out* and Guthrie-Shimizu's *Transpacific Field of Dreams*, do so through the lens of American foreign policy and cultural imperialism. Because these authors have other concerns, their discussion of the Hawaiian Islands between 1890 and 1895 is broad and they provide very little analysis of where baseball fit within society during those years. In each case, they primarily use the conclusions from Ardolino's article, which does not even consider the same time period. By looking specifically at Hawaiian-language and English-language newspaper accounts from this five-year period, it is possible to contextualize the games of the Hawaiian Base Ball Association within a politically tumultuous time period and see how baseball offered an arena for political opponents to interact with one another on a social level.

Chapter Four further explores the transnational nature of baseball established in Chapters Two and Three and expands on the continued interrelationship of migrations, identity formation, and imperialism within baseball over the next fifty years from 1895 to 1945. This time period was characterized by a huge increase in the number of baseball teams and leagues in the Hawaiian Islands as well as the number of transnational baseball tours by both individual players and entire teams to and from the Hawaiian Islands. As with previous chapters, contemporary newspaper accounts provide much of the detail regarding specific instances of baseball during this time period. Most valuable to this discussion is the scholarship of Joel Franks, whose articles and books on Asian Pacific American baseball players help to illustrate many transnational processes that heavily impact baseball in Hawai'i between 1895 and 1945.[69] In addition to Franks, scholars such as Elias and Guthrie-Shimizu mentioned above, along with Michael Okihiro and Jennifer Day Tope, have touched on different aspects of how the development of baseball was affected by larger processes of imperialism, ethno-nationalist identity formation, and militarism in the Hawaiian Islands, although they mostly do so within a framework that emphasizes the place of baseball as it relates to the United States.[70]

Throughout most of the time period under consideration in this fourth chapter, the United States governed the Hawaiian Islands as a Territory. Consequently, Chapter Four examines how the annexation of the islands by the United States resulted in baseball being used to help Americanize the islands during this time period. Such Americanization efforts included "various

[69] Joel S. Franks, *Crossing Sidelines, Crossing Cultures: Sport and Asian Pacific American Cultural Citizenship* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2000); Joel S. Franks, *Hawaiian Sports in the Twentieth Century* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellon Press, 2002); Joel S. Franks, *Asian Pacific Americans and Baseball: A History* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2008); Joel S. Franks, *The Barnstorming Hawaiian Travelers: A Multiethnic Baseball Team Tours the Mainland* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2012).
[70] Michael M. Okihiro, *AJA Baseball in Hawai'i: Ethnic Pride and Tradition* (Honolulu, HI: Japanese Cultural Center of Hawai'i, 1999); Jennifer Day Tope, "Fighting the Second World War in Paradise with a Bat and Glove: Major League Baseball Comes to Hawai'i," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 42 (2008): 265-276.

projects of improvement, education, and reform" that, according to historian Augusto Espiritu, were designed to assimilate "colonized peoples who were deemed capable of being civilized."[71] But in the face of such efforts, baseball also helped to reinforce ethnic identities and resist assimilation. This chapter then analyzes the ways baseball served as an avenue for teams and players to travel throughout a transpacific network and how migrations through such networks influenced identity formation among those living in the Hawaiian Islands and abroad. Finally, this chapter looks at how baseball's development was affected by the increased militarization that accompanied American annexation, a trend that began in the nineteenth century and resulted in the Hawaiian Islands becoming a target within a global conflict by 1941.

The fifth chapter of this dissertation situates the development of baseball in the Hawaiian Islands within the context of baseball's development globally between 1840 and 1945. In each place that baseball became popular, it featured a distinct historical pedigree shaped by the influence of transnational forces. By examining the ways in which such transnational processes helped form different pedigrees for the sport of baseball around the world, this chapter illustrates how such connection on the baseball diamond make sports a useful avenue for studying world history. It also uses the development of baseball and its reflection of transnational themes to make comparisons between the Hawaiian Islands and other regions of the world. While baseball in the Hawaiian Islands shares many features with other regions such as the United States, Taiwan, the Philippines, and Cuba as a result of its relationship with transnational migrations, ethno-national identity formation, imperialism, and other forces, the combination of those forces and the local experiences lead to a distinct path for the sport's growth in each context.

[71] Augusto Espiritu, "American Empire, Hispanism, and the Nationalist Visions of Albizu, Recto, and Grau," in *Formations of United States Colonialism*, ed. Alyosha Goldstein (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014), 162.

Taken together, these chapters address the growth and development of baseball in the Hawaiian Islands within the context of sports in Oceania, as well as within a larger global context, and argue for the utility of sports as a lens for examining world history. By looking at baseball within these larger and local contexts, the ensuing narrative provides a nuanced understanding of different social relationships that existed within the Hawaiian Islands and how they were impacted through baseball by transnational processes between the 1840s and the 1940s. In doing so, this dissertation elaborates on several "legitimate point[s] of contact" and "possible kinship" between baseball and the Hawaiian Islands that Mark Twain disavowed to his nineteenth-century audience when he stressed the incongruity between the sport and the place.

CHAPTER 1
SPORTS AND WORLD HISTORY IN OCEANIA

Despite its growth as a field of study over the latter half of the twentieth century, sports have been largely absent from the study of world history.[1] There have been several recent examples of studies that look at sports from a world-historical perspective, but for the most part, they do not attempt to argue for sports as a means of studying world history.[2] Instead, while numerous studies look at the connection between sports and transnational processes, they do so with an eye toward explaining sports' contribution to the ongoing process of globalization and their contemporary global popularity.[3]

The absence of the study of sports in world history is unfortunate since sports represent an arena where the effects of large-scale, transregional processes can be seen on a local level. In a 2007 forum on the relationship of social history and world history, Peter Stearns notes that world history has a "tendency to privilege elites or somewhat faceless material forces, both downplaying the kind of loving attention to actual experiences and agency of ordinary people that social historians hold dear."[4] Stearns' opinions are echoed by the other forum contributors, Merry Wiesner-Hanks and Kenneth Pomeranz, who each emphasize a number of ways for the

[1] For a brief outline of sports history as a field, see Mark Dyreson, "Sport History and the History of Sport in North America," *Journal of Sport History* 34, no. 3 (Fall 2007): 405-414 and Amy Bass, "State of the Field: Sports History and the 'Cultural Turn'," *Journal of American History* 101, no. 1 (June 2014): 148-172. For discussions regarding the lack of attention to sports, see Paul Ward, "Last Man Picked. Do Mainstream Historians Need to Play with Sports Historians?" and its responses in *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 30, no. 1 (January 2013): 6-34.

[2] See, for example, Alan M. Klein, *Growing the Game: The Globalization of Major League Baseball* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006); Richard Giulianotti and Roland Robertson, *Globalization and Football* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd., 2009).

[3] See, for example, Richard Giulianotti and Roland Robertson, "Sport and Globalization: Transnational Dimensions," *Global Networks* 7, no. 2 (2007): 107-112; Matthew Taylor, "Editorial – Sport, Transnationalism, and Global History," *Journal of Global History* 8, no. 2 (July 2013): 199-208; Fahad Mustafa, "Cricket and Globalization: Global Processes and the Imperial Game," *Journal of Global History* 8, no. 2 (July 2013): 318-341.

[4] Peter N. Stearns, "Social History and World History: Prospects for Collaboration," *Journal of World History* 18, no. 1 (March 2007), 44.

field of world history to benefit from collaboration with social history by including more discussion of women's and gender history as well as the history of daily life.[5] As a growing subject in the field of social history, the study of sports offers considerable potential to contribute to the study of world history by emphasizing the experiences and agency of people within larger processes.[6]

The development of sports in Oceania offers a particularly fruitful avenue for studying world history because of the ways in which sports in the region are intertwined with several world-historical processes.[7] These processes that have been connected to the development of sports include cultural diffusion and exchange, identity formation, imperialism, and migrations. This chapter examines the ways in which the development of sports in the region have been linked to these four main processes in order to illustrate the value of the study of sports to the study of world history.

Sports have long served as a fruitful subject for scholars of Oceania who have connected the practice and popularity of particular sports to a range of local and transnational forces. In an introductory article to a 2014 special issue on sports in *The Contemporary Pacific*, Fa'anofo Lisaclaire Uperesa and Tom Mountjoy summarize global sport in the region and emphasize four themes that, when taken together, "reflect a critical mass of work on sport in the Pacific as it

[5] Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks, "World History and the History of Women, Gender, and Sexuality," *Journal of World History* 18, no. 1 (March 2007): 53-67; Kenneth Pomeranz, "Social History and World History: From Daily Life to Patterns of Change," *Journal of World History* 18, no. 1 (March 2007): 69-98.

[6] For examples of social histories of various sports, see Richard Holt, *Sport and the British: A Modern History* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1989); Richard Holt, ed., *Sport and the Working Class in Modern Britain* (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 1990); Dennis Brailsford, *British Sport: A Social History*, 2nd Edition (Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press, 2006), Wray Vamplew and Brian Stoddart, *Sport in Australia: A Social History* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1994); and Tony Mason, ed., *Sport in Britain: A Social History* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1989 repr. 2011).

[7] This study uses the term Oceania to refer to the region that includes not only the Pacific Islands, but the peoples and spaces between the islands as well. In doing so, I draw on the scholarship of Epeli Hau'ofa who sees the term as more inclusive than those that depict the region as "islands in a far sea." Epeli Hau'ofa, "Our Sea of Islands," *The Contemporary Pacific* 6, no. 1 (Spring 1994), 152-153.

stands today."[8] These themes include agency and mobility; development and discipline; indigenization, embodiment, and ethno-nationalism; and polyvalent imaginaries.[9] What is notable about each of these themes is that they illustrate ways in which a confluence of world-historical processes impact human experience through sports.

Because world-historical processes reinforce, contradict and build upon each other in numerous ways, it is the confluence of these processes in the development of sports in Oceania that makes their study valuable to the field of world history. The confluence of world-historical processes varies by place and by sport, making the paths of mobility for Samoans through American football different from those of Pacific Islander rugby players. The experiences of both groups of athletes fit within the broader theme of "agency and mobility" identified by Uperesa and Mountjoy, but the extent to which world-historical processes converge shapes the historical pedigree of differently depending on the places and the sports. Since the confluence of world-historical processes seen in the development of baseball in the Hawaiian Islands is not exactly the same as anywhere else, this chapter attempts to address the processes of cultural diffusion and exchange, formation of identities, imperialism, and migrations separately in order to identify individual links between sports and these processes in the region.

While many of the region's most popular sports today originated elsewhere, the idea of sports and games was certainly not imported to Oceania since a wide variety of sports have been practiced for hundreds of years. As Brij Lal and Kate Fortune have noted, these sports and leisure activities range "from children's games to highly structured and organized competitive sports, often intended as entertainment for spectators. Part of growing up was to acquire skills,

[8] Fa'anofo Lisaclaire (Lisa) Uperesa and Tom Mountjoy, "Global Sport in the Pacific: A Brief Overview," *The Contemporary Pacific* 26, no. 2 (Fall 2014): 267.
[9] Lisa Uperesa and Tom Mountjoy, "Global Sport in the Pacific," 267-272.

strength and coordination for adult activities such as fishing and hunting, and so swimming prowess and accuracy in spear-throwing might be learned by islanders in childhood and tested in various games."[10]

The inventory of sports, games, and activities of the region was augmented by the introduction of European and American sports and games, especially during the nineteenth century as more and more team sports such as cricket, baseball, and several types of football developed. But what, specifically, do we mean by the term "sports"? In a survey of sports across five thousand years, Allen Guttmann defines sports "within a paradigm that is quite specific about [their] relationship to *play*, *games*, and *contests*."[11] To Guttmann, play is the all-encompassing root of sports, with games being separated from spontaneous instances of play through rules and regulations. When these regulated games take on a competitive nature, they become contests. In Guttmann's taxonomy, sports are the contests "that require physical prowess," including strength, quickness, fitness, and even physical bravery, as opposed to those that do not.[12] This definition is helpful because it can be broadly applied across time periods and cultures, and therefore it provides a jumping off point for this discussion of sports in Oceania.

Sports and Identity Formation

Identity is a multilayered aspect of how people interact with and experience the rest of the world and think of themselves within that world. As Jeffrey Hill notes in his brief survey of

[10] Brij V. Lal and Kate Fortune, eds., *The Pacific Islands: An Encyclopedia* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 455.
[11] Allen Guttmann, *Sports: The First Five Millennia* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2004), 2.
[12] Guttmann includes the level of contests within the subset of games in his taxonomy in order to address what he sees as mistaken conclusions by anthropologists who have determined that some cultures have no games since they have no organized competitions. Guttmann, *Sports*, 2.

the field of sports history, there has been a recent trend among many scholars of sports to look at "how a sense of both self and group have come into being through the agency of sport."[13] While sports can certainly play a central role in creating aspects of some identities, more often, they tend to augment, reinforce, complement, or challenge existing layers of identity, whether personal or collective.

In particular, understandings of ethnicity and race, gender, and nationality are three aspects of identity that are useful for analysis in world history since they illustrate personal, community, and national senses of self that exist at both a local and global level. While several scholars have touched on the importance of these aspects of identity to the study of world history, there have been relatively few attempts to do so at a global level.[14] This section considers how those layers of identity are displayed, reinforced, and challenged in Oceania through the development of sports. To do so, this discussion looks at surfing, rugby, Australian football, and American football in terms of how they have been linked to ethnicity and race, gender, and nationality.

In Oceania, sports have been linked to these, often overlapping, layers of identity in numerous ways. Among the earliest written accounts to do this comes from nineteenth-century Hawaiian historian Davida Malo who discusses numerous sports as part of a cultural heritage of the islands, including the most popular pastime: he'e nalu, or surfing.[15] So prominently was this

[13] Jeffrey Hill, *Sport in History: An Introduction* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 52.
[14] Some scholars who have touched on the value of considering these aspects of identity to the study of world history include Paul Spickard, "Race and Nation, Identity and Power: Thinking Comparatively about Ethnic Systems," in *Race and Nation: Ethnic Systems in the Modern World*, edited by Paul Spickard (New York, NY: Routledge, 2004), 1-29; Merry Wiesner-Hanks, "World History and the History of Women, Gender, and Sexuality," *Journal of World History* 18, no. 1 (March 2007): 53-67; Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks, "Crossing Borders in Transnational Gender History," *Journal of Global History* 6 no. 3 (November 2011): 357-379; Peter N. Stearns, "Nationalisms: An Invitation to Comparative Analysis," *Journal of World History* 8, no. 1 (1997): 43-52.
[15] In fact, in both the Emerson translation from 1898 and the Malcolm Chun edition from 1987, fourteen out of Malo's sixty-seven chapters focus on sports or games, which account for 21% of all the subjects included in the collection. This emphasizes the cultural importance of sports in the Hawaiian Islands during the nineteenth century.

sport identified with Hawaiians that the English-language translations of Malo's work called it "a national sport of Hawaiians."[16] Studies since then have echoed the work of Malo and his later editors in emphasizing the importance of the sport as part of a shared culture across the Hawaiian Islands.[17]

Surfing has not only been linked to Hawaiians in terms of a larger ethno-national identity however, as some scholars have also noted ways in which understandings of gender have been accommodated and revealed through the sport. For example, in her study of Hawaiian literature about the gods Pele and Hi'iakaikapoliopele, literary scholar ku'ualoha ho'omanawanui touches on gender participation in sports by examining several instances of women and men surfing together and in competition with each other. Drawing from accounts published in Hawaiian-language newspapers during the nineteenth century, ho'omanawanui cites several episodes that emphasize not only the cultural importance of showing proper respect to akua wahine (female gods), but also show the underlying "power of godly women over kanaka men."[18]

In one such account, the akua wahine Hi'iakaikapoliopele encounters a group of people on the island of Hawai'i who have gathered to admire the surfing prowess of Punahoa, the daughter of a local ali'i (chief). When Hi'iaka suggested that Punahoa did not understand surfing, the crowd "indignantly protested." The result of Punahoa's run was a wipeout that

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Among the pastimes mentioned by Malo which, for the purposes of our study would be considered sports, were kilu, kukini, maika, pahee, canoe racing, hee-nalu, holua sledding, noa, pukaula, kea-pua, mokomoko, hakoko, loulou, lele-kawa, kaupua, and kuialua. Malo touches on several other pastimes that he and Emerson count as sports, but for our purposes, lack either the physical component or competitive characteristic to be considered a sport. Davida Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities: Mo'olelo Hawai'i*, translated by Nathaniel B. Emerson (Honolulu, HI: Bishop Museum Press, 2005), 214-233; Davida Malo, *Ka Mo'olelo Hawaii (Hawaiian Antiquities)*, edited by Malcolm Naea Chun (Honolulu, HI: The Folk Press, 1987), 141-152.

[16] Davida Malo, *He Moolelo Hawaii*, translated by Emerson, 223.

[17] See, for example, Ben R. Finney and James D. Houston, *Surfing: The Sport of Hawaiian Kings* (Rutland, VT: C. E. Tuttle Co., 1966).

[18] Sherilyn Ku'ualoha Ho'omanawanui, "Pele's Appeal: Mo'olelo, Kaona, and Hulihia in 'Pele and Hi'iaka' Literature (1860-1928)," PhD dissertation (University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, 2007), 360-367.

either Hiʻiaka foresaw, or caused as a result of her rude treatment by the crowd.[19] On Oʻahu, Hiʻiakaikapoliopele and her sisters encounter Palani, the surfing chief of Kahana who is out in the waves with his wife Iewalu. When Palani rudely responded to a chant by Hiʻiakaikapoliopele, he wiped out and drowned along with his wife under the waves.[20] In another account, the akua wahine Kapōʻulakīnaʻu and her sisters join some surfing men in the waves off of the island of Kauaʻi, but when the akua wahine challenge the men to ride a giant wave, the men are all drowned and turned into rocks.[21] In addition to other messages regarding the power of the akua wahine and the proper respect they were to be accorded, these scenes show as hoʻomanwanui notes, that the sport was a pastime "enjoyed by men and women alike."[22]

Despite religious efforts to ban surfing and other Hawaiian sports in the nineteenth century, it continued to be practiced across class and gender into the twentieth century.[23] Surfing on boards was only one of several surfing pastimes in the islands however, as John Clark notes. Other popular surf sports included "pākākā nalu, or outrigger canoe surfing; kaha nalu, or bodysurfing; pae poʻo, or bodyboarding; heʻe one, or sand sliding; and heʻe puʻe wai, or river surfing."[24] So while board-surfing was perhaps the most prominent of sports in the Hawaiian Islands and a common pastime throughout the island chain, it had a number of variations that

[19] Hoʻomanawanui, "Pele's Appeal," 362.
[20] Hoʻomanawanui, "Pele's Appeal," 363.
[21] Hoʻomanawanui, "Pele's Appeal," 365.
[22] Hoʻomanawanui, "Pele's Appeal," 367.
[23] Among those who were notably adept at the sport were Queen Liliuʻokalani, Princess Victoria Kaʻiulani, Prince Jonah Kūhiō Kalanianaʻole, Prince Edward Keliʻiahonui and Prince David Kawānanakoa. The princes were also responsible for helping to spread the sport while at boarding school in California where they used boards made of redwood and surfed at the mouth of the San Lorenzo River. According to the *Santa Cruz Surf*, "the young Hawaiian princes were in the water, enjoying it hugely and giving interesting exhibitions of surfboard swimming as practiced in their native islands." Isaiah Helekunihi Walker, "Hui Nalu, Beachboys, and Surfing Boarder-lands of Hawaiʻi," *The Contemporary Pacific* 20, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 94.
[24] Clark points out that while early Hawaiian historians such as John Papa Iʻi, Samuel Kamakau, Kepelino, and Davida Malo all tend to focus on board surfing, these other sports were "just as much a part of the surf culture as any other." John R. K. Clark, *Hawaiian Surfing: Traditions from the Past* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 2011), 19.

were each a part of Hawaiian culture, informing understandings of ethnicity, gender, and nationality in different ways through the nineteenth century.

Sports that originated in Europe and North America were also incorporated into understandings of identity in Oceania since, as Lisa Uperesa and Tom Mountjoy have noted, many became important sites of connection where participants and fans could share social and cultural experiences.[25] In some cases, as Uperesa has pointed out with regard to the island of Tutuila in American Sāmoa, participation in sports such as American football is fueled by a variety of forces including not only a passion for the sport, but also a desire to contribute to the "team brotherhood," or "to carry on a family legacy or fulfill others' expectations."[26] Through specific sports, participants and onlookers are able to share experiences that help reinforce practices and gender understandings that have become part of their cultures and further sustain particular layers of identity for both individuals and groups.

As more Europeans and Americans settled into Oceania, many brought with them their own understandings of gender as they related to sports, especially understandings of manliness. The British Victorians, for example, emphasized a healthy body as a result of the Leisure Revolution that accompanied the Industrial Revolution; the founding of physiology as a distinct scientific area of study; and the desire to produce well-educated and *manly* leaders in response to the looming threat of war.[27] During this era, manliness for Europeans was linked to living a strenuous life in order to counterbalance effeminacy and "bookishness."[28] Consequently, in

[25] Within their collection, Uperesa and Mountjoy refer here to the work of Julien Clèment regarding rugby in Sāmoa and Domenica Calabrò regarding rugby in New Zealand. Fa'anofo Lisaclaire Uperesa and Tom Mountjoy, "Global Sport in the Pacific: A Brief Overview," 169.
[26] Fa'anofo, Lisaclaire Uperesa, "Fabled Futures: Migrations and Mobility for Samoans in American Football," *The Contemporary Pacific* 26, no. 2 (Fall 2014): 285
[27] Nick J. Watson, Stuart Weir and Stephen Friend, "The Development of Muscular Christianity in Victorian Britain and Beyond," *Journal of Religion & Society* 7 (2005), 2.
[28] Anne Bloomfield, "Muscular Christian or Mystic? Charles Kingsley Reappraised," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 11, no. 2 (1994): 174.

order to produce leaders to be considered manly enough to face the challenges of Victorian society, team sports such as football and cricket were essential components that taught morals such as fair play and sportsmanship. This issue of manliness was an important part of the development of European team sports, including the different styles of football that became linked to national identities in Oceania.

During the nineteenth century, there were several variations of football being practiced. In England, such variations of football were most pronounced at different public schools such as Rugby, Harrow, Eton, and Winchester. Some groups predominately kicked the ball while others rushed forward holding the ball in their hands in more of a mob or pack style of play. Such variation led to several attempts to combine and codify the game. By 1863, the basics of the rules for association football had been established. Not everybody agreed upon these rules however and a major sticking point came over the issues of "handling and hacking" or kicking.[29] One club, Blackheath, sought to keep hacking as part of the sport, "claiming that its abolition threatened the essential 'manliness' of football, and sneered that such sissy reforms would reduce the game to something more suited to the French."[30] The Football Association would soon ban handling from the sport, resulting in Blackheath and others forming their own football code, to be known as rugby football in 1871. Over in the United States, the football variations would also be codified into a uniform system by Walter Camp and other Ivy League students in 1880.[31] What these divisions suggest is that masculine understandings on the part of the athletes during this time were, in part, informed by the possible threat of injury presented in the various styles of

[29] Bill Murray, *The World's Game: A History of Soccer* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1996), 4.
[30] Murray, *The World's Game*, 4.
[31] Bob Braunwart, Bob Newhardt Carroll, "Camp and his Followers: American Football 1876-1889," *The Journey to Camp: The Origins of American Football to 1889* (Canton, OH: Professional Football Researchers Association, 1997).

play. These different variations of football along with understandings of masculinity would be exported to Oceania along with the students who brought specific styles with them into colonial service.

In Oceania however, a fourth style of football had already developed in Australia during the 1850s and became associated not just with understandings of masculinity, but also linked to the formation of a national identity. Australian football began in Victoria in the late 1850s after Thomas Wills suggested that cricketers "form a foot-club, and…draw up a code of laws," in the offseason.[32] This sport had similarities to rugby football, but as scholars such as Barry Judd and Jim Poulter have noted, it was also influenced by the Aboriginal sport of *marngrook* due to interactions between Wills and Aboriginal peoples in New South Wales.[33] While similar to rugby in the sense that a ball is kicked and then rushed to be secured before being kicked again, *marngrook* provided a local sporting foundation from which Wills could develop the rules and style of what became Australian football.

This new sport replaced cricket in the winter months and was legislated by the Melbourne Football Club. From there it spread throughout most of West Australia, South Australia, and Tasmania by the turn of the century, where it developed premier competitions between clubs with close community identifications.[34] The players were drawn from colonial public schools

[32] This would serve not only to keep cricketers fresh for the spring, but also "would be of vast benefit to any cricket-ground to be trampled upon, and would make the turf quite firm and durable." Thomas W. Wills, "Letter to the Editor," *Bell's Life in Victoria and Sporting Chronicle*, July 10, 1858.

[33] Barry Judd, "Australian Rules Football as an Aboriginal Cultural Artifact," *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* XXV, no. 1 (2005): 235; Jim Poulter, *Sharing Heritage in Kulin Country: Lessons in Reconciliation from Our First Contact History* (Remplestowe, Victoria, Australia: Red Hen Enterprises, 2011).

[34] G. M. Hibbins has suggested that the sport developed in a similar fashion to how rugby and soccer both developed, in that varying Australian immigrants were familiar with differing variations of football as they arrived in the colony for the gold rushes of the mid-nineteenth century. G. M. Hibbins, "The Cambridge Connection: The English Origins of Australian Rules Football," *The Cultural Bond: Sport, Empire, Society*, edited by J. A. Mangan (New York: Routledge, 1992), 108-112.

which adopted the Melbourne rules beginning in the 1860s.[35] Overall, according to Barry Judd, the sport helped establish an Australian identity based on characteristics such as egalitarianism with regards to class; emphasis on team work and fair play; and "that individualism should be celebrated insofar as it does not diminish cooperative effort and achievement."[36] When it is addressed, the participation of Aboriginal peoples in the sport has often been seen as an example of "successful assimilation and integration" into Australian culture, an especially ironic twist given the *marngrook* influence on the sport's origins.[37]

The early rules of Australian football outlawed "tripping and 'hacking'" as having no place in Victoria by 1860, (even if they were allowed in the rugby of British public schools) and the sport was advertised as a fine display of manliness in local papers.[38] In fact, one account goes so far as to defend the masculinity of the sport by claiming that "any fear that football under the Melbourne rules had deteriorated into an effeminate game would have been effectually dispelled in the mind of the veriest stickler for the Eton 'bullies,' Rugby 'rogues,' or Winchester 'hots,' had he paid a visit to" the match between Melbourne and Richmond in June of 1860.[39] As would be the case in Great Britain, the concerns over increased safety threatened to reduce the manliness of the sport. Although "women have usually made up a greater proportion of the crowd…than at any other football code in the world," Australian football has been largely seen as a masculine domain.[40] The fact that the masculinity of the sport was defended in local newspapers illustrates the use of new media to help shape the understandings of gender roles

[35] Hibbins, "The Cambridge Connection," 119-120.
[36] Judd, "Australian Rules Football," 216-217.
[37] Judd, "Australian Rules Football," 219.
[38] This article, it should be noted, ran three years prior to the official split between rugby and soccer in England, which would occur in 1863. "Football: Melbourne v. Richmond," *The Argus*, May 14, 1860.
[39] "Football," *The Argus*, June 18, 1860.
[40] Rob Hess, "'Ladies are Specially Invited': Women in the Culture of Australian Rules Football," in *Sport in Australasian Society: Past and Present*, edited by J.A. Mangan and John Nauright (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2000), 114.

during this time period and helped link the sport to the formation of an Australian national identity into the twentieth century.

The early twentieth-century era of nation building featured the formation of the Victorian Football League and was characterized by "fervent white nationalism," making it a "key institutional signpost of white Australian national identity."[41] In a 1908 speech, Alfred Deakin, the Australian Prime Minister, cited Australian football as integral for "laying the foundations of physique, a stamina and capacity that is not only exercised in sport, but which will in the hour of need respond to the nation's call… [and] every expression of the sporting spirit go to make manhood which is competent for the nation's tasks."[42] What this outlook is accompanied by into the twentieth century is an attitude of racial superiority that has had lasting effects on the participation of Aboriginal peoples and Torres Strait Islanders in the sport.[43]

By this time period of the early-twentieth century, rugby football had become the primary sport associated with national identity in New Zealand.[44] This connection between rugby and national identity has been outlined in studies by Keith Sinclair and Jock Phillips, who both note the touring teams of the turn of the century as central to creating a common national identity.[45]

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[41] Chris Hallinan and Barry Judd, "Changes in Assumptions about Australian Indigenous Footballers: From Exclusion to Enlightenment," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 26, no. 16 (December 2009): 2360.
[42] Deakin, quoted in Hallinan and Judd, "Changes in Assumptions," 2361.
[43] Such an emphasis on the role of Australian football as part of a national identity has not ignored the role of ethnicity in the sport. Chris Hallinan and Barry Judd have noted the prominent exclusion of Aboriginal peoples from the Australian Football League well into the twentieth century and the shifting assumptions about indigenous Australian footballers during the past twenty years. They point out that Joseph Andrew Johnson, who played in the VFL/AFL for Fitzroy from 1904 to 1906 and is commonly held up as 'the first Aborigine' to play the sport at its highest level, did not publicly identify himself as an Aborigine and "during his own lifetime existed outside official definitions of Aboriginality imposed by the colonial society and state." Hallinan and Judd, "Changes in Assumptions," 2363.
[44] Specifically, rugby union became identified as a national sport in New Zealand. For a summary of the split between rugby union and rugby league, see Tony Collins, *Rugby's Great Split: Class, Culture and the Origins of Rugby League Football* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2006).
[45] Keith Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart: New Zealand's Search for National Identity* (Wellington, NZ: Allen & Unwin New Zealand Ltd., 1986), 143-155; Jock Phillips, *A Man's Country: The Image of the Pakeha Male - A History* (Auckland, NZ: Penguin Books Ltd., 1987), 81-130.

According to Simon During, the value of rugby as a national sport is in its ability to be used to reconcile contradictory views of the nation.[46] Rather than continuing its English roots as an upper-class game, in New Zealand, rugby came to stand as a "symbol of mateship, intrepidness, coloniser-colonised reconciliation," while still maintaining an aura of British imperialism.[47] The racially egalitarian tone used to describe rugby during the nineteenth century and twentieth centuries has, according to Brendan Hokowhitu, veiled the "less than ideal historical race-relations" in both the sport and the country but has contributed to the stereotyping of Pacific Islander athletes.[48]

In some sports such as rugby, American football, and Australian football, sporting stereotypes often serve to diminish agency and reduce accomplishments of Pacific Islander participants. From the rugby pitch, a prominent example of this stereotyping is the portrayal of Māori men as natural sportsmen which, as Brendan Hokowhitu has noted, developed from the "historical racist notions of Māori masculine physicality."[49] Scholars such as Hokowhitu and Andrew Grainger have convincingly shown that these portrayals of Pacific Islanders as natural athletes have been perpetuated in the media and in popular understandings throughout the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries and stem from the Enlightenment idea of the "noble savage" as propagated by Jean-Jacques Rousseau and others.[50]

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[46] These two views of New Zealand are as a transplanted Britain or alternatively, as something wholly unique have been reconciled around the sport where both Māori and *Pākehā* participate. Simon During, "Postcolonialism and Globalisation: a Dialectical Relation After All?" *Postcolonial Studies* 1, no. 1 (1998): 34-35.
[47] During, "Postcolonialism and Globalisation," 35.
[48] Brendan Hokowhitu, "Māori Rugby and Subversion: Creativity, Domestication, Oppression and Decolonization," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 26, no. 16 (December 2009), 2316-17.
[49] Brendan Hokowhitu, "Tackling Māori Masculinity: A Colonial Genealogy of Savagery and Sport," *The Contemporary Pacific* 16, no. 2 (Fall 2004): 262.
[50] Hokowhitu, "Tackling Māori Masculinity," 268; Andrew Grainger, "Rugby Island Style: Paradise, Pacific People, and the Racialisation of Athletic Performance," *Junctures* 12 (June 2009), 48-49.

During the mid-nineteenth century, a time where Māori faced very explicit forms of racism throughout society from *Pākehā* (white) settlers, rugby offered an arena of reprieve where Māori success could be achieved and encouraged since it did not overtly threaten the dominant settler discourse. However, as Hokowhitu outlines, the rugby pitch became an arena where stereotypes of Māori savagery were perpetuated at the same time that *Pākehā* used rugby as an example of the civilizing effect of British colonialism.[51] Eventually, Māori athletic successes through the twentieth century resulted in *Pākehā* using evolutionary explanations in attempts to maintain a position of racial superiority, arguing that *Pākehā* worked hard for athletic success, while it came naturally to Māori.[52] Such arguments have, according to Andrew Grainger, resulted in the people and the region of Oceania being racialized through rugby in ways that equate cultural stereotypes with natural difference, "so much so that athletic ability has come to be viewed as a traditional characteristic of Pacific peoples."[53]

These arguments and portrayals are not limited to Māori or other Pacific Islanders in rugby either, as there continues to be media coverage emphasizing the natural inclination and talent of Polynesians in American football. Examples include the 2005 ESPN documentary *Polynesian Power* and a 2009 report by Tom Goldman for the United States' National Public Radio that explain the proportionally large number of Pacific Islanders on professional football rosters as resulting from being naturally adept at the sport.[54] These portrayals have been critiqued by Ty Kāwika Tengan and Jesse Makani Markham as well as Lisa Uperesa, who not only trace the historical development of such images but illustrate how these depictions limit

[51] Hokowhitu, "Tackling Māori Masculinity," 270.
[52] Hokowhitu, "Tackling Māori Masculinity," 271-272.
[53] Andrew Grainger, "Rugby Island Style," 52.
[54] Jeremy Spear and Robert Pennington, *Polynesian Power: Islanders in Pro Football* (ESPN, 2005) and Tom Goldman, "Young Polynesians Make a Life Out of Football," *National Public Radio* (September 18, 2009) http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=112970742.

understandings of Pacific Islander participation in football by obscuring the sport's role in identity formation and as a pathway to economic success and prestige.[55]

Understandings of gender have also played a major part in the perpetuation of stereotypes of Pacific Islanders as natural sportsmen discussed above. With regard to American football, Ty Kāwika Tengan and Jesse Makani Markham have posited that part of the reason for the sport's popularity is that it "appeals to islanders who make connections through their cultural and gender identity," as a result of numerous efforts by football players (and spectators) to use performances of Polynesian warriorhood in attempts to "counter a more general discourse of emasculation – an erasure of men and negation of male efficacy – that has accompanied the colonial process in the Pacific."[56] By linking traditional cultural displays to American football, these performances of warriorhood can contribute to stereotypes of Pacific Islanders as natural athletes since the sport itself then becomes associated with cultural traditions.

Performances of warriorhood as part of the masculinity promoted through American football fit within the larger efforts that connected the sport to the military. As Vicente Diaz remembers from his days growing up on Guam, the link between American football and understandings of masculinity was reinforced by the increased interactions with the Hawaiian men and other servicemen from Hawai'i who were relocated to the island as part of American military buildup.[57] Football games and leagues were organized "to assist in relations between

[55] Ty Kāwika Tengan and Jesse Makani Markham, "Performing Polynesian Masculinities in American Football: From 'Rainbows to Warriors'," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 26, no. 16 (December 2009): 2413-2414; Uperesa, "Fabled Futures," 286-292.
[56] Tengan and Markham, "Performing Polynesian Masculinities in American Football," 2413-2414.
[57] Vicente Diaz, "'Fight Boys till the Last': Football and the Remasculinization of Indigeneity in Guam," *Pacific Diaspora: Island Peoples in the United States and the Pacific*, ed. Paul Spickard, Joanne Rondilla, and Deborah Hippolite-Wright (University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 167-194.

military and civil service personnel," which resulted in the sport's promotion within a militaristic context that brought with it specific understandings of what it meant to be a man.[58]

Vicente Diaz has further noted that the success of Polynesians in American football has led to an emphasis of hypermasculinities as hegemonic "in ways that marginalize competing island forms of gendered and sexual identity practices…while also heightening the need to police prevailing orders of heteronormative patriarchy or cultural authenticity across the seas."[59] In this sense, the participation and success of Pacific Islanders in sports has led to the promotion of a specific masculinity defined by the aggressive and violent nature of American football and has left little room for counter-hegemonic gender identities. In particular, the sport has served as a bastion against the expression of homosexual masculinities as the accounts of former NFL player Esera Tuaolo have indicated.[60]

April Henderson has further elaborated on how representations and popular myths of Samoans have emphasized a giant and masculine physicality.[61] Henderson notes that these understandings are locally concentrated in cities of the western United States, but disseminating nationally thanks to popular media, professional wrestling, and the National Football League, which she identifies as "great vehicles of American male mythogenesis."[62] Samoans in the United States are viewed as naturally suited for aggressive sports such as football due to this popularly understood myth of a giant physicality that is further perpetuated through literature,

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[58] Because of this influence, Diaz describes American football in Guam as heavily tinged with traditions from Hawai'i, including barefoot style play and fight songs such as "Imua Kamehameha," that were practiced as part of the coaches own sporting experiences. Diaz, "'Fight Boys 'til the Last'," 179, 188.
[59] Vicente M. Diaz, "Tackling Pacific Hegemonic Formations on the American Gridiron," *Amerasia Journal* 37, no. 3 (2011): 104.
[60] Esera Tuaolo, *Alone in the Trenches: My Life as a Gay Man in the NFL* (Naperville, IL: Sourcebooks, 2006).
[61] April K. Henderson, "Fleeting Substantiality: The Samoan Giant in US Popular Discourse," *The Contemporary Pacific* 23, no. 2 (Fall 2011): 269-302.
[62] In this case, context is important, since there is "a marked contrast between how many Americans imagine Pacific Islanders to be in the Islands and how they imagine them to be in the United States," which illustrates how such understandings reach across national borders. Henderson, "Fleeting Substantiality," 271-272.

film, and television.[63] Like the points made by Hokowhitu, Tengan and Markham, and Diaz mentioned above, this mythogenesis of physicality has led to young Samoan males being pressured into fulfilling those stereotypes by popular expectations.

Similarly, in Australia, Aboriginal peoples have been regarded as naturally inclined to succeed in sports by Australian football recruiters who, according to Chris Hallinan and Barry Judd, "understood the abilities and talents of Aboriginal players not as an outcome of perseverance and dedication to the game but in terms of racial and cultural determinates that negate the possibility for individual agency."[64] Despite the sport of Australian football itself being regarded as an "equal playing field," these racialized understandings of Aboriginal peoples leads to assumptions of "a natural advantage to football success at the elite level of the game," further denying the hard work of people of color in the sport.[65]

The establishment of such attitudes and stereotypes in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries continue to create obstacles for indigenous athletes in the twenty-first century. Brendan Hokowhitu notes that while much of the overt brutality of racism has become a thing of the past, the racialized athletic body serves to help shackle people of color "to the physical realm and prevents them from being self-determining."[66] Players from specific ethnic groups become associated with particular skills which further limits options even in the realm of sports. Chris Hallinan and Barry Judd note that the understandings applied to indigenous peoples in Australian football have direct effects on the field in terms of positioning, as "race-based understandings of

[63] Henderson, "Fleeting Substantiality," 278-279.
[64] Hallinan and Judd, "Changes in Assumptions," 2369.
[65] Hallinan and Judd, "Changes in Assumptions," 2372.
[66] Brendan Hokowhitu, "Race Tactics: The Racialised Athletic Body," *Junctures* 1 (December 2003), 21.

Aboriginal football talent…have operated to limit opportunities for Aboriginal players whose football talent, physique and temperament do not conform to these stereotypes."[67]

Sports in Oceania have long been linked by scholars to different aspects of identity. Because of the ways in which ethnic and racial, gender, and national identities are intertwined, reinforce, and challenge one another throughout the region, the multiple ways in which they are expressed through sports are illustrative of the many different understandings of identity that exist. These aspects of identity can be constructed from within a community and from outside the community which results in sports taking on different meanings depending on who is linking them to identity. When people inside a community adopt sports as aspects of an identity, sports become sites of connection where people can share cultural experiences. When outsiders and insiders link different groups of people to certain sports however, it can lead to stereotypes that can undermine such cultural connections. Overall, the relationship between sports and identity in Oceania creates sites of connection that allow groups of people to share experiences across local, regional, and national borders while also drawing attention to the power dynamics that exist in many contexts where stereotypes are created, promoted, and challenged. With baseball in the Hawaiian Islands, a multiplicity of understandings of and connections to the sport will be evident in ensuing chapters as numerous groups participate in the sport for a variety of reasons.

Sports and Cultural Diffusion and Exchange

Sports themselves also contribute to the study of world history as cultural practices that travel across borders and can be both adopted and adapted by different groups. In his study of

[67] Hallinan and Judd, "Changes in Assumptions about Australian Indigenous Footballers," 2372.

sports around the world, David McComb helpfully identifies sports as "similar to other cultural expressions such as sculpture, painting, music, dance, theater, motion pictures, and literature," in that they are expressions "by society about its interests, history and character," and that as societal conditions change, so too do sports.[68] By examining the spread of sports as an aspect of culture, scholars can explore shifts and changes in and across societies.

Exploring such shifts and changes through tracing the spread of sports is useful in doing world history since, as Jerry Bentley has noted, one of the primary approaches for doing world history includes an emphasis "on the phenomenon of diffusion…and its effects on the societies and cultures involved."[69] This diffusion can include biological exchanges as well as the spread of people, technologies, ideas, and aspects of culture, including sports. It is difficult to examine developments across cultural borders from a world-historical perspective however, since, as Jerry Bentley has noted, "world historians have worked out no common approach to the study of cultural developments, nor have they even adopted any settled vocabulary or analytical convention for the investigation of cultural developments."[70] In the absence of a world-historical approach to the study of cultural developments, exchange, and diffusion, sports serve as a valuable topic of study since they can often be defined across cultures and examined to both identify shared culture and trace the spread of culture to new peoples and places.

In Oceania, there is a long tradition of sporting practices which, as Brij Lal and Kate Fortune have noted, were often designed to hone skills needed for fishing, hunting, or ocean-voyaging.[71] When sports with European or American origins arrived in the region, they too

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[68] David G. McComb, *Sports in World History* (New York, NY: Taylor & Francis Inc., 2004), 4.
[69] Jerry H. Bentley, *Shapes of World History in Twentieth-Century Scholarship* (Washington, DC: American Historical Association, 1996), 14.
[70] Jerry H. Bentley, "Cultural Exchanges in World History," in *The Oxford Handbook of World History*, edited by Jerry H. Bentley (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2011), 344.
[71] Brij V. Lal and Kate Fortune, eds., *The Pacific Islands: An Encyclopedia* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 455.

became incorporated into cultural practices. Some sporting practices became part of cultural traditions by gaining popularity at local or community levels, but they also had the capacity to unite islands and even spread across island groups. Consequently, numerous scholars have used similar sporting practices to connect different groups of people across island groups culturally.

Such efforts can be seen in histories and descriptions of island peoples since the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. While Davida Malo and his later editors and translators described surfing as "a national sport of Hawaiians," the practice was not limited to the Hawaiian Islands.[72] James Morrison, a boatswain's mate on board the HMAV *Bounty*, described similar practices in Tahiti during a trip there in 1792. Known in the Society Islands as *faaheeraa miti*, Morrison noted that Tahitians would use boards of varying length, and people rode them on their stomachs, while sitting, or in some cases while standing.[73] The British missionary William Ellis, whose travels in both Hawai'i and Tahiti allowed him some degree of familiarity with the variations on sporting practices, noted that Hawaiian surfers tended to be superior to their Tahitian counterparts, but saw the sport as indicative of a shared culture between the island groups.[74] In addition to surfing, outrigger canoe racing, or pākākā nalu in Hawai'i, was known in Tahiti as *fa'atitiahimora'a va'a*, and was another sport practiced in both island groups. Like surfing, it too has been used by scholars such as Bengt Danielsson and Anne Lavondes to link the peoples of the Hawaiian and Society Islands culturally.[75]

Another sport that has been used to identify shared culture and link peoples across different island groups is *teka*, a dart-based sport where an athlete throws a dart along the ground

[72] Davida Malo, *He Moolelo Hawaii*, translated by Emerson, 223.
[73] Bengt Danielsson and Anne Lavondes, *Jeux et Sports Anciens dans le Pacifique/Ancient Games and Sports in the Pacific* (Papeete: Maison des Jeunes, Maison de la Culture de Polynésie Francaise, 1971).
[74] Finney and Houston, *Surfing*, 24-25.
[75] Danielsson and Lavondes, *Jeux et Sports Anciens dans le Pacifique*, 8-9.

for either distance or accuracy. To a varying degree, anthropologists Te Rangi Hiroa, Raymond Firth, and D. S. Davidson have all discussed the sport and the way it connects people within and across island groups.[76] As Davidson notes, variations of *teka* have been practiced in "most of Polynesia and the nearby islands to the west of Fiji - Rotuma, Anuda, Tikopia, and parts of the Banks and New Hebrides groups such as Mota and Santa Maria. The Polynesian appearances include the Lau and Ellice islands, Tonga, Samoa, Niue, Rakahanga, Manahiki, the Society and Cook groups, the Marquesas, Hawaii, and New Zealand."[77] While they shared the same basic format, the numerous variations differed in terms of purposes for playing, throwing techniques, and equipment.[78]

The methods used by these anthropologists to use the sport to connect different peoples also varied. For Te Rangi Hiroa, oral traditions involving *teka* provide a cultural link between Aitutaki in the Cook Islands and the Marquesan island of Iva.[79] Davidson meanwhile uses material and linguistic evidence to link the sport as a shared expression of culture across island groups.[80] While it is similar to surfing in the way that it links different island groups culturally,

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[76] D.S. Davidson, "The Pacific and Circum-Pacific Appearances of the Dart-Game," *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 45, no. 179 (1936): 99-114; D.S. Davidson, "The Pacific and Circum-Pacific Appearances of the Dart-Game," *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 46, no. 181 (1937): 4; Te Rangi Hiroa (P. H. Buck), *The Material Culture of the Cook Islands (Aitutaki)* (New Plymouth, NZ: Thomas Avery & Sons Ltd., 1927), 335-340; Raymond Firth, *We, the Tikopia: A Study in Polynesian Paganism and Conversion to Christianity* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1970).

[77] D.S. Davidson, "The Pacific and Circum-Pacific Appearances of the Dart-Game," 100.

[78] In some places, such as Australia and the Torres Strait, variations of *teka* were practiced in order to improve spear-throwing skills, while the Tahitian version, known as *te'a* or *aperea* was more of an archery sport and generally practiced on ceremonial occasions rather than as training for conflict. In terms of technique, overhand throws are generally more popular than underhand ones and some groups use a throwing cord or a throwing whip. For equipment, Davidson identifies three main types of *teka*, club-like ones, simple sticks, and others that are composites of different types of wood. Furthermore, Davidson posits that the use of darts with a hardwood head, or *ulutoa*, originated in Tonga based on various linguistic evidence. The most complete records of rules of the game can be found in Raymond Firth's study of Tikopia and Te Rangi Hiroa's study of the Cook Islands. Davidson, "The Pacific and Circum-Pacific Appearances of the Dart-Game," 101-105; Bengt Danielsson and Anne Lavondes, *Jeux et Sports Anciens.*.

[79] Hiroa, *The Material Culture of the Cook Islands (Aitutaki)*, 335-340.

[80] Davidson, "The Pacific and Circum-Pacific Appearances of the Dart-Game," 101-102.

teka has been used by scholars such as Davidson to link islands beyond the tri-partite geographical distinctions established by Dumont d'Urville in the early-nineteenth century.[81]

In the Hawaiian Islands, the closest variation of *teka* is pahe'e, which involves throwing a short javelin along the ground either for distance or to score points.[82] As was the case elsewhere, when practiced in the Hawaiian Islands, the sport was open to a range of participants from different levels of society, and brought large groups of people together. In fact, on a trip through Kiolaka'a to Wai'ōhinu, on the island of Hawai'i, British missionary William Ellis described the sport as "a favourite amusement with farmers and common people in general," and recognized the pastime as an important expression of culture since organized matches could attract large groups of people together from different regions of the island.[83] In some cases, the gatherings resulted in upwards of "seven or eight thousand chiefs and people, men and women, assembled to witness the sport, which…[was] often continued for hours together."[84] Not only does the prevalence of this sport throughout Oceania testify to a strong sporting history in the region, but this popularity illustrates a shared aspect of culture between different Pacific Islanders. The fact that exhibitions and contests of *teka* were part of large-scale social gatherings suggests individual

[81] D'Urville actually divides the Pacific into four geographic regions as he includes Malaysia in addition to Polynesia, Micronesia, and Melanesia. Jules Sébastian César Dumont d'Urville, "Sur les Iles Du Grand Ocean," *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* no. 105 (January 1832): 1-12.

[82] The pahe'e itself was about two to five feet long, and made of local 'ūlei or kauila wood along a pahe'e floor (tahua pahe'e) that was approximately fifty or sixty yards long. Davida Malo, *He Moolelo Hawaii*, translated by Emerson, 222.

[83] A similar sport known as maika or ulu maika, involved rolling a smooth stone for maximum distance or towards specific targets. This game is played on a floor or court similar to pahe'e, and is described by Ellis as being so popular that he has "known the men of whole districts engage in it at once" and has noticed people "playing several hours together, under the scorching rays of the vertical sun," despite the fact that he considers it to be "very laborious." In Ellis' estimation, Hawaiians were "more fond of this game than the [pahe'e]; and the inhabitants of a district, [would] not unfrequently challenge the people of the whole island, or the natives of one island those of all the others, to bring a man who shall try his skill with some favourite player of their own district or island." William Ellis, *A Narrative of an 1823 Tour of Hawai'i or Owhyhee: With Remarks on the History Traditions, Manners, Customs and Language of the Inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands* (1825; repr., Honolulu, HI: Mutual Publishing, 2004), 185-187.

[84] Ellis, *Narrative of an 1823 Tour of Hawai'i*, 187.

contests illustrate a shared cultural connection between peoples from different parts of an island or possibly even from different islands.

Similarly in Australia, the Aboriginal sport of *marngrook* has been practiced throughout much of present-day Victoria, South Australia, New South Wales, Queensland, and the Northern Territory.[85] *Marngrook* was not only played among one group of Aboriginal peoples, but also at larger gatherings featuring hundreds of people from around the region.[86] In the nineteenth century, Robert Brough-Smyth observed that the sport's common practice among a number of different groups in Victoria united them culturally and provided opportunities for social interaction among the spectators.[87] The popularity of *marngrook* among different Aborigine groups in Australia was partly fueled by the sport's function at large celebrations and gatherings as well as the fact that numerous players from different groups could participate. Other factors, including class restrictions, relationships with gambling, and religion also helped determine the popularity of a sport within a society and its ability to spread across cultures.

In terms of accessibility, not all sports in Oceania were open to everyone in a society. In the Hawaiian Islands for example, hōlua sledding, which features athletes sliding down hills using a narrow sled, was a marker of social status and was originally limited to certain groups.[88] As Lilikalā Kameʻeleihiwa notes with regard to a story recounted in the 1890s, the akua (god) Kamapuaʻa reveals his own high rank and status when he races the famous hōlua-sledding chief

[85] Judd, "Australian Rules Football," 221.
[86] Judd, "Australian Rules Football," 223-224. Poulter, *Sharing Heritage in Kulin Country*, 54.
[87] R. Brough-Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria with Notes Relating to the Habits of the Natives of other Parts of Australia and Tasmania*, volume 1 (London: John Ferres, 1878), 176
[88] William Ellis encountered hōlua sledding while on his tour of the Hawaiian Islands during the early nineteenth century and described the sled as anywhere between seven and eighteen feet long. Reverend John Waiamau noted that a variety of different leaves can be used to hold the sled together whether ti leaves, coconut leaves or the part of a banana tree right before the bundle of fruit. Ellis, *A Narrative of an 1823 Tour of Hawai'i or Owhyhee*, 375. J. Waiamau, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, December 23, 1865.

Kahawali.[89] In another account of hōlua sledding, Kahawali is in Puna on the island of Hawai‘i where he races the akua Pele.[90] Taken together, these instances of Kahawali racing show that not only is hōlua sledding associated with ali‘i, but also with akua, and skill in the sport not only gains a participant prestige, but can also reveal social status. Eventually, hōlua sledding became a popular sport among not just the chiefly class but other Hawaiians as well. It remained linked to social prestige however, and was one of several pastimes in which skillful displays could enhance the reputation of an athlete. By 1865, the sport had become among the most popular pastimes in the Hawaiian Islands according to an account by Reverend John Waiamau in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*. Reverend Waiamau listed hōlua sledding among several of what he describes "na paani kahiko" or the "ancient sports" of the Hawaiian Islands that earn skillful practitioners considerable respect.[91]

As more sports arrived in Oceania from Europe and North America, their popularity was also influenced by how they were connected to different social classes. In Australia for example, cricket became a more egalitarian sport than its counterpart in Britain by appealing to professionals, tradesmen, artisans, and laborers and its popularity was found to be "equally

[89] In this 1890s account, Kamapua‘a encounters Kahawali, a chief known for his hōlua prowess, and joins him in sliding down a hill. According to Kame‘eleihiwa, because hōlua sledding was generally reserved for ali‘i, Kamapua‘a not only reveals his own rank by showing his knowledge of the sport, but he further goes on to brag about how good he is at it by exaggerating his own style of sledding. Specifically, Kamapua‘a tells an onlooker that he is familiar with the sport, but asks if it is done on one's back, rather than head-first. Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa, "A Legendary Tradition of Kamapua‘a, the Hawaiian Pig-God" (master's thesis, University of Hawai‘i, 1982), 146. Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa, *He Mo‘olelo Ka‘ao o Kamapua‘a: An Annotated Translation of a Hawaiian Epic from* Ka Leo o ka Lāhui *June 22, 1891-July 23, 1891* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1996), 101.

[90] In one version of this story, the sledding chief Kahawali traveled from Kaua‘i to Puna on the island of Hawai‘i, where he would not share his papa hōlua (sled) with the akua, Pele, who was in the guise of an old woman. Pele procured a sled from Kahawali's brother and raced the chief several times. This competition ended with Pele revealing herself from her disguise and chasing Kahawali down the course and to the sea on a hōlua of lava. Roy Kāhulu Alameida, *Nā Mo‘olelo Hawai‘i o ka Wā Kahiko: Stories of Old Hawai‘i, A Literary Companion to the Hawaiians of Old* (Honolulu: The Bess Press, Inc., 1997), 101-103.

[91] In addition to hōlua, Reverend Waiamau mentions surfing, cliff-jumping, gambling, and boxing. In the case of mokomoko, or boxing, Emerson has noted in his translation of Malo, that some styles were characterized by fighters not using their fore-arms to block their opponent, which may have increased the frequency with which combatants suffered broken arms. Emerson in Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities*, note 1, 232. J. Waiamau, Helu 32, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* (December 23, 1865), 1-2.

strong in city and country."[92] The popularity of a sport across social classes did not necessarily translate throughout the region however, as over in New Zealand, cricket was much more limited in appeal despite being considered a "national" game of *Pākehā* settlers until the mid-1890s.[93] This is because unlike in Australia, cricket in New Zealand was played mostly by "prominent landowners and public figures," and tended to be dominated by the elite middle-class which was located in the cities rather than the countryside.[94] Greg Ryan has also noted that such middle-class *Pākehā* domination of the sport in a predominately urban setting resulted in cricket seeing far less Māori participation than other sports, notably rugby football.[95]

In addition to its spread across social classes, the popularity of many sports is also linked to gambling. Gambling serves as an avenue for further involvement in sports by non-athletes and its relationship to sports has been the subject of numerous analyses since the early nineteenth century. These analyses are often filled with moralizing about the corrupting influence that gambling has on culture. As David Schwartz has noted, "gambling became an integral element of the British imperial presence" and accompanied agents of empire wherever they traveled.[96] The gambling practices of Europeans and Americans often augmented themselves to fit into new cultural surroundings, occasionally incorporating indigenous gambling traditions. In Australia for example, cricket, thanks to its mixture of participants from across social classes, was closely associated with drinking and gambling due to its early connections to public houses and

[92] Richard Cashman, "Australia," *The Imperial Game: Cricket, Culture and Society*, edited by Brian Stoddart and Keith A. P. Sandiford (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), 37.
[93] This popularity would be eclipsed by rugby by the turn of the twentieth century, but the sport has continued to be played. Greg Ryan, "New Zealand," *The Imperial Game*, 93.
[94] Ryan, "New Zealand," *The Imperial Game*, 95-99.
[95] This certainly does not mean there were no Māori who played cricket prior to 1914. Two notable Māori cricketers include J. G. Taiaroa who worked as a solicitor, and J. H. W. Uru, who became a Member of Parliament. Ryan, "New Zealand," *The Imperial Game*, 110.
[96] David G. Schwartz, *Roll the Bones: The History of Gambling* (New York, NY: Gotham Books, 2006), 215.

publicans.[97] But cricket was not the only sport associated with gambling in Australia, as Australian settlers established a gambling culture that was distinct from the one in Britain by betting on cockfights, races, bearbaiting, horse racing, and boxing. Such gambling methods in the region were expanded with the migration of Chinese gold miners by the 1870s.[98]

Not all gambling traditions were introduced into the region by Europeans either, as illustrated in the Hawaiian Islands. According to Reverend Waiamau, writing in 1865, piliwaiwai, or gambling, was among the top five most popular pastimes in Hawai‘i, and the most popular activities for gambling were pūhenehene, no‘a, lua, he‘e nalu, and mokomoko.[99] Certainly many spectators found enjoyment in simply watching sporting events in which athletes competed for prestige, but active engagement through gambling provided even more entertainment, and the pastimes listed by Waiamau were by no means the only ones that fueled gambling in the Hawaiian Islands.[100] While not every sporting event may have been

[97] Richard Cashman, "Australia," *The Imperial Game*, 41. According to David Kirk, gambling remained the most common avenue through which working-class Australians participated in sports, due to the fewer organized opportunities to play than upper-class Australians, since government schools did not include sports as part of the curriculum until after World War II. David Kirk, "Gender Associations: Sport, State Schools and Australian Culture," in *Sport and Australasian Society: Past and Present,* J.A. Mangan and John Nauright, eds. (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2000), 54.

[98] Similarly, in New Zealand, stakes were laid on boxing and wrestling matches, horse races, regattas, cricket and eventually rugby though eventually opposed by reformers. Other gambling traditions were introduced into Oceania by American, French, Dutch, and German sailors and settlers. Schwartz, *Roll the Bones*, 228-236.

[99] Pūhenehene and no‘a are guessing games involving the hiding of a pebble, while lua is a style of fighting, and betting on it would be similar to how bets were placed on boxers. J. Waiamau, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, December 23, 1865.

[100] Prior to the preaching of Waiamau, William Ellis, much to his chagrin, noted the popularity of gambling on sports during his journey around the island of Hawai‘i, stating that while some people do indeed "play merely for pleasure…the greater part engage in it in hopes of gain." Ellis further expounds that "scarcely an individual resorts to their games but for the purpose of betting; and at these periods all the excitement, anxiety, exultation, and rage, which such pursuits invariably produce, are not only visible in every countenance, but fully acted out, and all malignant passions which gambling engenders are indulged without restraint." Among the materials placed as bets by women are "beads, scissors, clothbeating mallets, and every piece of cloth they possessed, except what they wore, on a throw of the uru or pahe." Farmers bet their "o-o, and other implements of husbandry; the builder of canoes, with his hatchets and adzes; and some poor man, with a knife, and the mat on which he slept," essentially everything they have. When their bet loses, Ellis says that he has "known them, frantic with rage, tear their hair from their heads on the spot." This means that sports rarely end without "quarrels, sometimes of a serious nature, ensuing between the adherents of different parties." Ellis, *A Narrative of an 1823 Tour of Hawai‘i*, 187-188.

accompanied by gambling, there were certainly plenty of people who enjoyed betting on matches and some sports had very strong associations with gambling which further increased the popularity of sports and helped them spread throughout society by extending participation beyond the athletes themselves.

Religion also influenced the popularity of sports within particular societies of Oceania as well as how they spread to different groups. As mentioned with regard to the variation of *teka* in the Society Islands, many sports were practiced as part of religious ceremonies. In the Hawaiian Islands, this link between religious ceremonies and sports is most evident during the Makahiki festival which marked a seasonal respite from the normal work and religious worship of the rest of the year. During this time, an akua loa (idol) of Lono circuited the island clockwise and as the procession passed through different districts, tribute was presented to the traveling konohiki (land division leader) and aliʻi (chiefs) as offerings.[101] Following the presentation of the tributes and offerings, the akua loa continued on its circuit and people from all over the island "assembled in great numbers to engage in boxing matches," as well as hōlua sledding, the sports of maika and paheʻe discussed above, foot races, and other games.[102] Through these sports, Hawaiians connected with each other through shared culture and were provided with a competitive outlet and in the case of boxing, or mokomoko matches, an institutionalized arena for physical violence during a time of peace.

The efforts of Christian missionaries in Oceania both opposed and promoted the spread of sports. Originally missionaries such as William Ellis opposed the practice of sports due to their associations with gambling.[103] Missionary concerns over the corrupting influence of

[101] Kameʻeleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, 29-31.
[102] Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities*, translated by Emerson, 148.
[103] Ellis cited the opening of schools as helping to diminish instances of these games being played and he hoped that eventually he would see a day when such sports would be disassociated from gambling and seen only as "the

gambling on society led to their opposition of many of the sports and activities that lent themselves to betting. For many of the religiously-minded, such gambling-centric sports and games were antithetical to their ides of progress and civilization. These attitudes were not limited to the Hawaiian Islands either, as Christian missionaries and European and American settlers in other parts of Oceania endeavored to change the lifestyles of islanders to fit a more European or American understanding of progress.[104]

Later nineteenth-century missionaries in the region however, had different views toward sports as a result of the rising muscular Christian movement. By emphasizing the importance of team sports in building religious character and instilling morals, muscular Christianity imbued evangelists with a strong focus on physical fitness and activity.[105] By the mid-nineteenth century, the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) also incorporated sports as a way to retain members and prominent instructors, such as Luther Gulick in Springfield, Massachusetts, began to conceptualize "fitness as an integration of mind, body and spirit," which in turn emphasized an ethos of muscular Christianity.[106] Consequently, sports played a central role not only in creating strong Christians, but in helping to cultivate a religious attitude that would serve the expansionist dreams of imperialist nations.[107] In the tropical climate of many Pacific Islands,

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healthful exercises of children" so that "the time and strength devoted to such purposes so useless, and often injurious, shall be employed in cultivating their fertile soil, augmenting their sources of individual and social happiness, and securing to themselves the enjoyment of the comforts and privileges of civilized and Christian life." Ellis, *A Narrative of an 1823 Tour of Hawai'i*, 188.

[104] For an example of the early missionary backgrounds and attitudes that they brought into the region see Neil Gunson, *Messengers of Grace: Evangelical Missionaries in the South Seas, 1797-1860* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1978).

[105] Watson, et. al., "The Development of Muscular Christianity," 1.

[106] An interesting aside in regard to Gulick is that he grew up in the Hawaiian Islands as part of a missionary family before going on to work in education in Springfield, where he tasked the young Canadian James Naismith with developing a winter sport to be played by both men and women indoors. In his attempts to design such a sport, Naismith developed basketball. Watson, et. al, "The Development of Muscular Christianity," 9.

[107] Such an attitude is evident in United States President Theodore Roosevelt's promotion of a "strenuous life" as being the solution to the threat having leisure time "spent in idleness." Theodore Roosevelt, *The Strenuous Life* (New York, NY: The Review of Reviews Company, 1904), 4.

such attitudes found numerous proponents as they were exported through the medium of newly-developing sports in order to counteract the fatigue brought on by warm weather. As the nineteenth century progressed, the impact of muscular Christianity led to an increased promotion of sports as part of religion, and missionaries, as transnational agents, contributed to the promotion and diffusion of sports throughout Oceania and beyond.[108]

The growth of different sports within societies and across cultures has been used to link different groups of people in Oceania. Scholars such as Hiroa and Davidson have traced aspects of cultural diffusion by looking at the practice of specific sports, while others have attempted to explain popularity of a single sport within particular groups or islands. As ensuing chapters will illustrate with regard to baseball in the Hawaiian Islands, the level of popularity of particular sports is related to other aspects of society including social class, religion, and gambling. Since the level of a sport's popularity varies throughout the region, considering such factors helps world historians explain the extent of a sport's popularity across and within different cultures.

Sports and Imperialism

A third main avenue through which sports can contribute to the study of world history results from their relationship to imperialism. As the driving force in the creation and maintenance of empires, the world-historical process of imperialism has been closely linked to the spread of sports by numerous scholars.[109] Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper have noted

[108] For further discussion of muscular Christianity and its impact in the United States, see Clifford Putney, *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America, 1880-1920* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001) and Patrick B. Miller, "The Manly, the Moral, and the Proficient: College Sport in the New South," in *The Sporting World of the Modern South*, ed. Patrick B. Miller (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 17-51.
[109] Examples include J. A. Mangan, ed. *The Cultural Bond: Sport, Empire, Society* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1992); Gerald R. Gems, *The Athletic Crusade: Sport and American Cultural Imperialism* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2006).

that empires throughout world history have had varying repertoires that were both flexible and constrained by geographic or historic context.[110] In enabling, promoting, and seeking to control the connections and interactions between different peoples, empires have contributed to the cultural diffusion and formation of identities discussed above, but in doing so, employed a number of different strategies that could either promote assimilation or maintain difference between those peoples. Indeed, as Prasenjit Duara has noted, the modern imperialism of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries featured both direct colonial rule that was often "built upon racial distinctions" as well as more informal methods of influence.[111]

Sports serve as one such tool of the imperial repertoire in many regions that could both accentuate racial or ethnic distinctions and bring together different populations depending on the context. In Oceania, imperialism was a very active process as new sports grew in popularity, with Great Britain, France, Spain, Germany, the United States, and Japan all operating as imperial powers within the region during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[112] With regard to the British, James Mangan has noted that sports themselves were seen as an important medium for integrating colonies into the empire.[113] Mangan builds this assertion off the observations of Theodore Cook who, at the height of the British empire, noted that it was through threads such as sports that "the best bonds of union [were] woven."[114] For those who promoted them in colonial regions, imperial sports represented "allegiance to a set of self-

[110] Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper, *Empires in World History: Power and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010), 2.
[111] Prasenjit Duara, "Modern Imperialism," *The Oxford Handbook of World History*, edited by Jerry H. Bentley (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2011), 380.
[112] A concise discussion of imperialism in Oceania can be found in Peter Hempenstall, "Imperial Maneouvres," in *Tides of History: The Pacific Islands in the Twentieth Century*, edited by K. R. Howe, Brij V. Lal and Robert C. Kiste (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 1994), 29-39.
[113] J. A. Mangan, "Britain's Chief Spiritual Export: Imperial Sport as Moral Metaphor, Political Symbol and Cultural Bond," in *The Cultural Bond*, 1-10.
[114] Mangan, "Britain's Chief Spiritual Export," 5.

assumed responsibilities arising out of a particular view of social control founded in turn on an unshakeable belief in racial supremacy and an associated moral superiority."[115]

As they traveled to and through Oceania, many agents of empire, both formal and informal, promoted newly-developing sports of the nineteenth century. In regard to British officials, Anthony Kirk-Greene has suggested that, while certainly not the sole criteria for colonial positions, participation and success in team sports and the ability to mix with people that accompanied such involvement became "conspicuous hallmarks of the good chap of Empire."[116] Such officials learned these sports while at school since many educators had altered the British school curriculum to include sports in order to prevent both vice and idleness among schoolboys.[117] Depending on which sport was practiced at their school, the particular sport promoted abroad by colonial administrators varied.

Cricket, for example, was hugely popular among public school graduates who entered colonial service because of its emphasis in the educational curriculum. This sport had been played in public schools since the 1830s, and by 1860, "it was an essential feature of their curriculum," since many influential educators of the time period "argued that organised sports could bring order and discipline to aggressive groups of rich, spoilt and rebellious brats."[118] The fact that many "clergymen served as headmasters in the emerging public schools" helped to link the sport to the notions of "muscular Christianity" which, in turn, would help produce a devout group of believers to spread throughout the empire.[119] In his study of the spread of cricket, Keith Sandiford notes the religious link to cricket, contending that the sport "was a ritual as well as

[115] Mangan, "Britain's Chief Spiritual Export," 6.
[116] Anthony Kirk-Greene, "Badge of Office: Sport and his Excellency in the British Empire," *The Cultural Bond: Sport, Empire, Society*, edited by J. A. Mangan (New York: Routledge, 1992), 195 -196.
[117] Watson, et. al., "The Development of Muscular Christianity," 7-8.
[118] Keith A. P. Sandiford, "England," in *The Imperial Game*, 14.
[119] Sandiford, "England," 21.

recreation, a spiritual as well as sporting experience" in the Victorian lifestyle and its importance is "difficult to underestimate" in the public-school educated students who would serve as colonial officials.[120]

Association football, or soccer, on the other hand was not nearly as popular among British colonial officials. According to Harold Perkin, the sport became far more popular outside of the British Empire than within it because of the working-class associations it had in Great Britain that made it "much less attractive to the public-school men who went out to build the empire."[121] Certainly this did not preclude the sport from being played, since soccer was played in New South Wales beginning in the 1870s and the rest of the Australian colonies by the early 1890s, but by and large it was not as prominent in the nineteenth-century British Empire as it was elsewhere in the world.[122] As Philip Mosely has pointed out, many of the early accounts of soccer in Australia lack any mention of passing, leading to speculation that the game itself would have looked more like rugby, which would have been more appealing to colonial administrators with their public-school educations. Instead, the development of the sport into more of a passing game is attributed to the arrival of Scottish immigrants to the Australian colonies during the 1880s, men who lacked the public-school background of many colonial authority figures.[123]

Due to the inclination of British colonial officials toward the sport of cricket over soccer, cricket was more actively promoted elsewhere in Oceania. Cricket generally found varying degrees of popularity in places where the British maintained official interests such as Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, Sāmoa, and to a lesser extent, the Hawaiian Islands. The variance in the

[120] Sandiford, "England," 9.
[121] Harold Perkin, "Teaching the Nations How to Play: Sport and Society in the British Empire and Commonwealth," in *The Cultural Bond*, 216-217.
[122] Philip Mosely, "The Game: Early Soccer Scenery in New South Wales," *Sporting Traditions* 8, no. 2 (May 1992): 135-151.
[123] Mosely, "The Game," 137-138.

sport's popularity stemmed from the different amounts of indigenous participation as a result of its implementation as part of the imperial repertoire. In some cases, such as in Australia and New Zealand, British administrators largely used cricket to separate the colonizers from the colonized and indigenous populations "were generally discouraged from playing cricket."[124]

In Australia, cricket had been played since its 1803 introduction to Sydney and, according to Richard Cashman, "club cricket was organised from the 1830s in New South Wales and other colonies, several decades before other [European] team sports were established."[125] For many cricketers during the nineteenth century, the sport helped to cement the imperial relationship between not only London and the colony, but among colonies themselves. Starting in 1861, there were regular tours of Australia by English cricketers in efforts to educate colonial players.[126] These efforts were returned by Australian cricketers who began travelling to England in 1878 and helped launch the empire-wide fame of Australian bowlers such as Fred Spofforth.[127] By playing for English and Australian tours, Spofforth and others served as symbols of imperial unity as an Anglo-Saxon community that was bound together through cricket. Additionally, tours of white Australian cricketers to Britain helped define "Australians" in the eyes of the British who had never had any prior experience with the colony.[128]

The sport's association with both British and Australian identity led to active discouragement of indigenous Australians playing cricket at high levels.[129] However, the sport was used at lower levels as a tool of civilization by religious reformers. In 1850, Matthew Hale,

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[124] Keith A. P. Sandiford, "Introduction," *The Imperial Game*, 5.
[125] Richard Cashman, "Australia," *The Imperial Game*, 34.
[126] During the first tours, English cricketers played against colonial sides consisting of twenty-two men rather than the standard eleven. Richard Cashman, "Symbols of Imperial Unity: Anglo-Australian Cricketers, 1877-1900," *The Cultural Bond*, 130.
[127] Cashman, "Symbols of Imperial Unity," 131.
[128] James Bradley, "Inventing Australians and Constructing Englishness: Cricket and the Creation of a National Consciousness, 1860-1914," *Sporting Traditions* 11, no. 2 (May 1995).
[129] Sandiford, "Introduction," *The Imperial Game*, 5.

an Anglican Archdeacon of Adelaide, established an Aboriginal village at Poonindie, outside of Port Lincoln.[130] Hale and his fellow missionaries encouraged cricket as a way of assimilating Aborigines who quickly picked up the sport and through the 1890s, routinely defeated sides from Adelaide and elsewhere. Such success proved cricket's ability to civilize indigenous populations to people such as Hale and demonstrated the assimilation of many Aborigines into the budding Australian nation. However, such cricketing success also inflamed racist attitudes among larger populations in places like Port Lincoln. These racist attitudes resulted in opposition to indigenous participation in the sport and contributed to twentieth-century understandings of Australian identity as a white identity with no place for Aboriginal peoples.[131]

Over in Fiji, cricket accompanied colonial administration and was introduced in 1874. Like elsewhere in the British Empire, the sport became quite popular among the colonial civil servants and various administrators used it as a civilizing agent. For these colonial officials, such as Philip Snow, cricket was identified with cultural superiority but unlike in Australia, they encouraged the local populations to participate.[132] Regardless of the motivations of colonial administrators for promoting the sport, Brian Stoddart notes that "indigenous Fijians took to the game with gusto and incorporated it into other traditions."[133] The authority of chiefs, ceremonial dress, and other social customs carried over onto the cricket pitch, and the sport itself was largely multi-racial.

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[130] According to John Daly, the South Australian government was very receptive to Hale's plan since it was in line with their charter to "protect and assimilate" the Aborigines. John Daly, "'Civilising' the Aborigines: Cricket at Poonindie, 1850 -1890," *Sporting Traditions* 10, no. 2 (May 1994): 60-61.
[131] Daly, "'Civilising' the Aborigines," 65.
[132] As both a colonial administrator and cricketer in Fiji, Philip Snow provides unique insight into the role of sport in colonialism in his 1949 book. Philip A. Snow, *Cricket in the Fiji Islands* (Christchurch: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1949).
[133] Brian Stoddart, "Other Cultures," *Imperial Game*, 137.

Like in Fiji, cricket in Sāmoa was originally a sport of colonial agents that was quickly adopted by Pacific Islanders. After being introduced to the islands by the crew of the *HMS Miranda* in the year 1881, cricket soon found considerable popularity and the British Consul in Apia, William Brown Churchward, noted that despite the sport's British origins, it quickly became a game of Samoan manufacture. Bats were generally three-sided and since there were no restrictions on players, it "provided the opportunity for feasting and parading," and participation in huge matches that included women and children.[134] In Sāmoa, cricket was actively used by Samoans to affect imperial actions. In 1885 for example, one group of islanders attempted to appeal to Queen Victoria for British intervention in the islands. According to Brian Stoddart, "a massive cricket match was to be played" during the time it took the mail ship to travel to England so that no other alternatives to the proposal could be carried out while the game was going on.[135] In this case, the sport was adapted to fit local customs and used to negotiate global imperial rivalries.

Cricket has also been linked to national identity in relation to imperialism and colonialism in the Trobriand Islands of western Oceania. Originally introduced by missionaries as an aspect of the cultural exchange and civilizing mission discussed above, cricket among Trobriand Islanders became adopted and adapted to fit local understandings. Those adaptations are the subject of a 1976 film, which emphasizes the difference between Trobriand and English styles of play. As a reconstruction of a previous match, the subject of the film was recreated by political activists such as John Kasaipwalova, who saw the opportunity to increase their own

[134] Stoddart notes that one of the three-sided cricket bats is on display at the Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia, but is misidentified as a war club. Stoddart, "Other Cultures," *Imperial Game*, 140.
[135] Stoddart, "Other Cultures," *Imperial Game*, 141.

popularity elsewhere in Papua New Guinea.[136] Consequently, while the film is nominally about the indigenization of the sport of cricket, the re-creation of the match and film itself are being used for nationalist purposes in opposition to colonialism.

Despite the incoherent approach applied by imperial agents toward indigenous participation in cricket, other sports illustrate clear ways in which the unequal power relationship of the imperial process played out through sports. At international tournaments such as the Olympic Games or the World Cup, imperial powers often had ambivalent attitudes toward athletes from their territories. James Nendel has noted that the discussions of Hawaiian swimmers Duke Kahanamoku, Samuel and Warren Kealoha, Harold Kruger, Pua Kealoha, and others at the Olympic Games of the 1910s and 1920s were characterized by this ambivalence. After his 1912 gold medal performance for example, Duke Kahanamoku was described by the American media most commonly as the "Honolulu champion" or the "Hawaiian champion swimmer," and only occasionally as "representative of the American team," not as an American athlete.[137] The British press had no such difficulty in identifying Kahanamoku as an example of the American empire by highlighting the colonized nature of the Hawaiian Islands and noting that Great Britain could most likely find "a South Sea Islander who could swim better than any European" if it drew upon all the resources of the empire.[138]

In addition to being used by colonial officials, sports were also connected to the force that maintained much of the unequal imperial power relationship: the military. The links between sports and the military helped to shape definitions of masculinity and obscure the violence of

[136] Annette B. Weiner. Review: Kildea, Gary. *Trobriand Cricket: An Ingenious Response to Colonialism*. VHS. Directed by Jerry W. Leach. Berkeley, CA: University of California Extension Media Center, 1975.
[137] James D. Nendel, "Duke Kahanamoku – Twentieth Century Hawaiian Monarch: The Values and Contributions to Hawaiian Culture from Hawai'i's Sporting Legend," (Ph.D. dissertation, Pennsylvania State University, 2006), 40.
[138] Nendel, "Duke Kahanamoku," 62.

colonial occupation by insinuating the military into the sporting practices of everyday life in the region. As the two most prominent militaries in the region during the wave of imperialism in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century, sports were actively promoted by military personnel of both Great Britain and the United States.

For the British, sports offered a way for military personnel to maintain a connection to home and a sense of normalcy while abroad. As Oliver Walton has noted with regard to the Royal Navy, sports helped render new and foreign landscapes in a more familiar fashion, fastened imperial bonds between colonies and the metropole, and created an arena for competitive outlet between different ship companies.[139] By engaging in sports while stationed abroad, military personnel were able to not only participate in a cultural tradition to help them overcome homesickness but forge relationships with people in the colonies.

The United States military also actively promoted sports in the region, especially following its imperial incursion during war with Spain in 1898. As Jeffery Charleston has noted, "a culture of sport was clearly becoming more thoroughly entrenched in US military society as the nineteenth century drew to a close" and as a result, military officers used sports to both train their men and ingratiate their companies into the local communities.[140] After the turn of the century and especially following World War I, the popularity of sports in the military helped reframe many sports that had previously been associated with lower-class diversions and leisure as patriotic pastimes. By contributing to this reframing of sports, the U.S. military, according to

[139] Tony Mason and Eliza Riedi, *Sport and the Military: The British Armed Forces 1880-1960* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 2.
[140] Jeffery A. Charleston, "Disorganized and Quasi-official but Eventually Successful: Sport in the US Military, 1814-1914," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 19, no. 4 (December 2002), 81.

Steven Pope, legitimized "America's sporting spirit…in the public mind, both at home and abroad."[141]

The relationship between sports and imperial military forces in Oceania also helped define specific masculinities that appealed to the notion of warriorhood for many islanders in the twentieth century, as discussed by Brendan Hokowhitu, Ty Tengan and Jesse Makani Markham, and Vicente Diaz. The resulting hegemonic definitions of masculinity in sports served to legitimize the imperial forces in the region by serving to further integrate the military into everyday activities through sports. Aside from influencing ideas about masculinity however, the military presence in Oceania has been directly linked to sports in a number of ways.

Examples can be seen in American-rules football which, just as it developed in the United States, so too was it introduced to places in the Pacific such as Hawai'i, Guam, and American Sāmoa as a result of military personnel. Although arguments over rules, regulations, and safety inhibited its quick spread, American football would eventually be endorsed by high-profile proponents such as Teddy Roosevelt, who emphasized its manly nature, and advocated its usefulness for training American citizens for the challenges they would face in the future.[142] In the Hawaiian Islands, football was introduced by military personnel from the USS *Charleston* in the 1890s and it was soon after being practiced by residents of Honolulu.[143] Elsewhere in Oceania, the sport was spread similarly as the United States expanded its imperial reach to Guam, the Philippines, and Sāmoa where military personnel took American-style football with them and promoted it upon their arrival as means of building relationships with local

[141] Steven W. Pope, "An Army of Athletes: Playing Fields, Battlefields, and the American Military Sporting Experience, 1890-1920," *The Journal of Military History* 59, no. 3 (July 1995), 436
[142] John. J. Miller, *The Big Scrum: How Teddy Roosevelt Saved Football* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers Inc., 2011).
[143] Vicente Diaz has noted that the *Charleston* would later be the U.S. warship responsible for seizing Apra Harbor in Guam at the outbreak of the Spanish-Cuban-American War. Vicente M. Diaz, "'Fight Boys till the Last,'" in *Pacific Diaspora*, 175.

communities. Consequently, the imperial spread of American-style football was closely linked to military endeavors.

But such militaristic connections are not limited to imperial expansion of the late nineteenth-century. Many links between sports and the military have been made manifest and explicit by specific locations that speak to an ongoing imperial presence by the United States in the Pacific Islands. One such site is Aloha Stadium in Honolulu, which carries with it overt associations with the United States military during the National Football League's Pro Bowl, as David Hanlon has pointed out.[144] The Pro Bowl has been conducted in Honolulu consistently since 1980 and the event itself, held on a site near the World War II Pacific Memorial, is filled with celebrations of Hawai'i's military population and the commoditization of Hawaiian culture for touristic export. Outside of Pro Bowl weekend, Aloha Stadium plays host to local high school football games as well as eight home football games for the University of Hawai'i Rainbow Warriors, which continue to connect sports to this site of United States militarization on a weekly basis.[145]

The military link to sports illustrates the imperial power dynamic in the region but as Michel Foucault points out, "wherever there is power, there is resistance."[146] Just as sports can be used as part of the imperial repertoire to assimilate or segregate colonized populations, so too can they be used to resist imperial endeavors. In one of his many considerations of cricket, Richard Cashman asks: "Where does the promoting hand of the colonial master stop and where

[144] David Hanlon, "Aloha for Their Violence: Locating the NFL's Pro Bowl within Contemporary Hawai'i and the Deeper Hawaiian Past," *South Pacific Studies* 31, no. 1 (2010): 1-16.
[145] Other stadiums in Oceania, such as Trafalgar Park in Nelson, New Zealand, Veteran's Memorial Stadium in Pago Pago, American Sāmoa, and War Memorial Stadium in Wailuku, Maui also draw attention to the military forces of colonial powers.
[146] This quote is drawn from Mao Zedong who, in 1972 negotiations with the United States, asserted that "wherever there is oppression, there is resistance." Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, volume 1, translated by Robert Hurley (New York, NY: Pantheon Books, 1978), 95.

does the adapting and assimilating indigenous tradition start? Is it merely adaptation and domestication or does it go beyond that to constituted resistance and even subversion?"[147] While other cultural aspects such as language or literature have been a primary focus of those looking to decolonize, Brian Stoddart notes that "perhaps the most neglected agency in the process of cultural transfer from Britain to her colonial empire is that which involved sports and games."[148] This overall lack of scholarly research is unfortunate since, as Vicente Diaz recalls, among his sweetest memories is knowing how it felt "to be a winner at the colonizer's own game," through his success on the football field.[149]

Such resistance was not limited to physical imperial efforts however, and scholars such as Brendan Hokowhitu have noted that sports have the capacity to disrupt and resist ethnic and racial stereotypes that have been imposed as a result of colonial dynamics. Hokowhitu asserts that the New Zealand Māori rugby team has constantly subverted the colonial hegemony through a variety of methods.[150] These methods include an "unorthodox" style of play that emphasized the aesthetic rather than utilitarian foundations of the sport.[151] The successes of Māori and other Pacific Islanders in New Zealand rugby have since contributed to an "ongoing unsettlement of a national imagination largely formulated in *Pākehā* terms."[152] Through not only participation but

[147] Richard Cashman, "Cricket and Colonialism: Colonial Hegemony and Indigenous Subversion," *Pleasure, Profit, Proselytism: British Culture and Sport at Home and Abroad, 1700-1914*, edited by J. A. Mangan (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 1988), 261.
[148] Stoddart, "Sport, Cultural Imperialism and Colonial Response," 651.
[149] Diaz, "'Fight Boys 'til the Last'," 194.
[150] Hokowhitu, "Māori Rugby and Subversion," 2315.
[151] Unfortunately, this emphasis on aesthetic rather than utility would be "re-inscribed to align with the archetype of Māori as fickle and lacking a work ethic. From 1910 to 2003 therefore, the subversive elements of Māori rugby have largely been domesticated to align with broader subjugating stereotypes of the Māori." Hokowhitu, "Māori Rugby and Subversion," 2325.
[152] Andrew Grainger, Mark Falcous and Joshua Newman, "Postcolonial Anxieties and the Browning of New Zealand Rugby," *The Contemporary Pacific* 24, no. 2 (2012): 271.

achieving success in a sport associated with national identity, Māori and other Pacific Islanders are able to resist images of national identity formed solely by colonists.

It is not only sports introduced during colonialism that have factored in decolonizing relationships or resistance to colonialism. In the face of imperial sports such as football, cricket and baseball, older sports continued to be practiced in places such as the Hawaiian Islands. Many of the ancient sports outlined by Reverend Waiamau were generally discouraged by missionaries who "frowned on 'idle and sensuous' practices."[153] Furthermore, later haole (white) residents of the islands, including many children of missionaries, styled themselves as protectors, preservers and practitioners of Hawaiian traditions.[154] In addition to several other avenues, sports have provided an arena through which to resist this paternalistic appropriation of Hawaiian traditions.

Isaiah Walker has identified surfing and particularly the poʻina nalu, or surf zone, as a site of resistance for Hawaiians against imperial encroachment "where Hawaiian men redefined themselves as active agents, embodying resistant masculinities."[155] This zone of resistance was also against encroachment upon the sport itself, as Walker notes that the Outrigger Canoe Club, founded by haole Alexander Hume Ford in 1908, "became a racially segregated organization for the elite," whose membership consisted of prominent annexationists Sanford Dole, Lorrin Thurston, and J.P. Cooke.[156] Against such colonial encroachment and racism, several Hawaiian surfers officially formed the Hui Nalu in 1911, "for the purpose of preserving heʻe nalu from an exploitative haole constituency."[157]

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[153] Walker, "Hui Nalu, Beachboys, and Surfing Boarder-lands of Hawaiʻi," 94.
[154] Houston Wood, *Displacing Natives: The Rhetorical Production of Hawai'i* (Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1999), 37-39 and 45-52.
[155] Walker, "Hui Nalu, Beachboys, and Surfing Boarder-lands of Hawaiʻi," 92.
[156] Walker, "Hui Nalu, Beachboys, and Surfing Boarder-lands of Hawaiʻi," 96.
[157] Ibid.

With the increase in media attention to sports in Oceania through the twentieth century, the opportunities for displays of resistance through sports have equally risen. Cathy Freeman brandished an Aboriginal flag following her victory in the 400 meters at the 1994 Commonwealth Games in Canada for which she was promptly criticized by the Australian government. Damien Hooper, an Aboriginal boxer at the London Olympic Games in 2012 was similarly reprimanded by the Australian Olympic Committee (as well as the International Olympic Committee) for wearing an Aboriginal flag shirt into the ring prior to a bout. These expressions of identity by both Freeman and Hooper challenged the hegemonic Australian identity on an international stage and were broadcast around the world as a result of the growth in sports media coverage. However, even though exhibitions of resistance are more readily broadcast around the world in today's global sporting arena, Brendan Hokowhitu points out that such displays are not always effective since "the very people being resisted against control the representations of that resistance… therefore, representations controlled by the mainstream media will never provide effective forms of resistance."[158] Despite the imperial power dynamics still evident in the media, sports remain an avenue through which colonized peoples can challenge the narratives and worldviews of occupying forces.

According to Prasenjit Duara, imperialism is among "the more enduring phenomenon in world history."[159] Although colonialism has been central to imperialism, its modern link to capitalism has expanded imperialism to include indirect and informal repertoires of power as discussed by Burbank and Cooper above. In formal instances of colonialism, sports have been actively deployed for both assimilation purposes and as methods of resisting imperial overtures,

[158] Hokowhitu, "Race Tactics," 32.
[159] Prasenjit Duara, "Modern Imperialism," in *The Oxford Handbook of World History*, edited by Jerry H. Bentley (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2011), 370.

often at the same time. This is part of the inherent "internal contradictions and the intransigence and resistance of the colonized" that characterize the cultural process of colonialism.[160] As cultural processes, both colonialism and imperialism offer avenues for considering the effects of interactions that reach beyond local, regional, and national boundaries. Like the ways in which sports can help world historians engage in the study of cultural diffusion and exchange, sports' links to imperialism also help historians address global issues in terms of their local effects. For consideration of baseball in the Hawaiian Islands, ensuing chapters draw on such links to examine the effects of imperialism on players, teams, and fans at a local level.

Sports and Migrations

A fourth way for sports to contribute to the study of world history results from their relationship with transnational migrations. This connection between sports and migrations can be viewed in two different, but related, ways. First, it is possible to examine how migrations, regardless of their motivation, have affected the popularity of sports across borders as new groups of people either bring with them a passion for particular sports from their homeland, which they then help promote in a new territory, or adopt the sporting practices of their new surroundings. Secondly, the connection between sports and migrations can be viewed in terms of the ways in which particular sports motivate and enable the opportunity for migrations that

[160] Nicholas Thomas, *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), 2.

may not have been accessible otherwise.[161] Both of these perspectives add human experiences to the study of world history.[162]

In Oceania, migrations of Pacific Islanders date back over 40,000 years as Papuan-speaking peoples began to settle in the region. This settlement was later followed by Austronesian-speaking peoples who populated the region and set out to colonize and settle new islands with planned, two-way voyages beginning over two thousand years ago.[163] A second wave of Pacific Islander migrations came about during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as islanders made use of the Euroamerican voyagers in the region to expand their own frontiers to include the Americas, Asia, Africa, and Europe.[164] This travel of Pacific Islanders gradually increased during the imperial era in the region and coincided with global migration trends between 1846 and 1940 as Adam McKeown has outlined.[165] Following the end of World War II however, Oceania experienced a third major wave of migrations as a result of new economic possibilities and advances in travel technologies.

The general value of migrations to the study of world history lies in the fact that, if they are approached from an interdisciplinary and transcultural perspective as Dirk Hoerder has noted, they "permit comprehensive analyses of structures, institutions, and discursive frames of

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[161] This view is often considered in conjunction with studies of sports and globalization. See, for example, Joseph Maguire, *Global Sport: Identities, Societies, Civilizations* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers Inc., 1999), 97-127.
[162] Joseph Maguire and Mark Falcous, *Sport and Migration: Borders, Boundaries and Crossings* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2010).
[163] Patrick Vinton Kirch, *On the Road of the Winds: An Archaeological History of the Pacific Islands before European Contact* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002); K. R. Howe, *Quest for Origins: Who First Discovered and Settled the Pacific Islands* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003).
[164] For a discussion of this second wave of migrations, readers should consult David Chappell's *Double Ghosts*, especially the first two chapters. David A. Chappell, *Double Ghosts: Oceanian Voyagers on Euroamerican Ships* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, Inc, 1997), 3-40.
[165] In a table outlining the movement of people during this time period, McKeown includes the South Pacific as part of a region (along with the Indian Ocean rim and Southeast Asia) that experienced a long-distance migration flow of between 48 and 52 million people, mostly from India and southern China. Adam McKeown, "Global Migration, 1846-1940," *Journal of World History* 15, no. 2 (June 2004), 156.

both the societies of origin and of arrival in particular local or regional variants."[166] Through sports, it is possible to examine migrations in a local, regional, national, and in some cases global context which not only inserts human experiences into the study of world history, but addresses the key components of migration history.[167] Because migrations are so related to the processes discussed thus far in this chapter, they share many of the relationships with sports that have been outlined above, but there are several particular aspects in these two views of the connections between sports and migrations that require emphasis.

One view of the relationship between migrations and sports, which looks at how migrations affected the popularity of sports, has been touched upon in the previous sections on cultural diffusion and imperialism. Studies that link sports to cultural diffusion and exchange in Oceania, such as the discussions of *teka* outlined above, use the sport to trace migrations and interactions between groups of people and identify shared culture. Similarly, many of the studies mentioned above examine the spread of sports as it relates to the migration and settlement of colonial administrators and imperial agents who actively promoted sports in many of the areas of Oceania to which they traveled. In addition to these types of studies, scholars have also considered how sports illustrate the ways in which migrations have shifted the demographics of a city, region, or nation.

[166] Hoerder includes examples of structures, institutions, and discursive frames such as "industrialization, urbanization, social stratification, gender roles and family economies, demographic characteristics, political situation and developments, educational institutions, religious or other belief systems, ethno-cultural composition, and traditions of short- and long-distance migrations." Dirk Hoerder, "Migrations," in *The Oxford Handbook of World History*, edited by Jerry H. Bentley (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2011), 269.

[167] This need for migration history to connect "the local to the regional, national and global perspectives" is promoted by Jan Lucassen, Leo Lucassen, and Patrick Manning, "Migration History: Multidisciplinary Approaches," in *Migration History in World History*, edited by Jan Lucassen, Leo Lucassen, and Patrick Manning (Boston, MA: Brill, 2010), 6.

An example of such a study is the work of Sean Mallon in a recent edited volume about Pacific Islanders in New Zealand.[168] The migration of Pacific Islanders to New Zealand in the twentieth century resulted in the formation of ethnic enclaves as particular groups of people settled in areas where they shared some identification with their neighbors, which often included family members who had migrated previously. As Mallon notes, within these enclaves, many groups formed sports clubs in addition to establishing cultural and religious affiliations. These sports clubs and the competitions between them then "provided opportunities for the expression of community identities and interaction between ethnic groups, as well as a most public space for tensions to surface between them."[169] In New Zealand consequently, there has been considerable Pacific Islander participation in sports such as rugby and netball.

In addition to Mallon, other scholars have noted the impact of migrations on New Zealand demographics through consideration of participation at elite levels of rugby. Andrew Grainger, for example, notes that rugby serves "to cast Pacific peoples as an ethnic other, or, most charitably, a (perpetually) 'hyphenated' New Zealander."[170] While the increased number of Pacific immigrants to New Zealand has increased their presence on the pitch, there remains a persistent "*Pākehā* cultural core which generates a 'coexistence of hostility and hospitality' that has been, and still is, fundamental to the construction of New Zealand's national identity."[171]

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[168] Sean Mallon, "Conspicuous Selections: Pacific Islanders in New Zealand Sport," in *Tangata o le Moana: New Zealand and the People of the Pacific*, edited by Sean Mallon, Kolokesa Māhina-Tuai, and Damon Salesa (Wellington, NZ: Te Papa Press, 2012), 285-304.
[169] Sean Mallon, "Conspicuous Selections," 288.
[170] Andrew Grainger, "Rugby, Pacific Peoples, and the Cultural Politics of National Identity in New Zealand," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 26, no. 16 (December 2009): 2337.
[171] For this idea of a "coexistence of hostility and hospitality," Grainger builds off Ali Behdad's *A Forgetful Nation* (2005). Grainger, "Rugby, Pacific Peoples," 2338.

Grainger further notes that the success of other Pacific peoples on the rugby pitch has been used by mostly *Pākehā* observers to ignore racism in favor of a myth of egalitarianism.[172]

Another view of sports and migrations connects the two via the elite levels of sports that enable and encourage transnational migration flows. Within these types of sports migrations there are short-term migrations that consist of sporting tours and longer term ones that feature athletes who make professional careers playing abroad and permanently settle in the diaspora. In Oceania and elsewhere in the world, these sporting migrations generally began in the late nineteenth century and increased with the rise of global sporting networks through the twentieth century.

Although they are only short-term movements, sporting tours actively moved athletes across regional and national borders for economic motives. Generally, these tours were financed by particular interests and regardless of whether or not they turned a profit or accomplished their financial goals, they all helped to create a sort of sporting cosmopolitanism that connected different communities with one another. For the athletes who participated in such tours, this cosmopolitanism created opportunities for future travel and economic gain by widening playing networks and enabling familiarity with new sports settings. At the same time, spectators were able to share a cultural link with other groups across possible ethnic, regional, or national boundaries.

Previous sections have touched on the relationships between sporting tours and national or imperial identities, but these tours also helped shape racial and ethnic understandings of different groups of people. Two such tours were by a group of Aboriginal cricket players who

[172] Even with efforts to emphasize a multicultural national identity, New Zealand, according to Grainger "still bears the traces of Eurocentric discourse, and of ambivalence towards immigrants," which is evinced on the All Blacks, as those who refer to Tana Umaga as "our" captain still refer to him as a Pacific Islander, rather than as a New Zealander. Grainger, "Rugby, Pacific Peoples," 2346.

traveled to England in 1868 and a group of Māori rugby players who toured through parts of Oceania and Great Britain in 1888. In both cases, sporting ability enabled Pacific Islanders to expand their own horizons and networks of travel beyond Oceania.

The Aboriginal tour was organized by Charles Lawrence who had intended to profit from an increased interest in the exotic subjects of an expanding empire.[173] The majority of players for the tour came from western Victoria and were led by their star Unaarrimin, or Johnny Mullagh as he was also known, since all of the Aboriginal players were nicknamed by Australian landlords or observers who refused to spell or pronounce their names.[174] While in England, the touring team played 47 matches over six months in 1868. Their record was 14-14-19 in front of generally large crowds who wanted to see the effect of an English sport on indigenous peoples from the colonies. When not playing cricket, several of the touring players spread some of their own sporting practices by demonstrating boomerang throwing and other Aboriginal practices to the audiences abroad. Charles Lawrence advertised the exoticism of these Aboriginal players and encouraged displays of Aboriginal culture, but none of the profits from the tour were shared with the players. Ashley Mallett has suggested that the tour itself offered a reprieve for many of the players from the racism they experienced at home, despite being financially exploited and subjected to prejudices abroad.[175] In this sense, Aboriginal cricket players were able to use the sport to not only expand their own personal understandings of the world, but do so in a way that challenged the discrimination they faced at home in Victoria.

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[173] Olly Ricketts, "Aboriginal Cricket: The First Australian Tour of England, 1868," *BBC News Magazine* (July 8, 2013) http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-23225434 [accessed July 11, 2013].
[174] Other prominent Aboriginal cricket players on the tour included Jungunjinanuke (Dick-a-Dick), Zellanach (Johnny Cuzens), Brimbunyah (Redcap), Bullchanach (Bullocky), and Murrumgunarriman (Twopenny). Ashley Mallett, *The Black Lords of Summer: The Story of the 1868 Aboriginal Tour of England and Beyond* (St. Lucia, QLD: University of Queensland Press, 2002), 76-79.
[175] Mallett, *Black Lords of Summer*, 6.

Like the Aboriginal cricket tour of 1868, the 1888 rugby tour by the New Zealand Native Football Representatives was originally organized to travel through New Zealand to Australia and Great Britain as a financial endeavor in addition to illustrating the civilizing effect of British colonialism.[176] The overall success of the Native team, which won 78 out of 107 matches with 23 losses and 6 draws, certainly spoke well of the state of the sport in New Zealand to the rest of the British empire.[177] Furthermore, this touring side, as Brendan Hokowhitu notes, consisted of twenty-two Māori men along with five *Pākehā*, and in winning over seventy percent of their matches, subverted the colonial narrative of Māori depopulation, by displaying physical health and vitality through sports.[178] Beyond challenging narratives of genocide and cultural loss, the tour itself was mired in arguments over professionalism and playing tactics. These issues were the result of the tensions that existed within the rugby football world at the time and, according to Greg Ryan, resulted in the Native team being scapegoated both at home and abroad by those who sought to pursue the authority of the amateur rugby unions.[179] For English and other audiences abroad, that meant associating Māori players and New Zealand rugby itself with the rough playing tactics, drinking, gambling, and other indiscretions that were emphasized by those seeking to discredit the tour.

Such sporting tours also contributed to understandings of masculinity. According to Patrick McDevitt, the tactics of a British cricket team sent to Australia in 1932-33 led to

[176] Greg Ryan, *Forerunners of the All Blacks: The 1888-89 New Zealand Native Football Team in Britain, Australia and New Zealand* (Christchurch, NZ: Canterbury University Press, 1993), 22.
[177] Ryan, *Forerunners of the All Blacks*, 141.
[178] The tour was very reluctantly supported by provincial rugby unions like Hawke's Bay, Otago, Canterbury, and Auckland since they were very wary of the challenge that a side made up of both Māori and *Pākehā* posed to the established racial binary of colonialism and further "a mixed team dominated by Māori was not a good look for a burgeoning colony because it indicated a failure of imperial ideology." Hokowhitu, "Māori Rugby and Subversion," 2317-2318.
[179] Ryan, *Forerunners of the All Blacks*, 124-125.

controversy throughout the cricketing world and foregrounded a crisis of masculinity.[180] The Australians accused the English team of playing unethically unsportsmanlike, while the English labeled the Australians as lacking the courage to stand at bat, "squealing effeminately and behaving like petulant schoolboys and poor losers."[181] These arguments were fought on the cricket pitch and through newspapers and telegraphs across national borders and throughout the empire as the public was kept appraised of all opinions in the press, which included C. L. R. James as a cricket correspondent for the Manchester *Guardian*.

Aside from mass migrations, some individual Pacific Islanders have used sports as an avenue which enables them to travel. In discussing the relationship between American football and Samoan transnationalism, Lisa Uperesa finds that, for many Samoans, the sport "has become another way to pursue both individual accomplishment and bring prestige to one's extended family."[182] Beyond that however, Uperesa notes that playing American football is also "a response to limited structures of opportunity in both Sāmoa and the United States."[183] In many cases, football serves as a pathway for economic gain and contributes to increased sport-related movement around the Pacific.

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[180] The specific tactic of "Bodyline," or "fast leg-theory," consisted of the bowler hurling balls on a high bounce toward the head of the batsman with fielders closely surrounding the wicket. This "highly dangerous and ethically dubious practice…left the batsman no sporting chance of success and a great likelihood of sustaining an injury." This tactic was specifically employed to counteract the skill of Donald Bradman, an Australian cricketer who had led his team to victory while touring England in 1930. Patrick McDevitt, *May the Best Man Win: Sport, Masculinity, and Nationalism in Great Britain and the Empire, 1880-1935* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 81-82.

[181] This became an empire-wide controversy as teams from the Caribbean adopted the practice and refused to abandon it when the English did. This added to racialized understandings of manhood, as white Australians and English players used their abandonment of the tactic as proof of their superior manhood in relation to the teams from the West Indies and India. McDevitt, *May the Best Man Win*, 88.

[182] What football has come to provide is "a measure of freedom to choose whether and under what circumstances one might fulfill expectations of *tautua* or involve oneself in the *fa'amatai*." Fa'anofo Lisaclaire Uperesa, "Fabled Futures: Development, Gridiron Football and Transnational Movements in American Samoa" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 2010), 168, 192.

[183] Fa'anofo Lisaclaire Uperesa, "Fabled Futures," *The Contemporary Pacific* 26, no. 2 (Fall 2014): 284.

Such mobility through sports "builds on earlier migration trends and patterns," but is unique in the sense that it is accompanied "by media visibility unmatched by other occupations Samoans have entered, and it offers rewards that far exceed those associated with other migration routes, including a direct link to upward mobility via college degrees for particular sports in the American system."[184] This point is also emphasized with regard to Samoan football players in the United States by Jesse Makani Markham who similarly outlines the sport as an avenue contributing to an "evolving geography" of Samoans by both enabling "Samoans to be increasingly accepted into mainstream American society," and affording some "student-athletes the opportunity of a formal education beyond high school."[185]

While sports have increased in popularity as avenues for economic opportunity for many Pacific Islanders, they are not always a completely empowering avenue. For many Samoans and other Pacific Islanders in American football, Vicente Diaz has noted that the sport has been used by others in attempts to further commoditize or fetishize Pacific Islanders and Polynesians in particular.[186] As mentioned with regard to the relationship between sports and identity, the ability for sports to be simultaneously used as both an avenue of empowerment and subjugation complicates the way they can be viewed within particular societies.

The growth of global rugby, especially following the 1995 professionalization of rugby union, has opened even more avenues for migration for Pacific Islander athletes. Peter Horton has traced several of these migration paths between Pacific Islands and "core rugby-playing countries in the northern hemisphere" such as England, Wales, and France, as well as other

[184] Lisa Uperesa, "Fabled Futures," 285.
[185] Jesse Wind Markham, "An Evolving Geography of Sport: The Recruitment and Mobility of Samoan College Football Players, 1998-2006" (master's thesis, University of Hawai'i, 2008), 16.
[186] Diaz, "Tackling Pacific Hegemonic Formations on the American Gridiron," 102.

countries that include the United States and Japan.[187] Not only does the global growth of rugby enable athletes to expand a diaspora by playing abroad, it also enables athletes born in the diaspora to connect with the lands of their heritage as can be seen on the rosters of the 2011 Rugby World Cup where "a host of players that represented the three Pacific Island nations of Fiji, Samoa and Tonga…were born in either Australia or New Zealand."[188] In this sense, rugby not only connects people in diasporas to their homelands as a shared cultural practice, it actively serves as a pathway of connection for the many athletes who either play abroad in countries that have large Pacific Islander migrant populations, or are born in a diaspora and choose to represent their country of heritage in international competition.

Prior to 1995 and the professionalization of rugby union however, the sport "had long been a significant facilitating element feature for social advancement of players worldwide. Patronage and the provision of jobs for potential players had long been standard practice in rugby."[189] As with American football as mentioned by Uperesa and Markham, rugby also featured educational scholarships which not only encouraged further migrations for sporting purposes, but enabled educational opportunities for athletes living in the diaspora already. Such opportunities through sports not only contributed further to individual sporting migrations, but also helped to increase the popularity of sports among diaspora communities that had already migrated.

Overall, migrations serve as an important link between sports and the study of world history since they "permit comprehensive analyses of the structures, institutions, and discursive

[187] Peter Horton, "Pacific Islanders in Global Rugby: The Changing Currents of Global Sports Migration," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 29, no. 17 (November 2012): 2389-2390.
[188] Horton, "Pacific Islanders in Global Rugby," 2390.
[189] Horton, "Pacific Islanders in Global Rugby," 2394.

frames of both the societies of origin and of arrival in particular local or regional variants."[190] The movements of peoples across borders, whether temporary or long-term, contribute to the spread in popularity of different sports which is also tied to the processes of cultural diffusion and imperialism. Some sports, such as cricket, rugby, or American football also serve as avenues for individual migrations as sporting tours and professional playing opportunities enable travel across national and regional borders. The many different associations that even the same sport can have among different peoples are brought together through migrations and interactions across borders and help sports take on more transnational characteristics. This is especially true of baseball in the Hawaiian Islands, which not only enabled travel throughout transpacific networks, but was understood in multiple ways by groups of people who migrated to and through the islands.

Conclusion

It is clear that transnational influences have affected a wide variety of different sports within Oceania. Studies of sports in Oceania have not only focused on their connection to identity formation, but also used them to explore cultural diffusion and exchange, as well as the impact of imperialism and migrations. Consequently, sports in Oceania represent a rich field for practicing world history. As Fahad Mustafa has noted with regard to cricket, there is a lack of literature regarding a global history of the sport, especially when compared to the literature that focuses on "individual cricketing nations."[191] This is frequently true of other sports, as

[190] Hoerder, "Migrations," 269.
[191] Fahad Mustafa, "Cricket and Globalization: Global Processes and the Imperial Game," *Journal of Global History* 8 no. 2 (July 2013): 321.

nationally-focused studies tend to dwarf the amount of scholarship devoted to global histories of sports. Because sports in Oceania are very much connected to transregional influences, the field of sports scholarship in the region represents a fruitful avenue for pursuing world history.

What Mustafa finds as the "unifying element in the successful diffusion…of cricket was the ability of the game to serve as a signifier of identity," and in theory, "this has implications that suggest that globalizing processes can coexist with nationalizing ones, sometimes even abetting them."[192] But sports as signifiers of identity do not become such in a vacuum, instead those identities are shaped by processes such as imperialism and migrations. If football, cricket, surfing, or rugby has become a signifier of identity, it is because the sport has been influenced by the spread of culture through migrations and imperialism which operate on levels not necessarily bound by national borders.

Of course, when looking at global processes through the study of sports, it is vital to not lose sight of the fact that sports themselves are games, and that as games, they can provide intrinsic pleasure as well as extrinsic advantages as Allen Guttmann has pointed out in his definition.[193] Within the same game of a particular sport, people can have very different reasons for playing. A *Pākehā* rugby player in the nineteenth century may be on the pitch to uphold a racialized understanding of colonial order while at the very same time, a Māori player may be trying to subvert and resist that understanding. The meaning of specific sports is constantly in flux depending on the place, people, and time period.

This chapter not only illustrates the ways in which many sports are intertwined with world-historical processes in Oceania, but also provides a regional context for the development of baseball in the Hawaiian Islands. The next three chapters look specifically at how baseball

[192] Fahad Mustafa, "Cricket and Globalization," 339.
[193] Guttmann, *Sports: The First Five Millennia*, 1.

developed as a transnational sport in the Hawaiian Islands due to the ways in which it is intertwined with the processes of identity formation, cultural diffusion and exchange, imperialism, and migrations that characterize sports elsewhere in the region. However, in connecting sports to these world-historical processes, it is vital to remember that, as the German anthropologist Ommo Grupe concludes in *Vom Sinn des Sports,* "a sport means whatever the participants, embedded in their cultures, say it means."[194] The relationship to processes of identity formation, cultural diffusion, imperialism, and migrations may help scholars examine sports as part of the study of world history, but the sports themselves are personal experiences that can mean different things to different peoples.

[194] Qtd. in Guttmann, *Sports*, 4.

CHAPTER 2
THE DEVELOPMENT OF BASEBALL IN THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS (1840-1890)

As with many other sports in Oceania, the development of baseball in the Hawaiian Islands began within an increasingly-connected, globalizing world during the nineteenth century. In considering how the sport spread to and through the Hawaiian Islands, its role in helping to shape understandings of gender, and its link to larger imperial forces and international migrations, this chapter situates baseball in a world-historical context and shows the ways in which baseball can be used as a lens to analyze transnational forces operating on and within the Hawaiian Islands. These world historical themes are considered in conjunction with one another and how their influences contribute to baseball's development in the Hawaiian Islands over a period of fifty years.

To cover this time period, the following discussion is separated into three chronological parts. The first part focuses on the introduction of baseball to the Hawaiian Islands and, specifically, unpacks the different stories surrounding that introduction. In general, most accounts discussing the origins of baseball in the Hawaiian Islands do so through a lens of American cultural imperialism in the sense that they attribute the growth of sport to agents of the United States as part of a campaign of Americanizing the islands. By analyzing the origin stories surrounding the sport in the islands, this section identifies how considerations of baseball that do not overtly tie the sport to the cultural expansion of the United States still frame the sport and the islands within narratives of Americanization. In addition to emphasizing the ways in which these origin stories have furthered narratives of American cultural diffusion, this section also identifies other transnational forces operating within the islands to illustrate the range of

influences on the early development of baseball. In doing so, this section helps place the origins of baseball in the Hawaiian Islands in a world historical context as a transnational sport.

The second part of this chapter then shifts focus to the era of organized ball clubs in Honolulu and around the islands, which began in 1867. Over the ensuing decades, the players of these organized clubs regularly competed in games amongst themselves and against sailors from visiting ships. Such games occurred amid adaptation to frequent rule changes and a challenge to baseball's popularity in the rising sport of cricket. Together, the development of officially organized clubs and frequent games played under an up-to-date set of rules helped further the diffusion of baseball as a "modern" sport within the Hawaiian Islands. Consequently, this section looks at understandings of modernity regarding the time period between 1867 and 1887 and offers several examples of how baseball contributed to and problematized those understandings. As part of this consideration of modernity, this section focuses on how understandings of masculinity contributed not only to the development of baseball, but its status as a modern sport.

The final part of this chapter then looks at two key instances where baseball and politics intersect during the late 1880s. In the first instance, Albert Spalding and two teams of American baseball players, who would later be feted by Mark Twain and others as described in the introduction, are prevented from putting on an exhibition in Honolulu during their world tour. The reasons for such a restriction are found in the precarious political environment that saw King Kalākaua stripped of much of his political power by the Bayonet Constitution of 1887. This precarious political environment would be further exacerbated during the second instance, when a political rebellion led by Robert Wilcox interrupted the baseball season of 1889. In analyzing both of these events, this section highlights the interconnected nature of the social and political

realms of the Hawaiian Islands. Although many different people were involved in the baseball community, that was not their only public involvement and many ballplayers also played important roles in the political, economic, or religious arenas of the islands. In considering these two instances of baseball's connection to politics and vice versa, this section also sets the stage for Chapter Three which looks primarily at how political relationships reflect and complicate social relationships established on the baseball diamond. Taken together, these three sections provide a fifty-year overview of the development of baseball that illustrates the ways in which world-historical processes affect an aspect of everyday life in the Hawaiian Islands.

Origin Stories and Americanization Narratives

The origins of baseball in the Hawaiian Islands, like the origins of the sport in the United States, are unclear. As with most instances of cultural diffusion and exchange, the most likely explanation for how the sport arrived in the islands and developed in popularity involves a multitude of influences by people and organizations who had experienced the sport abroad and sought to replicate it within the Hawaiian Islands. From there, any number of active participants or more periphery spectators most likely helped the sport spread between towns and islands. But such an ambiguous explanation does not satisfy the desire for a firm and clearly defined origin of baseball in the Hawaiian Islands, nor does it fit overarching narratives of Americanization that have dominated the historiography of the islands.

As Stephen Jay Gould has noted with regard to baseball's origins in North America, people are uncomfortable with the idea that the sport has evolved over time and instead tend to

look for specific individuals on whom to assign the label of founder.[1] Gould points out that despite stories to the contrary, "baseball evolved from a plethora of previous stick-and-ball games. It has no true Cooperstown and no Doubleday. Yet we seem to prefer the alternative model of origin by a moment of creation – for then we can have heroes and sacred places."[2] By providing sacred spaces and helping to form heroes, origin stories allow for celebrations, commemorations, and the continuation of various narratives that credit specific groups. A critical analysis of the origin stories surrounding baseball in the islands reveals not only why certain figures and places are being celebrated, but also what and who are being forgotten and ignored.

Baseball historian John Thorn has applied a similar analysis with regard to the two nineteenth-century New Yorkers who are most associated with the creation of baseball in the United States: Abner Doubleday and Alexander Cartwright. According to Thorn, "what both men share is that their hard-won fame was hijacked after their deaths by unprincipled advocates with ulterior motives, and as a result each was credited with something he did not do…invent baseball."[3] Thorn goes on to note that each figure is so surrounded with conjecture and myth that in order to "separate the man from the myth, one must accept at face value none of the claims made for him by those scholars who, in debunking Doubleday, have elevated Cartwright beyond the demonstrable record of his accomplishment."[4] But such embellishment and mythologizing reveal the larger influences at work that coincide with whom is elevated at particular times.

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[1] Stephen Jay Gould, "The Creation Myths of Cooperstown, Or Why the Cardiff Giants are an Unbeatable and Appropriately Named Team," in *Bully for the Brontosaurus: Reflections in Natural History* (New York, NY: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1992), 42-58.
[2] Stephen Jay Gould, "The Creation Myths of Cooperstown," 48.
[3] John Thorn, "Abner Cartwright," *NINE: A Journal of Baseball History and Culture* 18, no. 1 (Fall 2009): 125.
[4] Thorn, "Abner Cartwright," 128.

Similar to the efforts of Gould and Thorn with regard to Cooperstown and Doubleday, this section considers the origin stories for baseball in Hawai‘i and looks at how each story furthers narratives of Americanization in the Hawaiian Islands. Here, the term Americanization refers to an ongoing process of integration and assimilation into the United States of America which contributes to the "inevitability of colonialism" that characterizes many histories of the Hawaiian Islands.[5] After untangling the ways in which these origin stories contribute to Americanization within the historiography of the islands, this section then reframes the origins of baseball in the islands in a world-historical context that emphasizes the process of cultural diffusion and exchange. With regard to baseball in the Hawaiian Islands, two individuals and one larger institution have generally been linked with the sport's introduction to the islands: Alexander J. Cartwright, Jr., William R. Castle, and Punahou School.[6] With each story, the time frame for the sport's origins in the Hawaiian Islands fits between 1840 and 1866.

Of the two men listed above, Alexander Cartwright is the one most commonly associated with bringing baseball to the Hawaiian Islands. To briefly sketch his background prior to his time in Honolulu, Cartwright was born in 1820 in New York, where he grew up to work as a bank clerk and fireman. In the 1840s, Cartwright was a member of the Knickerbocker Base Ball Club that came to be linked to the origins of the sport by recording their rules for the game. According to several accounts, including official ones in the National Baseball Hall of Fame, the

[5] Osorio, "Living in Archives and Dreams: The Histories of Kuykendall and Daws," 192.
[6] Frank Ardolino also notes that James H. Black is "the person usually credited with the introduction of the Massachusetts form of early baseball," however Ardolino cautions that "there is no real proof to validate this theory of origin." It is unclear who Ardolino is citing regarding such attributions to Black, as the Civil War veteran arrived in the islands in the 1860s and played shortstop for the Pioneer Base Ball Club in Honolulu in 1867, but had no previously recorded association with the sport in the islands. Frank Ardolino, "Missionaries, Cartwright and Spalding," 28-29.

Knickerbockers were the first organized club and played the first organized, recognizable game of baseball in the country in 1845 at the Elysian Fields of Hoboken, New Jersey.[7]

Cartwright has been remembered as a central figure regarding the organization of the club, as well as pivotal in making decisions about how many men would play per side, how many outs and how many innings per game, as well as determining the concept of foul territory. In 1849, Cartwright left New York for California in search of gold, but upon arriving in San Francisco, decided to continue his journey west to the Hawaiian Kingdom, where he arrived later that year. For the next forty years, Cartwright would become prominently involved in Honolulu society, practicing law, working in real estate, organizing the fire department, helping to found the library, and following a number of other pursuits in the growing city.[8] It is his involvement in baseball however, for which he is popularly honored by those who visit his gravesite in Nu‘uanu Valley on O‘ahu, where local enthusiasts and visiting baseball fans continue to leave baseballs in his memory and annually gather to celebrate his contributions to the sport.

Described by one twentieth-century biographer as baseball’s version of Johnny Appleseed, Alexander Cartwright was inducted into the National Baseball Hall of Fame with its third-ever class in 1938.[9] His commemorative plaque in the Hall of Fame, which was reproduced and prominently displayed at Honolulu’s city hall for much of the twentieth century, calls Cartwright the “Father of Modern Base Ball,” who “set the bases 90 feet apart, established 9 innings as game and 9 players as team, organized the Knickerbockers Baseball Club of N.Y. In 1845, carried baseball to Pacific Coast and Hawai‘i in pioneer days.”[10] Backed by the authority

[7] For two of the most thoroughly researched biographies of Cartwright, readers should consult Harold Peterson, *The Man Who Invented Baseball* (New York, NY: Charles Scribner and Sons, 1973) and Monica Nucciarone, *Alexander Cartwright: The Life Behind the Baseball Legend* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2009).
[8] Nucciarone, *Alexander Cartwright*, 55-72.
[9] Peterson, *The Man Who Invented Baseball*, 103.
[10] Wall Plaque, *Hall of Fame Plaque Gallery* National Baseball Hall of Fame, Cooperstown, NY.

of baseball's Hall of Fame, such accomplishments have been imprinted on popular, as well as many scholarly, understandings regarding Cartwright's role not only in the development of baseball in the United States, but also in the Hawaiian Islands.

Earlier twentieth-century research by the Reverend Chinpei Gotō and Curtis Lyons, as well as more recent studies by Joel Franks, Jay Martin, and Sayuri Guthrie-Shimizu, have reproduced Cartwright's involvement in the introduction of baseball to the Hawaiian Islands along the lines of the Hall of Fame, with Franks proclaiming that Cartwright "proved crucial in transplanting baseball to Hawaiian soil."[11] Other popular claims include: the suggestion that he laid out the first baseball diamond in the islands on the plains of Makiki; that he brought with him the very ball that was used on the Elysian Fields in 1845; that he taught the game to many island youths; and that he umpired numerous games around Honolulu, though he did not play.[12] These stories have reached popular audiences through scholars and newspaper articles and have been legitimized by official recognition in the form of elaborate celebrations and the display of plaques not only at the Hall of Fame and Honolulu's city hall, but also at Francis Wong Stadium in Hilo and at Cartwright's gravesite in Oʻahu Cemetery. One such commemoration came in 1923, when Sanford Dole, the elderly former President of the Republic of Hawaiʻi, and then-Territorial Governor Wallace Farrington accompanied a visiting baseball team from the United States to the grave of Cartwright, who *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* called "ka makuakane o ke kinipopo ma Hawaii nei," or "the father of baseball in Hawaiʻi."[13]

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[11] This opinion of Cartwright as a pioneer in founding baseball in Hawaiʻi is embossed on Cartwright's plaque in the National Baseball Hall of Fame. Joel S. Franks, *Asian Pacific Americans and Baseball*, 22.

[12] The story of Cartwright measuring out the first baseball field is related by S.F. Furukawa in "Originator of Organized Baseball," *Paradise of the Pacific* (May 1947): 24. The account of his letter regarding the original ball from New Jersey has been recounted in numerous places, including Bailey S. Marshall, "Baseball in Paradise," *Paradise of the Pacific* (June 1939), 22. All of these claims are accepted without reservation by Jay Martin, *Live All you Can: Alexander Joy Cartwright and the Invention of Modern Baseball* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2009), 63.

[13] "Nuhou Kuloko," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, January 25, 1923.

Despite such commonly and popularly accepted stories about Cartwright's role in spreading the sport to and through Hawai'i, recent studies by Frank Ardolino and Monica Nucciarone have suggested that evidence of such involvement with baseball in the islands is minimal and the exaggeration of incomplete sources has contributed to persistent mythmaking around Cartwright.[14] Ardolino admits that "it is likely that Cartwright did promote baseball" in the islands, but that sources "reveal only that he retained his passing interest in the game and passed that enthusiasm on to his sons."[15] To Nucciarone, the "lack of evidence doesn't mean Cartwright never played baseball in Hawaii, but it does seem to confirm a few things: Cartwright was not a prominent person in the Honolulu baseball scene; he was not declared or documented as an originator of baseball in Hawaii while he was alive; and he was not self-consciously pursuing recognition of his baseball patrimony."[16] While Nucciarone is correct that there is no evidence of Cartwright actively pursuing recognition for his prior role in baseball's development, the people of Honolulu were at least casually aware of his involvement with the Knickerbockers. An 1879 article in the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* references Cartwright, who was a prominent member of Honolulu society at that time, and goes on to cite a story from the New York *Clipper* that notes in "the early part of 1845, Alex. J. Cartwright, who had become an enthusiast in the game, proposed to form a regular organization…thus it occurred that a party of gentleman…organized the Knickerbocker, which was the nucleus of the distinctive American game of baseball, so popular now in all parts of the United States, and the original organization from which the succeeding clubs derived their rules of playing."[17] Nucciarone is correct that

[14] Ardolino, "Missionaries, Cartwright and Spalding," 30-31; Nucciarone, *Alexander Cartwright*, 195.
[15] Ardolino, "Missionaries, Cartwright and Spalding," 30.
[16] Nucciarone, *Alexander Cartwright*, 207.
[17] "A Reminiscence," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, May 3, 1879.

there is little evidence of Cartwright influencing the sport in Honolulu, but his involvement in the sport was certainly known locally during his lifetime.

As for William Castle, his claim to bringing baseball to the Hawaiian Islands is a largely self-fashioned one. Born in 1849, William Richards Castle was the son of Samuel Northrup Castle who arrived in the Hawaiian Islands as part of the eighth company of missionaries from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM). Though not a missionary himself, Samuel Castle helped manage the finances of the mission before resigning in 1851 to start the business firm Castle and Cooke with Amos Star Cooke. This situated William Castle as a local-born member of a haole (white) class that prominently involved itself in the economic and political life of the islands. In the 1880s, he helped found the Hawaiian League which was instrumental not only in limiting the power of the monarchy in 1887, but advocating for annexation of the islands by the United States thereafter.[18]

At two separate points, Castle published his own account of introducing the sport to the islands. The first claim comes in March of 1924, as Castle wrote in the *Friend*, a missionary publication, that he learned the game while attending Oberlin College during the 1860s, and taught it to the students at Punahou School upon his return in 1866.[19] This claim would be repeated in a later memoir, published just after Hawai‘i was declared the fiftieth state.[20] According to Castle, the only games in town when he returned from college in Ohio were ‘two-o-cat’ and ‘three-o-cat’, the same bat and ball games that were being played when he left. While it is unclear exactly what these games consisted of in the Hawaiian Islands, their American

[18] Ron Williams, Jr., “‘Ike Mōakaaka, Seeing a Path Forward: Historiography in Hawai‘i,” *Hūlili: Multidisciplinary Research on Hawaiian Well-Being* 7 (2011): 76.
[19] William R. Castle, “The Introduction of Baseball,” *The Friend* (March 1924): 70.
[20] W.R. Castle, *Reminiscences of William Richards Castle* (Honolulu, HI: Advertiser Publishing, 1960), 51.

counterparts were baseball-like games that featured two and three bases respectively.[21] In Castle's opinion, the sport of baseball "would add greatly to the sports of the community," and consequently, he took it upon himself to teach the sport to the students of Punahou School, a group from whom he organized a baseball club the following fall term.[22]

In linking the origins of baseball in the islands to these two specific individuals, the stories centered on Cartwright and Castle perpetuate and enhance larger narratives of Americanization. As baseball became firmly entrenched as the national pastime of the United States during the twentieth century, government officials, business owners, and others sought to strengthen the position of the Territory of Hawai'i within the United States by using American images and ideas. Although the islands had been under United States rule since 1898, campaigns to Americanize various ethnic populations of Hawai'i increased in fervor during the 1920s and 1930s, as Eileen Tamura has noted.[23] These Americanization campaigns coincided with the first publication of Castle's account, as well as the efforts by Cartwright's grandson Bruce Cartwright, Jr. to link his grandfather to the founding of the game in both New York and Honolulu.[24]

Bruce Cartwright's compatriot in these efforts was John Hamilton, the manager of the Honolulu Chamber of Commerce. Together, they were able to successfully lobby the newly-formed Baseball Hall of Fame into recognizing the role of Cartwright in baseball's development in the Hawaiian Islands and the United States at large. In doing so, these efforts helped glorify a sanitized image of Cartwright that graciously bestowed a new sport upon the islands and ignored

[21] David Block, *Baseball Before We Knew It: A Search for the Roots of the Game* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 130-133.
[22] Castle, "The Introduction of Baseball," 70.
[23] Eileen Tamura, *Americanization, Acculturation and Ethnic Identity: The Nisei Generation in Hawai'i* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 45-88.
[24] For a summary of Bruce Cartwright's efforts to have his grandfather recognized as the founder of baseball, see Nucciarone, *Alexander Cartwright*, 213-223.

the oft-racialized contempt he held toward native Hawaiians.[25] Such a recognition of Cartwright's role was important to the growing tourism industry in the islands since, despite being advertised as exotic, a link to something so closely identified with the United States as baseball helped promote the islands as familiar playground to Americans.[26] Highlighting the prominence of Alexander Cartwright in Honolulu as one of baseball's inventors served to enhance an image of American-ness, since the same man could be linked to the sport's origins in both places. Such an image is confirmed by Castle who, despite emphasizing his own role in importing a more modern version of the sport to the islands, acknowledges Cartwright's importance to the game from his time in New York.[27]

In debunking much of the popular narratives and self-fashioning that surround Cartwright and Castle, Frank Ardolino and Monica Nucciarone emphasize the importance of Punahou School as the main influence on baseball's growth in the islands.[28] Several accounts reveal multiple early forms of baseball on Punahou's campus beginning in the late 1840s. According to Frank Boardman, these forms included "*rounders*, *one-old-cat*, *two-old-cat* and *townball*," which

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[25] David L. Gregg records numerous instances of Cartwright describing Hawaiian men and women as "damned Kanakas," "damned black…son of a bitch," "damned black…bitch of a whore," and allegedly even suggesting that the King should be hanged. The efforts to promote an image that ignored such episodes were so successful that they are barely mentioned in any of the biographies of Cartwright, despite being noted by Gavan Daws in one of the most popularly-read and widely-circulated histories of the Hawaiian Islands, *Shoal of Time*. Diary of David L. Gregg, Vol. 9 (June 3, 1857) and (September 12, 1857); Vol. 11 (January 18, 1859) and (November 17, 1859); Gavan Daws, *Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 1968), 184.

[26] For further discussion of the tourist industry's efforts to redefine the Hawaiian Islands, see Heather A. Diamond, *American Aloha: Cultural Tourism and the Negotiation of Tradition* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 20-22; Lynn Ann Davis, "Photographically Illustrated Books about Hawai'i, 1854 -1945," *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 35 (2001): 102-104.

[27] Castle used Cartwright to further fashion his own personal place as introducer of a more modern baseball to Honolulu. As part of his memoir, Castle recounts one instance when doing business with Cartwright where the old New Yorker mentioned "that he was an old ball player but added that he hardly recognized the game "as played now." However his interest seemed as keen and alight as ever and I remember seeing him at Punahou several times, watching the play as it had been recently introduced. He commented on some new features and different methods of playing from those he had learned as a New Yorker." By referencing Cartwright, Castle is able to share in some of the official recognition and gain authority for his own role and mark the version that he introduced as more closely matching the sport of today than the previous styles practiced by Cartwright and others. William Castle, "The Introduction of Baseball," 70

[28] Ardolino, "Missionaries, Cartwright and Spalding," 27-31.

were present in Honolulu since at least 1842. Curtis J. Lyons remembered a Boston clergyman at Punahou being responsible for introducing the sport and his brother, Albert Brown Lyons, recalled several early forms of baseball being played at Punahou School.[29] In a biography of Sanford Dole, Ethel Damon notes that one game he and his classmates at Punahou "all enjoyed was wicket…*Aipuni*, the Hawaiians called it, or rounders, perhaps because the bat had a larger rounder end. It was a forerunner of baseball, but the broad, heavy bat was held close to the ground."[30] According to a centennial history of the school by Mary Alexander and Charlotte Dodge, the early bats used for kinipōpō and ʻaipuni, were made from branches of kukui and hau trees with sandbags marking the bases.[31] These games were all promoted by Daniel Dole, the first principal of the school, who was both a fan and player of early baseball and promoted its popularity, as Frank Ardolino has noted, by putting on hitting displays for the students and encouraging the game's practice on his campus.[32]

By offering Punahou as a surrogate to replace Cartwright or Castle's role in promoting the sport in the islands, these accounts, and the ones that build off of them, contribute to a historiographical trend of American missionaries being the primary forces of change in the Hawaiian Islands either as individuals, or in terms of the institutions they created. While emphasis on Cartwright or Castle's college experience directly link the origins of baseball to the United States, accounts that focus on Punahou School assert a narrative of Americanization more indirectly. Founded in 1841, Punahou School became the first school in the islands to educate

[29] These citations are helpfully compiled by Robert Schmitt in his 1978 article, and more recently, Dan Cisco built upon Schmitt's work in his survey of Hawai'i sports. Robert C. Schmitt, "Some Firsts in Island Leisure," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 12 (1978): 109-110, and Dan Cisco, *Hawai'i Sports: History, Facts, and Statistics* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 1-4.
[30] Ethel M. Damon, *Sanford Ballard Dole and His Hawaii* (Palo Alto, CA: Pacific Books, 1957), 41.
[31] Mary Charlotte Alexander and Charlotte Peabody Dodge, *Punahou: 1841-1941* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1941), 118.
[32] Ardolino, "Missionaries, Cartwright and Spalding," 29.

missionary children rather than Hawaiians.[33] Prior to this, the schools established by missionaries were devoted to teaching Christian values and writing to Hawaiians. By founding Punahou, missionaries sought to provide an education that matched the rigor of schools found on the East Coast of the United States. In 1857, an endowment for the founding of Oahu College at Punahou acknowledged that although it was "open to natives speaking the English language," the school was "especially designed for pupils from that increasing and important portion of the Hawaiian community, which [was] of foreign origin."[34] Those who founded Punahou School and Oahu College saw the Protestant missionaries in Hawai'i as "the *palladium* of the nation," and considered it vital to educate the children of that community accordingly.[35]

Such an emphasis on the influence of Punahou School during this time period furthers the narrative of Americanization in the islands by positioning American missionaries and their descendants as the most active agents for change in the islands. In doing so, perspectives that focus on Punahou, like those that highlight Cartwright or Castle, elide any other possible influences and, consciously or not, imply that a specific set of Americans were the driving force in baseball's development in the Hawaiian Islands. This particular trend of whitewashing the development of baseball is not limited to the Hawaiian Islands either. With regard to early versions of baseball in the United States, John Thorn notes that many styles, including the New York game played by the Knickerbockers, were enjoyed by a wide range of people and that various "crosscurrents, from notions of sublimated risk to courtly engagement, from the "scourge" of gambling to conflicts of race, class, ethnicity, and political leanings, were present at

[33] As Gavan Daws has noted, Punahou even denied Hawaiian students and students of non-missionary haole families admittance until the late 1850s. Gavan Daws, *Honolulu: The First Century, the Story of the Town to 1876* (Honolulu, HI: Mutual Publishing, 2006), 280.
[34] Board of Trustees, *The Oahu College at the Sandwich Islands* (Boston, MA: T. R. Marvin Press, 1856), 4-5.
[35] *The Oahu College*, 6.

the Elysian Fields of the 1840s."[36] In focusing on the foundational role of the Knickerbocker Base Ball Club, many historians have emphasized the middle-class origins of the sport while ignoring other influences on baseball's development.

Much like the emphasis on the Knickerbocker Base Ball Club has glossed over other early influences from other races, classes, ethnicities, and political leanings in New York, so too does the focus on Cartwright, Castle, and Punahou between the 1840s and 1860s discount other major influences on and within the Hawaiian Islands that could have affected the ways early baseball was played. One influence that such emphases ignore is any possible contribution by Hawaiians to the development of baseball in the islands. A more world-historical perspective that focuses on baseball as an aspect of cultural diffusion and exchange helps look beyond the American context of the sport's growth in the island.

Rather than arguing for the importance of a specific person or institution, consideration of baseball as an aspect of cultural diffusion or exchange requires an examination of the early instances of bat and ball games in the islands that considers other possible influences on the sport's development. Among the first mentions of bat and ball games in local newspapers comes from an 1840 article in *The Polynesian*, a year before the founding of Punahou School. In this article, the author cites the abundance of sports as "evidence of the increasing civilization" of Honolulu and specifically, "good old bat and ball" being played with "ardor [by]…the native youth of both sexes."[37] The fact that native youngsters were playing the game with ardor suggests that while the sport may have been played by Punahou students beginning with the school's founding the next year, by no means did haole educators or haole school-children have

[36] John Thorn, *Baseball in the Garden of Eden: The Secret History of the Early Game* (New York, NY: Simon and Schuster, 2011), 89.
[37] "Sports in Honolulu," *The Polynesian*, December 26, 1840.

exclusive control over the early forms of baseball. Additionally, the fact that both boys and girls participated in the game indicates that the sport was not gender specific nor exclusive, a characteristic that will shift later in the nineteenth century.

By 1840, the Hawaiian Islands were in the midst of an ongoing rise as a hub of international travel and trade. First as a site of provisions for trans-oceanic voyagers, then as an exporter of sandalwood, there was considerable foreign interest in the islands, an interest that was reciprocated by Hawaiians who made use of visiting ships to seek out new opportunities abroad. As ports like Honolulu and Lahaina grew along with the whaling industry, more foreigners passed through and settled in the islands and more Hawaiians expanded their own horizons by shipping out.[38] David Chappell has noted that among the many places to which Hawaiians traveled during this time were the whaling ports of New England.[39] The port cities of New England were hotbeds of early baseball and afforded numerous opportunities for whalers and other merchants to watch and participate in games which they could then spread elsewhere. The hustle and bustle of growing Hawaiian ports created numerous opportunities for cultural exchange and the diffusion of early forms of baseball.

Foreign countries also had military interests in the regions and naval tours often stopped in the Hawaiian Islands to replenish supplies and represent imperial force. One such example from 1840 is the United States Exploring Expedition which sought to expand the imperial reach of the nation by scientifically mapping a large portion of the Pacific.[40] This six ship flotilla, under the command of Charles Wilkes anchored in Hawai‘i during the winter of 1840 and spring

[38] Some estimates suggest that as many as two thousand Hawaiians enlisted to serve as sailors on foreign ships between 1845 and 1847. Ralph Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom: 1778-1854, Foundations and Transformation* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 1938), 312.
[39] David A. Chappell, *Double Ghosts: Oceanian Voyagers on Euroamerican Ships* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, Inc., 1997), 161-163.
[40] Nathaniel Philbrick, *Sea of Glory: America's Voyage of Discovery: The U.S. Exploring Expedition, 1838-1842* (New York, NY: Viking Press, 2003) xviii-xix.

of 1841 to conduct experiments regarding gravity on Mauna Loa. While there are no reports of baseball being played during their Hawai‘i stop, John Fox, one of the surgeons on the expedition, recounted that “balls and bats were immediately forthcoming,” from the men to celebrate the American independence at Fort Nisqually in Oregon Country later that same year.[41] Such an interest in early baseball games among sailors in the Pacific during the 1840s combined with the increasing number of trading vessels calling at Honolulu and Lahaina created ample opportunities for interlopers to spread the sport to new areas, just as Wilkes’ sailors from the USS *Vincennes* did in Oregon Country in 1841.

The numerous games connected to the Hawaiian Islands in the 1840s and 1850s, including kinipōpō, ‘aipuni, rounders, one-old-cat, two-old-cat, townball, and wicket, indicate a variety of influences and input on the development of the sport in the islands. Although it is unclear exactly how these games were practiced, their names indicate possible playing styles and rules. In the United States and England during the 1840s, rounders, one-old-cat, two-old-cat, townball, and wicket were each distinct games that involved varying numbers of batters, bases, and styles of pitching.[42] The name of ‘aipuni suggests a sport that involved the circling around to score a point the way one would round bases in baseball.[43] These certainly could have been seven slightly different games in Honolulu or they could have been blended together as a singular bat and ball game that was commonly practiced but called different names. Regardless

[41] John L. Fox, journal entry, July 5, 1841, John Lawrence Fox Journals: mss 1838-1861, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, CA.

[42] Numerous scholars have attempted to trace the lineage of baseball through these popular sports of the early nineteenth century. Among the more helpful discussions of the various precursors to baseball as a sport are David Block, *Baseball Before We Knew It: A Search for the Roots of the Game* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2005); John Thorn, *Baseball in the Garden of Eden: The Secret History of the Early Game* (New York, NY: Simon and Schuster, 2011); and the protoball project edited by Larry McCray (protoball.org).

[43] *‘ai* is defined by Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel Elbert as “points in a game,” while *puni* has been translated as to lap or complete a circuit. Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1986).

of if these were all separate games, variations of the same game, or just different names for the same game in the Hawaiian Islands, the usage of several different names indicates that no single person, group, or institution had exclusive control over how the sport was practiced or what it as called.

That early forms of baseball were not under the sole control of one person or group is illustrated in an early twentieth-century history of baseball in the islands by Reverend Chimpei P. Gotō, a Methodist minister from Japan who organized numerous ballclubs in the early-twentieth century.[44] Published amidst the Americanization efforts and emphasis on Cartwright's role in introducing the sport during the early twentieth century, Gotō suggests that after Cartwright's arrival, he taught various youths of the city the style of play he brought with him from New York. Such a story could certainly be true despite claims by Ardolino and Nucciarone to the contrary, but what is most interesting is not that Cartwright may have tossed a ball around with Honolulu kids, but who was identified as one of the particular youngsters by Reverend Gotō: Charles Wilson.[45] Unlike the haole students at Punahou School who were often the children of missionaries and are usually credited with spreading baseball through Honolulu, Wilson was not of American heritage. Instead, Charles Wilson was the son of a Scottish father and Tahitian mother and would go on to become the Marshall for Queen Lili'uokalani's forces during her reign. Rather than emphasizing the children of missionaries, Gotō singles out someone with neither American nor Hawaiian heritage as among the first to learn the new style of baseball from Cartwright himself. While such a story still fits within established narratives of Cartwright introducing the sport, it is important that this version has Cartwright teaching the

[44] C. P. Gotō, *Hawai Hōjin Yakyūshi: Yakyū Ippyakunensai Kinen* (Honolulu, HI: Hawai Hōjin Yakyūshi Shuppankai, 1940); Yukiko Kimura, *Issei: Japanese Immigrants in Hawai'i* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 1992), 166-169.
[45] C. P. Gotō, *Hawai Hōjin yakyūshi*, 1.

sport to somebody not from the United States since it illustrates the wide range of people involved in the sport's early growth among a diverse Honolulu population.[46]

Through the 1850s, bat and ball games continued to be played around O'ahu by a variety of people. An 1860 edition of the *Polynesian* published a brief recap of a local "base ball" game that the author describes as a "good old-fashioned" game.[47] This contest took place on the premises of Honolulu Sheriff John Brown between the Punahou Boys and the Town Boys, a team that consisted primarily of local merchants and their clerks. The details of this game suggests several things about early baseball games in Honolulu. First and foremost, its description as a "good old-fashioned game" indicates that variations of the sport were familiar in the Hawaiian Islands for some time, which corresponds to previous studies.

Secondly, the teams involved emphasize interest among distinct groups of Honolulu residents. The fact that this game was played by Punahou boys clearly indicates that the school did indeed have a thriving community of ballplayers who sought to play beyond their own campus in Makiki. That the opposing team was made up of merchants and clerks however, indicates that those involved in the businesses of the city also had an interest in and a knowledge of the sport. So while previous studies rightly touch on Punahou as one site of early baseball, they often fail to delve into who made up the opposing team in this first recorded game. The businesses in downtown Honolulu were considerably diverse and employed Hawaiians, haole, and other ethnic groups as clerks, tradesmen, retailers, wholesalers, and in a variety of other capacities, any number of whom could have been involved in this early game.[48]

[46] Having Cartwright spread the sport to non-Americans is also important for Gotō as well since his focus is the baseball-playing of Japanese immigrants to the islands.
[47] "Game of Ball," *Polynesian*, April 7, 1860, 3.
[48] Daws, *Honolulu: The First Century*, 500.

Thirdly, the location of the game on the Esplanade also reveals some of the influences on the early development of baseball in Honolulu. This Esplanade and its surrounding area was a new construction project that had just begun in the year 1856. Located at Honolulu Harbor, the Esplanade was constructed on a piece of land purchased by the Hawaiian government from Queen Kalama in 1854.[49] This land became known as ʻAinahou and stretched between Fort Street and Richards Street adjacent to Honolulu Harbor. The major components of the construction project was the filling of Waikahalulu reef and the dredging of the harbor to create a larger wharf and encourage more commercial traffic into the port. Consequently, this new Esplanade was at the center of an increasingly commercial Honolulu Harbor, a major port for world trade in the Pacific Ocean.[50] By 1860, a wide variety of different peoples and ethnicities either inhabited or worked near the city's waterfront.[51] That a baseball game would be played here in 1860, rather than up at the campus of Punahou School suggests not only an interest by merchants and others who worked in the vicinity of the harbor, but also any visitors to port as well, which illustrates the appeal of the sport to a much more diverse audience than haole children of missionaries.

Exactly what this "good old-fashioned" game of base ball would have looked like is unclear, but based on the participants, it is highly possible that this game followed Massachusetts-style rules. The Punahou students would have had a connection to New England through their missionary-influenced instructors while the merchant clerks would have been in frequent contact with many of the New England-based whaling vessels that shipped through

[49] For a discussion involving the complications regarding the purchase of this land readers should see S. M. Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawai'i*, 418-419.
[50] W. D. Alexander, "Early Improvements to Honolulu Harbor," *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society for the Year Ending December 31, 1907* (1908): 26.
[51] Gavan Daws notes that "almost all of [the waterfront's] denizens were native or part-white." Daws, *Honolulu: The First Century*, 463.

Honolulu Harbor. If indeed these influences were born out on the playing field behind Sheriff Brown's office, the game would have consisted of a square field with four bases sixty feet apart, with the batter standing halfway between the first and fourth base. Pitches were thrown overhand in the Massachusetts rules and fielders had to catch the ball on the fly for an out or failing to do that, had to hit the runner with the ball before he reached a base safely. There was only one out per side, and perhaps most challenging, there was no foul territory, so any struck ball was in play.[52] Since the recap in the *Polynesian* and other accounts from the time period do not include any such detail, it is impossible to know which, if any of these rules were followed.

What is clear is that early baseball games continued to be played through the 1860s beyond the campus of Punahou School and without the oversight of either Alexander Cartwright or William Castle. In late-August of 1863 for example, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* mentions ball-playing out on the windward side of O'ahu where the people were divided into a team of Honolulu players and a team of players from Waimanalo.[53] Other mentions of ball-playing are scattered throughout newspaper articles in the early 1860's but few offer details on the style of sport being played.[54]

Out of the multiple bat and ball games practiced in the islands through the 1850s and 1860s eventually one particular contest in the summer of 1866 was cited by Reverend Gotō as the first official game of baseball in the islands. According to Gotō, this game was played between the Foreigners and the Natives on July 4th near what is today Cartwright Neighborhood Park in Makiki. It is unclear whether the "Natives" who played in this game were ethnically Hawaiian, haole who were born in the islands, or a combination of both those groups, but they

[52] Thorn, *Baseball in the Garden of Eden*, 47.
[53] "La Hanau o Kaumakaokane," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, September 5, 1863.
[54] "Ka auhau kula maluna o ka poe mea keiki ole. Ua kaulike anei?" *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, June 18, 1864; "He hoa i pili ia," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, June 8, 1865.

ended up winning 2-1 behind the strong pitching of Charles Gulick, a missionary descendent who would serve in several governmental posts in the Hawaiian Kingdom.[55] A fourth of July date for the game suggests that the "Foreigners" for this game would have strongly identified with the United States, whether as U.S. citizens living abroad or as descendants of Americans. That the "Natives" won the game further illustrates the fact that skill in early forms of baseball was not monopolized by one group, despite standard accounts that link the sport solely to haole such as Cartwright, Castle, or the students of Punahou School.

In his description of this game, Gotō offers a third person responsible for the development of baseball in the islands aside from Cartwright or Castle: James H. Black. According to Gotō, Black was "the father of baseball in Hawai'i," and supplied uniforms for the game that had been shipped around Cape Horn from Boston. In addition to bringing uniforms, Black also "taught youngsters how to hit and catch the ball" prior to the game and even busted up two fingers fielding a batted ball.[56] While often discounted by later scholars as the primary agent responsible for baseball's introduction to the islands, Black's association to the sport fits within the larger narrative of Americanization due to his military background.[57]

Originally from Philadelphia, Black came to the Hawaiian Islands following his service for the Union Army in the United States Civil War. Black's involvement in the Civil War certainly lends credence to the idea that he would promote baseball in the Hawaiian Islands, since the war has been linked to the spread of baseball throughout much of the United States

[55] Gotō, *Hawai Hōjin Yakyūshi*, 2.
[56] Gotō, *Hawai Hōjin Yakyūshi*, 2.
[57] With regards to this claim about Black, Frank Ardolino acknowledges that he is "the person usually credited with the introduction of the Massachusetts form of early baseball," but "there is no real proof to validate this theory of origin," especially considering that Black himself was from Philadelphia, which had its own version of baseball at this time as well. Ardolino, "Missionaries, Cartwright and Spalding," 28-29.

during the time period immediately following 1865.[58] Black's association with the sport's introduction to the Hawaiian Islands again links the islands to a larger narrative of how baseball spread within the United States, but it also connects baseball in the Hawaiian Islands to the United States military, with a Civil War veteran prominently involved in its promotion. The connection between the military and baseball adds another layer upon the overarching narrative of Americanization of the islands that increased as the military became more involved in the sport over the next eighty years.

While the figures of Cartwright, Castle, and even James Black link the introduction of baseball to the Hawaiian Islands to an ongoing narrative of Americanization of the islands, a more productive and effective way of incorporating the many examples of early baseball could be through a lens of cross-cultural exchange and diffusion. Certainly agents of the United States were important in helping to spread forms of early baseball throughout the islands, but the reports of Hawaiians and other non-Americans involved in the sport's early practice indicate that a growing popularity of the various bat and ball games existed within numerous communities. To focus on baseball as an American imposition is to discount the growing economic role of the Hawaiian Islands within a wider Pacific trading world.

It was the increased global trading connections that enabled Cartwright's arrival in Honolulu and the city's growth as a commercial hub that created a diverse population where Hawaiians and foreigners involved themselves in early forms of baseball. As with a wide variety of other technologies, these early forms of baseball would have been both influenced by and adopted to fit Hawaiian ideas.[59] Furthermore, the diverse participation in these various games

[58] For a discussion of the relationship between baseball and the U.S. Civil War, see George B. Kirsch, *Baseball in Blue and Gray: The National Pastime during the Civil War* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003).
[59] Two examples of foreign technologies that were used for Hawaiian purposes include newspapers and written laws. Noenoe Silva has pointed out that despite the missionary objectives behind introduction of a system of

between the 1840s and 1860s shows that baseball's supposed introduction to the islands was more of an ongoing process where such games would "have undergone adaptions and adjustments as they have crossed and re-crossed the boundary lines of societies and cultural regions."[60]

Organized Clubs, Modernity and Masculinity (1867-1887)

Although baseball-like games had been played in the Hawaiian Islands since the 1840s, it was not until the late 1860s and 1870s that what was being played and reported in newspapers could be readily identified as baseball. This time period was marked by the consolidation of rules and the organization of clubs to field teams to abide by those rules. With the adoption of standardized rules and regular teams, the sport's popularity boomed as a league was formed, attendances grew, and inter-island games were held. With this growth in popularity, baseball became linked to specific understandings of modernity and masculinity in the islands during this time.

While games continued to be played through the 1860s, frequently on Saturday afternoons in ʻAinahou, the ambiguity with regard to gameplay disappears in 1867 when reports of the first organized clubs and games appear in local newspapers. These first two officially organized baseball clubs in the Hawaiian Islands were the Pacific Base Ball Club and the Pioneer

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writing, Hawaiians utilized newspapers to express nationalist opinions and anticolonial resistance. Kamanamaikalani Beamer has suggested that certain written laws were "Hawaiian-informed tools rather than Anglo- or Euro-American impositions." Noenoe K. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 54-55; Kamanamaikalani Beamer, "Aliʻi Selective Appropriation of Modernity: Examining Colonial Assumptions in Hawaiʻi Prior to 1893," *AlterNATIVE* 5, no. 2 (2009): 148.

[60] In describing cultural exchange in such a fashion, Jerry Bentley builds off the work of historian Arnold Pacey regarding technological exchange. Jerry H. Bentley, "Cultural Exchanges in World History," in *The Oxford Handbook of World History*, 344-345.

Base Ball Club. Together, they agreed to play each other in August of 1867 according to the rules of the California Baseball Convention.[61]

This California Convention based its rules on those rules laid out by the National Association of Base Ball Players, which were first established in 1858. These rules adopted many of the Knickerbocker rules, including the thirty-yard distance between bases and the institution of foul territory. Some of the rules that differed from the Knickerbocker ones included an adoption of nine innings (rather than seven) and nine players per team (rather than seven). By the 1860s, this National Association had also disallowed an out for catching a batted ball on one bounce and instead followed the practice of having to catch the ball on the fly, a key aspect of the Massachusetts game.[62] The California Convention adopted all of these rules and so too did the first organized teams in the Hawaiian Islands. That the teams in Honolulu would adopt the rules of the California Convention illustrates the shifting economic interests of the Hawaiian Islands.

While previous bat and ball games in the Hawaiian Islands illustrated connections to New England and the eastern coast of the United States, by 1867 much of the baseball influence from the United States to Hawai‘i came from the West Coast. During this time period, the West Coast saw the establishment of baseball clubs in California and Oregon Territory where the sport grew in places such as San Francisco, Oakland, Portland, and Fort Vancouver.[63] Some of these ports had been important trade routes for voyagers from the Hawaiian Islands during the fur trade of

[61] *The Hawaiian Gazette*, August 28, 1867; William Castle founded the Punahou Baseball Club and organized students at the school into a team in order to play against these newly-formed clubs. The Punahou Club was even able to secure a circular iron disc from the foundry to be used as home plate. William R. Castle, "The Introduction of Baseball," *The Friend* (March 1924): 70.
[62] Thorn, *Baseball in the Garden of Eden*, 35-36.
[63] Gregory P. Shine, "The National Game is 'Decidedly on the Fly': The Rise of Organized Baseball in the Portland and Vancouver Area in 1867: A Historic Resource Study for Fort Vancouver National Historic Site & Vancouver National Historic Reserve," (Vancouver, WA: National Park Service, 2006), 7-13.

the early-nineteenth century and as others cities, like San Francisco, grew with the discovery of gold, so too did their connection to the Hawaiian Islands. By 1866 in San Francisco, the two most prominent clubs were the Pacifics and the Pioneers, which happened to be the names chosen by the first organized clubs in Honolulu.

If the choice of names for the teams in Honolulu was based on the two most prominent teams in California, then it illustrates a shift in baseball influence away from the eastern United States. Had New England, New York, and the eastern United States continued as prominent influences on the islands, the teams would have brandished names like Excelsior, Knickerbocker, or Athletic to match prominent clubs in New York, Boston, or Philadelphia. If, on the other hand, the choice of names are unrelated to the teams in California, they still reveal a considerable amount about how the players on those teams identified themselves either as Pacifics or Pioneers.

According to reports in *Ke Au Okoa* and *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, the Pacific Base Ball Club featured two Hawaiian players, six part-Hawaiian players, and one haole player. These players included George Harbottle, Gideon Kailipalaki Laanui, John Kanipookalani Meek, Jr., John Edward Bush, and Charles Gulick among others. This roster included a range of young people from Honolulu society, such as the chiefly descendant Laanui, missionary descendent Gulick, former whaler and budding printer John Bush, and several others, all of whom ranged between seventeen and twenty-six years of age.[64] All of the players on this team, with the possible exception of the haole Gulick, would have identified themselves as being from the Hawaiian Islands and chose a name that emphasized a place distinctly separate from the United States.[65]

[64] For an image of John Bush, please see Figure 1 in the Appendix. "John E. Bush Passes Off," *The Hawaiian Gazette*, June 29, 1906.
[65] The fact that Gulick played for the Pacifics, rather than the Pioneers, suggests that the Natives team from the year before could also have been a mostly Hawaiian team.

As a team made up of Hawaiians, the Pacifics were the heavy fan favorites in this first organized game in August of 1867.[66]

The Pioneers on the other hand were made up of an entirely haole roster. Among the club-members were Alan Judd, Ed Macfarlane, Henry Ely Whitney, Fred Wundenberg, and James Black. Although the team names could certainly have been influenced by California, the fact that this group of ballplayers chose "Pioneers" as their team name suggests that they identified with the idea of those who settled or explored unknown territories or countries. These members of the Pioneer Base Ball Club defined themselves as a gentlemanly organization and part of that understanding included an emphasis on teetotalism, as the ballplayers considered alcohol ungentlemanly.[67]

Because of the Pioneer emphasis on teetotalism, several negotiations between the two clubs appeared in local newspapers as they worked out the details of the proposed game. Originally, the Pacifics had challenged the Pioneers to play for fifty dollars, but the Pioneers declined since the Pacifics wanted to serve "something besides water to wash the lunch down with."[68] The Pacifics eventually accepted a counterproposal from the Pioneers, but only after publishing a mocking note of acceptance in a local newspaper which scoffed at the indignation expressed by the Pioneers and their bombastic claim to play for the championship of the Hawaiian Islands.[69] The teams finally agreed to play on Saturday, August 24, 1867 on the plains of Makiki roughly two miles from town. In front of a large audience consisting of both men and

[66] "Ka Hui Kinipopo," *Ke Au Okoa*, August 29, 1867; "Na Ahahui Kinipopo," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, August 31, 1867.
[67] C. H. Rose, "To the Officers and Members of the Pacific Base Ball Club, Honolulu," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, August 19, 1867.
[68] "The Base Ball Clubs," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, August 17, 1867.
[69] John Meek, Jr., "Public Notice," *The Hawaiian Gazette*, August 14, 1867.

women, the Pacifics won 11-9, much to the excitement of the cheering crowd who strongly favored them.[70]

Whatever hard feelings that may have existed during the buildup to the game and during the game itself were quickly set aside following the game. After a postgame lunch, the players drew new pickup teams and put on a baseball exhibition for the rest of the evening.[71] The success of this game led to subsequent games between these two clubs over the ensuing months and years, as well as efforts to organize more teams to join the Pacifics and Pioneers in establishing a Hawaiian Base Ball League.[72] Over the next few years, the Pacifics and Pioneers would be joined by other organized baseball clubs in the islands such as the Athletes, the Whangdoodles, and the Undaunted to fill out a longer schedule into the 1870s. Such clubs occasionally broke up or reformed depending on the availability of a full roster, but the general set up of each club consisted of a president, vice president, secretary, and treasurer who served as officers for a given season or perhaps longer if club members could be retained.[73] Other baseball clubs would be formed from organizations such as the Royal Hawaiian Band, the Mechanic's Union, and school students such as those at Punahou and the Royal School.[74]

Beginning with the Pacific and Pioneer Base Ball Clubs in 1867, baseball in the Hawaiian Islands shifted into what sports scholars such as Allen Guttmann would classify as a modern sport. According to Guttmann, forming organized clubs can be identified as one of

[70] For a box score of this game between the Pacifics and the Pioneers, please see Figure 2 in the Appendix. "Ka Hui Kinipopo," *Ke Au Okoa*, August 29, 1867; "Na Ahahui Kinipopo," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, August 31, 1867; "A Match Game," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, August 31, 1867.
[71] "Base Ball," *The Hawaiian Gazette*, August 28, 1867.
[72] One effort to organize a new team came barely a week after the first game and it was "composed entirely of pure Hawaiians" who the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* judged as having a "fair chance to carry off the Champion Cup" based on "their skill in other things." *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, August 31, 1867.
[73] "Base Ball Flourishes," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, May 29, 1875.
[74] The Punahou students named their team the Wideawakes since they practiced before school. "Base Ball," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, July 1, 1871; Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou: 1841-1941*, 321.

several characteristics of a modern sport, that of bureaucratization. The other characteristics include: secularism, equality, specialization, rationalization, quantification, and obsession with records.[75] Across the United States, baseball's shift to becoming a modern sport resulted in more pronounced discrepancy between official and unofficial games where those practiced according to the standards and rules of the National Base Ball Convention were increasingly recognized as official, while non-conforming styles of baseball became relegated to unofficial status and folk pastimes.[76]

As it relates to sports in nineteenth-century Hawai'i, the difference between official and unofficial games began to appear, but such a distinction between pre-modern and modern was not as clear cut as Guttmann's characteristics suggest.[77] Rather than focusing on a modern versus pre-modern distinction, it is more helpful to view the modern sport of baseball in the islands as more of a dynamic process in terms of how it adopted new rules, styles of play, and innovations. In fact, as Kamanamaikalani Beamer has noted "the dichotomy between traditional and modern" is a false one that "constitutes the conceptual shackles that preserve European hegemony and often re-inscribe links between colonizer and colonized, occupier and occupied."[78] Instead, Beamer argues for an approach to modernity that emphasizes a more selective process of appropriation on the part of Hawaiians. Such a selective appropriation can be seen across numerous aspects of society including religion and politics in addition to sports.

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[75] Guttmann, *Sports*, 5.
[76] For a description of the early baseball clubs that contributed to and challenged the sport's standardization in the United States, see *Base Ball Founders: The Clubs, Players and Cities of the Northeast that Established the Game*, edited by Peter Morris, William J. Ryczek, Jan Finkel, Leonard Levin and Richard Malatzky (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2013).
[77] Guttmann does acknowledge that the idea of modernization can be "misused as a facile instrument of ethnocentric ethical judgment," but he still sees such a term as useful for distinguishing "between a medieval game of folk-football and the globally televised spectacle of soccer football's World Cup Final." Guttmann, *Sports*, 6.
[78] Beamer, "Ali'i Selective Appropriation of Modernity," 142.

Religiously and politically speaking, understandings of modernity differed depending on perspective and the interests of different groups. Christianity, for example, was promoted by missionaries as a key aspect of modernity. Through numerous efforts including sermons, newspapers, and schools, missionaries attempted to condition converts to see "ka wā ma mua" or "the time before" Christianity to be a time of ignorance, as Noelani Arista has noted.[79] But how missionaries promoted Christianity and how it was understood by Hawaiians was not always the same. Hawaiians could incorporate aspects of the religion into their own lives for their own purposes.

Similarly in the political realm, modern changes were advocated by specific groups, and modernity itself was characterized by a number of different elements. According to Keanu Sai, political modernity began in 1827 with the shift "from a federal to a unitary form of governance."[80] In the estimation of Kanalu Young however, it was the international recognition of the Hawaiian Kingdom as a "sovereign and independent State" following the restoration of King Kamehameha III in 1843 that brought the islands into a modern international community.[81] This restoration followed the imperial occupation by British Admiral Lord George Paulet, an occupation that was subsequently rejected by Great Britain.[82] That foreign imperial powers

[79] Noelani Arista, "Reconsidering Ka wa ma mua," Ka Moʻolelo Hawaiʻi. Blogpost, September 22, 2013. http://noelaniarista.blogspot.com/2013/09/reconsidering-ka-wa-ma-mua.html.
[80] David Keanu Sai, "The American Occupation of the Hawaiian Kingdom: Beginning the Transition from Occupied to Restored State," PhD diss., (University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa, 2008), 56.
[81] Kanalu Young, "Kuleana: Toward A Historiography of Hawaiian National Consciousness, 1780-2001," *Hawaiian Journal of Law & Politics* 2 (Summer 2006): 8.
[82] As mentioned in the introduction, Paulet followed the precedent of gunboat diplomacy established by the British in the First Opium War with Qing China. After hearing complaints of British subjects in the Hawaiian Islands, Paulet issued six demands of the Hawaiian government. Some of these demands were focused on specific complaints of British subjects, but the larger issues were contained in Paulet's third and fifth demands, which sought to subvert the Hawaiian legal system by allowing special treatment for British subjects. Paulet demanded that British subjects in the islands only be bound by British laws and any trials involving a British subject must have Britain represented in the jury. If these demands were refused, Paulet threatened to open fire on Honolulu, so King Kamehameha III provisionally ceded the kingdom to Britain in order to officially protest to Queen Victoria. *Ka Nonanona*, March 7, 1843.

recognized Hawaiian sovereignty indicates they saw the political and legal systems of the Hawaiian Kingdom as part of a shared modernity.[83]

Different groups, including the monarch, the aliʻi, prominent businesspeople, missionaries, and others in Hawaiʻi sought changes to the political system for a number of different reasons that were underpinned by images of modernity. Historian Jon Osorio has noted that intrinsic to haole encouragement and emphases on law changes was the claim that the kingdom and its subjects had "to embrace, or at least deal with, Western conceptions of modernity for it and them to survive."[84] Some groups supported changes to land tenure, political representation, and the legal system that would situate the kingdom within a modern capitalist world, but not everybody included the same aspects among their definition of a modern nation. Osorio further notes that despite the Hawaiian Kingdom's "inclusion of haole as citizens and as political leaders…most haole did not share the same faith and belief in the kingdom's legitimacy as did the kānaka."[85] In this sense, the political modernity of the Hawaiian Kingdom hinged on perspectives that did not always align between different groups locally or internationally.

This does not mean, however, that modernity was necessarily imposed upon the Hawaiian Islands from abroad. Kamanamaikalani Beamer has noted that aspects of modernity could be selectively adopted and appropriated by Hawaiians. Specifically, Beamer focuses on the 1839 body of laws that helped modernize the Hawaiian Kingdom "through the codification of existing indigenous structure coupled with selective appropriation of Euro-American law."[86]

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[83] Religion was also included among political and legal characteristics of the kingdom in the eyes of John Quincy Adams, the U.S. Congressman and former President who served as Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, when he agreed with such appeals and advocated for the Hawaiian Kingdom to be acknowledged "as a separate and independent community," due to the prevalence of Christianity in the Islands. John Quincy Adams, *Ka Nonanona*, July 4, 1843.
[84] Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui*, 146.
[85] Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui*, 146.
[86] Beamer, "Aliʻi Selective Appropriation of Modernity," 151.

Beamer also includes mapmaking and the use of newspapers as other examples of selective appropriation by Hawaiians.[87] Within this framework, the practice of baseball by native Hawaiians and other subjects of the Kingdom can be viewed as another example of selective appropriation, as people joined clubs for social reasons and played the sport for entertainment.

While changes in the political and legal systems helped frame the Hawaiian Kingdom as a modern nation in the eyes of many, other efforts sought to actively promote the modernity of the kingdom internationally. Just as baseball clubs were first being organized during the late 1860s, Lota Kapuāiwa, Kamehameha V, "worked to develop a modern appearance for the Hawaiian state through various public architectural projects" that featured internationally award-winning designs.[88] It was also through the efforts of Kamehameha V that the kingdom participated in international exhibitions, where it could showcase "Hawai'i's proficiency in international idioms of nation-making and cultivate a national consciousness, while simultaneously preserving the values of indigenous history and tradition," a trend that would be continued by Kalākaua through the 1870s and into the 1880s.[89] Furthermore, as historian Peter Hoffenberg has noted, participation in these exhibitions enabled the opportunity for monarchs "to share and authorize their larger visions for the Hawaiian nation and society."[90] Within this context, baseball, which Mark Twain called "the very symbol, the outward and visible

[87] For the examples of newspapers and mapmaking, Beamer cites Noenoe K. Silva's *Aloha Betryaed* and B. Kamanamaikalani Beamer and T. Kaeo Duarte's "I Palapala no ia aina - Documenting the Hawaiian Kingdom: a Colonial Venture?" in *Journal of Historical Geography* 35 (2009): 66-86. Kamanamaikalani Beamer, "Ali'i Selective Appropriation of Modernity," 141.
[88] These examples include 'Iolani Barracks, the Kamehameha V Post Office Building, Ali'iōlini Hale, a royal mausoleum and numerous schools. Stacy L. Kamehiro, "Hawai'i at the World Fairs, 1867-1893," *World History Connected* 8, no. 3 (October 2011).
[89] One of Kalākaua's efforts to promote the kingdom abroad was his world tour between 1881 and 1883. Stacy L. Kamehiro, "Hawai'i at the World Fairs, 1867-1893."
[90] Peter H. Hoffenberg, "Displaying an Oceanic Nation and Society: The Kingdom of Hawai'i at Nineteenth-Century International Exhibitions," in *Oceania and the Victorian Imagination: Where All Things Are Possible*, ed. Richard D. Fulton and Peter H. Hoffenberg (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2013), 63.

expression of the drive, and push, and rush and struggle of the raging, tearing, booming nineteenth century," served as another realm where Hawaiians could participate in something seen internationally as an aspect of modernity.[91]

With regard to the growth of baseball in the Hawaiian Islands, the bureaucratization of the sport is noteworthy not necessarily because it fits Guttmann's definition of modern, but because it pushed the sport further to an official version in the islands by helping to regulate how the sport was played. Previously mentioned baseball-type games, such as kinipōpō, ʻaipuni, one-o-cat, two-o-cat, rounders, and wicket would have included a wide range of rules and styles through the 1840s, 1850s, and 1860s. Some of these styles may have differed in small details while others may have been fundamental. Without a common set of baseball rules in the islands, the sport could be used to exoticize the Hawaiian Islands and characterize them as a less-modern space by an international audience.

An example of this can be found in an 1867 account from the Philadelphia *Sunday Mercury*. This account recognized that baseball had spread to the islands, but suggested one instance where a ballplayer, "finding it impossible to reach his base, was determined not to be put out, and started up the town at full speed, closely followed by the baseman. The latter, after a short chase, finding himself falling behind, mounted a horse tied near by, and thus overtook the player."[92] Funny as such a scene may have been, the veracity of this claim is largely immaterial. The *Mercury* employed a humorous deviation from the rules to illustrate the Hawaiian Islands as backward and less modern when compared to the baseball of the United States.

Indeed, baseball in the islands was characterized by a variety of rules and playing styles prior to the 1860s, just as it was in the United States. The founding of the Pacifics and the

[91] "New York Greets the Boys," *The Sun*, April 9, 1889.
[92] *Philadelphia Sunday Mercury*, August, 4, 1867.

Pioneers followed by the increasing bureaucratization of the sport with other organized clubs abiding by a set of regulations agreed upon by the larger baseball-playing world ended such ambiguity with regard to the style of play. Not only could the ballplayers of Honolulu and the Hawaiian Islands compare themselves with other clubs around the world, but they could also compete with them in the future.

While an increase in organized clubs through the 1870s and into the 1880s helped official games of baseball flourish in Honolulu, unofficial games continued to be played in the islands.[93] At Waiʻōhinu in Kaʻū on the island of Hawaiʻi, William Castle would later recall some "pretty good ball playing," by the Hawaiians who lived there. What Castle found most interesting with the games on Hawaiʻi were the variations in the rules from what he had been accustomed to in Honolulu. In describing a situation where two runners were caught on the same base, Castle notes that there would be a choice as to which runner would be out. Such decisions "oftentimes resulted in the wildest opposition, uproar and excitement."[94] Certainly such an account shows a great popularity of the sport among the residents of Waiʻōhinu, but it also shows that, like elsewhere in the world, the rules of the game were not completely uniform outside of organized clubs. Consequently, games in Kaʻū may not have been played identically to those by the Wailuku Base Ball Club over on Maui, or by the organized teams in Honolulu which may have differed from Honolulu pickup games.[95] Such variety, despite the increase in bureaucratization through the formation of organized clubs, further dispels the notion of a sport introduced to the Hawaiian Islands by a single American agent or institution such as Alexander Cartwright,

[93] There are earlier reports of baseball on other islands, but like many of the accounts from Oʻahu, they offer few details as to the style of play or rules. For example, as early as 1863, letters from Hilo appeared in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* discussing weekend activities that included *hula* and baseball. "Hana ma ka La Sabati," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, February 7, 1863.
[94] Castle, "Introduction of Baseball," 70.
[95] *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, July 17, 1880.

William Castle, or Punahou School as outlined in the previous section and emphasizes the ongoing appropriation and adaption of ball-playing styles and rules.

Accompanying the growth in baseball's popularity was the promotion of the sport for health benefits. Prior to the organization of the Pacifics and Pioneers, the sport was promoted as an excellent way to strengthen the body and such promotion was continued through the 1860s and into the 1870s.[96] In fact, right after the first games between the Pacifics and Pioneers were played, an op-ed in the *Hawaiian Gazette* advocated for baseball promoting mental health by saying "when a youth or young man has grown too lazy to play foot-ball, base-ball, or cricket, there is not much hope for him intellectually or morally." This article continues on to note that in the United States, the American Civil War of the 1860s contributed to the growth of American muscularity and, along with sports, created a group of fit men capable of representing the country.[97] Such an opinion piece marks an early example of baseball being linked to the military in order to promote physical fitness as part of manliness, and manliness as a key aspect of leadership since both sports and war were seen as creating men fit for leading a nation.

Through linking sports to understandings of gender and using the United States as an example, the *Gazette* contributor is drawing on specific notions of masculinity that, by the 1870s, had become characterized by martial features. Kristin Hoganson has noted that United States politics during this time were "conceptualized…in military terms," and "political leaders reminded their audiences that in the time of crisis the nation had turned to its manliest men." Furthermore, according to Hoganson, "political activists conflated martial and manly character so often that the two came to seem indistinguishable."[98] That sports such as baseball would be

[96] "Kinipopo ma Ainahou," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, June 1, 1867.
[97] "English Sports," *The Hawaiian Gazette*, July 15, 1868.
[98] Kristin L. Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998), 25.

included with military service as an avenue through which to achieve a muscular manliness would have especially appealed to many American-born haole in the Hawaiian Islands.

Specifically, the people most likely to be influenced by such images of masculinity espoused in the *Hawaiian Gazette* were those on the campus of Punahou School where students and faculty had strong ties to the United States and already had an active interest in baseball. By the early 1870s, any promotion of the sport as a manly pursuit would have been greeted with enthusiasm. Baseball's role as contributing to an understanding of a masculine ideal at Punahou School during that decade was further enhanced upon the arrival of William Chickering, the new Latin teacher from Amherst College in Massachusetts. A former shortstop at Amherst, Chickering participated in many sports while at Punahou and his expertise at baseball really "set him up with the boys" of the school as a student would later recall. Another former student, Herbert Austin, remembered Chickering as "tremendously liked by the boys [who] would do anything for him," while one of his female students would later recall him to be her "ideal of all that was fine and noble and manly," due to his athletic and intellectual prowess.[99] Baseball promoted Chickering's popularity and helped him exemplify his manliness through exhibiting the intelligent physicality that the sport required. His further involvement with the Honolulu YMCA led him to promote sports as an integral part of what it meant to a strong, healthy, Christian man.[100] Since many young students grew up with Chickering as an example of manliness, many would take up baseball as a way to replicate one part of that definition of masculinity.[101]

[99] Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou*, 301-303.
[100] Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou*, 303.
[101] Interestingly, it was during this time when sports like baseball were being promoted on Punahou's campus that Luther Gulick Sr. became a trustee of the school. Gulick's son, Luther Gulick Jr. would go on to be a major proponent of the value of physical education at the YMCA in Springfield, Massachusetts, and tasked James Naismith with developing an indoor sport that would eventually become basketball.

Despite such efforts to link baseball to understandings of manliness, the sport was not solely a masculine domain during the 1870s. Throughout the early accounts of baseball, women are mentioned not only as spectators, as in the case of the first organized game between the Pacifics and Pioneers, but occasionally as players with the 1840 mention of "base ball" in the *Polynesian* describing the participation of youngsters "of both sexes."[102] Even on Punahou's campus, where manliness was heavily linked to the sport, young women played regularly. In their history of Punahou School, Mary Alexander and Charlotte Dodge note that many young women of the school played baseball and that, thanks to the introduction of bloomers, two entire teams were made up of female students and two of their female teachers beginning in 1875.[103]

The contests between these two teams were well attended and popularly encouraged by the rest of the student body. The boys and girls of the school both had separate fields on the campus which they used during recreational times, but some of the girls, specifically Cara Carter and Pauahi Judd were occasionally invited to play with their fellow male students.[104] What this suggests is that while baseball was seen as an avenue for achieving a popular masculinity in the case of William Chickering, it was not exclusively a male pursuit, indicating ambivalence on the part of Punahou students in regard to how the sport was related to gender during the 1870s. Similar sentiments regarding the uncertainty toward a gendered understanding of baseball was expressed in an 1875 report in the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* which asked, "why should not ladies play…base ball as well as gentlemen?" The question was centered around the description of a women's cricket match in Australia, which the *Advertiser* noted to be a "grand success."[105]

[102] "Sports in Honolulu," *The Polynesian*, December 26, 1840.
[103] Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou*, 344.
[104] Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou*, 344.
[105] "A Ladies Cricket Match," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, July 17, 1875.

In addition to helping establish official games, the growth of organized baseball clubs during the 1870s also created active pools of players from which to draw teams should outsiders offer challenges for a game. In 1871 for example, a team of whalers whose fleet had been previously wrecked in the Arctic Ocean sought a game in Makiki and were met by the Whangdoodle Base Ball Club led by Chickering and students of Punahou School.[106] Such challenges to local teams from visiting merchants or mariners were common throughout the decade as the Hawaiian Islands continued to grow in terms of commercial connections. In 1870, the Hawaiian Kingdom signed a postal agreement with the United States which established a regular exchange of correspondence from Hilo and Honolulu to San Francisco, Portland, Boston, New York, and other ports in North America. In 1875, the two nations signed a Treaty of Reciprocity. This treaty, which would go into effect the following year, allowed for the duty-free trade of goods such as beef, breadstuffs, oils, woods, fruits, and fish between the two nations. Most importantly for the plantation owners in the Hawaiian Islands, this treaty also ensured the duty-free trade of sugar, which enhanced the power of the sugar plantation owners. These increased connections to the United States also led to increased presence of American military personnel in the islands, which provided more foreigners to challenge the baseball players of Honolulu.

One of the most frequent baseball challengers during the 1870s was a club made up of officers from the U.S.S. *Pensacola.* Launched in 1859, the *Pensacola* was a screw steamer that saw action during the U.S. Civil War when it besieged New Orleans and helped capture the city in 1862. After the war, the ship was assigned to the United States' Pacific Squadron where it served between August of 1866 and June of 1883. As part of its assignment in the Pacific, the

[106] Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou*, 302; "Base Ball," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, December 2, 1871.

Pensacola regularly cruised between the Puget Sound in Washington Territory, Callao in Peru, and Honolulu. While in port at O‘ahu, the sailors were heavily involved in baseball games, playing against teams such as the Athletes, Pacifics, and Oceanics.[107] The connection between this ship and baseball would be cemented in 1874, as the street that would bear its name was laid down stretching from the coast to the Makiki fields, where the baseball games were played.[108]

But the United States was only one of many foreign powers with which the Hawaiian Kingdom interacted during this time period and while many Hawaiians, haole, and visiting Americans played baseball in the islands, other sports were practiced as well. Continued political ties, trading agreements, and other interactions with Great Britain led to the growth of cricket as a complementary, and sometimes rival, bat and ball sport within the Hawaiian Islands. Throughout the 1870s, a number of cricket matches were organized and many featured O‘ahu’s baseball players. Matches were played on baseball fields and were often “very enjoyable and pleasant” despite the fact that they featured many “raw hands” among the players who may not have had as much practice at the sport as others.[109] As with baseball, equipment was sold by local merchants and the players organized themselves into an amateur cricket association by 1874.[110]

Similar to the organization of baseball clubs in the 1870s, this cricket association created a pool of players from which to draw in the event of a challenge from outsiders. And as with baseball, some of the most frequent challenges came in the form of cricket clubs from warships anchored in the harbor, such as the HMS *Tenedos*.[111] Cricket matches offered amenities

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[107] *Dictionary of American Naval Fighting Ships*, s.v. “*Pensacola.*” http://www.history.navy.mil/danfs/p4/pensacola-i.htm [accessed February 6, 2013].
[108] Mary Kawena Pukui, Samuel H. Elbert and Esther T. Mookini eds., *Place Names of Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1974), 183.
[109] *The Hawaiian Gazette*, January 7, 1874.
[110] For example, see *The Hawaiian Gazette*, July 16, 1873.
[111] *The Hawaiian Gazette*, March 11, 1874.

including refreshments and were publicized and promoted in local newspapers. Some newspapers, such as the *Hawaiian Gazette*, not only reported on local matches, but also noted the travels of English cricketers to places such as Canada and Australia.[112] By 1875, the *Gazette* reported that both baseball and cricket were "well calculated to develop the muscle and strength of those who practice them, and we hope to see them well patronized."[113]

Beneath a sporting rivalry between baseball and cricket players to secure fields, there were very real divisions in the Hawaiian Islands with regard to the relationships between the islands and Great Britain and the United States. Protests over the election of King Kalākaua in February of 1874 by supporters of Queen Emma resulted in soldiers from the USS *Portsmouth*, the USS *Tuscarora*, and the HMS *Tenedos* being called upon to help restore order.[114] Jon Osorio has noted that among many Hawaiians, Queen Emma "was the more reliable champion of the kingdom's independence, opposing without reservation all measures, like reciprocity, that promised closer ties to the United States."[115] After assuming the throne, Kalākaua, on the other hand, leaned on links to the United States and became a strong patron of baseball.[116] King Kalākaua attended numerous games in the 1870s, including one in 1875 that lasted more than three hours before being called on the count of darkness between the Athletes and a team from the USS *Pensacola*.[117] While baseball was popular in the United States and received royal

[112] "Late Foreign News," *The Hawaiian Gazette*, September 4, 1872; *The Hawaiian Gazette*, March 11, 1874.
[113] *The Hawaiian Gazette*, June 2, 1875. The similarity between the two sports as bat and ball games was further noted in a joke published in 1877 that noted "baseball and cricket are not so far apart after all; one depends upon the pitcher and the other the bowl." *The Hawaiian Gazette*, January 3, 1877.
[114] "The Rioters," *Hawaiian Gazette*, February 18, 1874.
[115] According to Jon Osorio, it would be because of his reliance on foreign troops to restore order that King Kalākaua's political power "would forever be based on American power and support." Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui*, 152, 157.
[116] To honor the King's support of baseball, the ball-playing community organized an exhibition upon his fiftieth birthday in November of 1886 that featured two teams, Jubilee and Coronation, made up of mixed rosters from the various baseball clubs in Honolulu. *Daily Bulletin*, November 27, 1886.
[117] At the time the game was called, the score was 38-33 with the Athletes on top, yet the game itself was described as "a closely-contested match," where "both clubs showed great skill." *The Hawaiian Gazette*, June 16, 1875.

patronage in the 1870s by a monarch who had close dealings with the United States, it is unclear exactly how closely the sport itself was linked with America in the Hawaiian Islands. In contrast, cricket was clearly associated with Britain, as the sport was described in Hawaiian language as "kinipōpō Pelekane," or British baseball.[118]

Despite a growing challenge from cricket, baseball continued to be popular into the 1880s throughout the islands, and inter-island games became a more regular occurrence. In the fall of 1883 for example, an inter-island challenge was issued to a team from Maui to be played in Honolulu. The lead-up to this game featured considerable anticipation accompanied by public trash-talk in the newspapers "as almost all the town" was expected to attend.[119] There was also debate as to whether or not the Honolulu Athletic Club would play with their regular nine or if they would form an all-star team of the best players from the different clubs. It was decided that the Honolulus would keep their regular nine and the decision paid dividends, with the defeat of the visiting team from Spreckelsville, Maui 31-6.[120] This was followed up by a return match two days later, which was again won by the Honolulus, 21-3.[121] Despite the lopsided score, both teams enjoyed themselves and the Honolulu Club hosted the visitors for dinner before the Maui team left port later that week to cheers and well-wishes from their baseballing adversaries.

The advantage of the Honolulu team over its counterpart from Spreckelsville most likely lies in the level of competition it had on a regular basis. By the 1880s, Honolulu had several fields in use for baseball, one on the grounds of Punahou School, one on the Esplanade near the Custom House at Honolulu Harbor, one behind Kawaiahaʻo Church, one on the prison and parade grounds, and the main one at the Makiki Reserve, which had become so popular that a

[118] *Ka Makaainana*, January 1, 1894.
[119] *Honolulu Daily Bulletin*, October 27, 1883. For trash-talk, see *Honolulu Daily Bulletin*, October 25-26, 1883.
[120] "Battle of the Base Ballers," *Hawaiian Gazette*, October 31, 1883.
[121] "Baseball," in *Honolulu Daily Bulletin*, October 30, 1883.

new grandstand and pavilion was constructed there in June of 1884.[122] By the mid-1880s, the Hawaiian Base Ball League was run by William Allen, who Reverend Gotō cited as playing particularly well in defeat for the Foreigners back in the July 4, 1866.[123] Allen oversaw and helped maintain a league that included a varying number of organized ballclubs depending on the year. Throughout the decade, the list of clubs included the Honolulus, the Benedicts (also called the Married Men), the Oceanics, the Hawaiis, the Kamehamehas, the Kaiulanis, as well as a reformed and reorganized Pacific Base Ball Club, among others.

These clubs competed for prize purses and were of considerable interest to city gamblers, who bet money on the games.[124] With the frequent contact between the Hawaiian Islands and the United States, rule changes and innovations were quickly adopted into island play and more baseball equipment began appearing in local stores. Among the merchants to supply equipment was A. L. Kamika, who sold rubber baseballs at thirty-five cents apiece, and enterprising players such as J.M. Oat Jr. and Thomas Thrum who sold gloves and other equipment.[125] On the teams themselves, the catcher and the aukū, or pitcher, were forced to adjust to the changing nature of the sport and the rest of the fielders would follow suit increasing the demand for new types of equipment.

Beginning in the 1870s in the United States, the role of the pitcher shifted from somebody who got everything started to somebody who focused on preventing hits. With that change, the catcher came to be seen as a much tougher and more manly position as pitching styles switched from underhand to overhand, increasing the challenge for those behind the plate.

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[122] Ardolino, "Missionaries, Cartwright and Spalding," 35; *Honolulu Daily Bulletin*, June 19, 1884.
[123] Gotō, *Hawai Hōjin yakyūshi*, 2.
[124] By 1883 there was talk of games being played for money and the opinion of the *Saturday Press* was that baseball players should "best content themselves by sending 'skyscrapers' along the 'diamond,' and not seek to get rich by betting," continuing that it was "not the thing to promote the sport, or to win for the game the respect of our best citizens." "Baseball," *The Saturday Press*, August 25, 1883.
[125] *Honolulu Daily Bulletin*, December 26, 1882.

Through the 1870s and into the 1880s, an increase in "defensive swings, combined with the much greater speed of the pitches led to a dramatic increase in the number of balls that were tipped off the bat and subtly changed directions at the last instant. This posed a great hazard to catchers who had moved closer to the batsman."[126] Protective equipment was developed in the late-1870s for catchers, who were ridiculed for wearing wire masks, chest protectors, and gloves, while the pitcher's mound was pushed back from forty-five feet to fifty, and later to sixty feet, six inches by 1893.[127] Since the captains and best players of these early teams in the Hawaiian Islands played catcher and masks were being supplied by merchants by the early 1880s, it seems as though the position was held in equal regard in the islands as in the United States.

Between 1867 and 1887, the growth of organized baseball clubs produced a talented pool of players within Honolulu and around the Hawaiian Islands. Thanks to the organization of specific clubs with elected officers along the lines of other social groups, there were recognized leaders within the baseball-playing community who worked to schedule games and find umpires. Such organization marked a shift in the way baseball had been practiced in the Hawaiian Islands as rules became uniformly followed and official games became increasingly recognized and reported. Coupled with the growth of the sport along the lines of its counterpart in the United States, baseball in the Hawaiian Islands also came to be linked to understandings of masculinity. Most importantly, this period was characterized by the formation of a baseball playing community which could be recognized and represented both within the Hawaiian Islands and abroad.

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[126] Peter Morris, *Catcher: How the Man Behind the Plate Became an American Folk Hero* (Chicago, IL: Ivan R. Dee, 2009), 38.
[127] Morris, *Catcher*, 154; Bill James, *The New Bill James Historical Abstract* (New York, NY: The Free Press, 2001), 35-38.

Politics in Baseball and Baseball in Politics (1888-1889)

After twenty years of organized baseball clubs establishing themselves and playing games in the islands, the number of Hawaiian subjects and foreign settlers who either played, continued to play, or were familiar with the sport made up an increasingly significant percentage of the Honolulu population. As the ball-playing community grew, so too did the role of many ballplayers and fans in the economic and political fabric of Honolulu society. What then, was the relationship between baseball and politics during this time? For the most part, baseball games drew participants and audiences from across the political spectrum. Two particular instances illustrate the intersection of baseball and politics during the late 1880s: the visit of an American baseball tour and an attempted rebellion against the government.

The first instance is the 1888 visit of professional baseball players from the United States led by A. G. Spalding. Albert Goodwill Spalding was a baseball player in the 1860s and 1870s who was among the top pitchers in the National Association while playing for the Boston Red Stockings. He then moved over to the National League to be the player/manager of the Chicago White Stockings in 1876 for two years before retiring from playing. Following his retirement, Spalding continued to manage the club for several years before being named president in 1882. The entire time, he was working to promote a sporting goods business known as A. G. Spalding & Bros. It was in this capacity as both a team president and budding sporting-goods magnate that Spalding sought to actively promote the sport with a world tour.[128]

This world tour promoted an American "national character built on entrepreneurial skills and mastery of technological innovation…and a culture of movement, manliness and racial

[128] Francis C. Richter, "Heroic Figure Passes from the Stage," *The Sporting Life*, September 18, 1915.

hierarchy" that, according to historian Thomas Zeiler, "forecast the desire and intention [of the United States] to take part in the Great Power game of imperialism."[129] Spalding and his investors may have been imperially motivated, but the idea for the tour was based on a previous 1874 tour to England involving American ballplayers conducting games among themselves and against English cricketers; a tour in which Spalding himself had participated as a player.[130] Overall, that tour featured fourteen exhibition games in England and Ireland and newspaper coverage not only in the United States and Great Britain, but in English-language papers around the world.[131] One such place that followed the touring American baseball players was Honolulu, as the *Hawaiian Gazette* reported that nearly five thousand spectators attended the match with the Marylebone Club, and that the English confessed that the Americans could teach them a thing or two about fielding. Such coverage in a Honolulu newspaper illustrates the growing popularity of both sports during the 1870s.[132]

What most inspired Spalding about that 1874 tour however, was the great press coverage that helped promote baseball both in the United States and abroad. For Spalding, a global baseball tour was an opportunity not only to promote himself and his sport, but expand the market for baseball equipment into new regions around the world. It was with this goal of

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[129] Thomas W. Zeiler, "Basepaths to Empire: Race and the Spalding World Tour," *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 6, no. 2 (April 2007): 180

[130] At the time, the American Spalding described himself as "sanguine enough to believe that, once our English cousins saw our game, it would forthwith be adopted there, as here." Spalding soon realized however, that the English press had been far more eager to talk about upcoming cricket matches, so when the eighteen American ballplayers finally arrived in England, they "found the British public thoroughly advised of the forthcoming cricket matches and only slightly informed about the exhibition ball games." The eighteen Americans played cricket against eleven Englishmen from the Marylebone Cricket Club and despite not having good form, the Americans acquitted themselves well in terms of hitting and fielding. In fact, the English papers noted that the Americans' "striking was exceedingly good, and the fielding was worthy of all praise. It is seldom, even in the best cricket fields of England, that better catches or quicker returns are made, while the backing up of the Americans is simply admirable." Albert G. Spalding, *America's National Game*, 176-179; *London Daily News*, September 11, 1874; an excerpt from this article would later be re-printed in the *Hawaiian Gazette*, November 4, 1874.

[131] Zeiler, "Basepaths to Empire," 180.

[132] *The Hawaiian Gazette*, September 9, 1874; *The Hawaiian Gazette*, September 2, 1874.

creating a demand for baseball equipment that Spalding set out west through the Pacific. He was joined on this tour by prominent players of the time period such as Cap Anson, Tom Daly, John "Egyptian" Healy, J.K. Tener, Tom Brown, Ned Hanlon, John Montgomery Ward, and Jim Fogarty.[133] In heading through Oceania, Spalding was counting not only on the support of baseball lovers in Honolulu, but the British colonists of the region who he said "had a racial love for outdoor games and enjoyed a climate that made their playing possible nearly the entire year."[134] In Spalding's estimation, the sport would appeal most to white settlers in the regions to which they would tour. Despite Spalding's racial theorizing as to whom the tour would appeal, the stop in Honolulu was highly anticipated by a wide range of residents in the city, both Hawaiian and haole.

Spalding and his baseball tourists arrived in Honolulu on Sunday morning, November 25, 1888, one day behind their scheduled arrival. Anticipation for this visit was high as the group had been promoted in many local newspapers for weeks in advance. There was a celebration planned around an exhibition game by the visiting players that included a feast and a launch of balloons from the Makiki Fields.[135] The many people who arrived at port to welcome the mail steamer *Alameda* that would bring Spalding and ballplayers from San Francisco on Saturday morning were to be sent home disappointed when the ship did not arrive.[136] When the *Alameda*

[133] Monty Ward was, at that time, leader of the National Association of Base Ball Players which was fighting against Spalding for control of baseball, while J.K. Tener would go on to become governor of Pennsylvania. Spalding would later remember the group of players as "Base Ball Missionaries" for their efforts promoting the sport around the world. Spalding, *America's National Game*, 252-253.
[134] Spalding, *America's National Game*, 251.
[135] The *Honolulu Daily Bulletin* mentions the visit beginning in March, but coverage picks up considerably in the fall months. The *Gazette* also includes a mention of the American teams possibly playing against teams from Honolulu. *Honolulu Daily Bulletin*, March 7, 1888; ; *Hawaiian Gazette*, September, 25, 1888; *Honolulu Daily Bulletin*, October 9, 1888; *Hawaiian Gazette*, October 30, 1888; "Na Ahahui Kinipopo," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, November 24, 1888.
[136] The opportunity to greet the baseball tourists was not the only reason that a crowd gathered on the Oceanic Steamship wharf that Saturday morning however, as the *Alameda* brought with it word of the presidential election results in the United States. In newspaper summaries of the baseball players' visit the following week, each story started off by reporting the results of Benjamin Harrison winning the White House.

arrived safely on Sunday morning, its delay resulted in the sport of baseball becoming a direct challenge to the political situation in Honolulu.

Due to the laws of the Kingdom at that time, sports and games were prohibited from being played on Sundays. The root of these laws dated back to June of 1824 when Queen Kaʻahumanu declared that "there shall be no work or play on the Sabbath, but this day shall be regarded as the sacred day of Jehovah."[137] Although the Kingdom would go through numerous constitutions between the 1820s and the visit of Spalding's baseball players in 1888, the spirit of this law would remain in effect since the Penal Code of 1850 continued to declare "all worldly business, amusements and recreation" to be "taboo" and forbidden on Sunday, under penalty of a fine and imprisonment.[138] The most recent incarnation of this prohibition had been enacted by King Kalākaua and the Legislative Assembly in October of 1886.[139] This act sought to regulate the observance of Sunday as a day of worship and it specifically forbade "all public amusements, sports, shows and games on Sunday," as well as any sports or games played privately that would interfere with the community's ability to worship undisturbed. Furthermore, violation of this prohibition would result in up to a fifty dollar fine or thirty days imprisonment.[140]

After disembarking, Spalding and the baseball players ate breakfast at the Hawaiian Hotel and were then received by King Kalākaua and his court. Meanwhile, this prohibition of sports on Sunday was at the forefront of the public's concern and *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* estimated

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[137] ABCFM, *The Missionary Herald for the Year 1826* Vol. XXII (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1826), 240.
[138] Kingdom of Hawaiʻi, *Penal Code of the Hawaiian Kingdom, Compiled from the Penal Code of 1850, and the Various Penal Enactments Since Made, Pursuant to the Act of the Legislative Assembly, June 22nd 1868*, Chapter XXXV: Disturbing Religious Worship – Violating the Sabbath, Section 2 (Honolulu, HI: Government Press, 1869), 80.
[139] This enactment by the King received considerable praise among Christian groups of the islands, see for example the *Honolulu Daily Bulletin*, November 27, 1886; *Honolulu Daily Press*, May, 10, 1886; *Honolulu Daily Press*, May 31, 1886.
[140] Kingdom of Hawaiʻi, *Laws of His Majesty Kalakaua I, King of the Hawaiian Islands, Passed by the Legislative Assembly, at its Session 1886*, Chapter LIII, An Act to Regulate the Observance of Sunday (Honolulu, HI: P.C. Advertiser Steam Print, 1886), 103.

that within only a few hours, a written petition requesting permission for a game to be played had over one thousand signatures.[141] The *Daily Bulletin* noted the same number of signatories, which included "quite a percentage of citizens in the front rank of prominence."[142] Based on the critical stance that the *Daily Bulletin* had taken towards the monarchy in the recent past, it is probable that the "citizens in the front rank of prominence" would have included colleagues and compatriots of those who imposed the Bayonet Constitution against the king the previous year.[143]

The prospect of a Sunday baseball game was a major test regarding the authority of the Bayonet Constitution that was in effect at that time. Just over a year before, several haole Honolulu residents conspired to secure political power and set a plan in motion to that end. At a late June meeting of the Hawaiian League, William Kinney, Lorrin Thurston, William Castle, and others called for a new constitution to be promulgated. A lawyer and staunch proponent of annexation by the United States, Kinney was also a baseball player who captained the Oceanic Base Ball Club in 1885 on which Thurston played.[144] Though this meeting took place in late June, the conspiracy that lead to the demand for a new constitution "had been taking shape since early spring" according to Queen Lili'uokalani, which would have coincided with most of the baseball season, giving the conspirators even more opportunities to meet with one another.[145] This June 30th meeting of the Hawaiian League was protected by a detachment of the Honolulu Rifles, a group nominally loyal to King Kalākaua, but actually in support of the League.[146] The result of this meeting was that a group of thirteen haole, backed by the Honolulu Rifles, forced

[141] "Na Hui Kinipopo," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, December 1, 1888.
[142] "Baseball Tourists! Arrival of the Alameda with the Ball-Players," *Honolulu Daily Bulletin*, November 25, 1888.
[143] Helen Chapin provides a good summary of the various political leanings of Hawai'i newspapers during the 1880s in Chapter 13 of *Shaping History: The Role of Newspapers in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996), 75-83.
[144] *Saturday Press*, July 18, 1885.
[145] Liliuokalani, *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen* (Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 1990), 177.
[146] The Honolulu Rifles are another group who practiced baseball during the 1880s, as one Company would regularly challenge another to games, as reported in newspapers such as *The Daily Bulletin*, April 8, 1887.

the King to sign a new constitution which, according to historian Jon Osorio, "meant the abrupt and nearly total termination of any executive power or royal authority."[147]

Specifically, the constitution gave executive power to the King and the cabinet, rather than just the King himself, and any acts of government enacted by the King would be by and with the advice and consent of the cabinet. Furthermore, a cabinet member could only be removed by vote of the Legislative Assembly, which severely hampered the authority of the monarch.[148] As for the rest of the laws, the constitution declared that the previous laws of the Kingdom would "continue to remain in full effect, until altered or repealed by the Legislature."[149] For King Kalākaua to accept the petition of the baseball fans and allow the visitors to play would be in direct challenge to the recently imposed constitution, as he would be overturning a law without any vote by the Legislative Assembly.

As mentioned previously, King Kalākaua was a fan of baseball who attended games and celebrations within the baseball-playing community of the islands. He would have wanted to see the visiting teams put on a game. Additionally, Lorrin Thurston, now the Interior Minister, and William Kinney, two of the most vocal members of the Hawaiian League in limiting the King's power the year before with the Bayonet Constitution, were both heavily involved in convincing Spalding to stop in Honolulu as part of his tour. In fact, it was Kinney who, while in Chicago, suggested to Spalding "that a match be played at Honolulu on the morning of the arrival of the American teams, with one of the local clubs."[150] In this case, both King Kalākaua and his political enemies would have shared a desire to see some baseball played by the visiting professionals, yet the political tension precluded such an outcome without larger repercussions.

[147] Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui*, 240.
[148] Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui*, 241.
[149] Kingdom of Hawai'i, Constitution of 1887, Article 79.
[150] "Sporting Matters," *Hawaiian Gazette Supplement*, October 30, 1888.

This intersection of baseball and politics created a scene where playing a game would have been a direct challenge to the authority of the Bayonet Constitution. While baseball is often used as shorthand for American imperialism, in this instance, the prevention of the sport is much more imperial than its play would have been. Here, we see an opportunity for the sport to be used in defense of the authority of the monarch and as an avenue for resisting the political efforts of a haole minority. Hosting a game on Sunday would have been a way for King Kalākaua to reassert his authority over the Hawaiian Islands since it would have violated a constitution that limited his power. On the other hand, Kalākaua could have not pushed for an exception in order to fuel a popular displeasure with the Bayonet Constitution. Either way, there was support on all sides for the sport of baseball, but none of the political actors was willing to change the law. For his part, Spalding considered it to be "of paramount importance that the laws of every city and state and country should be respected and upheld; that the youth of every community should be educated to honor and obey the laws."[151] Spalding was especially comfortable upholding the laws of a group of white settlers, but his statement would become even more ironic in the next few years, as a group of men who grew up playing baseball would go on to break the laws of the nation with a *coup d'état* in 1893.[152]

In the end there were no games played by the baseball tourists, who instead spent the day touring the city, beaches, and mountains, and visiting an American warship in the harbor.[153] They were all then treated to a lūʻau (feast) hosted by the King and others at Queen Kapiʻolani's

[151] In general, Spalding was not opposed to playing Sunday baseball, since the people who participated in and watched games on Sunday would most likely get themselves involved "in practices much more inimical to their wellbeing" without baseball. Albert Spalding, *America's National Game*, 256-257.
[152] The American reporters who accompanied Spalding's tourists were critical of such laws though, as *The Sporting Life* noted that such blue laws were antiquated and "obnoxious to people of cosmopolitan tastes." Harry Palmer, "Base Ball: The Great Trip," *The Sporting Life*, January 9, 1889.
[153] Harry Palmer, "Base Ball: The Great Trip," *The Sporting Life*, January 9, 1889.

private residence at Honuakaha, just a few blocks from the palace.[154] The visiting baseball guests were feted by nearly two hundred Hawaiian and haole residents of the city as well as American naval officers and they thoroughly enjoyed the celebration before departing the islands for Australia later that evening. Harry Palmer of the *Sporting Life* noted that at no other point on their trip did the baseball tourists "leave a city with such honest regret," as they felt when they left Honolulu.[155]

Upon the return of Spalding and his baseball tourists to New York City in the spring of 1889, they were feted at Delmonico's restaurant. Although the goal of Spalding's tour may have been to spread the sport and open up markets for baseball equipment, speeches at the banquet tended to highlight the perceived difference in character between the national pastime of the United States and foreign lands. As Thomas Zeiler has noted, one of the major points of difference was race, as "the baseball tourists transferred their racial perspectives to the international stage and applied their belittling views to the supposedly uncivilized and incomprehensible people they met abroad."[156] Such accounts were transmitted back to the United States where, despite increasing economic ties between the Hawaiian Kingdom and the United States, the Hawaiian Islands remained exotic and decidedly foreign in the minds of the New York elite who attended this dinner.

In Spalding's estimation, the rest of the tour was quite successful at increasing the popularity of the sport around the world. Upon his return to the United States, the self-promoting globetrotter noted that thanks to his tour, baseball had "become a prominent sport in

[154] The grounds were exceptionally decorated and well lit with oil torches and electric lanterns hung amid the trees and shrubs causing one attendee to note that "never was there finer illumination of any place of festivity." "The Arrival of the Alameda," *The Hawaiian Gazette,* November 27, 1888.
[155] Harry Palmer, "Base Ball: The Great Trip," *The Sporting Life*, January 16, 1889.
[156] Zeiler, "Basepaths to Empire," 206.

Hawaii" and was taking hold in New Zealand, Australia, and elsewhere.[157] With that, Spalding fit baseball in the Hawaiian Islands into a narrative of Americanization by relating the spread of the sport to other regions as that of an invading force which served to "liberate multitudes" as it followed the flag of United States imperial expansion.[158] In actuality, there was to be no such liberation in Honolulu, since not only was baseball already popular, but the political forces that had developed in the islands prevented any games from being played and avoided undercutting the authority of a coerced constitution.

Despite support for the sport of baseball among political adversaries, the political climate of the Hawaiian Kingdom prevented any games being played by Spalding's baseball players during their 1888 visit. The next year, baseball and politics were again intertwined when baseball adversaries faced off on opposite sides of an armed political rebellion. Local and foreign media linked baseball to the conflict in their editorial layout and through the use of baseball metaphors to characterize the rebellion. As with the Spalding visit in 1888, the rebellion and the weeks surrounding it created a political climate that could not be kept off the baseball diamond.

On the morning of July 30, 1889, Robert Wilcox and Robert Boyd led a group of rebels in an attempt to overthrow the government of King Kalākaua and the Bayonet Constitution. Both Wilcox and Boyd had been educated in Italy as part of a program Kalākaua had enacted in 1880 to send Hawaiian youths to school abroad in order to train them for future positions in his government.[159] After months of planning, Boyd and Wilcox outfitted their men with pistols, rifles, and "red Garibaldi shirts" that reflected their Italian military training and marched on

[157] "Spalding's Views," *The Sporting Life*, January 10, 1891.
[158] Spalding, *America's National Game*, 396, 14.
[159] Agnes Quigg, "Kalākaua's Hawaiian Studies Abroad Program," in *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 22 (1988): 170-171.

ʻIolani Palace with a new constitution for the king to sign.[160] King Kalākaua was at Queen Kapiʻolani's residence however, and not at the palace, so Wilcox and Boyd encamped their troops on the palace grounds while they attempted to convince the king to return.

Due to their interests in the islands, the United States Minister George Merrill and British Commissioner James Wodehouse had previously "agreed that the movements of British and U.S. warships would be coordinated so that at least one vessel would always be in Honolulu up to the end of July or early August."[161] After word reached Merrill that Wilcox had taken the palace, he ordered troops from the U.S.S. *Adams* to be landed and supplied the Honolulu Rifles, a volunteer militia, with arms and ammunition.[162] The militia occupied nearby buildings and then opened fire using guns and makeshift bombs on the bungalow where Wilcox and Boyd's troops were stationed. After seven of their supporters were killed and nearly a dozen injured, Wilcox and Boyd surrendered and the conflict was over.[163]

Leading up to this outbreak of violence, the 1889 season of the Hawaiian Base Ball League had been hotly contested and the month of July had "been devoted in a greater degree to sports than any former period of island history," with baseball as a prominent reason for such sporting popularity.[164] Given the sport's popularity, it is no surprise to find players involved in such an important event as an armed uprising against the government. What is interesting is that among the players involved, those who were adversaries on the diamond were also opposed in the conflict.

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[160] Daws, *Shoal of Time*, 256

[161] Ernest Andrade, *Unconquerable Rebel: Robert Wilcox and Hawaiian Politics, 1880-1903* (Boulder, CO: University of Colorado Press, 1996), 59.

[162] Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, Volume 3: 1874-1893, The Kalakaua Dynasty* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 1967), 428.

[163] Daws, *Shoal of Time*, 257.

[164] "Hawaiian News Summary," *The Hawaiian Gazette*, July 30, 1889. In fact, this baseball season had been so intense that the *Daily Bulletin* even suggested that Gardner Wilder had earned a bit of a rest and vacation after serving as the official baseball scorer. *The Daily Bulletin*, August 16, 1889.

Among those who supported Wilcox and worked with him leading up to the morning of July 30 were several members of the Hawaii Base Ball Club. George Markham, the Hawaii's second baseman, was one of the red shirts who was with Wilcox at the palace while Henry Kaia, the team captain and Francisco Testa, the team president were involved in earlier stages.[165] According to several accounts, Markham was heavily involved in the planning as well, even helping Wilcox purchase the red shirts for the fighters to wear.[166] On the other side, the first person Wilcox and his men encountered at ʻIolani Palace was Robert Waipa, the Honolulus pitcher and lieutenant of the palace guards. It was Waipa who prevented Wilcox and the others from entering the palace and forced them to set up camp elsewhere on the grounds.[167] When the Honolulu Rifles arrived and the fighting began, the most conspicuous among them was Hay Wodehouse, the heavy-hitting catcher for the Honolulus, who threw sticks of dynamite at Wilcox, Boyd, and Markham.[168]

As Liliʻuokalani remembered the event, Wodehouse was specifically notable for his role in launching the bombs, having climbed on nearby stables and causing considerable damage to the palace grounds with a small mortar and explosive missiles.[169] According to a biography of Sanford Dole, Wodehouse was specifically chosen to throw the bombs since he was an "efficient catcher of the Honolulu Baseball Club, with a good throw to second base."[170] Markham was one

[165] Thomas K. Nakanaela, *Ka Buke Moʻolelo o Hon. Robert William Wilikoki* (Honolulu, HI: Lake me Nakanaela, na luna hoopuka, 1890), 29-31.
[166] "October Term," *The Daily Bulletin*, October 22, 1889; "Ka Hihia o R. W. Wilikoki a me ke Kipakuia Ana o na Kiure," *Ko Hawaii Pae Aina*, October 26, 1889.
[167] Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1874-1893*, 427.
[168] Gavan Daws and others have also noted the involvement of Arthur Turton as another baseball player with the volunteer militia, but while he may have been a ballplayer, he was not on any of the league teams from the 1889 season. Daws, *Shoal of Time*, 257.
[169] Liliuokalani, *Hawaii's Story By Hawaii's Queen*, 1992), 201.
[170] Damon, *Sanford Ballard Dole and His Hawaii*, 219.

of the handful of injured fighters in the conflict, taking a gunshot wound to the left arm before he and the rest of Wilcox's forces surrendered.[171]

Over the next few months, local and international media would recap the events of the uprising with frequent mentions of baseball. The subsequent months would consist of trials and hearings regarding the conflict and its planning, which the media reported alongside recaps and box scores from league play well into September. In both content descriptions and editorials, newspapers linked the sport to politics for public consumption.

Not surprisingly, the sports media highlighted the role of Hay Wodehouse, with *The Sporting Life*, running a large portrait of the bomb-throwing player above the title "hero catcher," in October of 1889. *The Sporting Life* described Wodehouse as "a 'right good catcher'…from all accounts… a fine all-around player, [and] a great base ball enthusiast," who followed baseball in the United States with "an absorbing interest."[172] The San Francisco *Examiner* also capitalized on Wodehouse's participation to illustrate the entire scene in baseball terms.[173] In the illustration of the *Examiner*, Wilcox and his men are defending against the bombs being pitched by Wodehouse as a caricature of King Kalākaua flees the scene underneath a scoreboard that reads "Regulars - 7, Insurgents - 0." Such foreign coverage of Wilcox's uprising paint a very strong sentiment in favor of the haole settlers in the Hawaiian Islands. Despite ballplayers on multiple sides of this confrontation, baseball was used by the American press on the side of the haole minority that sought to maintain the control of the Bayonet Constitution.

[171] "Insurrection!" *Hawaiian Gazette*, August 6, 1889.
[172] *The Sporting Life* originally attributed such actions to a pitcher named Haywood House, erring in both his name and position. They corrected their mistake the next week however. "Hero Catcher," *The Sporting Life*, October 16, 1889.
[173] This image is included as Figure 3 in the Appendix. "Revolutionary Scene in Honolulu," *San Francisco Examiner*, August 11, 1889.

Aside from using baseball metaphors and imagery to describe the uprising and its suppression, newspapers also linked baseball and the subsequent trials in terms of their editorial layout. In the months following the uprising, standings and game recaps of the Hawaiian Base Ball League appeared next to news of the trials, along with homages and criticisms of Wilcox depending on the newspaper.[174] *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, for example, published baseball news surrounded by mele (songs) composed to celebrate Wilcox.[175] The paper's publisher, John Bush, was a former ballplayer from the 1860s and 1870s who knew the popularity of the sport and used the sport and the mele to draw readers to multiple pages of his paper.[176] Bush also harshly criticized the government for their handling of the uprising, publishing editorials asking why it was not the militiamen being investigated for murdering the Hawaiian fighters.[177] The English-language *Daily Bulletin,* meanwhile, featured baseball news next to columns that defended the justice of Wilcox's arrest and trial.[178]

One particularly notable series of baseball that coincided with the Wilcox trial was between the Kaiulani Base Ball Club and a team of officers from the USS *Nipsic*.[179] These games were for a five-hundred dollar prize purse and beforehand, *Ka Leo o ka Lahui* encouraged its readers to attend the game and taunt the team from the *Nipsic* with yelling and chants.[180] As readers opened up their papers they were hit with the depictions of a Hawaiian man who was defeated by American-supplied weapons and ammunition on trial for treason in juxtaposition

[174] For a summary of the various ways different newspapers covered Wilcox, readers should consult Ronald Williams, "'Ike Mōakaaka, Seeing a Path Forward: Historiography in Hawai'i," *Hūlili: Multidisciplinary Research on Hawaiian Well-Being* 7 (2011): 67-90.
[175] *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, September 5, 1889; *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, September 10, 1889.
[176] Bush also aided in the uprising by giving his gun to Markham and Wilcox. "October Term," *The Daily Bulletin*, October 22, 1889.
[177] Owai na Pepehi Kanaka?" *Ka Leo o Ka Lahui*, October 11, 1889.
[178] *The Daily Bulletin*, August 23, 1889.
[179] *The Daily Bulletin*, September 5, 1889; *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, September 9, 1889.
[180] *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, September 10, 1889.

with accounts of United States Navy officers beating a team composed of Hawaiian players 10-9 and 16-13.[181] In this case, support for the Kaiulanis could have very easily been aligned with a disgust at the American navy for aiding the suppression of Wilcox and his forces and vice versa. The alignment of political and baseball opposition did not need to be spelled out however, since readers knew that Markham, Kaia, and the Hawaiis spent the majority of the season looking up at Wodehouse's and Waipa's Honolulus team in the standings.

The involvement of Markham, Kaia, Waipa, and Wodehouse in the uprising of 1889 do not necessarily indicate larger political leanings among the ball clubs in Honolulu. The end of the season team celebrations add a bit more to the political divisions in the league. One celebration was hosted by Paul Isenberg, a prominent Honolulu resident, at his house in Waiʻalae, for members of the Star and Honolulu Base Ball Clubs, while Henry Kaia hosted the Hawaii Base Ball Club at his home in Iwilei for a lūʻau.[182] In the toasts at these two separate celebrations there was a distinction between these three ballclubs. In Iwilei, with a mostly Hawaiian ball club, the toasts were directed to the health of the King, the Hawaii Base Ball Club, the League, and to the Hawaiian Islands as a home and "beloved country."[183] In Waiʻalae at the Isenberg residence, the mostly haole teams made one toast to King Kalākaua, but the majority of the toasts were to the players; to the teams; to the ladies who attended games; and to "the noble game of baseball, the American game," in the words of Paul Neumann.

What the toasts in Waiʻalae had in common was that they did not include mention of the Hawaiian Kingdom. While this could certainly just be an oversight among those in attendance at Isenberg's house who may have equated a toast to the King as being the same as a toast to the

[181] *The Daily Bulletin*, September 5, 1889; *The Daily Bulletin*, September 12, 1889.
[182] "Luau at Waialae," *The Hawaiian Gazette*, September 24, 1889.
[183] "Baseball Luau," *The Daily Bulletin*, October 7, 1889; *Ko Hawaii Pae Aina*, October 12, 1889.

Kingdom, its absence is notable when compared to the scene in Iwilei. The fact that the crowd at Henry Kaia's house toasted their "beloved country" in addition to the King, the Club, and the League illustrates a stronger sense of national identification and loyalty to the Hawaiian Kingdom among Markham, Kaia, Testa, and the other members of the Hawaii Base Ball Club when compared to the Stars and Honolulus with Waipa and Woodhouse, who also actively worked to suppress Wilcox's effort on July 30.

In both the Spalding visit and the Wilcox uprising, the local political tensions and their impacts on baseball were influenced by larger world-historical processes. Spalding's tour was a global venture designed to carve out the footprint of an American sporting empire. Its stop in Honolulu was arranged and encouraged by William Kinney while he was abroad representing the same business interests that had conspired to limit the power of the Hawaiian monarchy in 1887, which would in turn prevent Spalding's teams from playing during their visit. Wilcox then utilized the fruits of his international education in an effort to restore the political authority of the Hawaiian monarchy that had been usurped by those who sought closer ties to the United States. For the players who were on opposite sides of the uprising such as Markham, Kaia, Wodehouse, and Waipa, the season continued and the baseball diamond remained a site of consistent social interaction. Although he did not play for the rest of the season, Markham was heavily involved in the affairs of the Hawaiis and defended them when one of their pitchers was accused of fixing a game in September.[184] With both episodes, we see the political tensions begin to bleed onto the baseball diamond, as the players continued to negotiate local and transnational influences in their own lives.

[184] Geo. Markham, "The Hawaii Club and its Foes," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, September 18, 1889.

Conclusion

The first fifty years of baseball's development in the Hawaiian Islands were closely tied to a number of transnational forces. The sport's early adoption and practice between the 1840s and 1860s show an island group that was increasingly connected to the rest of the world as a hub for international trade and migration. As baseball grew in popularity between 1870 and 1889, the cultural exchange that had characterized its early spread gave way to more of a negotiated process in terms of how the sport would be fit into the larger social and political life of the Hawaiian Kingdom that sought to establish itself in an international community.

While most histories of baseball focused on this era have contributed to narratives of Americanization of the Hawaiian Islands at the expense of other global influences that effected the sport's development, the organization of the sport in the Hawaiian Islands during this time period paralleled the modernization of the game that was occurring across baseball. Official teams and leagues formed across the baseball-playing world and along with them the sport came to be linked to understandings of masculinity and the Hawaiian Islands developed a baseball life that similarly linked social and political lives.

With the visit by professional baseball players of Albert Spalding's world tour in 1888 and the rebellion against the government in 1889, politics and baseball overlapped with one another. The Spalding visitors were unable to play any games since the laws of the Kingdom prohibited games on Sundays and the king no longer had the authority to change the law. The irony lay in the fact that the entire visit had been organized by the very men who imposed the Bayonet Constitution upon King Kalākaua in 1887. While politics influenced events (or lack thereof) between the baselines, ballplayers continued to play a role in events beyond the

baselines. The effort to restore monarchical authority by Robert Wilcox in 1889 was supported and opposed by a number of different ballplayers. This involvement of baseball players in the political realm would continue through the 1890s as even more turmoil engulfed the Hawaiian Islands.

The combination of the Spalding teams not playing in 1888, the growing pool of skilled local players, and the highly competitive games of the 1889 season led King Kalākaua to assert that if a team from the United States were to play in Hawai‘i, he very much doubted "that they would be able to score a victory." The King declared this at a banquet following the 1889 season and as part of his speech, he recalled his own baseball-playing days as a child, a time when on-field disputes were settled by the captains of the teams, although on occasion there would be "a regular set-to," and scuffle between players. King Kalākaua went on to express his hope that baseball "would always continue to incite a friendly challenge as long as the League continued."[185] This idea of the baseball diamond as a site of "friendly challenge" would be tested in the 1890s, as political tensions mounted and ballplayers with opposing political stances continued to take the field with and against one another.

[185] "Foreign News: Base Ball in Hawaii," *The Sporting Life*, October 16, 1889.

CHAPTER 3
THE HAWAIIAN BASE BALL ASSOCIATION (1890-1895)

In January of 1895, Robert Wilcox, Samuel Nowlein, and others launched an armed uprising against the newly-declared Republic of Hawai‘i. This effort resulted in open conflict in Mānoa Valley and Mō‘ili‘ili on the island of O‘ahu, the imposition of martial law, and the arrest of numerous residents of O‘ahu who were charged with treason, conspiracy, or misprision. Among those arrested were current and former island ballplayers of the Hawaii Base Ball Club and Kamehameha Base Ball Club including William Ahia, John Freidenberg, William Kaae, Prince Jonah Kūhiō Kalaniana‘ole, George Markham, Alex Pahau, Francisco Testa, and John Wise. According to the charges, these players either actively fought against the Republic of Hawai‘i, planned to fight against it, or knew about the plans and did nothing to stop them. Since they were arrested under martial law, these men were sentenced by a military commission.[1]

Sitting on the military tribunal itself was former Honolulus and Crescents player Chan Wilder who had led a company of soldiers as captain in the Republic's army. In this military court, the Republic of Hawaii was represented by another Honolulu resident with a baseball-playing past, William Kinney, the former Oceanics and Honolulus player. One of several lawyers for the defense against Kinney was Antone Rosa, a League delegate for the Hawaii Base Ball Club. After the sentences were determined, they were reviewed by Sanford Dole, the president of the Republic, who had received numerous petitions calling for the death sentence for those who had rebelled against the government. Among those signing the petitions calling for

[1] Thomas Spencer, *Kaua Kuloko 1895: Ka Hoao ana e Hookahuli i ke Aupuni i Lokahi Ole ia, ka Repubalika o Hawaii* (Honolulu, HI: Papapapai Mahu Press Pub. Co., 1895), 72-74; Edward Towse, *The Rebellion of 1895: A complete and concise account of the insurrection in the Republic of Hawaii…* (Honolulu, HI: The Hawaiian Star, 1895), 53-54.

executions were Crescents ballplayers George Angus, George Lucas, and Harry Wilder, as well as League scorer W.J. Forbes.[2]

The uprising and subsequent call for executions speak to the outright conflict and intense political tension that characterized this time period. That political tension had been escalating since the end of the 1880s and was exacerbated in 1891 when Queen Lili‘uokalani attempted to restore power to the monarchy after ascending to the throne upon the death of her brother, King Kalākaua. The political atmosphere was then further charged when a group of haole (white) conspirators seized power in a *coup d’état* and overthrew Queen Lili‘uokalani. After a year-long provisional government, the usurpers declared the islands to be a republic in 1894, leading to the uprising and violent reaction mentioned above. While most histories of the Hawaiian Islands rightly focus on the drastic political changes, very few offer in-depth consideration of the social interactions in Honolulu during this time period between 1890 and 1895.[3]

This chapter outlines interactions on the baseball field in order to illustrate social links between political rivals and explore the extent to which the political tension spilled over onto the baseball diamond. When discussing the impact of world-historical processes it is important to not lose sight of the individual interactions that facilitated and were enabled by such transnational forces. By exploring the games, teams, and players of the Hawaiian Base Ball Association (HBBA) between 1890 and 1895, this chapter examines a social arena where political rivals regularly met and competed with one another and, in doing so, highlights the

[2] Petitions, Foreign Office and Executive Documents, Box 45. Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu, HI.
[3] Among the few discussions of this time period that do touch on social interactions is Noenoe Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 123-139. Most other discussions focus solely on political ramifications of these years. Gavan Daws, *Shoal of Time*, 264-285; Tom Coffman, *Nation Within: The History of the American Occupation of Hawai‘i*, Revised edition (Kihei, HI: Koa Books, 2009), 109-182.

actions of individuals who, to varying degrees, negotiated such transnational forces in their daily lives.

The first part of this chapter provides background for the League itself and the incorporation of the teams as an association. While the previous chapter looked at the development of baseball in the Hawaiian Islands prior to the 1890s, this section considers who was involved in the founding of the Hawaiian Base Ball Association as well as the specifics of the league in terms of how many teams participated, when and where games were played, how games were watched by spectators, and other details. The ensuing sections then look at the specific years of baseball from 1890 to 1895 and highlight interactions among players both as teammates and as opponents on the field to illustrate their familiarity with one another in the social context of the baseball diamond.

The principal sources for descriptions of the games played by members of the Hawaiian Base Ball Association are local newspapers from the Hawaiian Islands. Coverage of the league games was included in several newspapers such as the *Daily Bulletin*, *Ko Hawaii Pae Aina, Ka Lei Momi, Ka Leo o ka Lahui, Ka Makaainana, Ka Oiaio,* the *Hawaii Holomua,* the *Hawaiian Gazette,* the *Hawaiian Star,* and the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*. Within each paper, the amount of coverage devoted to the Hawaiian Base Ball League varied, as some provided a short blurb recapping the score, while others provided long game recaps and box scores. Some papers only included brief announcements of upcoming games, while other papers advertised and promoted games regularly. Since these sources represent the main repository for scores and reports regarding the league, it is important to understand the motivations behind different printers and editors.

The works of Helen Chapin and Noenoe Silva are extremely helpful in terms of how they outline the shifting roles of different newspapers through the nineteenth century.[4] While discussing the ways in which to classify the newspapers, Chapin notes that specific papers often shifted between categories depending not only on editors and owners, but also on shifting political and economic interests of the Hawaiian Kingdom.[5] By the 1890s, the newspapers played a vital role in both supporting and opposing the power of Queen Liliʻuokalani and the Hawaiian monarchy against the interests of an increasingly powerful haole oligarchy that had usurped power through the Bayonet Constitution.[6]

Of the newspapers mentioned above, the ones that experienced the widest circulation were those printed in the Hawaiian language such as *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, *Ka Oiaio*, the *Hawaii Holomua*, and *Ka Makaainana*. During the 1890s, these newspapers were part of a nationalist press that sought to maintain Hawaiian sovereignty over the Hawaiian Islands and supported Queen Liliʻuokalani against haole conspirators. On average, these papers experienced far more circulation than their English-language counterparts, with *Ka Leo o ka Lahui* reaching nearly 4,000 readers and the *Holomua* at nearly 5,000.[7] Reports of baseball games and announcements of news regarding the Hawaiian Base Ball League were featured to varying degrees in these newspapers between 1890 and 1895, with *Ka Leo o ka Lahui* having shorter recaps that often

[4] Helen Geracimos Chapin *Shaping History: The Role of Newspapers in Hawai'i* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 1996); Noenoe K. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004).
[5] Helen Chapin, "Newspapers in Hawaiʻi 1834 to 1903: From "He Liona" to the Pacific Cable," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 18 (1984): 47.
[6] For a complete list of newspapers in print between 1890 and 1900, readers should consult the Appendix of Helen Chapin, "Newspapers in Hawaiʻi 1834 to 1903," 84-86.
[7] Chapin, *Shaping History*, 94.

consisted of only a few lines, while *Ka Makaainana* and *Hawaii Holomua* went more in-depth with game summaries and box scores, especially during the 1894 season.[8]

The prominent English-language newspapers of the time period, such as the *Daily Bulletin*, *Hawaiian Gazette*, *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, and *Hawaiian Star*, tended to align with the growing oligarchy of haole businessmen who had conspired against the monarchy in 1887 and continued to gain power through the 1890s. Of these newspapers, the *Advertiser* had a circulation of roughly 1,300 readers, or just over one quarter the circulation of the most popular Hawaiian-language papers.[9] Following the overthrow of the Hawaiian Monarchy in 1893, these establishment newspapers, according to Chapin, "dedicated [themselves] to justifying [their] actions in the Islands and projecting a favorable image abroad to the United States to influence public opinion there."[10] Part of projecting a "favorable" image meant emphasizing shared characteristics and pastimes between the Hawaiian Islands and the United States, among which baseball was the most prominent. Consequently, the English-language newspapers, despite their lower circulation numbers, tended to have longer game summaries since they were produced not only for local consumption, but also to be read in the United States.

What the amount of baseball coverage in all of these newspapers suggests is that by the 1890s, the sport was popular enough in Honolulu to merit coverage regardless of the political leanings of a particular editor or publisher. The inclusion of baseball news, scores, and highlights within both establishment and nationalist newspapers regularly accompanied political news of either annexation efforts or protests and critiques of the provisional government. But the

[8] My methodology for researching in these newspapers consisted of reading through publications from before and after each game looking for descriptions of the games, mention of players, and any other general mentions of baseball in relation to other events of the week.
[9] Chapin, *Shaping History*, 94.
[10] Chapin, *Shaping History*, 95.

interactions and relationships between the baselines did not necessarily hinge on the political situations beyond them, since numerous players switched between teams, stepping on the field with and against political foes.

Background of the Hawaiian Base Ball Association

In various degrees, the Hawaiian Base Ball League had existed since the formation of the first two organized baseball clubs in 1867 with other teams organizing, playing in the league, and disbanding over the next twenty-three years. In general, the games drew an attendance that numbered in the hundreds, though by 1889 the conduct of spectators was being openly questioned in local newspapers.[11] While smoking, gambling, noise, and general inconsideration shown in the stands were certainly irritating to some fans, the real problem lay in the fact that when fans sought to appeal to the players or the club regarding these issues, the general reaction from each of the teams was: "Well, it is none of our business; we are not bosses here."[12] In order to address fan complaints, player disputes, and issues between ball clubs, the members of the Hawaiian Base Ball League realized that they needed an overarching organization.

Consequently, in 1890, members of the Hawaiian Base Ball League applied to the Ministry of the Interior of the Hawaiian Kingdom to incorporate themselves as "The Hawaiian Base Ball Association." This effort was spearheaded by William F. Allen who had served as the

[11] In a letter to the editor of the *Daily Bulletin* in 1889, one fan noted that despite subscriptions from players to cover the grandstand for women and their friends to come watch them play, the grandstand area itself was "mostly filled with the hoodlum element and a lot of children." According to this writer, the "hoodlum element" ruined the baseball-viewing experience for others by inconsiderately putting their feet on the seats in front of them and preventing others from passing, as well as smoking cigarettes and making a considerable racket while others attempted to enjoy the game. Such actions were influencing the children at the game, where kids as young as ten years-old smoked cigarettes and joined in making quite a ruckus during games. Kila, "Another Grievance," *The Daily Bulletin*, July 9, 1889.

[12] Kila, "Another Grievance," *The Daily Bulletin*, July 9, 1889.

president of the baseball league since the mid-1880s. According to Reverend Gotō, Allen was also a participant in one of the first games of organized baseball on O‘ahu, having played in the July 4th game in 1866. Other officers involved in securing the charter were James G. Spencer, Henry Whitney Jr., William C. Wilder Jr., Robert Parker Waipa, and Morris Kahai Keohokalole.

Between Allen, Keohokalole, Spencer, Waipa, Whitney, and Wilder, the backgrounds of these first officers of the HBBA illustrate the transnational influences operating on and within the islands during the previous fifty years. Not only were their families involved in the cross-cultural exchanges and migrations that brought numerous Hawaiians and haole together during the nineteenth century, but they themselves utilized the increased connections between the Hawaiian Islands and the rest of the world to carve out spaces for themselves in Honolulu society. William Allen for example, moved to the islands from Maine, and after a brief period mining for gold in California, worked to help supply whaling ships in Honolulu as a bookkeeper for C. L. Richards & Co. before serving as Collector-General of Customs under King Kalākaua.[13] James Spencer was another immigrant to the islands, though he came from Great Britain, and by 1890 was a manager of the Pacific Hardware Company in Honolulu. William C. Wilder, Jr., or Chan Wilder, moved to the islands from Illinois and was part of the Wilder family that had established steamship and railroad companies to service the sugar plantations in addition to numerous other business interests in the islands during the 1870s and 1880s.[14]

Among those who were born in the islands, Morris Keohokalole was a chiefly descendent who, by the 1880s, had moved to Honolulu and became heavily involved in a number of ventures

[13] In addition to his involvement with the baseball league, Allen also served as a Master Mason of the Hawaiian Lodge from 1864 to 1866 and married the cousin of Charles Reed Bishop. “Col. W. F. Allen Died Last Night,” *Evening Bulletin*, February 5, 1906.

[14] According to Kuykendall, Chan Wilder’s uncle, Samuel Gardner Wilder, was integral in securing low-wage Chinese workers for the sugar plantations as early as 1870. Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1857-1874: Twenty Critical Years* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1953), 184.

that included working for the newspapers, a job in the Foreign Office, and as a firefighter.[15] Robert Parker Waipa meanwhile, was born and raised on the island of Hawai'i, but moved to Honolulu in the 1870s. After attending school, Waipa entered the Palace Guard and by 1890 had been promoted to Captain. Henry Whitney, Jr. was the third of the group born in the islands, though he came from a missionary family. Whitney's grandfather had arrived with other missionaries of the ABCFM aboard the *Thaddeus* in 1820 and his father was a newspaper publisher who established the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* and *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*.[16] Together, the backgrounds of these six men illustrate the growing economic connections of the Hawaiian Islands to the rest of the world during the nineteenth century, as well as the diverse backgrounds from which the baseball community drew its players.

The charter for incorporation submitted by these six individuals on behalf of the baseball community was recognized and approved on May 29, 1890 by Lorrin Thurston. Thurston himself was a former ballplayer who, since imposing the Bayonet Constitution in 1887, had situated himself as the Minister of the Interior for King Kalākaua. The support for the sport by Kalākaua and other government officials such as Thurston created a positive environment in which baseball could thrive. By incorporating themselves as the Hawaiian Base Ball Association in 1890, the baseball community provided spectators with an official organization to which they could lodge complaints and they enabled themselves to regulate and police their own games.

As part of their incorporation, the HBBA was charged with promoting the sport of baseball in and around the city of Honolulu. To do this, they were empowered to legally issue shares to the public in order to raise capital. According to its charter, the capital stock of the

[15] For the genealogy of Morris Keohokalole see "Na Iwikuamoo o Hawaii Nei Mai Kahiko Mai," *Ka Makaainana*, July 26, 1896; *Daily Bulletin*, October 13, 1885; "The Fire Brigade," *Hawaiian Gazette*, September 13, 1887; *Hawaiian Gazette*, December 10, 1889.
[16] "The Death of H. M. Whitney," *The Independent*, August 18, 1904.

Association was five thousand dollars which was divided into five hundred individual ten-dollar shares. These shares were issued in early June, allowing residents of the islands to purchase stakes in the organization. Among the first to purchase stock in the association was Alexander Cartwright, who bought five shares and also donated dozens of bats and balls for league use in both 1889 and 1890.[17] The Association was also granted the ability to increase their capital to as much as ten-thousand dollars through further issuance of stock.[18]

Such capital was needed by the Association in order to keep up the grounds where league games would be played. As part of their charter, the Hawaiian Base Ball Association was responsible for building and maintaining grandstands and seating structures as well as providing reasonable protection for spectators from foul balls and line drives. However, the Association was forbidden from building any fences or walls around their field that would exceed eight feet in height. This would allow passersby on horseback or in carriages to look in on any games in progress if they didn't happen to have a ticket. Admission to league games was generally twenty-five cents and gate receipts were divided between the teams and the league itself.[19]

The incorporation of the Hawaiian Base Ball Association was especially important for the upkeep and maintenance of the field. Prior to 1890, the league was forced to rely upon the generosity of local businesses and patrons, such as the Hawaiian Tramways Company, or the efforts of the players themselves if they sought to build extra seats, reseat the existing grand stand, or construct any new backstops, dugouts, or fencing. Though these undertakings generally

[17] Although the recent works by Frank Ardolino and Monica Nucciarone downplay Cartwright's involvement in baseball in Honolulu, his purchase of stock, donations of equipment, and attendance at several games indicates his continued support of and interest in the sport. "Hawaiian Baseball Association," *The Hawaiian Gazette*, June 17, 1890; *The Hawaiian Gazette*, April 15, 1890; Nucciarone, *Alexander Cartwright*, 131.
[18] Charter of the Hawaiian Base Ball Association, 1890, Hawai'i State Archives, Honolulu, HI.
[19] "Baseball Association," *The Hawaiian Gazette*, April 29, 1890.

totaled anywhere between twenty-five and one hundred dollars at a given time, issuing shares of stock allowed the Association to raise enough capital to keep the field from falling into disrepair.

The original field used by the Hawaiian Base Ball Association was located in Makiki, where games of the Hawaiian Base Ball League had been played since the 1870s, at the corner of Keʻeaumoku and Kīnaʻu Streets.[20] In preparation for League play in 1890, a guard fence was established to keep the crowd at a safe distance from the plate, a bat stand was installed for the teams to use behind home plate, and steps were constructed to assist paying fans with climbing the grand stand.[21] These were only designed as temporary improvements however, as the Association designated Gardner Wilder to secure grounds for a new field to be constructed to house League games.

At the time of the Association's incorporation in 1890, the league consisted of four organized teams: the Honolulu Base Ball Club, the Hawaii Base Ball Club, the Kamehameha Base Ball Club, and the Star Base Ball Club. The previous season had also featured a team called the Kaiulani Base Ball Club, but they disbanded after failing to win a single league game in 1889. None of the four teams to participate in the league during 1890 were newly formed teams however, with some of the clubs having been together for several years, although the rosters frequently changed when other teams disbanded. The teams were somewhat divided along ethnic lines since the Hawaiis and Kamehamehas (and Kaiulanis) featured mostly Hawaiian players while the Honolulus and the Stars were mostly haole. These ethnic divisions were not exclusive however, as some Hawaiians played on the Stars and Honolulus, some haole played on the Hawaiis and Kamehamehas, and the games were attended by a variety of people.

[20] This is the present site of Cartwright Neighborhood Park, which was dedicated to Alexander Cartwright in 1928.
[21] *The Hawaiian Gazette*, April 14, 1890.

Before delving into the results of the Hawaiian Base Ball League of the 1890s, let us take a brief look at the background of the four original teams.

The Honolulu Base Ball Club was the oldest of these four teams and was first organized in 1883. This team was generally under the auspices of team captain Henry M. Whitney Jr. Often called Harry, Whitney was the son of prominent newspaper editor Henry Martyn Whitney and grandson of American missionaries to Kaua‘i. By 1890, the elder Whitney managed the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* and the *Hawaiian Gazette*, the first of which generally provided in-depth coverage of league baseball games. Throughout much of the 1880s, the Honolulus were mostly made up of pro-annexation haole who had major interests first in imposing the Bayonet Constitution and later in enforcing it. After the disbanding of the Oceanic Base Ball Club at the end of the 1885 season, the 1886 Honolulu team featured Lorrin Thurston as a right fielder and William Kinney as first baseman, in addition to the younger Whitney and Hay Wodehouse, who would remain with the club into the 1890s.[22]

The Hawaii Base Ball Club was the second-longest tenured of teams to be involved in the League when it was incorporated as part of the HBBA in 1890. This team was first organized in July of 1885 and became the first all-Hawaiian team to join the League the next year. Prior to 1885 there had been plenty of Hawaiians who played baseball on a variety of different clubs, including the inaugural Pacifics club, but the Hawaii Base Ball Club was the first entirely Hawaiian team to become a regular feature in organized League play. After securing enough masks, bats, and gloves to field an entire team, the Hawaii Base Ball Club made their debut in a non-league game against the Married Men Ball Club in September of 1885. The next year the

[22] The rosters for the Honolulus, as well as for the Hawaiis, Kamehamehas, and Stars in the ensuing paragraphs can be found by looking at a number of newspapers throughout the 1880s and beginning of 1890 including the *Daily Bulletin*, *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, *Ka Makaainana*, *Ka Oiaio*, the *Hawaiian Gazette*, the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, and the Kamehameha Schools’ *Handicraft*.

Hawaii Base Ball Club was the first in the field at practice hoping for a leg up on the season. Since the team's inception, Francisco J. Testa served as the president of the Hawaii Base Ball Club, and Henry Kaia acted as team captain. Among those who would continue their involvement with the League into the 1890s were Testa and George Markham as representatives of the team, and Morris Keohokalole as a player.

The third team involved in the incorporation of the Base Ball Association was the senior team from Kamehameha Schools. Originally founded at the bequest of Bernice Pauahi Bishop in order "to provide first and chiefly a good education in the common English branches, and also instruction in morals and in such useful knowledge as may tend to make good and industrious men and women," Kamehameha School was overseen by Trustees Charles Bishop, Samuel Damon, Charles Hyde, Charles Cooke, and William O. Smith.[23] These five men were each prominent members of Honolulu with vast amounts of wealth at their disposal. These first Trustees established Kamehameha School as a trade school for Hawaiian boys in 1887, which emphasized English-language training, along with instruction in such fields as carpentry, blacksmithing, stone-cutting, press-work, and machine sewing. As Ron Williams has noted, trustee Charles Hyde did not generally think Hawaiians were capable of achieving further education and sought to establish Kamehameha Schools without any "higher education at all" since the "average Hawaiian has no such capacity."[24] In addition to such vocational and technical training, students were also required to perform manual labor and help keep up the buildings and grounds.

[23] Will of Bernice Pauahi Paki Bishop, October 31, 1883.
[24] Ronald Williams Jr., "To Raise a Voice in Praise: The Revivalist Mission of John Henry Wise, 1889-1896," *The Hawaiian Journal of History* vol. 46 (2012): 9.

Through manual labor and training, the trustees hoped that students would "gradually imbibe the spirit of the school and learn habits of faithfulness, thoroughness, and industry that are an essential element of manhood."[25] The emphasis on such characteristics as vital elements of manhood created an avenue through which baseball could be further linked to masculinity by viewing the sport as an arena in which to both develop and display mastery of those traits. The opportunity for a sport such as baseball to help in Kamehameha School's mission was not lost on the early trustees, in particular Cooke and Bishop, who were both keen baseball fans. Cooke for example, donated prize purses for league winners as well as baseball equipment to various teams, while Bishop had previously been a frequent visitor to Punahou School on Saturday afternoons "expressly to have a game of ball with the enthusiastic youngsters at the school," according to Orramel Gulick.[26]

However, none of the early trustees and administrators of Kamehameha School was as big a proponent of baseball as Reverend William Brewster Oleson, the school's first principal. A Congregational pastor from New England, Oleson had originally arrived in the Hawaiian Islands to run the Hilo Boarding School before relocating to administer Kamehameha School. Upon arriving in Honolulu in 1886, Oleson involved himself with the workings of baseball-playing political conspirators Thurston and Kinney as part of the Hawaiian League. In 1887, Oleson was among the members of the Hawaiian League who were "chiefly engaged in drawing up the constitution," that would be forced upon King Kalākaua. For the next several years, Oleson

[25] *Handicraft: A Monthly Journal Devoted to Manual Training* 1, no. 1 (January 1889): 4.
[26] Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou: 1841-1941* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1941), 118.

would remain "outspoken and politically active," not only as a member of the Hawaiian League, but later as a member of the Reform Party which opposed the monarchy.[27]

At Kamehameha School, Oleson served as principal and emphasized baseball as part of the physical curriculum upon the school's founding. In fact, one of the first tasks he gave the students was "to clear the rocks out of a space to make it available for an infield."[28] The result was a field that, while still rocky enough to rip toenails and ricochet grounders in unexpected directions, provided space for the team to practice. Theodore Richards, a teacher (and later principal) who also played on the early Kamehameha School teams, described base running and sliding on the Kamehameha field as "a fearsome thing. The runner who was forced to slide on a close play took his life in his hands as he dived head foremost for the base – the hook slide was unknown in those days – and hurled himself among the rocky spikes that projected above the surface of the field."[29] This practice space allowed the Kamehameha School students of the late 1880s to develop a competitive team in relation to the other clubs of Honolulu who generally spent less time practicing. The school team also drew an excited crowd as younger students would pack the grandstand in Makiki to cheer on their school. In an effort to ensure interest in the sport on the part of those who did not play in the games, Oleson rewarded all the students with ice cream in the dining hall after each win.[30]

Upon joining the Hawaiian Base Ball League in 1889, Oleson also encouraged the Kamehameha team to practice at the fields in Makiki as many as three times a week. To do this, the players would rise as early as 2 o'clock in the morning and either walked or ran roughly four

[27] Ron Williams has also noted that Reverend Oleson would also become "one focus for much of the increasing animosity among Native congregants towards their church administration" because of his policies and political leanings. Williams, "To Raise a Voice in Praise," 8.
[28] Loring Gardner Hudson, "The History of Kamehameha Schools," Master's thesis, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. Honolulu, HI (1935), 116.
[29] Hudson, "The History of Kamehameha Schools," 116-117.
[30] Hudson, "The History of Kamehameha Schools," 117.

miles to Makiki, where they would arrive at around daybreak for practice, which would last nearly an hour before the students would return to campus via a mule car or the tramway.[31] Occasionally, the students would be joined, not only at these early practices but in games as well, by teachers at the school such as Theodore Richards and Daniel S. Ruevsky.[32] Richards would follow Oleson as principal beginning in July of 1893, and would continue the strong emphasis on baseball as part of a physical education.[33]

The fourth team involved in the first League season of the Hawaiian Base Ball Association was the Star Base Ball Club. This team featured prominent haole players Chan (William Jr.) and Charles Wilder, Benny Baldwin, Ernest Wodehouse, Joseph O. Carter Jr., and William Kinney. Among the best of the clubs to be playing in the city by the end of the 1880s, the Stars were the League champions in 1889, defeating the Honolulus in the final game of the season to finish the year with a 7-1 record. After such a thrilling end to the season, there was considerable enthusiasm surrounding the incorporation of the HBBA and the upcoming 1890 season.

Opening Day for the HBBA! (1890)

The inaugural 1890 season of the Hawaiian Base Ball League under the auspices of the Hawaiian Base Ball Association benefited from three major effects of A.G. Spalding's visit in

[31] They would not practice on empty stomachs however, since on their way to the field, the Kamehameha students would stop for "a light breakfast at Love's bakery" on Nu'uanu Street. Hudson, "The History of Kamehameha Schools," 117.
[32] Hudson, "The History of Kamehameha Schools," 118.
[33] Part of this emphasis included the students attending a lecture by William Brigham at the Y.M.C.A, which highlighted the manliness and health advantages of baseball and football. This lecture was well received by the crowd, and Oleson's focus on physical education was supported and validated by the science of Brigham. *The Hawaiian Gazette*, December 9, 1890.

November of 1888. Though no games were played by the professionals from the United States, the reception they were given in Honolulu during their brief stay convinced Spalding to promote the sport in the Hawaiian Islands. Upon the completion of the world tour, A.G. Spalding & Brothers expanded its sales to international markets in Europe and the Pacific. One of these markets included Honolulu, where Thomas Lack served as the agent for all of Spalding's baseball supplies in the Hawaiian Islands. Lack's store sold a variety of merchandise from its Fort Street location, including shotguns, rifles, revolvers, and sewing machines, in addition to baseball equipment. Following the Spalding visit, Lack began receiving new shipments of baseball goods from San Francisco every few weeks on board the *Alameda* and the *Australia*, steamships run by the Oceanic Steamship Company. This helped supply Honolulu with a steady influx of baseball equipment, as Lack joined A. L. Kamika, J. M. Oat Jr., Thomas G. Thrum, and others already selling baseball supplies in the Hawaiian Islands.

The increased business competition among baseball suppliers in the islands led to numerous efforts to attract customers with high-quality merchandise, especially among those without access to the name-brand Spalding equipment. One such attempt to attract buyers was by Thomas Thrum, who commissioned and then advertised an artistic bat to be given to the league winner as a trophy. This bat was made by William Millar and was composed of forty-six pieces of different island woods, while an accompanying ball was made up of seventeen different types of wood. In total, forty-three of these types of wood were described as indigenous to the islands and throughout the season, Thrum used the piece of art to attract baseball fans and other customers to his store.[34] Such competition between suppliers illustrates the growth in the

[34] "Artistic Work," *Hawaiian Gazette*, July 22, 1890.

sporting marketplace as more and more people began making money ancillary to organized sports.

The second effect of Spalding's trip on baseball in the Hawaiian Islands was the result of the many journalists who accompanied and publicized the world tour. Due to the enthusiasm for baseball and the contacts made during Spalding's visit to O'ahu, the 1890 League games of the Hawaiian Base Ball Association were regularly featured in the pages of the Philadelphia-based paper *The Sporting Life*.[35] These included not only scores, but extensive game write-ups and box scores thanks to the efforts of scorekeepers James Winter and Gardner Wilder. Having their scores repeatedly published in *The Sporting Life*, as well as in the St. Louis-based *Sporting News*, helped increase popularity of the League abroad. By the start of the 1890 season, several hundred copies of *The Sporting Life* were sent to the Hawaiian Islands on a weekly basis for island readers to keep up to date with American baseball news.[36]

This marked a key point in the transnational sporting relationships of the Hawaiian Islands. Prior to 1890, the extent of these sporting relationships was generally limited to foreign ships anchored in the harbor. Whether these ships were regular visitors, such as the HMS *Hyacinth* and the USS *Pensacola*, or more infrequent passersby who arrived in the islands irregularly, the crews often challenged local teams to cricket matches or baseball games. The interactions between local teams and crewmembers of visiting ships encapsulated the majority of the transnational sporting relationships in the Hawaiian Islands prior to 1890. Although there were the occasional newspaper reports of cricket or baseball matches in foreign countries, there was no sustained connection between the sporting scene of Honolulu and elsewhere in the world prior to the visit of Spalding and his baseball tour in 1888. The increased connection with the

[35] See for example, *The Sporting Life*, May 24, 1890; *The Sporting Life*, September 20, 1890.
[36] *Daily Bulletin*, August, 5, 1889.

United States through the consistent baseball updates in the *Sporting Life* and *Sporting News* created an important link for the pro-American factions of Honolulu society who sought to assimilate the islands into American culture and pave the way for any future imperial expansion.

A third effect of Spalding's visit on baseball in Honolulu was his personal contribution of a trophy to be awarded to the league champion. The trophy was called the Spalding Challenge Cup and would be awarded to the team that won the league three consecutive years. The Cup was roughly thirty inches tall and fifteen inches around its widest point. On the base, it featured a baseball player on either side of the cup, one pitching and the other preparing to hit a baseball. The front of the cup was embossed with an illustration of a baseball game in progress. The handles were mounted with two silver baseballs, and the cup was surmounted with a silver vase and two crossed bats.[37] Until the Spalding Cup was awarded, it would remain in the custody of the League, with names of past season winners engraved upon it and on public display in town.[38]

The four-team Hawaiian Base Ball Association established an eighteen-game League schedule for 1890 with games set to be played on Saturday afternoons.[39] Following an opening day rainout, the season got underway on April 19 when the Kamehamehas defeated the Hawaiis, 15-3.[40] James Thompson, who would become a mainstay between the baselines throughout the decade, made his debut at pitcher for the Hawaiis, but following the loss, players and fans were clamoring for the reinstatement of Halemano Meek.[41]

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[37] An image of the Spalding Cup can be seen in Figure 4 of the Appendix. *Daily Bulletin*, November 26, 1890.
[38] "Kalakaua's Domain," *The Sporting Life*, January 3, 1891.
[39] "Papa Kuhikuhi Paani Kinipopo o na Hui o Honolulu," *Ko Hawaii Pae Aina*, April 12, 1890.
[40] Since this chapter discusses numerous games and standings of the various teams between 1890 and 1895 by drawing on a variety of newspaper accounts, specific papers are only cited when discussion includes details beyond the date, teams, and score of the game.
[41] Herman Kapuaaihalemano Meek was a cousin of John Meek, Jr. who had been a part of the original Pacific Base Ball Club in the 1860s.

The reason for Meek's suspension was rooted in the previous season where he had been involved in a gambling issue. In the penultimate game of the 1889 season, the Hawaiis faced off with the Kamehamehas on Saturday, September 7. By this point in the season, the Kamehamehas were two games out of first place with a record of 4-3 while the Hawaiis were 2-5, with only one game left.[42] Despite the teams' records, the Hawaiis led the Kamehamehas 8-6 heading into the bottom of the ninth inning. With the Kamehamehas at the plate, Hawaiis pitcher Halemano Meek proceeded to walk the first two batters, then threw two wild pitches and two more pitches that slipped by the catcher, Dan Kamakauahoa. So furious and disgusted was Kamakauahoa with Meek's pitching "that he threw off his mask…and refused to play" any further.[43] Though Kamakauahoa would eventually be convinced to carry on, the Hawaiis would lose 9-8 in eleven innings and everybody who watched the game found Meek's four walks and five wild pitches to be curiously out of character for the pitcher.[44]

At the time, it was well-known that gambling existed in the stands and surrounding the Hawaiian Base Ball League. Hawaiian practices of piliwaiwai, or gambling, combined with the gambling practices of various settlers created an atmosphere of betting that increased the excitement of the games for large groups of spectators despite such practices being illegal in the Hawaiian Kingdom. While not everybody took part in the betting, the biggest problem in the sporting scene with regard to gambling prior to Meek's involvement was selective enforcement by the authorities. Chinese gamblers were frequently targeted by law enforcement at any venue, while other baseball fans openly bet and paid out large sums on Saturday afternoons at the diamond.[45]

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[42] "Na Hui Kinipopo Hawaii," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, September 7, 1889.
[43] "Baseball," *The Daily Bulletin*, September 9, 1889.
[44] "Baseball," *The Daily Bulletin*, September 9, 1889.
[45] "Betting," *The Hawaiian Gazette*, September 17, 1889.

To address any gambling issues, in June of 1889 the League clubs resolved "that upon it being proven that any player belonging to a club, which is a member of the Hawaiian Baseball League, has accepted or offered money or other emolument, for the purpose of influencing the result of a game, to the detriment of the club of which he is a member, or any other club, HE BE FOREVER EXPELLED [sic]."[46] Additionally, the League decided that "upon proper evidence being given that any person or persons have offered any player, players or club, a bribe, such party or parties shall be publicly exposed and prosecuted."[47] Clearly, the League was most worried about gambling insofar as it affected the outcome of its games. If fans sought to wager on who would win or what a particular player would do in a game, it was their prerogative.

Following Meek's performance in September of 1889, accusations of corruption and throwing games were leveled at the Hawaii Base Ball Club as a whole by two of the English-language papers: *The Daily Bulletin* and *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser*.[48] George Markham, who was still recovering from being shot while working with Robert Wilcox a few months prior, vehemently denied such accusations and implications on behalf of the Hawaiis and noted that no evidence had been brought against anyone other than Meek.[49] The League sought to disassociate itself from any notion that other players may be implicated in such unsportsmanlike behavior and appointed James Winter, Harry Whitney, William Kinney, and George Desha to investigate the charges of bribery and corruption leveled against the Hawaiis in order to uncover who exactly was involved and to what extent.[50] This investigative committee compiled a report that "contained considerable evidence" against only Meek and recommended

[46] *The Hawaiian Gazette*, July 2, 1889.
[47] "Hawaiian Baseball League," *The Daily Bulletin* (June 27, 1889), 3.
[48] *The Daily Bulletin*, September 14, 1889; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, September 16, 1889.
[49] George Markham, "Letter to the Editor: The Hawaii Club and its Foes," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, September 18, 1889.
[50] *The Hawaiian Gazette*, September 17, 1889.

that he "be permanently expelled from the League, and prohibited from ever again participating in a League game," as in accordance with the resolutions passed the previous summer. The committee did not find any evidence indicating that other players were involved and the League adopted the report as official.[51]

But Meek was a very popular player and following the 15-3 defeat at the hands of the Kamehamehas to open the 1890 season, it was clear that the Hawaiis could use his pitching talent. As a result, players and fans beseeched the League to re-evaluate its punishment. In May of 1890, the baseball clubs met to hear two appeals to reinstate Meek. The first appeal came from the Hawaii Base Ball Club which wanted to give their teammate another chance, while the second petition was from a number of citizens not affiliated with the ball club who wanted Meek reinstated as well. After hearing these petitions read, the League agreed to lift the ban on Meek, provided that he submit in writing to the League secretary, Joseph H. Fisher, a pledge to "play honestly and fairly while in the league."[52] This provided the Association with a way to placate paying customers and members, while at the same time maintaining an image of above-board play, despite the consistent gambling that would continue to surround the game in the stands.

The continued gambling among fans resulted in excited audiences throughout the 1890 season, much to the chagrin of the *Daily Bulletin* which noted that ball games led to "as much betting as horse-racing, or any other mentionable species of public sport," and lamented that "this blighting curse should bring into disfavor innocent and manly sports!"[53] For the writers and readers of the *Daily Bulletin*, a group that included many of the pro-United States, anti-monarchy haole of the islands, baseball was linked to a class-based masculinity that viewed

[51] "Hawaii Baseball League," *The Daily Bulletin*, September 26, 1889.
[52] "Hawaii Baseball League," *The Hawaiian Gazette*, May 6, 1890.
[53] *Daily Bulletin*, April 11, 1890.

gambling as too ungentlemanly to be associated with the sport. Such a notion about manliness was a contested one in Honolulu, since the rest of the city enjoyed betting on games. Consequently, the baseball diamond would remain an attraction for gamblers through the early 1890s, although gambling would not be directly linked to any players until 1894.

As the 1890 season progressed, the Kamehamehas took on the defending champion Star Base Ball Club in a back and forth game that set the tone for the rest of the season. In this game, the Kamehamehas took a 4-3 lead into the top of the fourth inning when things got interesting. The bottom third of the order came to bat for the Kamehamehas and after a groundout, John Wahinemaikai singled and stole second base before Theodore Richards, the principal of the school, leftfielder, and number nine hitter struck out. Wahinemaikai then stole third as the catcher, Robert Pahau, walked. With runners at the corners and two out, John Wise singled to center, knocking home Wahinemaikai. After missing the tag on Wahinemaikai at home, Chan Wilder, the catcher for the Stars, then tried to throw Wise out heading to second, but the ball flew into the outfield since Pahau had barreled into Charlie Wilder, the Stars shortstop, while running from second to third. With Wilder unable to make a play on the ball, Pahau was able to score.[54]

The Stars immediately protested the run, but umpire George Boardman (who was the only umpire working that day) had not seen the collision on the base path and refused to overturn the call. The Stars continued to argue with Boardman until the ump finally stormed off the field. Luckily, Harry Whitney of the Honolulus and Morris Keohokalole of the Hawaiis were in the stands and together were able to fill in as umpires for the rest of the game, which the

[54] "Hawaii Baseball League," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, May 2, 1890.

Kamehamehas would go on to win by a score of 11-9.[55] It was this game which prompted the regular use of a double umpire system, with one behind the catcher at home plate and the other in the field to adjudicate the base paths. Although this double umpire system had been used in the previous year's championship game and in games in the United States, its regular implementation during the 1890 season was a key development for baseball in general and as the American press noted, it marked the Hawai‘i game as "more progressive" than its American counterpart, with *The Sporting Life* going so far as to conclude "thus the pupil does outstrip the tutor."[56]

This hotly contested game was indicative of the season to come, as the League teams were closely matched in terms of skill and the championship was not determined until the final game on August 16 between the Hawaiis and the Honolulus. The Hawaiis were sitting on a 5-3 record, one game out of a tie for first place with the Kamehamehas, while the Honolulus looked to play the role of spoiler. Into extra innings, the two teams were knotted at nine runs apiece thanks to a furious four-run comeback in the eighth inning by the Hawaiis. In the tenth however, Hawaiis' second baseman Morris Keohokalole made two errors in the field, the first of which proved crucial as he dropped a soft liner by Willie Lucas, who would steal second and come around to score the deciding run on a Desha single.[57] Consequently, the Kamehamehas finished the season alone atop the standings with a 6-3 record due to the strong play of Sam Mahuka at first base, along with Robert Pahau at catcher and John Wise in the outfield. The Hawaiis and

[55] The Stars would continue to protest this game and even demand that the Association set aside the score and form a committee to address their complaint. After consideration, the game was counted toward the standings. *Daily Bulletin*, April 28, 1890; *The Hawaiian Gazette*, May 6, 1890.
[56] In the United States, the two umpire system was used on occasion, but not with the regularity of the Hawaiian Base Ball League. *The Sporting Life*, July 24, 1890.
[57] *Daily Bulletin*, August 18, 1890.

the Honolulus tied for second place at 5-4 while the defending champion Stars finished last with a record of 2-7.

Although the Spalding Cup would be awarded only to a team winning three successive seasons, several other prizes, such as the decorative bat advertised by Thomas Thrum, were claimed by the champion Kamehameha Base Ball Club in 1890. Sam Mahuka, the team's captain and first baseman, proudly accepted a framed photograph of the team provided by Honolulu photographer J. J. Williams.[58] As League champions, the Kamehamehas also won three dozen bats and balls donated by Paul Isenberg in order to help them keep up their good play.[59] The plethora of prizes awarded to the Kamehamehas illustrates the growth of baseball and the League itself to the point of sponsorship by local businesses, many of which had transnational ties.[60]

The incorporation of the Hawaiian Base Ball Association, the ongoing construction of a new League grounds, and the overall excitement of the Hawaiian Base Ball League season had a trickle-down effect on baseball in the city and throughout the island. In late July, the Honolulu Baseball League, which was a rival to the HBBL, re-organized itself as the Honolulu Amateur League. While the players in neither league drew salaries for the sport, this amateur league consisted of teams formed around a common neighborhood or company, as names such as Kunawai, Iwilei, Pauahi, Kawaiahao, Aliiolani, Barracks, and Roads and Bridges suggest.[61] In most cases, the players on these teams were either younger or did not have the same amount of

[58] Each team member received a 14 x 17 photograph courtesy of Williams, but as the best player, Mahuka also was given an accompanying frame by W. C. King. *The Hawaiian Gazette*, April 8, 1890; *The Hawaiian Gazette*, October 14, 1890.
[59] *The Hawaiian Gazette*, December 23, 1890.
[60] Isenberg's father for instance, was one of the founders of H. Hackfield & Company, which had major interests in the sugar industry, especially on Kauaʻi, and would later become one of the "Big Five" corporations that dominated Hawaiian Island economic interests in the twentieth century. George Nellist, ed. *The Story of Hawaii and its Builders* (Honolulu, HI: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Ltd., 1925).
[61] *The Hawaiian Gazette*, July 29, 1890.

time to commit to practice as their counterparts in the HBBL. This did not preclude the involvement of HBBA players as supporters of this new amateur league. As a fall league, the games of the Honolulu Amateur League were played in the HBBL's offseason and the league itself was administered by two HBBL players, Robert Waipa of the Honolulus and Morris Keohokalole of the Hawaiis. Both had experience with the incorporation of the HBBA and sought to further promote the sport across the island as president and secretary of the amateur league. While these games continued to be played on Saturdays, they were not limited to Makiki as the fifteen-game schedule alternated playing sites between town and the leeward side of the island, which allowed fans from newly founded ʻEwa plantation to enjoy the games.[62]

The fall baseball excitement shifted focus back into town by November, as the new baseball diamond was opened at the corner of Piʻikoi and Kīnaʻu Streets with a four-inning exhibition game. This game featured teams with a few additions to the usual rosters of the Hawaiis and the Honolulus from the HBBA. These new league grounds were located roughly a quarter of a mile toward Pūowaina from the previous Makiki field and featured a grandstand that could hold between twelve and fifteen hundred fans. The positioning of the field and usual timing of the League games, which began at 3:30 on Saturday afternoons between April and August meant that a slowly descending sun would be just entering the sightlines of the third baseman, shortstop, and left fielder, but generally to the backs of the fans, who had a lovely view toward the ocean with Lēʻahi, or Diamond Head in the distance.[63]

[62] The plantation itself was in its first year of existence, as Benjamin Dillingham had begun clearing the land in January, and the first laborers from Japan had arrived in April. Players and fans from Honolulu traveled to the ʻEwa side of the island for games via trains operated by the Oahu Railway and Land Company. "Saturday's Special," *The Daily Bulletin*, September 29, 1890.

[63] The fielders, meanwhile, were treated to a backdrop of Puʻu ʻUalakaʻa, Puʻuʻōhiʻa, and Pūowaina, or Round Top, Tantalus, and Punchbowl, depending on their positioning.

The new field was completed just in time for Honolulu to host its first official international baseball team. Unlike two years prior when A. G. Spalding and his tourists were unable to play on a Sunday, November of 1890 featured a visiting California team who had specifically sought out games with the teams of the HBBA. Organized by Frank Hoogs, whose brother lived in Honolulu, this California team agreed to play a multi-game series with the Honolulus and the Hawaiis.[64]

To help defray the cost of the trip for the visiting Californias, admission to the series was set at $3.50 for a covered seat for all the games, $.50 for a single game, and $.25 for children.[65] In the first game, the Californias played against the Honolulus with a roster that included former Star player Chan Wilder in addition to Honolulus regulars such as Hay Wodehouse and Harry Whitney. Over eleven hundred fans were treated to a one-run game through five innings, until the Californias broke it open in the sixth with a combination of good hitting and awful fielding by the Honolulus to secure a blowout win, 20-1.[66] The next day's game between the Californias and the Hawaiis was played in front of over fifteen hundred fans and while the Hawaiis' defense was better than that of the Honolulus, the game still ended in a blowout win for the Californias, 11-2.[67]

Despite the final scores, what is particularly revealing about the staging of these two games is the days on which they were played. The first game took place on November 27, which was the day of the American Thanksgiving holiday. The second game took place on November 28, which was *Ka Lā Kūʻokoʻa*. This Independence Day of the Hawaiian Kingdom marked the

[64] "Nu Hou Hawaii," *Ko Hawaii Pae Aina*, October 25, 1890.
[65] Fans could also purchase single game tickets for covered seats, but they were an extra $.25, and there was no fee for carriages that parked just outside the fence. *Ko Hawaii Pae Aina*, November 29, 1890.
[66] "Na Ka Malihini Ka Lanakila," *Ko Hawaii Pae Aina*, November 29, 1890; "Californias Conquer," *The Daily Bulletin*, November 28, 1890.
[67] "Na Ka Malihini Ka Lanakila," *Ko Hawaii Pae Aina*, November 29, 1890.

forty-seventh anniversary of the recognition of Hawaiian sovereignty by Great Britain and France.[68] The fact that a predominantly haole team played the Americans on Thanksgiving while a predominantly Hawaiian team played the visiting Californians on *Ka Lā Kūʻokoʻa* reaffirms the political leanings of these two ballclubs that was hinted at in the toasts from their celebrations the previous year. By playing on *Ka Lā Kūʻokoʻa*, the Hawaii Base Ball Club was clearly more associated with a spirit of nationalism toward the Hawaiian Kingdom than the Honolulus. Furthermore, the fact that a Hawaiian team drew over fifteen hundred fans to a baseball game on a national holiday illustrates the popularity of the sport beyond a haole elite class that has been generally linked to baseball in the islands during the nineteenth century.

Ensuing days featured two more games as both the Honolulus and Hawaiis (with slightly augmented lineups) had rematches with the Californias, though the results would be the same. The Honolulus lost 16-0 while the Hawaiis lost 18-6.[69] In the opinion of one Californias player, the reason for such a scoring disparity was not due to a difference in skill level, but was instead due to the lack of aggression on the base paths, which stemmed from a lack of base coaches.[70] Before the Californias left however, the local Honolulu players overcame some of their team loyalties and joined together to challenge the visitors with two more teams: the All-Honolulus and the New Hawaiis.

Both teams were made up of some of the best players the city had to offer. The All-Honolulu team featured a mixture of Hawaiians and haole, including Chan Wilder, Philip Davis, James Thompson, Joseph Luahiwa, Harry Whitney, and Hay Wodehouse. Although they came closer than the previous two teams, even this all-Honolulu team could not notch a victory, as the

[68] In addition to acknowledgement by Britain and France, this sovereignty and independence would be recognized by the United States in 1844. Keanu Sai, "The American Occupation of the Hawaiian Kingdom," 73.
[69] *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, December 6, 1890.
[70] "All Californias," *The Hawaiian Gazette*, January 20, 1891.

Californias won again, 6-0 and 9-3. The final games played by the Californias were against the New Hawaiis, who consisted mostly of Hawaiis and Kamehamehas players, including reigning League MVP Sam Mahuka, Tom Pryce, Joseph Luahiwa, and Robert Pahau. The first game by the New Hawaiis against the Californias was called short due to rain after the sixth inning, but through six, the Californias only led 1-0 due to the emergence of William Meheula who had previously pitched for the Kamehamehas junior team.[71] The final game was played with the visiting Californias on Wednesday, December 16, and behind the strong pitching of Meheula, ended in a 9-9 tie after seven innings.[72]

Although neither of these two "all-star" teams could defeat the Californias, their formation shows a willingness to rise above local team loyalties against a foreign challenger. The All-Honolulu team featured a collection of Hawaiian and haole players while the New Hawaiis team consisted of Hawaiian players drawn from HBBA teams as well as talented players from the younger teams such as Tom Pryce and William Meheula. This suggests that the ball-playing community of Honolulu was a community where players could unite beyond ethnic divisions as a local team against a challenge from abroad, but that there remained the desire for an ethnically Hawaiian team to play against the foreigners. Notwithstanding the final scores, the series was a success in terms of attendance and overall enjoyment. Following the conclusion of games, the Californias were feted by the Honolulu baseball community, who came together for a lūʻau at the Moanalua home of the Hawaiis' catcher Dan Kamakauahoa.[73]

[71] *Ko Hawaii Pae Aina*, December 20, 1890.
[72] The *Hawaiian Gazette* noted some dissatisfaction on the part of the Hawaiian team with regard to the umpiring of Robert Waipa, but overall the game was exciting and enjoyable for both the players and fans. "A Tie Game," *The Hawaiian Gazette*, December 23, 1890.
[73] *The Daily Bulletin*, December 19, 1890.

By the end of 1890, the ball-playing community of Honolulu had plenty to be excited about for the future of the sport in the islands. The incorporation of the Hawaiian Base Ball Association established a governing body under which the Hawaiian Base Ball League could conduct its season while at the same time creating a group that could speak for the sport abroad. The extensive media coverage of the 1890 HBBL season, both in the Hawaiian Islands and abroad, led to the visit of a touring team from California which united the ball-playing community, if only briefly. While the local teams were unable to knock off the visiting Californias, the successful League season, the formation of an offseason amateur league, and the opening of a new baseball diamond recognized by one visiting ballplayer as "far ahead of those seen in a great many cities" in the United States, illustrate a burgeoning island baseball scene that would continue throughout the rest of the decade.[74]

Turnover Between and Beyond the Baselines (1891-1892)

Through 1891 and 1892, baseball was fueled by support from the fans and media despite turnover in the islands both on and off the diamond. Teams reorganized, players switched teams, and the politics of the islands shifted. In January of 1891, King Kalākaua passed away while in San Francisco. Since his coronation in 1874, King David Kalākaua had been an ardent supporter of the sport. While abroad, Kalākaua continued to follow baseball closely, not only receiving reports of how the Hawaiis and Honolulus fared against the California team, but also attending games of the California team upon their return to San Francisco.[75] His passing led to an

[74] In particular, the player cited the grandstand as well-beyond several of its American counterparts. "All Californias," *The Hawaiian Gazette*, January 20, 1891.
[75] "Heavy Stick-Work," *San Francisco Call*, December 12, 1890.

important change in the political life of the islands, as his sister, Liliʻuokalani, assumed the throne of the Kingdom as Mōʻī Wahine, or Queen.

Upon ascending to the throne, Queen Liliʻuokalani found herself embroiled in many of the same political intrigues her brother had faced as a result of the Bayonet Constitution and its monarchy-limiting construction. Among the people Liliʻuokalani appointed to new positions in the government was the Kingdom's new Marshal, Charles Wilson, who had allegedly learned the game of baseball from Alexander Cartwright as a youngster.[76] By the end of 1891, Queen Liliʻuokalani had been approached with several recommendations for promulgating a new constitution to replace the one forced on her brother in 1887.[77] As Noenoe Silva has noted, such petitions and calls for constitutional change carried into 1892 with groups such as the Hui Kālaiʻāina seeking to abrogate the Bayonet Constitution.[78]

Between the baselines, the 1891 season that began in April also featured some turnover among the players and teams of the HBBA. The defending champion Kamehamehas were again a strong team led by Robert Pahau, Sam Mahuka, and Philip Davis and were reinforced by the addition of William Mehuela who continued the excellent pitching he had displayed against the Californias. This season would also be marked by the matriculation of Kamehameha School's first graduating class. Among the ballplayers who were a part of this class were the catcher Robert Pahau and the outfielder Samuel Kauhane. John Wise, a ball player on the 1890 team,

[76] Liliʻuokalani, *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen*, 218-219.
[77] Liliʻuokalani, *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen*, 228-233.
[78] Noenoe Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 123-128; For a discussion of the Hui Kālaiʻāina, see in particular the work of David William Earle, "Coalition Politics in Hawaiʻi, 1887-1890: Hui Kālaiʻāina and the Mechanics and Workingmen's Political Protective Union," (master's thesis, University of Hawaiʻi, 1993), 160-168.

would have been among these graduates as well, had he not entered into service with the Hawaiian Evangelical Association and gone to Oberlin Theological Seminary the year before.[79]

The Hawaiis meanwhile sought to improve on a relatively poor performance the previous season and turned to a new pitcher, George Allen, in hopes of stymieing the rest of the league. The rest of the team was again filled out with players such as Morris Keohokalole, James Thompson, George Rosa, Dan Kamakauahoa as well as Tom Pryce, who had played quite well against the visiting Californias.[80] Francisco Testa and Antone Rosa reprised their administrative roles for the club as president and delegate to the Association respectively. The biggest shakeup to the HBBA teams however was the disbanding of the Star Base Ball Club, which had lost much of its enthusiasm following a dismal 1890 showing. Those who wished to continue playing joined the Honolulus, resulting in a roster that featured Harry Whitney, Willie Lucas, George Desha, George Lucas, Hay Wodehouse and his brother Ernest, as well as Chan and Charles Wilder.[81]

The HBBL season, which featured a twenty-one game schedule, was the first regular competition to be played in the new league grounds on the corner of Piʻikoi and Kīnaʻu streets and, despite fielding fewer teams, the HBBL games were well attended. The growth in attendance was due in part to the height of the fence at the new diamond, where fans could watch the games comfortably on horseback or in carriages, and thanks to the mule-drawn tramway that shortened the commute to the park for those who lived elsewhere in town.[82] In addition to the

[79] Wise's departure in late August of 1890 was cause for a celebratory farewell breakfast at the Hamilton House that was attended by the entire team, as well as Oleson, Richards, and Charles Bishop. *The Hawaiian Gazette*, September 2, 1890; Ronald Williams Jr. "To Raise a Voice," 11.
[80] Earlier in the season, Pryce actually filled in at first base for the Hawaiis, so he was familiar with the team before joining in 1891. *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, May 10, 1890
[81] *Ko Hawaii Pae Aina*, March 28, 1891.
[82] Carriages were not always available on HBBL game days however, and one sports columnist judged that he had seen the company "lose 1,000 five-cent pieces every Saturday afternoon since the baseball season opened, because their enterprise [was] not equal to the occasion, either before or after the game." *Daily Bulletin*, June 1, 1889.

Tramways Company, businesses such as Pantheon Stables advertised shuttle services that bussed people through town to games and back for $.25 each way.[83] The real attraction of the park, however, was the "nice grand stand, with a seating capacity of nearly 1,500."[84] Despite the sometimes strained views from the back that occasionally limited a fan's ability to track fly balls, the grandstand allowed for comfortable and reserved seating that enabled the HBBA to charge admission.[85]

To match the brand-new grounds, the players adorned themselves with current equipment and stylish uniforms. The Hawaiis for example, utilized the position of the islands as a center of trade across the Pacific to outfit themselves with Canton flannel uniforms.[86] Thanks to the location of the Hawaiian Islands, teams had access to ideas and materials from across the Pacific, so teams could play a sport using rules from California in fabrics from China, with equipment that was either locally made, or purchased from businesses based in the United States.

The 1891 season was a competitive one, especially between the Honolulus and the Kamehamehas.[87] The Hawaiis meanwhile took until July 18th to notch their first win of the season, but they provided close games despite trailing in the standings and ended the season with an 11-10 victory over the Kamehamehas. Due to the influx of players from the Stars, the Honolulus ended atop the final standings with the Kamehamehas in second and the Hawaiis in third.

As with the previous year, although the League season of the Association came to a close at the end of the summer, baseball continued on through the winter as the amateur league

[83] *Daily Bulletin*, April 18, 1890.
[84] "All Californias," *The Hawaiian Gazette*, January 20, 1891.
[85] "Baseball and Football," *Hawaiian Gazette*, November 11, 1890.
[86] *Hawaiian Gazette*, April 21, 1891.
[87] *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, April 11, 1891.

and various challenge matches filled the void left by the League games. Again the amateurs were organized and administered by Robert Waipa and Morris Keohokalole, but like the Base Ball Association, the amateur league saw a change in membership for 1891 as St. Louis College was added to the mix of teams that included the Aliiolani, Pacific, Crescent, and Iwilei Base Ball Clubs. The rosters of these amateur teams were either younger players who had yet to appear in the HBBL, such as Prince Jonah Kūhiō Kalaniana‘ole, William D. Wilder, and William Kaae, HBBL players looking to hone their skills and stay in shape, such as James Thompson, Tom Pryce and James Lemon, or other players who could not fit the HBBL games into their normal schedules such as John Lane.

In addition to the amateur league, other members of Association teams kept in shape by playing against each other in mixed and matched lineups or by accepting challenges from visiting sailors. This continued the trend of local Honolulu teams testing themselves against foreign visitors and, like in previous years, such challenges often came from the naval vessels of a growing United States that sought to increase its influence across the Pacific Ocean. One such challenge match saw the Kamehamehas soundly beat a team from the USS *San Francisco* 20-2 in early April of 1892.[88] The *San Francisco* is particularly representative of the United States' military interests in the region.

As the flagship of the United States' Pacific Squadron, the *San Francisco* regularly sailed an ocean territory that stretched between Honolulu and the coasts of the Americas. In the summer of 1891, less than a year before playing the Kamehamehas in baseball, the *San Francisco* and the USS *Baltimore* were dispatched to Valparaiso, Chile in order to protect American interests during the Chilean civil war that had broken out earlier that year. Part of that

[88] This game was called early due to rain, but in just four innings the result was clearly decided. *Ka Nupepa Elele*, April 9, 1892.

protection included landing several dozen sailors and marines on August 28 when revolutionary Chileans attacked Chilean government forces in Valparaiso.[89] The *San Francisco* and the *Baltimore* stayed in port until order had been established, though their presence would lead to further conflict and tensions between the United States and Chile in ensuing months.[90] Using the threat of force and physically landing troops to safeguard economic interests was a common strategy of imperial powers throughout the region and it was practiced by not only the U. S. Navy, but France, Great Britain, and later Germany.[91] While Pacific historian Douglas Oliver has noted that the era of "warship diplomacy was about over" in the region by 1850, episodes such as this and the landing of British and American troops in Honolulu in 1874 to suppress a political revolt in support of Queen Emma, show that such tactics remained in the repertoire of imperial navies through the end of the nineteenth century.[92]

For the 1892 season, the Hawaiian Base Ball Association experienced an influx of younger players who brought renewed excitement and enthusiasm to league play. By 1892, many of the veteran players were in their late twenties and some of the players who were past thirty years old began to lessen their involvement in the ball clubs. The amateur league, however, provided a cadre of players in their late-teens and early-twenties to help replenish the energy of the HBBA. The Kamehamehas were already the youngest team in the League, with players ranging from their early twenties in the case of Philip Davis to teenagers such as

[89] George Brown to Benjamin Tracy, August 31, 1891, Naval Correspondence, "Message of the President of the United States Respecting the Relations with Chile, Together with the Diplomatic Correspondence; the Correspondence with Naval Officials; the Inquiry into the Attack on the Seamen of the U.S.S. Baltimore in the Streets of Valparaiso; and the Evidence of the Officers and Crew of the Steamer Keweenaw Respecting the Ill Treatment of Patrick Shields by the Chilean Police," *H. Exec. Doc. 91*, 52nd Cong. 1st sess., 1891-1892, pp. 281-285.
[90] For a discussion of this, see Joyce S. Goldberg, *The Baltimore Affair* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1986).
[91] For a discussion of American naval policy in the Pacific during this time period, see Kenneth J. Hagan, *American Gunboat Diplomacy and the Old Navy 1877-1889* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1973), 127-142.
[92] Douglas L. Oliver, *The Pacific Islands*, 3rd edition (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 1989), 59.

Meheula and Mahuka. Still, they became slightly younger when they added eighteen-year-old William Ahia to the roster.[93]

The Hawaiis, meanwhile, added twenty-one-year-olds Prince Jonah Kūhiō Kalaniana‘ole and William Kaae to a team that featured stalwarts James Thompson, Dan Kamakauahoa, and Morris Keohokalole as well as newer members Tom Pryce and Palmer Woods. The additions of Kaae and Prince Kūhiō, both of whom had played well in the amateur league, led to a shuffling of positions for the Hawaiis with the speedy Kūhiō patrolling center field and Tom Pryce shifting to catcher to replace the veteran Hawaiis backstop Dan Kamakauahoa. Rather than being indicative of fading athleticism on the part of replaced players, these switches were attempts to get the most out of the skills of all the players. Kamakauahoa, for example, still had the athleticism to play behind the plate, but Pryce was even better and drew comparisons to Mike "King" Kelly of the Boston Red Stockings for his defensive prowess.[94]

The defending champion Honolulus had by far the oldest roster heading into the 1892 season and again featured Whitney as their captain with the Wodehouse and Wilder brothers, Willie Lucas, Joseph "Jock" Carter, and George Lucas. The Wilder twins were twenty-seven during the 1892 season, Hay Wodehouse was twenty-nine years old, and Harry Whitney was the old hand of the entire League in his late-thirties. The Honolulus did manage to add some youth to their roster however, by convincing the nineteen-year-old, part-Hawaiian pitcher James Lemon to switch over from the Hawaiis, for whom he had played the previous season.[95]

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[93] The census records from 1900 and 1890 are especially helpful in determining the ages of some of these players.
[94] Kamakauahoa still occasionally filled in at catcher, but mostly showed off his athletic skill in the outfield and, in early October, by successfully jumping off a moving train in Moanalua and landing on his feet "without a spin." *Daily Bulletin*, May 9, 1892; *Daily Bulletin*, October 10, 1892.
[95] Lemon was the son of the Frenchman James Silas Le-Mon and Hawaiian Mary Ann Wond of Kaua‘i. Lemon "Rusty" Holt, *Talking Hawai‘i's Story: Oral Histories of an Island People*, edited by Michi Kodama-Nishimoto, Warren S. Nishimoto, and Cynthia A. Oshiro (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2009), 106.

The biggest influx of younger players to the HBBA came from the addition of a new team to the association: the Crescent Base Ball Club. The Crescents were mostly made up of recent Punahou graduates who had played as students and competed in the amateur league during the winter. The roster of the 1892 Crescents featured some former Punahou players, such as George Angus, Willie Wilder, Chris Holt, and Lionel Hart, but also included non-Punahou players such as Chris Willis, Percy Lishman, and Frank Woods who jumped at the opportunity to join the senior league. The majority of these players were, like those on the Kamehamehas, still teenagers or in their early twenties.

The season began with a Kamehameha victory over the defending champion Honolulus, much to the delight and happiness of the large crowd.[96] The season would continue in this fashion for both the Kamehamehas and the Honolulus. The Kamehamehas went on to win all but two of their games, while the Honolulus would lose not only to the Kamehamehas and the Hawaiis, but also to the newcomer Crescents and finished the season with only two total wins.[97] Following an 11-6 win by the Hawaiis over the Honolulus, the season ended in early August with the Kamehamehas in first place, followed by the Hawaiis, Crescents, and Honolulus.[98]

Over the offseason, the baseball community again kept busy with the games of the amateur league as well as a variety of challenge matches and pickup games by youngsters around Honolulu.[99] On August 17 for example, a game of baseball was played between a team from the U.S.S. *Boston*, an American warship anchored in Honolulu harbor, and a team that called themselves "How Do You Like It?" This team consisted of several HBBA players such as Tom

[96] *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, April 11, 1892.
[97] *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, August 1, 1892.
[98] *Daily Bulletin*, August 2, 1892.
[99] A group of juvenile ballplayers cordoned off Alapai Street to play a game on the morning of August 4, before being scattered by a police officer, who managed to arrest one of the players. *Daily Bulletin*, August 4, 1892.

Pryce and James Thompson of the Hawaiis, James Lemon of the Honolulus, and Willie Wilder of the Crescents, who had no trouble playing together when outside of League play. The combination of their skill and regular experience led them to defeat the sailors from the *Boston* 9-7.[100] The How Do You Like Its (HDYLI) also played a challenge game with a team made up of the volunteers of Fire Engine Company Number 1, which featured Association players such as Robert Baker and John Makaimoku of the Kamehamehas, as well as John Grube and David Carter of the Crescents.[101] Other offseason games featuring HBBA players did not solely include mixed and matched rosters, as the regular Kamehameha lineup traveled to Kaua‘i to play a baseball club from Waimea in honor of Queen Lili‘uokalani’s birthday.[102] The Kamehamehas also accepted challenges from the How Do You Like Its in October and November of 1892, and just as during the HBBL season, it was hard to beat the Kamehamehas, who roughed up Crescents and HDYLI pitcher George Angus for a 12-4 victory in front of a sizeable crowd.[103]

The intensity of rivalries on the diamond diminished outside of the Hawaiian Base Ball League season when Association ballplayers mixed and matched rosters frequently for challenge matches against visiting warships, against established clubs that were part of the amateur league, or against each other just to stay sharp. That so many players joined the league or switched teams in the offseason suggests that the divisions between HBBL teams themselves were in no way insurmountable. With regard to baseball in the very early 1890s, most players would interact and team up with a variety of other players and were not limited in what teams they played for during the season.

[100] *Daily Bulletin*, August 18, 1892.
[101] *Daily Bulletin*, September 14, 1892.
[102] *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, September 17, 1892.
[103] *Daily Bulletin*, October 13, 1892; *Daily Bulletin*, November 29, 1892.

While events on the field during the Hawaiian Base Ball League seasons of 1891 and 1892 were not particularly remarkable beyond the influx of younger players, what is notable about these two years is the continued growth of media coverage for the sport that both reflected and contributed to the sport's popularity. *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* and the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, for example, actively sought to use baseball to draw more attention from readers and possibly more subscriptions. For the 1892 season, the *Advertiser* offered a trip to Hawai'i to see the volcano for whomever was deemed to be the best player in the Hawaiian Base Ball League. To determine the best player in the League, fans were invited to write in their votes after watching each game. Each week, the *Kuokoa* published the total votes, as well as any new votes that came in that week. For the first part of the season, Sam Mahuka of the Kamehamehas, Jock Carter of the Honolulus, and the Crescents' Percy Lishman, and George Angus established themselves as the frontrunners. As the games progressed, Mahuka, Lishman, and Angus generally led all players in votes each week with Lishman and Angus leading heading into the final week. A surge of votes that pushed Mahuka's total over nine thousand gave him the final position atop the balloting, and entitled him to a trip to the volcano.[104]

With thousands of total votes, this fan-driven contest brought some interest to a newspaper that was losing readers. What had previously been one of the most prominent newspapers in the Hawaiian Islands with a circulation of nearly 5,000 readers, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* was losing much of its popularity during the 1890s as many readers "no longer were willing to overlook its pro-Americanism," and in many cases, it had to be given away for free to people "who used it to start morning cooking fires."[105] While the *Advertiser* and *Kuokoa* used

[104] Rather than accept the trip to the volcano, Mahuka preferred a cash purse to pay for his school. "Mahuka Ka Oi," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, August 13, 1892; "Ka Makana Helu Ekahi," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, October 8, 1892.
[105] Helen Chapin, *Shaping History*, 93-94.

baseball to increase readership, other papers that covered baseball attempted to shape the understandings of the sport and the atmosphere of the games.

One way in which the newspapers worked to shape the perception of baseball was by complimenting and criticizing actions of fans and thus create acceptable forms of support for the sport. At the new baseball grounds with its large grandstand, fans cheered on their favorite players and protested calls that did not go in their favor. As the 1892 season wore on, fans migrated to specific sections of the grandstand, with the younger Kamehameha students and fans occupying the third base side and "crank" fans, or experts from town, on the first base side. The "Palama left wing" as the *Hawaiian Gazette* called them, were especially excited and loud in their cheering and for some games, the sound was "deafening at times."[106] Such support for the Kamehamehas during these seasons was decried and admonished by the *Daily Bulletin* when cheers from their fans on the third baseline of the grandstand included "hooting storms" that broke out over the injury to an opposing player.[107] Such newspaper reactions, which were not found in the corresponding Hawaiian-language papers for these games, suggest that the *Gazette* and *Bulletin* had specific expectations for the decorum of fans attending baseball games, and specifically, the younger Hawaiian fans of the Kamehamehas. Such expectations for the conduct of Hawaiians would be further displayed in both these papers over the rest of the 1890s as they took increasingly pro-annexation political stances.

Beyond professing their expectations regarding fan conduct, the media also actively linked understandings of gender roles to the sport. Opinion letters and game recaps contributed to baseball being seen as a masculine endeavor. A front-page letter to the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, for example, described the sport as "purely a man's game" since "it not only

[106] *The Hawaiian Gazette*, May 26, 1891.
[107] *Daily Bulletin*, May 9, 1892.

represents strength of body, but activity of mind."[108] Such an attitude linking manliness to physical health and exercise fits within previous gendered understandings of the role of the sport and coincides with similar perspectives in the United States.[109] The letter then elaborates that "because of mathematical and scientific [q]ualities, we pronounce it as purely masculine, although it does not require brute force, like the prize fight."[110] In this elaboration, the author shifts this definition of masculinity away from physical muscularity embodied by boxers, but not entirely away from the physical realm. Additionally, the author cites the quantifiable aspects of the sport, what Allen Guttmann would consider to be "modern" attributes, as part of the defining characteristics of manliness. By gendering baseball in such a way, the author (and newspaper) not only attempt to deny women access to the game, but also marginalize women from the realms of mathematics and science through baseball.

Not all media accounts of baseball attempted to deny women access to the sport, however, as some outlined the acceptable ways for women to watch games. A June 1891 matchup between the Honolulus and the Kamehamehas, for example, featured a woman in the grandstand who "forgot herself in the excitement of the game, and gave decisions that would do any Honolulu umpire credit," implying that she was loudly calling runners 'safe' or 'out' or pitches as balls or strikes.[111] Such a recap of the game fits within the *Hawaiian Gazette*'s efforts to shape the actions of fans at the ball games, but does so in a gendered way. Numerous *Gazette* recaps during this time period note the in-game observations of the baseball cranks or the dissatisfaction with umpiring decisions, but they never write of any other fans "forgetting"

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[108] "Correspondence," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, December 12, 1890.
[109] For a discussion of baseball's link to masculinity in the United States during this time period, see Michael S. Kimmel, "Baseball and the Reconstitution of American Masculinity, 1880-1920," in Michael S. Kimmel, *The History of Men: Essays in the History of American and British Masculinities* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2005), 64-72.
[110] "Correspondence," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, December 12, 1890.
[111] *The Hawaiian Gazette*, June 16, 1891.

themselves in making such calls.[112] By negatively highlighting the active engagement of one particular female fan, the *Gazette* furthered the masculine nature of the sport by discouraging women's involvement even as spectators.

Aside from linking the sport to understandings of gender, several accounts of baseball drew upon racial and class distinctions when describing the games. Although the new baseball diamond had a large capacity, not everybody was able to get tickets to the grandstand. Many of those without tickets began building platforms in trees outside the fence overlooking the diamond for a chance to watch the games. With admission at twenty-five cents for adults and ten-cents for children, many of those trying to watch the game through or over the fence would also have been people simply saving some money. The *Hawaiian Gazette*, however, categorized such knothole gangs and onlookers in racial terms by noting that "the heads over the fence remind one of the niggers watching a watermelon patch down South."[113] In using such a racialized description, the *Gazette* writers invoked an image of racial exclusion as well as class segregation. Not only were those outside the baseball grounds racialized as people of color to an intended haole readership, but the *Gazette* also drew on the idea of African Americans as second-class citizens in the Jim Crow South of the United States.

In deploying such racist rhetoric, the *Gazette* fit within a growing trend among white settler colonies that had been buoyed by the writings of James Bryce and Charles Pearson, who both promoted white racial supremacy as forming the backbone of democratic governance in the region.[114] Such supremacy was threatened by miscegenation and as Theresa Runstedtler has noted in her study of the boxer Jack Johnson, efforts to segregate the interactions of black men

[112] See, for example, *The Hawaiian Gazette*, December 23, 1890; *The Hawaiian Gazette*, May 26, 1891.
[113] *The Hawaiian Gazette*, April 21, 1891.
[114] Lake and Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line*, 81.

and white women carried over into sports media coverage that stretched from the United States to Australia.[115] Such a racialized account in the English-language media of the Hawaiian Islands indicates the connection of island newspaper writers and readers to these growing trends across the region.

In addition to the racism, the exclusionary image evoked by the description suggests class divisions among fans of baseball in the Hawaiian Islands. Since the new diamond featured a grandstand and fence the HBBA had more control over who attended games. For many readers of the *Gazette* and *Bulletin*, even an increased charge in admission was welcomed if it meant avoiding a stadium "mostly filled with the hoodlum element" that had characterized the old diamond.[116] Any fans peeking their heads over or through the fence to see the play on the diamond would have been seen by the editors and readers of the *Gazette* as not proper fans in the first place, since they did not (or could not afford to) purchase tickets, leading to such an exclusionary description on top of the racist overtones.

Such gendered and racist portrayals of baseball and the games of the HBBL were generally limited to the English-language newspapers. Hawaiian-language newspapers such as *Ka Leo o ka Lahui* and *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* provided recaps of the baseball games in the early-1890s, but do not go into much detail regarding the sport's role in terms of understandings of gender. During the 1891 season, for example, *Ka Leo o ka Lahui* ran a continuous advertisement of remaining League games and updated the schedule each week as games were played. The actual game summaries in *Ka Leo* were not nearly as extensive as other papers, indicating that advertisements did not drive the content of the paper, but also affording little room to expound

[115] Theresa Runstedtler, *Jack Johnson, Rebel Sojourner: Boxing in the Shadow of the Global Color Line* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2012), 42-45.
[116] Kila, "Another Grievance," *The Daily Bulletin*, July 9, 1889.

on any gendered understandings of the sport. The brief recaps in *Ka Leo o ka Lahui* did, however, occasionally show the nationalist perspective of the paper's editor, former ballplayer John Bush. In describing the opening game of the 1891 season, for example *Ka Leo* characterized the Kamehamehas as "na pulapula a ka Naʻi Aupuni," or "the offspring of the Conqueror of the Nation" in comparison to a Honolulus team that featured mostly haole players, many of whom were foreign born.[117] By using a description of Kamehameha I that invoked his unification of the islands into one kingdom, Bush emphasized monarchical authority at a time when Liliʻuokalani had just recently ascended to the throne and was conflicting with her cabinet. Such a description of the Kamehamehas was not the norm in *Ka Leo o ka Lahui* either, as announcements regarding their games generally referred to them as "ka hui Kamehameha," or the Kamehameha team.[118]

Through 1891 and 1892, the turnover among baseball clubs in the Hawaiian Base Ball Association and the movement of players between teams in the offseason shows a malleable sporting institution when it came to who participated with whom. Though players may not have been friends with everybody in the Association, their passion for the game led to large networks of both teammates and opponents throughout Honolulu. The popularity of league games and offseason challenge matches required an active media interest in baseball to keep the public abreast of results and roster shifts. While the *Kuokoa* and *Advertiser* used baseball to enhance readership with their fan-voting contest, the *Gazette*, the *Daily Bulletin* with its sports column that began in 1892, and even *Ka Leo o ka Lahui* to varying extents, used baseball to shape public perception. How the media, fans, and players themselves viewed baseball and its relationship to

[117] *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, April 14, 1891.
[118] See for example, "Na Hui Kinipopo," *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, May 4, 1891; *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, May 18, 1891; *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, June 8, 1891.

the rest of society would be tested amid political turnover beyond the baselines over the next two years.

Baseball, Political Overthrow, and Provisional Government (1893)

The first baseball news from 1893 was an entry in a crime report of the *Daily Bulletin*. Amid a string of petty larcenies, three youngsters were apprehended and charged with stealing a catcher's mask, gloves, and a baseball from C. E. Williams' store on Fort Street.[119] Whether they sought to sell the stolen baseball equipment or use it themselves the upcoming spring is unclear, but regardless, it speaks to the popularity of the sport. It was not petty crimes that would be most remembered from that month however, as the 1893 baseball season would be preceded by an armed *coup d'état* against the Hawaiian monarchy. Conducted by many of the same conspirators who forced a new constitution in 1887, the 1893 overthrow was characterized by the threat and outright use of military force against the reigning Hawaiian monarch.

In early 1893, Queen Lili'uokalani was attempting to install a new constitution in place of the document forced upon her brother just over five years earlier. Although the Queen was opposed in her efforts by her ministers, she was supported by many of her subjects and received numerous petitions pressing her for a new constitution.[120] The Queen remained determined to abrogate the monarchy-limiting document of 1887 and this drive to restore power to the monarchy threatened those who had since seized power. A group of conspirators which included Sanford Dole, William Smith, Charles Carter, and Alfred Hartwell, as well as former ballplayers Lorrin Thurston, Fred Wundenberg, and William Castle all met at Thurston's home and resolved

[119] *Daily Bulletin*, January 9, 1893.
[120] Noenoe Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 129.

to prevent the Queen from changing the government through the use of force.[121] It was Lorrin Thurston, the former Oceanics outfielder and Minister of Interior for King Kalākaua, who served, according to Sanford Dole, as "a conspicuous leader in initiating the movement" to overthrow Queen Lili'uokalani's government.[122]

The conspirators formed what they called a "Committee of Safety" and held a mass meeting chaired by William C. Wilder, the father of ballplayers Charles and Chan Wilder. At the meeting this group brought three main charges against the Queen: firstly that she "proposed to promulgate a new constitution," secondly that she signed a bill for the implementation of a lottery system, and thirdly that she "proposed to issue licenses for the importation and sale of opium" into the Kingdom.[123] Of these accusations, Queen Lili'uokalani readily admitted to the first as she estimated that two-thirds of her subjects had "declared their dissatisfaction" with the Bayonet Constitution.[124] The other issues, regarding a lottery and licenses for opium, were intended to expand the economic base of the Hawaiian Kingdom. In particular, the licensing of opium was also intended to cut down on the smuggling and corruption that occasionally involved "prominent citizens" such as William F. Allen, the president of the Base Ball Association.[125] These efforts were opposed by those who favored American annexation and relied on a sugar-based economy.[126] Taken together, the conspirators viewed these charges as enough to take military action against the Hawaiian Kingdom.

The conspirators' armed forces were led by John H. Soper, the father of the Honolulus' first baseman, and consisted of the Honolulu Rifles and volunteers from around the city who

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[121] Sanford B. Dole, *Memoirs of the Hawaiian Revolution*, edited by Andrew Farrell (Honolulu, HI: Advertiser Publishing Co., Ltd., 1936), 74.
[122] Sanford B. Dole, *Memoirs of the Hawaiian Revolution*, xix.
[123] Liliuokalani, *Hawaii's Story*, 237-242.
[124] Liliuokalani, *Hawaii's Story*, 237.
[125] Liliuokalani, *Hawaii's Story*, 241.
[126] Liliuokalani, *Hawaii's Story*, 239-240; Gavan Daws, *Shoal of Time*, 268-269.

supported an oligarchy. These forces were further bolstered by Marines from the U.S.S. *Boston* and allowed the Committee of Safety to intimidate the Queen into yielding her authority under the threat of violence. The deployment of troops from the *Boston* were ostensibly to protect American property in the event of rioting, which fit within a pattern of American actions in the region, most recently seen in Chile in 1891. Instead of protecting American property however, the troops were stationed near ʻIolani Palace. Admiral John Skerrett, the commander of the United States Pacific Station, would later describe this location of troops as "unadvisable…if they were landed for the protection of United States citizens," but "if they were landed with a view to support the Provisional Government troops…it was a wise choice."[127] The newly-formed provisional government then declared martial law and suspended *habeas corpus* in order to maintain their control.[128] In an effort to avoid massive casualties, Queen Liliʻuokalani cautioned her people and their leaders "to avoid riot or resistance, and to await tranquilly…the result of [her] appeal" to the United States.[129]

The involvement of American troops in helping to dethrone a sitting monarch fit within a larger pattern by imperial nations in Oceania and around the world. Though the actions were not officially endorsed by the United States, the American ambassador John Stevens and Commander Swinburne of the *Boston* each acted as a man on the spot and deployed American military forces to help secure what they saw as a political concession. With regard to the Hawaiian Islands, intimidation by foreign agents of empire dated back to the actions of George Vancouver in the late-eighteenth century and included the gunboat diplomacy of the French,

[127] J. S. Skerrett to J. H. Blount, May 20, 1893, in *Appendix II: Foreign Relations of the United States, 1894: Affairs in Hawaii*, 53d Cong., 3d sess., Ex. Doc. 1, Part. 1, no. 167 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1895), 538.
[128] Dole, *Memoirs of the Hawaiian Revolution*, 89-92.
[129] Liliuokalani, *Hawaii's Story*, 243.

British and American naval vessels in the 1840s that did not shy away from threatening the Hawaiian Kingdom in order to achieve political, economic, or religious concessions.[130]

Despite such a charged political climate, there would be no major changes to the baseball world of Honolulu. Games continued to be played at 3:30 on Saturday afternoons and admission remained twenty-five cents for adults and ten cents for children. As with 1892, there was again a reorganization of the teams and players within the Hawaiian Base Ball Association. This time, it was the Honolulu Base Ball Club that disbanded, just two years removed from winning a championship. Of the Honolulus who sought to continue playing baseball, most joined the Crescent Base Ball Club. While certainly not a sign of political allegiance, it is telling that the members of the Honolulus who did join the Crescents, such as Chan Wilder and Hay Wodehouse, tended to have played at least small roles in supporting the overthrow of Queen Lili‘uokalani and many took up government positions within the provisional government. In an effort to achieve a high level of play for the upcoming season, both the Crescents and Hawaiis began practicing on February 23, nearly two months before the season would start.[131]

In mid-March, the Hawaii Base Ball Club played an exhibition tune-up game against a team from the USFS *Mohican*.[132] Originally commissioned in 1885, the *Mohican* was a steam sloop that had been part of the United States' Pacific Squadron before being reassigned to protect sealing plants and fisheries while patrolling the Bering Sea. Between February and June of 1893, the *Mohican* took time off from her duties in the Bering Sea to anchor in Honolulu.[133] As part of their time in Honolulu, sailors from the ship organized a baseball team to challenge a

[130] How the events of 1893 fit within a larger pattern of foreign encroachment on the sovereignty of the Hawaiian monarchy was not lost on the Hawaiian public at the time either as evidenced in contemporary newspapers. "1887 a me 1893," *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, March 27, 1893; "1843 a me 1893," *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, March 28, 1893.
[131] *Daily Bulletin*, February 24, 1893.
[132] *Daily Bulletin*, March 13, 1893.
[133] "Mohican," s.v. *Dictionary of American Naval Fighting Ships* (Department of the Navy, Washington, DC.).

local team. The Hawaiis made use of this exhibition and solidly beat the sailors 15-4. This would not be the end of competition between the groups however, and the next week, sailors from the *Mohican* teamed up with sailors from the USS *Boston* to take on the Hawaiis in a rematch. The result was similar and the Hawaii Base Ball Club trounced the American sailors 26-9.[134] In both cases, the Hawaiis received very vocal support from the fans in attendance. Not only were spectators cheering on the ethnically Hawaiian team, but they were also cheering against the United States military that had helped overthrow a sovereign government. Because of the sport's fifty-year history in the Hawaiian Islands as a social arena, the baseball diamond itself was not controlled by a specific group or interest. Consequently, Hawaiian fans could openly oppose and protest the forces that had aided in the usurpation of the government, without overtly challenging anyone's authority.

The opening day for the eighteen-game season of 1893 took place on April 29, between the Hawaii Base Ball Club and the Crescent Base Ball Club.[135] The Hawaiis' roster was captained by James Thompson, the veteran infielder, and was again filled out by Tom Pryce, Palmer Woods, William Kaae, and Prince Jonah Kūhiō Kalaniana'ole. Additionally Chris Willis, Lionel Hart, and Frank Woods, who had all been part of the Crescents the year before, Philip Davis, formerly of the Kamehamehas, and Ed Holt joined the team. Each of these players to join the Hawaiis from other teams were ethnically part-Hawaiian, and while there were some Hawaiians who supported a change in government, the fact that these players all switched teams following the overthrow strongly suggests a political division among the teams that would be borne out in later political involvement. The Crescents meanwhile were captained by Willie Wilder and again featured Percy Lishman, George Angus, and Chris Holt. To this squad were

[134] *Daily Bulletin*, March 27, 1893.
[135] "Keia Kau Kinipopo," *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, April 25, 1893.

added former Honolulus players Hay Wodehouse, Chan Wilder, John Soper, George Lucas, and James Lemon. Of the players added to the Crescents, only James Lemon was part-Hawaiian and the rest were haole.

Of the players mentioned above, several, such as Chan Wilder, John Soper, and Ed Holt played roles in the political events earlier that year, while others would be involved in other events soon to come. Wilder and Soper were both part of the volunteer army that supported the provisional government, while Ed Holt was a "staunch Royalist" who worked for the Queen as a mounted patrolman.[136] William Kaiu Kaae, a pitcher for the Hawaiis who had joined the team the previous year after a standout run with St. Louis College in the amateur league, played an important role in the political schemes earlier that year. In addition to being an outstanding athlete, Kaae was also "a very neat penman" who was employed by Queen Lili'uokalani to make copies of different documents. Among the documents copied by Kaiu Kaae were constitutional drafts from 1892 which were intended to replace the Bayonet Constitution of 1887. While working for the Queen however, Kaae would bring the copies he made to the Kingdom's Supreme Court Chief Justice Albert F. Judd, an action that Queen Lili'uokalani would later cite to illustrate the surveillance to which she was subjected during her reign.[137]

Although Kaae would later be brought before the court to testify against the Queen, for the moment he was free to play baseball, so he opened the season as a Hawaiis pitcher. The game itself was an exciting one, as the Hawaiis took a 3-1 lead into the ninth inning. With two outs in the ninth, Chan Wilder hit a grounder back to the pitcher Kaae. While taking his time to throw to first however, Kaae overthrew Chris Willis at first base, an error that allowed Willie Wilder and Percy Lishman to score for the Crescents and tie the game. Chan Wilder was then

[136] Lemon "Rusty" Holt, *Talking Hawai'i's Story*, 109.
[137] Lili'uokalani, *Hawaii's Story*, 230.

driven in by Chris Holt to give the Crescents a 4-3 lead. The Hawaiis would send the game to extra innings with a run in the bottom of the ninth, and after a scoreless tenth, the Crescents scored three runs in the eleventh inning. The Hawaiis again tied the score in the bottom half of the inning, but in the twelfth inning, Chan Wilder again drove in Willie Wilder and Percy Lishman. This time, the Hawaiis were unable to respond and the Crescents won the game 9-7 despite several good individual performances by Prince Kalaniana'ole, James Thompson, and Tom Pryce, among others.[138]

The week after their extra-inning loss to the Crescents, the Hawaiis took on the Kamehameha Base Ball Club. The 1893 incarnation of the Kamehameha team was again captained by Samuel Mahuka and included William Meheula, W. Lindsay, Robert Baker, John Wahinemaikai, George Cummings, James Kauka, Alex Pahau, and Daniel Ruevsky. As students of the school, these players were all Hawaiians with the exception of Ruevsky, their haole printing teacher. In their first game against the Hawaiis, the Kamehamehas quickly found themselves down 3-1 after the first inning in front of a large crowd. Like in previous seasons, the Kamehamehas were loudly supported by youngsters from Kamehameha Preparatory School, and were able to take a two-run lead in the fifth inning "amid great cheering by the kindergarten in the stand."[139] The Hawaiis would tie the game in the top half of the ninth inning when the speedy Kaae was able to score from first on a double by Willis. The Kamehamehas responded in the bottom of the ninth though, as they loaded the bases with one out. Captain Sam Mahuka, who according to the *Daily Bulletin*, carried himself with an "I-know-I'm-a-good-player" air hit a fly ball to centerfield. Prince Kalaniana'ole easily tracked under the ball and saw the teacher Ruevsky was rather far off from second base. In his "anxiety to make double play," the Prince

[138] *Daily Bulletin*, May 1, 1893.
[139] *Daily Bulletin*, May 8, 1893; "Ka Paani Kinipopo Elua," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, May 13, 1893.

dropped the ball while transferring the catch to throw to second and John Wahinemaikai was able to score from third to win the game for the Kamehamehas.[140]

As the season rolled on, the Kamehamehas continued to pile up the victories. Following a Hawaiis victory over the Crescents, the fifth game of the season saw the Kamehamehas win their third game by again defeating the Hawaiis, this time 9-7.[141] This game, which was played on the last weekend in May, was observed by the American Commissioner James Blount, who according to the *Star* "was there to see the effect of the annexation question on Hawaiians." The pro-annexation *Star* went on to hope that Blount would notice "the important fact that they [the Hawaiians] didn't care a rap unless they couldn't hit the ball. Then they showed their disgust, but only then."[142] The odd description of Hawaiians as apathetic to the baseball game by the *Star* perhaps implied that the Hawaiians similarly did not care about governing the islands and that any protests to the overthrow were as fleeting as the disgust with a lack of hitting. Since the *Star* was the only newspaper to make such a claim regarding a lack of enthusiasm among the crowd, it is likely that the description was intended as a larger critique of the Hawaiian public.

Based on other game descriptions it seems as though the crowd followed the game enthusiastically in contrast to the pro-annexation *Star*'s efforts to sway Blount's opinion.[143] For his part, Blount enjoyed the game, but he offered no elaboration on it beyond the score in his report to the United States government. So whether Blount took the baseball game as a sign that

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[140] Ibid.
[141] "Eo o Crescent ia Hawaii," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, May 27, 1893.
[142] *Hawaiian Star*, May 29, 1893.
[143] The *Daily Bulletin* for example, which frequently criticized the young Kamehameha fans, went so far as to note that the defending champion Kamehamehas possessed, "among their treasures…a crowd of kindergarten rooters, who would cheer if a Kamehameha player succeeded in expectorating over his proboscis." While still denigrating the behavior of these young fans, the *Bulletin* at least acknowledged their enthusiasm in a way that the *Star* had downplayed. *Daily Bulletin*, May 29, 1893.

Hawaiians were apathetic to larger political environment as the *Star* attempted to suggest, he made no comment to that effect publicly and offered no discussion of baseball in the islands.[144]

The rest of the season continued to be marked by wins for the Kamehamehas. Captain James Thompson of the Hawaiis added a flair of strategy to the season by regularly utilizing a relief pitcher in games. Frequently, the Hawaiis would begin with Kaae pitching anywhere between five and seven innings before being pulled for Palmer Woods. This was not the case of Kaae being injured, but rather was an attempt by Thompson to bring in a fresh arm as the games grew longer. Teams in the United States occasionally used relief pitchers during this time, but generally not with the regularity that Thompson did.[145] As with previous innovations in the sport, such as the two umpire system, the use of a regular reliever shows a baseball community in the Hawaiian Islands that not only mirrored new techniques in the United States, but occasionally preceded them.

Despite repeated victories for the Kamehamehas, the Hawaiis played competitive games. The Crescents on the other hand found themselves on the wrong side of several lop-sided scores, and after a 10-1 loss to the Hawaiis in late June, the newspapers questioned the team's commitment.[146] The *Star*, for example, touched on rumors that the Crescents would disband, describing the game as "the tamest exhibition of base ball playing that the public has witnessed

[144] The one other account of baseball included in the Blount Report was an excerpt from the *Daily Bulletin* that recapped July 4, 1889 activities and was sent from U.S. Minister George Merrill to U.S. Secretary of State James Blaine. Merrill included the newspaper clipping recounting a baseball game between the Honolulus and the Stars and its large crowd in order to portray an enthusiasm for the United States that existed in the islands. George W. Merrill to James G. Blaine, July 9, 1889, in *Appendix II: Foreign Relations of the United States, 1894: Affairs in Hawaii*, 53d Cong., 3d sess., Ex. Doc. 1, Part. 1, no. 167 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1895), 279.

[145] In his history of relief pitching, Paul Votano notes that in "the National League, hurlers were finishing more than 80 percent of their starts until 1906." Paul Votano, *Late and Close: A History of Relief Pitching* (Jefferson, NC: MacFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2002), 15.

[146] *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, July 1, 1893.

since the Kaiulani's were shamed out of existence."[147] The *Bulletin* also noted that while the Hawaiis showed the product of their practicing with crisp execution in the field and solid hitting, "the Crescents showed quite the opposite."[148] Things would get no better for the Crescents on the field, as they were then routed again the next week, this time on July 4 by the Kamehamehas, 13-6.[149]

The Crescents did not disband however, and were able to score their second win of the season with a victory over the Hawaiis on July 8. Aside from the 6-5 result in favor of the Crescents, what is notable about this game is the improvements made to the baseball grounds. This game was the first to feature a wire netting around the front of the grandstand designed to protect spectators from foul balls.[150] Such an investment by the Association was the result of fan complaints from the previous weeks and the netting's construction illustrates the business of baseball in the islands.[151] If the Association were going to charge admission to fans, it needed to address their concerns and safety to get continued attendance. Fans appreciated the increased safety of the grandstand and, two weeks later, watched the Crescents upset the Kamehamehas for their first loss of the season.[152] Due to illness and summer vacation, the rosters for both teams had some new additions, including the Hawaiis' star catcher Tom Pryce in right field for the Crescents who, much to the chagrin of local gamblers who had bet on an undefeated championship team, helped the Crescents pull out an 8-4 victory.[153]

Other excitement from the 1893 season involved the umpiring of the games. Overall, the crew of umpires for League play included players and umpires from prior seasons such as

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[147] *Hawaiian Star*, June 26, 1893.
[148] *Daily Bulletin*, June 26, 1893.
[149] "Na Lealea ma ke Kahua Kinipopo," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, July 8, 1893.
[150] *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, July 15, 1893.
[151] *Daily Bulletin*, July 7, 1893.
[152] *Ka Le Momi*, July 24, 1893.
[153] *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, July 29, 1893; "The Champion Defeated," *Daily Bulletin*, July 24, 1893.

George Boardman, Clarence Crabbe, Henry Kaia, Morris Keohokalole, Charles Wilder, and Harry Whitney.[154] Generally speaking, the umpires were widely acknowledged as fair regarding their judgments, but a major argument surfaced during the eighth inning of a July game umped by Morris Keohokalole. The game itself was a twelve-inning affair between the Kamehamehas and the Hawaiis which the *Star* declared to be "the best played game of the season," and included a three-foot tall jackass in a uniform as a mascot for the Hawaiis.[155] The game was tied at 4-4 through seven innings with several close calls rankling several of the Kamehameha players. The *Hawaiian Gazette* suggested that the students may have also been irritated by the fact that Kahai Keohokalole "was formerly captain of the Hawaiis."[156] In the eighth inning, Keohokalole "left the game in a rage," after the "kicks, mutterings and smothered cursings of Baker, catcher for the students."[157] The game was delayed for several minutes until finally Jock Carter, the former Honolulus hitter who had been umping the bases, agreed to carry on from behind the plate. According to the *Daily Bulletin*, Kamehameha players "Baker, Cummings and Meheula made themselves the most offensive, even going as far as using profane language before the audience."[158] Like the previous characterizations of fan reactions, here the *Daily Bulletin* criticizes the Hawaiian players themselves for not conducting themselves according to what editors see as proper behavior at the baseball game.

Beyond the judgmental tone of the *Bulletin* though, this episode illustrates other issues. Whether or not the officiating of Keohokalole was biased, the fact that the Kamehamehas still associated him with his experience on the Hawaiis shows that players and teams continued to be

[154] The umpiring crew also featured current players such as Palmer Woods, who called the opening game of the season before joining the Hawaiis, and Prince Kūhiō Kalaniana'ole, who umpired the Crescents win over the Kamehamehas on July 22.
[155] *Hawaiian Star*, July 3, 1893; *Daily Bulletin*, July 3, 1893.
[156] *Hawaiian Gazette*, July 4, 1893.
[157] *Hawaiian Gazette*, July 4, 1893; *Hawaiian Star*, July 3, 1893.
[158] *Daily Bulletin*, July 3, 1893.

linked even after players had moved on. So while, George Markham, Hay Wodehouse, and the others involved in the conflict of 1889 may no longer have been active players in 1893, they were still connected to their teams in the eyes of the baseball-playing community, just as Keohokalole was still linked to the Hawaiis. Secondly, this displeasure with the umpiring is symbolic of the political tension in the islands. Due to the nature of baseball as a competitive sport, there would have undoubtedly been previous arguments over calls, though none were covered to the extent of this 1893 disagreement. For the faith placed in umpires from other teams to be called into question, if only briefly, shows that the players were leery of any perceived prejudices on the part of an impartial adjudicator. Such an attitude was evident in the political realm, where several Hawaiian groups were anxious about the stance of the American commissioner James Blount, whose job it was to examine the events of the overthrow and advise United States President Grover Cleveland.[159]

The final standings would still show a runaway championship for the Kamehameha Base Ball Club, but not a flawless record as they finished 10-1. The Kamehamehas had been led all season by Sam Mahuka's overall talent, William Meheula's strong pitching, Robert Baker's skill behind the plate, and the power hitting of James Kauka. The Hawaii Base Ball Club finished with a 4-7 record while the Crescents ended at 3-9. The season ended up being seventeen games rather than the scheduled eighteen since several of the Kamehameha students left for vacation before their final game with the Hawaiis at the end of July. While several of the scores were lopsided, many of the games were hotly contested and the season itself was exciting despite no home runs being hit due to the large dimensions of the playing grounds and the generally good pitching.[160]

[159] Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 130-134.
[160] *Handicraft*, September, 1893.

The impact of the Provisional Government on the ballplayers themselves ranged from unemployment to the loss of royal authority in the case of Prince Kūhiō Kalaniana‘ole. Some players lost their jobs as a result of the overthrow while others had to take oaths of loyalty to the provisional government in order to remain employed at courthouses, post offices, customs houses, and other government agencies. Morris Keohokalole, James Thompson, Palmer Woods, Robert Waipa, George Desha, and Ernest Wodehouse all took oaths to keep their jobs, but Lionel Hart, the shortstop for the Hawaiis was removed from his post as a clerk in the Foreign Office.[161] Whether these men opposed or supported the overthrow, they were forced to support the new government in order to stay employed. In the case of Lionel Hart, who did lose his job, it is not clear whether he refused to take the oath or if he was dismissed without even having the chance. If he had indeed refused to take such an oath of loyalty to the provisional government, he would have been among a group of Hawaiians who honored the queen more than their own economic livelihood. This group included several members of the Royal Hawaiian Band, which played at all the League games during 1892 and saw considerable roster turnover following the usurpation of the monarchy when seven Hawaiians and five Portuguese musicians left the band after refusing to sign an annexation petition.[162] Noenoe Silva notes that the principled loyalty of these band members was later memorialized in the song “Mele ‘Ai Pōhaku” which emphasized their sacrifice in walking away from their jobs and paychecks saying they would rather “‘ai pōhaku,” or “eat rocks,” than pledge loyalty to the provisional government.[163]

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[161] Records of the Foreign Office and Executive, Box 44 – Loyalty Reports: Government Employees; Records of Foreign Office and Executive, Series 427: Oaths of Loyalty, 1893-1900. Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu, HI.
[162] Their positions were subsequently filled by twelve new band members from San Francisco, who the *Gazette* used to diminish the political nature of previous members’ dismissals by declaring that the new men “materially improved the organization.” *Hawaiian Gazette*, June 6, 1893.
[163] Composed by Ellen Keko‘aohiwaikalani Wright Prendergast, the song was also known as “Mele Aloha ‘Āina” and “Kaulana Nā Pua.” Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 134-135.

In the year following the overthrow of Queen Lili‘uokalani, the Hawaiian Base Ball Association did not show overt impacts of the political turmoil, but there were several more subtle episodes that illustrated the tense atmosphere. The shifting of players from team to team was not out of character from previous seasons, but the later political involvement of players suggests that in this particular year, political leanings influenced the construction of rosters to start the season. The former Honolulu players who supported and benefited from the change in government generally joined the Crescents while several Crescent players who would later come under political scrutiny, such as Lionel Hart and Chris Willis joined the Hawaiis. What is clear about baseball in 1893 is that the sport itself remained a popular social arena that drew from across the political spectrum of Honolulu society in terms of players, fandom, and media coverage.

Baseball, Republic, and Rebellion (1894-1895)

The 1894 baseball season in the Hawaiian Islands began amid ongoing political tension in the islands and by midseason the provisional government declared itself the Republic of Hawai‘i. For a sport that has been so closely linked to the haole elite of the Hawaiian Islands by other scholars, one would expect to see commemorations of the founding of the republic on the baseball diamond. The fact that there were no large-scale ceremonies in the Base Ball Association, just the regularly-scheduled, eleventh game of the season between the Kamehamehas and the Hawaiis, further indicates that the sport itself was not an arena linked to a specific political agenda. Despite the politically charged atmosphere, the season continued as

usual and it was not until a gambling scandal in late July that the baseball life in the islands would be upended.

The baseball year began with the calendar year in 1894 since New Year's Day featured a game between the reigning HBBL champion Kamehamehas and a team of sailors from the U.S.S. *Philadelphia* and the U.S.S. *Adams*. As with several previous challenge matches between local teams and American warships, this game presented an opportunity for anti-annexationist and royalist fans to root against the forces of the United States. The imperial context of these sailors and soldiers from the *Adams* and the *Philadelphia* was not far from fans' minds either, as both of the American warships were busily preparing a show of American military force involving practice troop landings over the next few days.[164] This particular game was played in Pearl City and, as with most of the results from the previous season, this too ended with a Kamehameha victory in a contest that was not even close with a final score of 24-4.

League teams started practicing regularly in early March and the Association organized an eighteen-game schedule by early April. Unlike previous seasons, the 1894 Hawaiian Base Ball League established official umpires and scorers for the entire League. Included among this group were Morris Keohokalole, Clarence Crabbe, Henry M. Whitney Jr., William J. Forbes, and Antone Perry, all of whom were no longer active ballplayers in the League, despite any previous club affiliations.[165] In prior years, there were people who regularly umped games, but their selection was mostly determined based on availability. Following the dispute between the Kamehamehas and Morris Keohokalole in the previous season, the Association opted to officially announce a scheduled lineup of who would umpire games at the start of the season.

[164] John Irwin to Hilary A. Herbert, January 2, 1894, in John Morgan, "Report of the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, with Accompanying Testimony, and Executive Documents, January 1, 1893 to March 10, 1894," vol. II (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1894), 2145-2146.
[165] *Hawaiian Star*, April 17, 1894.

Like the previous season, it was a three-team League featuring the Kamehamehas, Crescents, and Hawaiis.

The defending champion Kamehamehas were again led by their captain Sam Mahuka, but added established players such as James Lemon, formerly of the Crescents and Hawaiis, and students such as Charles Ako Aki to holdovers from previous years such as William Meheula. The school team also featured the return of John Wise, who had returned to the islands following his time at Oberlin College in Ohio. Like previous years, the Kamehamehas were an ethnically Hawaiian team, owing to the nature of the school. The Crescents generally added some youth to their team, replacing the twenty-eight-year-old Chan Wilder with former Kamehamehas catcher Robert Baker, and added other younger players such as Harry Wilder, Willie Lucas, and George Wood. The Crescents also lost Charles Wilder midseason when he was appointed to the position of Consul-general in San Francisco. Compared to the other two teams in the league, the Crescents remained the most predominantly haole team, though there were some Hawaiians on the roster such as Baker and Wood. The Hawaiis meanwhile were still captained by James Thompson, but added George Rosa and one of the Queen's Royal Guard, William Ahia, to their team in hopes of putting an end to the streak of Kamehameha championships.

The first third of the 1894 season followed a similar pattern to the previous year. After six games, the Kamehmehas had won all of their games, the Hawaiis were 2-2 and the Crescents had yet to win. That is not to say that the games were not competitive, with extra innings and one-run decisions, but the Kamehamehas were quite good in the clutch. The first game of the season, for example, saw the Hawaiis and Kamehamehas tied into the ninth inning. With Chris Willis on third for the Hawaiis, Tom Pryce hit a ground ball to the left side, but because he was

busy watching Willis run home from third base, the champion sprinter Pryce was thrown out at first to send the game to extra innings, where the Hawaiis would go on to lose.[166]

Similar to previous seasons, local newspapers such as the *Daily Bulletin* attempted to shape the atmosphere of the games through criticizing what they deemed as poor practices among the fans. The target of the *Bulletin*'s criticism from this first third of the season was the young cheering section of the Kamehamehas, whose cheers supposedly rankled other spectators. Following the third game of the season, the *Bulletin* characterized the support from the younger Kamehameha students as "annoying in the extreme to those who desired to enjoy the game…for every little thing which the 'Kams' did they would receive a roar and howl from the bleachers in the stand. The uproar gave many of the prominent patrons of the game a headache."[167]

Two weeks later, the youngsters "repeated their howling and yelling, much to the aggravation of those who wished to enjoy the game," and nearly goaded a Crescents player into a fight with some of their insults.[168] These young fans continued to root on their team strongly and were only quieted when uniformed policemen were also in attendance or the Kamehamehas were not playing. In such cases, games were noticeably quieter in the "absence of the Kamehameha 'shouters'," according to the *Hawaiian Gazette*, while the *Daily Bulletin* suggested that if "such hoodlum conduct" were to continue, "the baseball association [would] have to depend on the 'students' half-price admission for patronage."[169] The Hawaiian-language coverage of these two games make no comment regarding the cheering of the young fans which indicates that such criticisms in the English-language newspapers were part of the ongoing efforts from previous years to shape how the game itself was received by fans in the islands. The fact that these

[166] *Daily Bulletin*, May 7, 1894.
[167] *Daily Bulletin*, May 21, 1894.
[168] *Daily Bulletin*, May 31, 1894.
[169] *Hawaiian Gazette*, June 5, 1894; *Daily Bulletin*, May 21, 1894.

criticisms were only leveled at Hawaiians also suggests a racial motivation on the part of the *Gazette* and *Bulletin* writers who never called out haole fans in such a way.

Though they lost to the Hawaiis in the sixth game of the season by a score of 6-2, the Crescents had made a lineup change that would pay dividends in the ensuing games. In this game, the Crescents relied on George H. Wood to pitch and moved regular pitcher George Angus into the outfield. This was Wood's second appearance as a pitcher for the Crescents, having previously taken the hill in relief during a May 19 loss to the Kamehamehas for which he received considerable praise regarding his pitching.[170] Like many others in the Hawaiian Base Ball League, Wood had gained baseball experience playing in the amateur league in Honolulu, which in his case included pitching for the "Unknowns" the previous season. Unlike his Crescent teammates however, George Wood was a person of color whose mother was Hawaiian and whose father was Black.[171]

Wood's participation in the Hawaiian Base Ball League draws attention to the diversity of settlers in the Hawaiian Islands who integrated themselves into the social life of the islands. As Kathryn Waddell Takara has noted, Black people had maintained a "significant presence in Hawai'i" since the early 1800s, having arrived and settled in the islands as seamen, musicians, and entrepreneurs.[172] Wood pitching for the Crescents shows the continued growth of a sport that attracted not only Hawaiians and the descendants of haole missionaries as most previous studies of baseball in the islands have emphasized, but a variety of ethnic groups for a variety of purposes, as the ensuing chapter will discuss.

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[170] *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, May 21, 1894.
[171] An image of George Wood can be seen as Figure 5 in the Appendix.
[172] Kathryn Waddell Takara, "The African Diaspora in Nineteenth-Century Hawai'i," in "They Followed the Trade Winds: African Americans in Hawai'i," ed. Miles M. Jackson, special issue, *Social Process in Hawai'i* 43 (2004): 5-13.

The fact that George Wood pitched for the Crescents also raises the issue of ethnic divisions among the three-team Hawaiian Base Ball Association. Generally speaking, the Crescents were primarily haole, the Hawaiis featured Hawaiian players, and the Kamehamehas, were also mostly Hawaiian. These general demographics did not preclude players from joining any of the teams however. Daniel Ruevsky, a haole printing teacher played shortstop for the Kamehamehas, while Robert Baker, a Hawaiian student who went to Kamehameha Schools, switched from the Kamehamehas to the Crescents in 1894, and the part-Hawaiian James Lemon played for all three of the teams at various times. Whenever a team was short a few players, substitutes would be drawn into the game regardless of their ethnicity, and the local papers rarely touched on ethnicity. This makes the discussion of Wood in 1894 all the more notable, as his skin color was consistently noted in newspaper recaps. Game reports were filled with racial allusions and descriptions, noting for example, that his smile "would be worth a fortune if he adopted the minstrel stage, as a means of livelihood," or referring to him as "the dusky-hued pitcher," "ka paele," or "the black," "hapapaele," or "half-black," and "the negro pitcher of the Crescents."[173] Such racialized descriptions were made even more common due to the fact that George Wood was a very good pitcher.[174]

As the 1894 season progressed, so too did Wood's comfort level and skill in League play. In his second start, Wood led the Crescents to a 6-4 victory over the defending champion Kamehamehas, tallying seven strikeouts and no walks. He followed that up two weeks later with a nine-strikeout, one-walk performance in a 3-2 loss to the Hawaiis on June 23, 1894, which

[173] *Hawaiian Gazette*, June 5, 1894; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, July 16, 1894; *Ka Makaainana*, July 23, 1894; *Ka Makaainana*, August 10, 1896; *Daily Bulletin*, July 20, 1894.
[174] Both his skill and his race would continue to be the subject of newspaper attention as even in 1907, an article from the *Advertiser* referred to him as "Nigger Woods, a great pitcher." "Mahuka May Play Here," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, October 26, 1907.

included his escape from a bases-loaded jam with three straight strikeouts. The next week, Wood again led the Crescents to a win over the Kamehamehas, this time striking out eleven and walking two in a 9-4 victory. On July 7, the Crescents defeated the Hawaiis 10-3 on the heels of an eight-strikeout effort by Wood.[175]

The young pitcher had clearly established himself as a force within the Hawaiian Base Ball League and after twelve games the standings stood with the Kamehamehas still on top at 6-2, but no longer the favorite to win every game. The Hawaiis and the Crescents meanwhile were knotted at 3-5 records but gaining momentum and beginning to challenge the Kamehamehas. Right as the season was getting competitive, the League was rocked by a gambling scandal, as the practice of piliwaiwai (gambling) once again reached between the baselines.[176]

On the afternoon of July 14, 1894, the Hawaiian Base Ball League would again have to investigate a prominent player being accused of fixing a game. That Saturday, the Kamehamehas routed the Crescents and their new star pitcher George Wood to the tune of 15-5, with the majority of those runs coming in the first three innings. Though Wood walked none and threw only one wild pitch, he only struck out four of the Kamehamehas and was accused of throwing the game. Wood admitted that he did indeed sell the game for the promise of $10 and the League launched an investigation into the incident.[177]

At first, Wood accused Arthur White, an American co-owner of a billiard parlor on Hotel Street, of paying him to throw the game. Wood changed his story however, and then claimed it was the Kamehameha players who paid him off. The *Hawaiian Gazette* called this story far

[175] "Ke Kahua Kinipopo," *Ka Oiaio*, July 13, 1894.
[176] Concern over gambling in previous years had resulted in the League passing legislation in 1889 that had led to the expulsion of Hawaiis pitcher Halemano Meek. Although it will be remembered that Meek was reinstated the next year.
[177] "Sport and Gambling," *Hawaii Holomua*, July 20, 1894.

more believable since "it is claimed that [Wood] was seen several times before the game in close conversation with those members, and that he has been very intimate with them lately."[178] There were many instances of players talking to opposing teams before games throughout the 1890s however, and none of them had caused the *Gazette* or any other papers to suspect them of fixing the result. Instead, the *Gazette* may have been drawing on a presumed inclination toward gambling on the part of Hawaiians that missionaries had been attempting to stamp out since the early nineteenth century. As an establishment newspaper, the *Gazette* was continuing the long-standing, racist discourse of civilization that had been used against Hawaiians by missionaries and *haole* government officials, by assuming the Hawaiian students' corruption since it is clear that the *Gazette* wanted to believe Wood conspired with the Kamehamehas.[179]

Kamehameha School principal and former ballplayer Theodore Richards launched an investigation of the students and stated that if he "was convinced that any member of the school team had participated in gambling, he would see that he was banished from the team and from the school for that matter."[180] The *Holomua* took this opportunity to expound on the relationship between gambling and baseball, lamenting that such a connection could lead to the abolition of the "healthy and interesting sport" and urged the "the community to take a vigorous stand against the gambling on sporting events." The *Holomua* further posited that Honolulu would be better off returning "to the days when the people enjoyed sport for the sake of sport and when races were not 'jockeyed' and ball games not sold – at least not for $10."[181] A letter to the *Daily Bulletin* wondered whether Wood had been bribed at all, considering the fact that the rest of the

[178] *Hawaiian Gazette*, July 17, 1894.
[179] For a brief discussion regarding this "discourse of civilization," see Noenoe Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 53-54.
[180] *Daily Bulletin*, July 16, 1894.
[181] "Sport and Gambling," *Hawaii Holomua*, July 20, 1894.

Crescents, particularly Duke McNichol at first base played so poorly.[182] The fact that such an opinion was even published suggests the possibility that Wood was being scapegoated by his team following a poor performance. An investigation of the Kamehamehas turned up no evidence of their involvement and no students were expelled from the school.[183] Despite Wood's admission to throwing the game, it was unclear who exactly bribed him.

Arthur White was not finished with this gambling episode however, and sought out George Wood. As Wood was returning home on the evening of July 19, he was approached by carriage with White and Crescents shortstop Willie Wilder. White pulled out a pistol and coerced Wood to join them in the carriage. The three of them then rode to a house in Waikīkī where Wilder went inside to turn on some lights. Seeing his opportunity to escape, Wood ran back down the path, but was shot in the right thigh by Arthur White and dragged into the house. Under the threat of more violence, Wood admitted to Wilder that it was not White who paid him to throw the game. Satisfied with the admission, White then let Wood leave. The next morning, Wood reported the shooting and White was arrested.[184] White was eventually convicted of assault with a deadly weapon, but whether he was in fact the man who had bribed Wood, or was simply seeking revenge for being wrongly accused, is unclear.[185]

George Wood's gunshot wound would heal and like Meek five years earlier, Wood would eventually be reinstated by the League the next season, but the damage had been done for 1894. The rest of the Crescent Base Ball Club demanded that the game allegedly fixed by Wood be replayed, or at the very least not counted, a proposal that was rejected by the Kamehamehas. Because it was decided that the July 14 loss to the Kamehamehas would stand, the Crescents

[182] "Was the Game Sold?" *Daily Bulletin*, July 21, 1894.
[183] "Crisis Reached," *Hawaiian Star*, July 20, 1894.
[184] "Ki Pu Hilahila Ole," *Ka Makaainana*, July 23, 1894; "A Shooting Scrape," *Hawaii Holomua*, July 20, 1894.
[185] "A Gratuitous Insult," *Hawaii Holomua*, November 14, 1894.

then withdrew from the League. The Hawaiis and Kamehamehas would play one more game the next week, but instead of the scheduled eighteen-game season, the 1894 season of the Hawaiian Base Ball League would end after fourteen games with the Kamehamehas atop the standings with a disputed 8-2 record.

This gambling episode and its subsequent fallout hovered over baseball through the offseason. There were few reports of amateur baseball games in local newspapers. Many of the HBBA players kept themselves in playing shape by joining the newly-formed Honolulu Amateur Athletic Club. Although it was first organized in April, the ranks of the athletic club rose following the baseball season under the leadership of key baseball players with Kamehamehas outfielder John Wise serving as the club's president and Hawaiis outfielder Prince Kalaniana'ole among the three-person Board of Management. Other baseball players involved in the club were Tom Pryce, Chris Holt, Chris Willis, George Angus, and James Spencer, who competed in the various field days set up by the club.[186] To secure a site for these days of footraces and field competitions while a proper track was being constructed, the athletic club partnered with the Base Ball Association for use of the Makiki grounds.[187] The club also formed a baseball team in hopes of joining the League the next year, so while there was less excitement surrounding baseball in the 1894 offseason than in previous years, there was still considerable optimism for 1895.[188]

Before the 1895 season could begin however, Robert Wilcox and Samuel Nowlein led an armed rebellion against the Republic of Hawai'i. As Kamehamehas player John Wise would later recount, the plots against the Republic had a number of moving parts, one of which

[186] "Athletes Have an Outing," *Hawaiian Gazette*, October 16, 1894.
[187] "Athletes Looking Up," *Daily Bulletin*, August 18, 1894.
[188] *Daily Bulletin*, August 3, 1894; "Spaulding Cup Does Exist," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, December 11, 1894.

included a plan by him and Hawaiis outfielder Prince Kalaniana‘ole that raised over $300,000 to purchase arms and ammunition and sought to enlist a hundred lumberjacks from northwestern North America to join a revolutionary army.[189] Wilcox, Nowlein, Wise, Kalaniana‘ole, and others, including former ballplayers Antone Rosa and Charles Gulick, eventually settled on a plan that would launch an uprising in late December of 1894. Following a brief delay, they launched the rebellion on January 6, 1895 and through the month rebels battled against the forces of the Citizen’s Guard. This effort resulted in open conflict in Mānoa valley and Mō‘ili‘ili on the island of O‘ahu, the imposition of martial law, and the arrest of numerous residents of O‘ahu on suspicion of treason or conspiracy.

Ballplayers participated on multiple sides of these conflicts, as George Markham, William Ahia, Alex Pahau, and others would follow the lead of Wilcox and Nowlein and rebel against the government, while George Angus, George Lucas, and Harry Wilder fought for leaders of the Citizen’s Guard such as Chan Wilder. Other players, such as Sam Mahuka and William Meheula were enlisted to protect the Kamehameha School campus. By the end of the month, hundreds of royalist rebels would be arrested, detained, and sentenced by a military commission.

Among those arrested were current and former island ballplayers of the Hawaiis and Kamehamehas such as William Ahia, John Freidenberg, William Kaae, Prince Jonah Kūhiō Kalaniana‘ole, George Markham, Alex Pahau, Francisco Testa, and John Wise.[190] Since they were arrested under martial law, these men were sentenced by a military commission rather than a civil court. Sitting on the military tribunal itself was former Honolulus and Crescents player

[189] “John Wise Tells Inside Story of Plot to Restore Queen in Which He ‘Starred’,” *Honolulu Advertiser*, June 7, 1925.
[190] Spencer, *Kaua Kuloko 1895*, 72-74; Towse, *The Rebellion of 1895*, 53-54.

Chan Wilder who had led a company of soldiers as a captain in the Republic's army. In this military court, the Republic of Hawaii was represented by another Honolulu ballplayer, William Kinney, the former Oceanics and Honolulus player, while one of several lawyers for the defense was Antone Rosa, the former League delegate for the Hawaii Base Ball Club. After the sentences were determined, they were reviewed by Sanford Dole, who had received numerous petitions calling for the death sentence for those who had rebelled against the government. Among those signing such petitions calling for executions were Crescents ballplayers George Angus, George Lucas, and Harry Wilder, as well as League scorer William J. Forbes.[191]

Due to the imprisonment of several players, the 1895 season featured a reorganization of teams within the HBBA. The 1895 edition of the Hawaiian Base Ball League included a reorganized Star Base Ball Club, that drew most of its players from the Crescents roster and was captained by newcomer John Ganzel, along with a team called the Unknowns which was led by former Hawaiis ballplayer George Clark. These two teams were eventually joined by a team of alumni from Kamehameha School, though there was considerable debate regarding the Kamehameha's late admittance to the League.[192] The players on each team included many veterans from previous seasons, as well as several newcomers.

[191] Foreign Office and Executive Documents, Box 45. Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu, HI.

[192] The Unknowns and Stars were originally going to be joined in the League by the Athletics, a team organized by former Hawaiis captain James Thompson and consisting of members of the Honolulu Athletic Club. Since no delegate from the Kamehameha team arrived at any of the early spring Association meetings, Thompson also enlisted the skills of several players from the Kamehamehas, including Sam Mahuka, Charles Kaanoi, and William Ahia. With these three teams, an eighteen-game schedule was created and designed to run from April 20 to August 10. After establishing a schedule but prior to the first game, a group of Kamehameha alumni sought to enter the League as a fourth team. This led to considerable debate within the Base Ball Association, as the schedule had already been set and several players who wished to play for the proposed Kamehameha team were already signed up to play for Thompson's Athletics. After several contentious meetings and over the objections of several members of the Association, the Kamehameha team was indeed allowed into the League, which forced Thompson to withdraw the Athletics since he would be unable to field a full nine with several of his players switching over to the Kamehamehas. "Our Baseball League," *Hawaiian Star*, April 12, 1895.

For the Stars, former Crescents Harry Wilder, Duke McNichol, Chan Wilder, Willie Wilder, and George Angus made up the bulk of the team and were joined by former Hawaiis player Lionel Hart, who had previously lost his job for political reasons.[193] The Kamehameha alumni consisted of familiar players from previous seasons such as Sam Mahuka, William Ahia, Robert Pahau, Philip Davis, and Aina Lawelawe. The Unknowns' roster consisted of former Hawaiis players James Thompson, Tom Pryce, and Chris Willis, as well as George Wood, the Crescent pitcher who had been in the center of the gambling scandal the prior year. Wood was readmitted to the League, after "promising to play fair and square" in a written statement.[194] So while the League itself was overhauled in terms of the teams involved during the 1895 season, many of the players remained the same.

The Star Base Ball Club team captain, John Ganzel, is particularly notable among the new players to the League in 1895. Although Ganzel was new to Honolulu in 1895, it was "understood that he [was] an old hand on the diamond," with playing experience from his time living in Michigan.[195] After captaining and managing the Stars for the season, Ganzel, the power-hitting first baseman, then returned to Michigan to play for Kalamazoo before eventually reaching the major leagues for clubs in Pittsburgh, Chicago, New York, and Cincinnati between 1898 and 1908.[196] As Hugh Fullerton would later relate in a 1911 article about baseball players during their downtime for *The American Magazine*, Ganzel, upon overhearing a conversation whose topic had turned to Honolulu, "mentioned casually that he fought in Dole's army," referring to his brief time as a private in Company B of the Republic's Army.[197] It was not

[193] For an image of Lionel Hart, see Figure 6 in the Appendix.
[194] For an image of James Thompson, see Figure 7 in the Appendix. *Hawaiian Star*, March 16, 1895.
[195] *The Independent*, May 4, 1895.
[196] *Hawaiian Star*, July 25, 1895. "Left for the Coast," *Hawaiian Star*, September 3, 1895.
[197] Hugh S. Fullerton, "Between Games: How the Ball Players of the Big Leagues Live and Act When Off the Diamond," in *The American Magazine* vol. LXXII, no. 3 (July 1911): 329. Ganzel also played as part of Company B's baseball team. *The Hawaiian Star*, June 7, 1895.

Ganzel's intent however to be the only ballplayer from abroad to suit up for the Stars that season, as he had made arrangements to fill out part of the Stars' roster with a pitcher and catcher from the Pacific Coast of North America.[198] Although none of these players would make it to the Stars' roster, this marked the first time in League play that we see organized attempts to recruit foreign players to the Hawaiian Islands for their baseball-playing skill and in the person of Ganzel, we see the first of many who would use baseball as an avenue for professional travel, which will be further explored in the next chapter.

Although none of the rebels would be sentenced to death, the trials and conflicts show that while baseball may have created a space for social stability within a politically turbulent atmosphere, the connections fostered on the baseball diamond did not soften the political opposition among players. While there were no overt signs of conflict between players or teams on the diamond, the fact that Crescents ballplayers among the Citizen's Guard would support the execution of their fellow ballplayers from the Hawaiis and Kamehamehas suggests that growing tensions did indeed exist beneath the surface and were carried into games against political rivals. Since it was a gambling scandal rather than politics that derailed the 1894 season, any political opposition or rivalry must have helped fuel the competition on the field, otherwise it likely would have prevented the regular interactions of players on the baseball diamond.

[198] Ganzel originally recruited two players named Menzies and Behrens, but they would be delayed in their arrival to the Hawaiian Islands, missing multiple boats from San Francisco and Vancouver in late April and early May and resulting in the postponement of the League's opening day. After considerable delay, Adolph Behrens, finally wrote to Duke McNichol of the Stars to inform them that he "was unable to secure the man he wanted," but would instead bring Kid King who was "a well-known ball player." *The Daily Bulletin*, March 16, 1895; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, April 25, 1895; *The Daily Bulletin*, April 30, 1895.

Conclusion

By 1890, baseball in the Hawaiian Islands had grown in popularity to the point that Honolulu enthusiasts of the sport could incorporate themselves as the Hawaiian Base Ball Association. While some of the imperial links of the sport can be seen in the challenge matches between sailors from American warships and local Association teams, the sport was no more prominently tied to pro-annexation groups than to royalist supporters in the islands, suggesting a level of political neutrality for baseball itself. That did not mean that players left such tensions off the field however, as players tended to form teams with those who shared political leanings, whether they were in support of the monarchy or the provisional government and the later republic. As a competitive social arena, the baseball diamond became a place during the early 1890s where, as C. L. R. James noted with regard to West Indian cricket, political passions "could be fought without violence or much lost except pride and honour."[199]

Despite the gendered and racialized media coverage that tried to shape the baseball atmosphere, the sport itself attracted fans from different genders, classes, and ethnicities. As the government changed, players such as Lionel Hart and Chan Wilder were personally affected in terms of their employment opportunities, but on a League level, the political atmosphere did not inhibit play. Since it was only when the issue of gambling affected outcomes that the season was put in jeopardy, the baseball diamond remained a site where players and fans could count on weekly performances throughout the early 1890s. Consequently, the Hawaiian Base Ball Association provided a level of social stability for a city amid major political turmoil.

[199] James, *Beyond a Boundary*, 66.

The people on opposing sides in the political and baseball realms were quite familiar with one another. These were not instances where nameless and faceless rivals squared off against each other in opposition or defense of an abstract political concept or for the love of the sport. Instead, the people who conspired and fought against each other, or called for the imprisonment, exile, or death of political rivals, knew very well who they were opposing when they faced off on the diamond, an arena where such rivalries could be played out peacefully but with passion and fans could invest their own political meanings on teams with numerous staunch royalists such as the Hawaiis or many pro-annexationists such as the Crescents. The uprising in 1895 and subsequent arrests constricted the pool from which the HBBL could draw players for that season, but what marked the League's departure from previous years were John Ganzel's attempts to import foreign professionals. As will be discussed in the next chapter, this shifted the tone of the sport in the Hawaiian Islands and brought even more transnational opportunities and understandings to baseball in the islands.

CHAPTER 4
THE EXPANSION OF BASEBALL IN THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS (1895-1945)

In the fifty years that followed the uprising by Wilcox and others against the Republic of Hawai‘i, baseball in the Hawaiian Islands continued to grow in popularity amid political and economic changes. The dramatic increase in the number of teams and leagues throughout the islands led to the sport's diffusion among and adoption by a variety of communities that reached across class and ethnicity. At the same time, baseball became part of the ongoing imperial effort to incorporate the Hawaiian Islands into the United States.

In order to approach this time period in an organized fashion, the following discussion is divided into three main parts. The first part considers how annexation and the Americanization efforts that accompanied it framed baseball as an extension of American culture and an avenue through which to assimilate foreign populations. Dating back to the nineteenth century, baseball's position as the national pastime of the United States was, to proponents like Albert Spalding, the result of its incorporation of such defining American traits as courage, confidence, combativeness, dash, discipline, determination, energy, eagerness, enthusiasm, pluck, persistency performance, spirit, sagacity, success, vim, vigor, and virility.[1] Nineteenth-century baseball in the Hawaiian Islands however, was far more ambivalent in terms of its relationship to the United States than imperialists such as Spalding would have acknowledged. This section examines how baseball became an important component of assimilation efforts over the first half of the twentieth century, yet at the same time continued to serve as a mediating space between groups where assimilation efforts were challenged by the reinforcement of ethnic divisions.

[1] Albert G. Spalding, *America's National Game*, 3.

The second portion of this chapter then looks specifically at the migrations of ballplayers to, through, and from the Hawaiian Islands. By looking at traveling teams who engaged in tours across and around the Pacific Ocean, as well as individual players who utilized the sport to create travel opportunities, this section emphasizes the role of migrations in furthering the transnational nature of baseball in the islands. Of particular interest in this section is how transnational baseball circuits helped contribute to the formation and solidification of identities among ballplayers themselves.

The third part of this chapter then focuses on baseball's relationship to the militarization of the Hawaiian Islands. Not only does this section explore the impact of the increased military buildup following American occupation on baseball, but also how baseball served as an avenue for the military to establish its presence in the everyday life of the islands. This everyday presence of the military on the baseball diamond assisted the larger imperial efforts of the United States by contributing to the sport's growth as a vehicle for assimilation efforts.

Together, these three sections trace fifty years of baseball in the Hawaiian Islands. In doing so, this chapter outlines baseball's increased connections to world-historical processes of imperialism, migrations, and identity formation. The interrelationship among these processes within the sport of baseball is central to baseball's transnational nature in the islands.

Baseball, Annexation, and Americanization

United States President Grover Cleveland's rejection of immediate annexation following the *coup d'état* against Queen Lili'uokalani and the Hawaiian Kingdom did not end annexation efforts on the part of the provisional government (1893-1894) and the later Republic of Hawai'i

(1894-1898). Through the rest of the 1890s, representatives of the Republic of Hawai‘i appealed to the United States to annex the islands. These appeals were opposed by large segments of the population of the Hawaiian Islands, including patriotic groups such as the Hui Aloha ‘Āina as well as the Hui Kālai‘āina, who both sent numerous petitions to the United States and its representatives expressing anti-annexation sentiments and seeking a restoration of the monarchy.[2]

There were also many factions within the United States itself who continued to oppose the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands. Tom Osborne has outlined a variety of reasons that Americans used to denounce the annexation of the islands, which were often built on both racial and legal grounds.[3] The topic was also of central concern on college campuses around the United States.[4] Such opposition to American imperial efforts was not limited to the Hawaiian Islands either, and would eventually lead to the formation of the Anti-Imperialist League in 1898 to protest the American war effort in the Philippines. This League drew from across racial, gender, and class lines in its membership and one of its most prominent spokespeople was noted baseball fan Mark Twain.[5]

Amid the increased promotion of and opposition to American annexation, the Hawaiian Base Ball League continued through the 1890s, but with a very unstable membership. Teams

[2] As Noenoe Silva has noted, combined, these petitions opposing annexation and seeking the restoration of the monarchy gathered nearly 40,000 signatures. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 123-163.
[3] Thomas J. Osborne, *"Empire Can Wait": American Opposition to Hawaiian Annexation, 1893-1898* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1981).
[4] Ron Williams has noted that the inter-collegiate debates were often won by sides arguing against annexation and such results add to the voices of resistance that are often overlooked in discussing American expansion. Ronald C. Williams Jr., ""Aole Hoohui Ia Hawaii": U.S. Collegiate Teams Debate Annexation of Hawai‘i and Independence Prevails, 1893 to 1897," *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 43 (2009): 165.
[5] For a discussion of Twain's involvement in the Anti-Imperialist League, see Patrick Dooley, "Twain on War and William James on Peace: Shoring up the Platform of the Anti-Imperialist League," *Journal of Transnational American Studies* 1, no. 1 (2009): 54-57. For a discussion of the gendered nature of this opposition group, see Erin L. Murphy, "Women's Anti-Imperialism, 'The White Man's Burden,' and the Philippine-American War: Theorizing Masculinist Ambivalence in Protest," *Gender & Society* 23, no. 2 (April 2009): 244-270.

would join and compete for a year or two and then fold, causing players to frequently shift between clubs from one year to another. Yet many players from the early 1890s continued to play prominent roles in the League through the end of the decade. Lionel Hart and George Wood established themselves as the star pitchers in the League, and Chris Holt, Chris Willis, and Percy Lishman joined them as League favorites.[6] Prince Kalaniana'ole returned to the baseball diamond in 1896 after serving time in prison for the royalist revolt of 1895 and played for a couple of years before continuing his involvement as an umpire.[7]

Beyond Honolulu, the sport continued to develop elsewhere on O'ahu and other Hawaiian Islands. By 1896, there were numerous teams on Maui, with a four-team league in Lahaina, as well as regular teams in Wailuku and occasional teams from Waikapū, Makawao, and Kahakuloa. Baseball teams also formed on Moloka'i where Republic health officials promoted the sport as part of health policies at the leper colony at Kalaupapa.[8] Additionally, there were several organized teams on the island of Hawai'i, but in the estimation of one Maui commentator, they were not as good as those on Maui.[9]

While the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom, attempts to restore royal authority, appeals for American annexation, and resistance to annexation all occupied far more newsprint than the Hawaiian Base Ball League and other instances of the sport, baseball games continued to be played with regularity and results were published alongside scathing critiques and open propaganda on different sides of the contestation for political control of the islands. For the most part, nineteenth-century discussions of baseball in the Hawaiian Islands illustrated an

[6] "Would be a Formidable Combination," *The Hawaiain Star*, August 27, 1897.
[7] "Base Ball," *The Independent*, July 11, 1896.
[8] In 1897, *Ke Aloha Aina* outlined the celebrations of Kamehameha Day among residents of Kalaupapa on Moloka'i, which included a scheduled baseball game against Kalawao, although it would be postponed due to rain. Noenoe K. Silva and Pualeilani Fernandez, "Mai Ka 'Āina o Ka 'Eha'eha Mai: Testimonies of Hansen's Disease Patients in Hawai'i, 1866-1897," *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 40 (2006): 91-92.
[9] "News from Hawaii: Base Ball Flourishes in the Balmy Islands," *The Sporting Life*, November 14, 1896.

ambivalence toward the sport's role in conjunction with American interests in the islands. Consequently, the inclusion of baseball recaps and box scores alongside political critiques was not necessarily a partisan editorial decision, although the tone of the recap certainly could have been.

By the late-1890s however, efforts to utilize baseball as a tool of Americanization became more prominent in the American media. The American origins of the sport and its popularity in the islands were emphasized as parts of arguments for annexation. Within the pages of the *Sporting Life*, an American newspaper that had publicized HBBL scores abroad since 1890, sporting businesses ran pro-annexation advertisements for most of 1893.[10] By 1894, the newspaper announced to its American audience that the political upheaval in the islands did "not hinder the practice of base ball" and that Hawai'i remained "a great place for base ball" with "six or seven first-rate clubs" in or around Honolulu.[11]

In the Hawaiian Islands themselves, annexation proponents used baseball as an avenue to overtly link the islands to the United States. Lahainaluna principal Osmer Abbott, for example, described the sport as necessary for its educational value especially for "an inert, and playless people, it is of great value in training the will, strengthening the energy and the judgment, teaching self-control as well as compelling thought."[12] In this respect, Abbott mirrored Kamehameha School principal and fellow annexationist William Oleson who saw baseball as an avenue through which to instill what they considered to be valuable "American" character traits of hard work, discipline and self-control.

[10] *The Sporting Life*, July 1, 1893.
[11] "Our Game in Hawaii," *The Sporting Life*, March 3, 1894.
[12] Osmer Abbott, "Letter to N.E. Young, Esq.," *The Sporting Life*, November 14, 1896.

Outside of baseball, further efforts to connect schools to the annexationists' visions included an 1896 mandate that the "English language shall be the medium and basis of instruction in all public and private schools."[13] This law was motivated by the understanding that accompanying English-language instruction would be "American republican and Christian ideas." The extent of the law itself read that: "…provided that where it is desired that another language shall be taught in addition to the English language, such instruction may be authorized by the Department, either by its rules, the curriculum of the school, or by direct order in any particular instance. Any schools that shall not conform to the provisions of this section shall not be recognized by the Department."[14] By passing a law to ensure English as the basis for education and granting the Department of Education the power to deny any other language instruction, Republic officials strengthened their appeals for annexation based on having the infrastructure to train future generations to be proper Americans.

Despite the efforts of school administrators and government officials to frame baseball as a component of educational assimilation, the sport itself helped to contest such language policies. While some student ballplayers, such as those at Kamehameha School, had already been subjected to English-language rules on campus, on the diamonds of Makiki, Hawaiian language was spoken, shouted, and yelled throughout the stands and among the players. Since Hawaiian language was banned in educational settings, schoolchildren would continue to be surrounded by spoken Hawaiian and other languages on Saturday afternoons as part of their ten-cent admission to the baseball games. Regardless of the sport's American origins, its popularity in the Hawaiian

[13] Act 57, Section 30, 1896 Laws of the Republic of Hawai'i.
[14] As Paul Nahoa Lucas has shown, this 1896 law was the culmination of a larger "English-mainly" effort on the part of missionaries and educators such as Richard Armstrong. Paul F. Nahoa Lucas, "*E Ola Mau Kākou I Ka 'Ōlelo Makuahine*: Hawaiian Language Policy and the Courts," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 34 (2000): 8.

Islands since the 1860s resulted in positions, umpire calls, coaching, and cheers all in the Hawaiian language through the end of the nineteenth century.[15]

In addition to providing a public atmosphere where Hawaiian language was available to students, the baseball diamonds of Honolulu were also filled with numerous players who were publically opposed to annexation. As part of their efforts to prevent American annexation of the Hawaiian Islands, two nationalist groups, the Hui Aloha ʻĀina and the Hui Kālaiʻāina, gathered tens of thousands of signatures on petitions expressing opposition to annexation in September of 1897.[16] These petitions included the signatures of current and former members of the baseball-playing community such as James Thompson, William Ahia, Charles Kaanoi, Francisco Testa, and Alex Pahau.[17] The involvement of such baseball men in anti-annexation efforts further illustrates the political leanings of the teams from the previous chapter as members of the Hawaiis such as Thompson, Ahia, and Testa were far more common on the petitions than players from the predominantly haole teams of the Crescents or Stars in the early 1890s.

Upon the United States' entrance into war with Spain in 1898, the Hawaiian Islands became an important site for American military forces to refuel on their way to the Philippines and Guam. Following the destruction of the USS *Maine* in Havana harbor, the Republic of Hawaiʻi again appealed to American patriotism by organizing a game of baseball between sailors from the USS *Bennington* and a local team to raise money for a memorial to the *Maine*. Because of the pro-annexationist stance of the school administrators, the Kamehameha School team accepted the challenge from the sailors of the American warship. The game itself ended up

[15] To foreigners, the abundance of Hawaiian language at a baseball game could be disorienting, as one visiting player from California noted in 1890, that it was "just about as easy for one to coach a base runner in Hawaiian language as it is to speak Welsh by telephone." "All Californias," *Hawaiian Gazette*, January 20, 1891.
[16] For further discussion of these anti-annexation petitions, see Noenoe Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 145-159.
[17] Nalani Minton and Noenoe Silva, eds., *Kūʻe: The Hui Aloha ʻĀina Anti-Annexation Petitions, 1897-1898* (Honolulu, HI: Pae ʻĀina Productions, 1998).

being a blowout, with the students winning 32-13, but the primary purpose of the exhibition was to raise money for the memorial.[18] In advertising the game and its twenty-five-cent admission, the pro-American *Hawaiian Star* said there was "no excuse for anyone not attending or at least buying a couple of tickets to help along the cause."[19]

As part of the American war effort, the United States annexed the Hawaiian Islands through a Joint Resolution of Congress in July of 1898.[20] Although the increased transit of American military forces through the islands resulted in more challenge matches between island residents and naval visitors, the annexation itself was not accompanied by celebratory baseball games from Association teams. The Unions, a ball club with a pro-annexation stance, had been part of the League to start the season, but withdrew in May after several blowout defeats.[21] Had the Unions been a part of the Association in July, perhaps they would have made some sort of celebration, but as it stood, the First Regiments and Honolulus continued their regularly scheduled games on Saturday afternoons without any such commemoration. The lack of any sort of annexation celebration within the Hawaiian Base Ball Association further illustrates that the sport was not controlled as an American cultural expression. Having only two League teams in 1898 had a negative impact on attendance at games, as fewer fans showed up to games and public critiques regarding the gameplay itself by older players, such as Harry Whitney, Hay Wodehouse, and William Allen, created a feeling of disappointment surrounding the 1898 season.[22]

[18] *Ke Aloha Aina*, May 14, 1898.
[19] Despite the game raising over fifty dollars for the memorial, it is unclear if any sort of memorial was ever constructed. "For the Maine Memorial," *Hawaiian Star*, May 3, 1898.
[20] Resolution No. 55, 2nd Session, 55thh Congress, July 7, 1898.
[21] "Baseball at 3:30," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, May 7, 1898.
[22] "The Baseball Decadence," *Evening Bulletin*, July 9, 1898.

In the three years following annexation, the Hawaiian Base Ball League would continue to see changes in its membership as clubs formed and disbanded. The changing teams combined with the poor repair of the baseball grounds led to the dissolution of the Hawaiian Base Ball League in 1901. The city was not without baseball that year however, as the HBBL was quickly replaced by a new Hawaiian Baseball League which played games at Kapiʻolani Park before being reorganized as the Honolulu Baseball League by the Rapid Transit Company.[23] As dozens of other leagues formed throughout Oʻahu, the Honolulu Baseball League continued to be seen as the "senior" league in comparison to those others.

Among the other leagues that were organized were the Interscholastic Baseball League, the Honolulu Winter Baseball League, the YMCA Indoor Baseball League, the Kapiolani Baseball League, the Kalanianaole Baseball League, the Atkinson Baseball League, the Valleyside Baseball League, the Retail Liquor League, the Seaside Baseball League, the Japanese Baseball League, the Newspaper Baseball League, and the Oahu Plantation Baseball League. These leagues mostly formed during the early-twentieth century and lasted for any number of years. The level of baseball skill in these leagues also varied, as players from the "big" Honolulu Baseball League would play for other teams in the offseason or for the company teams from their place of employment. At times, this resulted in clubs being unable to field complete teams because some players would have conflicting commitments in the lineups for other teams. The formation of the Oahu Baseball League in 1909 provided a space for the best intra-island teams to face off against each other and establish a hierarchy of leagues.

At newly constructed baseball fields in Mōʻiliʻili, Waipiʻo, ʻAʻala Park, Kapiʻolani Park, Kakaʻako, Pauoa, and elsewhere around Oʻahu, these leagues served not only as arenas for

[23] "Hawaiian Baseball League," *Hawaiian Star*, May 25, 1901.

younger players to hone their skills, but also to entertain a wide range of the island's population. Entire communities could support their favorite teams in their neighborhood without having to travel to Makiki. The increased accessibility of baseball was not open to everybody, however. While players came from a variety of ethnic backgrounds and social classes, one group that was generally discouraged from joining the majority of O'ahu leagues were professional baseball players from the United States. Despite the skill and popularity of John Ganzel in the 1890s, the turn of the century saw an increased desire for baseball on O'ahu to be played by people with ties to the Hawaiian Islands. If a person arrived in the islands for business purposes and just so happened to have a baseball-playing background, that was fine, but the importation of professional ringers was discouraged by the administrators and fans of various leagues. John Wise, as President of the Honolulu Athletic Club in 1902, suggested that by keeping mercenary players out of baseball in O'ahu, league attendance would increase since fans would know the players.[24] Attendance also increased at baseball games during the early-twentieth century because games took place not only on Saturday afternoons in the late spring and summer as had been the case with the Hawaiian Base Ball League of the 1890s, but at all times of the year.

In the early-twentieth century, baseball games were also being played on Sundays. Although the issue of Sunday baseball periodically arose during the 1880s and 1890s, in particular with the controversy surrounding the visit of A.G. Spalding as seen in Chapter Two, the notion had generally been overruled in favor of maintaining and upholding the religiously-based prohibitory laws. As of 1899, baseball players were still brought to court for violating such laws, but in many cases, the judge would find the defendants not guilty of disturbing

[24] "Imported Ball Players," *Evening Bulletin*, April 19. 1902.

religious worship.[25] A growing support for games on Sunday led to increased arguments within the Territorial legislature through the early 1900s. Judges and government officials often disagreed whether or not to prosecute those in violation of the laws, leading to further controversy about Sunday baseball. As the struggle over whether to prohibit the playing of baseball on Sunday continued, Sunday baseball became a common reality on plantations and in small communities by early 1903.[26]

In that same year, Lorrin Thurston was again involved in the debate over Sunday baseball, fourteen years after he argued against it during the Spalding visit. In December of 1903 while Sunday baseball was still prohibited, Thurston, a government official, was approached privately by a group of ballplayers hoping to have a game on Sunday afternoon. Thurston agreed to leave town along with Sheriff Arthur M. Brown in order to avoid enforcing the law and thus allowing the game to be played. Clearly, Thurston did not have a moral basis for his opposition to Sunday games and his motivation in denying the Spalding group the opportunity to play in 1888 was to avoid undermining his own authority by violating the laws he helped illegally establish. By 1906, Sunday baseball had won out on Oʻahu and various leagues not only scheduled games for Sundays, but also charged admission to those games.[27]

The movement towards Sunday baseball was not limited to Oʻahu either. The ban on Sunday baseball was in effect on other islands, but on Maui, Sunday games were occasionally played in Wailuku, much to the chagrin of the religious population in 1899 and by 1903, Sunday baseball had become "the rule" on Maui.[28] Over on the island of Hawaiʻi, the Hilo Baseball

[25] For examples, see "Sunday Game," *The Hawaiian Star*, March 23, 1899; "A New Gamble," *The Hawaiian Star*, August 15, 1899.
[26] "Sunday Baseball," *Evening Bulletin*, April 15, 1903.
[27] *The Independent*, December 22, 1903.
[28] "Sunday Baseball on Maui," *Evening Bulletin*, December 26, 1899; "Sunday Baseball," *Evening Bulletin*, April 15, 1903.

League decided to play games on Sundays beginning in the year 1900, not only in hopes of ensuring greater attendance, but also because "many of the white boys, especially, find that they cannot give up the time to the game on Saturday" as a result of increased business in the town.[29] Such changes to the baseball schedule on Hawai'i told the *Hawaiian Star* that Hilo could "no longer be classed as a missionary town."[30] While American Christians lamented such a baseball shift, this early twentieth-century adoption of Sunday baseball in the islands put Honolulu and Hilo in line with such American cities as St. Louis, Chicago, and Cincinnati, which permitted Sunday baseball beginning in 1902.[31] Sunday baseball further commercialized the sport since, as Steven Riess has noted, baseball team owners in the United States actively sought the reform of Sunday laws in order to increase revenue through extra ticket and concession sales.[32]

The addition of Sunday games combined with the plethora of different teams and different levels of play enabled easy access to numerous residents of the Hawaiian Islands. Baseball clubs were organized to represent schools, businesses, plantations, ethnic communities, and a variety of other combinations. During the first decade of the twentieth century, the Honolulu Baseball League consisted primarily of alumni from Punahou School, Kamehameha School, and St. Louis College playing on teams with their former classmates. Other baseball teams that formed during this time period included the Chinese Athletic Club, the Japanese Athletic Club, and the Portuguese Athletic Club, each of which also fielded teams in the junior leagues.

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[29] "Sunday Baseball," *The Hawaiian Star*, May 7, 1900.
[30] *The Hawaiian Star*, May 7, 1900.
[31] Cleveland, Detroit, and Washington, DC would allow Sunday baseball beginning in 1918, with New York adopting the practice in 1919. Boston allowed Sunday baseball in 1929, Baltimore in 1932, and Philadelphia in 1934. Bob Warrington, "The Fight for Sunday Baseball in Philadelphia," blogpost, *Philadelphia Athletics Historical Society* (July 30, 2001). http://philadelphiaathletics.org/the-fight-for-sunday-baseball-in-philadelphia/ [accessed 4/12/2014]
[32] Steven A. Riess, *City Games: The Evolution of American Urban Society and the Rise of Sports* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 70-71.

There were also numerous teams organized based on places of employment, as employees of the Honolulu Iron Works, Rapid Transit Company, Hawaiian Gazette Company, Shell Oil, Hawaiian Electric Company, Mutual Telephone, or even government departments such as the Custom House, judiciary building, and the courthouse competed in commercial leagues. As people migrated from plantations into Honolulu and as youngsters from around the islands outgrew the junior leagues, those who were good at baseball found welcoming employers in the growing city. These employers were more likely to hire people who were good at baseball and thus could help out the company in the commercial leagues.[33] While these were not professional leagues, the players were paid for their participation in the sense that they earned wages from companies who hired them based on their baseball skills.

At the University of Hawai‘i, football coach Otto Klum began the Fighting Deans' baseball program in the early 1920s to enter league play in Honolulu. In 1924, the team was renamed the Rainbows and began competition within the Honolulu Commercial League, winning championships in 1930 and 1932. The plethora of leagues that existed on O‘ahu during the 1930s allowed teams to challenge a variety of competition levels. After nearly a dozen years playing teams from the Honolulu Iron Works or Mutual Telephone, the Rainbows, for example, opted out of the Commercial League in 1938 to join the Hawai‘i Junior League where they could play against other students from around the island, such as Punahou School and Kamehameha School.[34]

Due to the abundance of different leagues and the popularity of baseball throughout the islands, players could participate in games for any number of reasons. Some played for personal

[33] Richard Funai, interview by Dale Hayashi, July 31, 1976, Tape No. 1-5-1-76, transcript, Center for Oral History, Social Science Research Institute, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, Honolulu, HI.
[34] Dan Cisco, *Hawai‘i Sports*, 10.

enjoyment while others sought to maintain a position of employment or to create new social networks. Regardless of a player's reason for picking up a bat, glove, and baseball, government officials saw the sport's popularity as an opportunity through which to assimilate and Americanize people of color.

Part of that assimilation came through language since, like many other arenas of public interaction, the baseball diamond became increasingly dominated by the English language following annexation. Puakea Nogelmeier has outlined the effects of annexation on the Hawaiian and English languages and noted that the "common use of English [after 1898], even by those fluent in Hawaiian, quickly changed the next generation's grasp of the language."[35] While the baseball diamond was a site where Hawaiian was spoken through the end of the nineteenth century, by the 1910s, English baseball slang had supplanted Hawaiian as the primary language on the diamond.[36] The marginalization of Hawaiian language both on and off the baseball diamond opened the door for government officials to Americanize Hawaiian and immigrant populations through the use of the English language.

Where such efforts to link baseball to the English language were especially effective was in schools. When the baseball-playing children of immigrant plantation workers were sent to school, many of them tried out for the baseball teams where they would then compete with other youngsters from other schools as part of various junior leagues. By the second decade of the twentieth century, baseball played an important role in educational curriculum, especially among the curriculum of foreign language schools. In the case of Japanese-language primary school textbooks, entire chapters were devoted to sports such as baseball.[37] Beyond textbooks, an

[35] M. Puakea Nogelmeier, *Mai Pa'a I Ka Leo: Historical Voices in Hawaiian Primary Materials, Looking Forward and Listening Back* (Honolulu, HI: Bishop University Press, 2010), 9-16.
[36] "Chinese Baseball Slang Surprises Middle Westerners," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, May 14, 1913.
[37] *A Survey of Education in Hawaii* 16 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1920), 120.

emphasis on baseball in schools was part of an Americanization program advocated by United States Secretary of the Interior Franklin Lane who noted that different people reached America through different avenues, but first among those he listed was baseball.[38]

Such Americanization efforts in the Hawaiian Islands were part of larger efforts throughout the United States that had escalated between the 1910s and 1930s.[39] To sportswriter Hugh Fullerton writing in 1919, baseball was "the greatest single force working for Americanization. No other game appeals so much to foreign born youngsters and nothing, not even the schools teaches the American spirit so quickly, or inculcates the idea of sportsmanship or fair play so thoroughly."[40] For Fullerton and other observers, baseball served as the best way to instill "American" characteristics such as hard work and discipline. But baseball in the Hawaiian Islands had predated the islands' status as an American territory and as seen in Chapter Two, the sport arrived in the islands more as a part of cross-cultural exchange and diffusion than as forced acculturation or assimilation.

In the Hawaiian Islands, the sport of baseball had associations that dated to the mid-nineteenth century and players could draw on legacies within the sport that were connected with the Hawaiian Kingdom, not with the United States. The fandom of King Kalākaua, the exhibition games played in celebration of King Kamehameha I, the triumphs of the Pacifics and the Hawaiis all occurred as part of the Hawaiian Kingdom, with little connection to the United States. As part of the effort to Americanize the islands in the first half of the twentieth century, baseball's history in the islands needed to be Americanized. Consequently, there were a number of publications in the *Advertiser*, the *Paradise of the Pacific*, and elsewhere that emphasized the

[38] *A Survey of Education in Hawaii*, 143.
[39] Eileen Tamura, *Americanization, Acculturation and Ethnic Identity*, 56-57.
[40] Hugh Fullerton, *Atlanta Constitution*, July 18, 1919.

role of Alexander Cartwright as the founder of the sport both in the United States and the Hawaiian Islands.[41] Combined with tributes and ceremonies to Cartwright's memory and accomplishments in the sport, these articles coalesced in the efforts of Alexander's grandson, Bruce Cartwright, Jr., who worked with Honolulu's Chamber of Commerce to gain official recognition for his grandfather's accomplishments from the National Base Ball Hall of Fame.[42] The emphasis on Cartwright's role in spreading the sport served to re-inscribe baseball in the islands within an American context and therefore, reinforce baseball as an aspect of Americanization.

The emphasis on Cartwright served the interests of the Honolulu Chamber of Commerce by situating the sport as a familiar pastime to those in the United States, especially potential tourists thinking about visiting the islands.[43] Through baseball, the demographics of the islands and presence of numerous ethnic groups were glossed over by narratives of racial harmony. Sociologist Margaret Lam claimed that interactions on the baseball diamond by various ethnic and social groups among the more than two-hundred teams on O'ahu promoted "racial harmony

[41] For examples of publications during this time period, see Frank Boardman, "Honolulu Man who Began the Great National Game," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, June 5, 1910; "Tribute Paid to Founder of Organized Baseball in Impressive Ceremony Here," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, January 23, 1923; "Tells of Old Time Baseball," *Honolulu Advertiser*, February 24, 1926; Mike Jay, "Archives of Hawaii get Letter Giving Names of Knickerbocker Ball Team," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, October 1926; Bailey S. Marshall, "Baseball in Paradise," *Paradise of the Pacific* (June 1939): 21-22; These accounts would be built upon following World War II as the territory advertised its link to the United States in pushing for statehood. See for example, S. F. Furukawa, "Originator of Organized Baseball," *Paradise of the Pacific* (May 1947): 24; Richard Gima, "National Pastime has Rich Heritage in the Territory," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, July 15, 1948.

[42] For a discussion of Bruce Cartwright's appeals on behalf of his grandfather, see Monica Nucciarone, *Alexander Cartwright*, 213-228.

[43] Such endeavors to familiarize the islands on the part of the tourism industry were complemented by efforts to re-inscribe the Hawaiian Islands and its peoples in ways that pacified them to white American audiences. For a discussion of how the tourism industry portrayed the islands in attempts to appeal to Americans, see Jane C. Desmond, "Picturing Hawai'i: The 'Ideal' Native and the Origins of Tourism, 1880-1915," *Positions* 7, no. 2 (1999): 459-501; for a comparison of tourism efforts in the Hawaiian Islands and Cuba during the early twentieth century, see Christine Skwiot, *Purposes of Paradise: U.S. Tourism and Empire in Cuba and Hawai'i* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010); for a discussion of how the tourism industry has co-opted Hawaiian spaces, see Cristina Bacchilega, *Legendary Hawai'i and the Politics of Place: Tradition, Translation, and Tourism* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007);

and understanding" in the islands.[44] For social scientists such as Lam, tourism had made Honolulu "a kind of show place where each race [sought] to appear its best and avoid sordid conflicts with neighboring races in the community," and this desire carried over onto the baseball diamond.[45]

But while government officials, educators, social scientists, and the tourism industry sought to use baseball as a tool of Americanization to connect the Hawaiian Islands to the United States, in actuality the sport actively exacerbated many social and ethnic divisions through the early twentieth century. Despite efforts to use the sport for assimilation purposes, players and fans were able to use baseball as a site to form and reinforce existing ethnic identities. Largely uninterested in assimilation and focused more on their bottom lines, league managers contributed to the formation of such ethnic divisions in baseball by realizing that local teams drawn from ethnic communities came with built-in fan bases.[46] This resulted in the rise of talented but ethnically-divided teams through the mid-1920s.

As ethnically-based baseball teams became some of the best teams on the island of O'ahu and competed in the Honolulu Baseball League, an argument over the distribution of gate receipts led to the withdrawal of three teams and the formation of a new Hawaii Baseball League (HBL) in 1924.[47] After brief conflict between the two leagues regarding playing fields, times, and most importantly teams, the Hawaii Baseball League emerged victorious as the best collection of baseball talent in the city.[48] In its inaugural season, the Hawaii Baseball League of

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[44] Margaret Lam, "Baseball and Racial Harmony in Hawaii," *Sociology and Social Research* 18 (1933), 58.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Margaret Lam, "Baseball and Racial Harmony in Hawaii," 62-63.
[47] "Honolulu Ball League after Moiliili Park," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, May 9, 1925.
[48] E.Z. Crane, "Hawaii Baseball League formed by Five Teams," *Honolulu Advertiser*, May 8, 1925; "'War' Goes Merrily on After Meet," *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, May 9, 1925; "Honolulu Ball League After Moiliili Park," *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, May 9, 1925; "Pair of Local Senior Leagues Start Tomorrow," *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, May 16, 1925; E.Z. Crane, "Honolulu Ball League Sets Opening Game for Wanderers and Braves," *Honolulu Advertiser*, September 12, 1925.

1925 featured six teams, the all-Hawaiians, the all-Chinese, the all-Filipinos, the Braves, the Asahis, and the Wanderers. The Braves roster was primarily filled from the ranks of the Portuguese Athletic Club, while the Asahis were made up of Japanese players and the Wanderers were mostly haole players. Aside from the talent collected on the teams, what helped the HBL establish itself as the top league in the islands was the completion of Honolulu Stadium.

Opened in November of 1926, Honolulu Stadium had taken two months to build and would be host to a range of events including football and basketball games, but most regularly, the 25,000 seat stadium was home to baseball games of the HBL.[49] Built makai, or seaward, of King Street in Mōʻiliʻili by J. Ashman Beaven, Honolulu Stadium was immediately considered "a triumph" by sportswriter E.Z. Crane who noted that "the panorama of the wooded hills and valleys seen from the stands" would "long remain a vivid picture" for fans attending games.[50] With the HBL established as the top level of competition in the islands, other leagues, such as the Winter League, Filipino League, and Chinese League, became feeder leagues and de facto minor leagues where the best players would eventually be invited up to teams in the HBL. The Hawaiian Baseball League would thrive through the 1930s and into World War II by featuring intense competition between ethnically-based teams.

Because of how the teams were set up, many players and fans felt a strong sense of ethnic identity while playing and cheering for these various teams. The Asahi baseball club, for example, was a team that was originally formed in 1905 by Gikaku "Steere" Noda, and had been competing in various leagues around Oʻahu for twenty years prior to the formation of the Hawaii

[49] The stadium was designed by architects Rothwell, Kangeter & Lester while construction was done by Walker & Olund Ltd. Both firms were immensely proud of the achievement and advertised their participation in the project prominently. "Honolulu Stadium," *Honolulu Advertiser*, November 11, 1926. For an illustrated history of the stadium, see Arthur Suehiro, *Honolulu Stadium: Where Hawaii Played* (Honolulu, HI: Watermark Publishing, 1995).
[50] E. Z. Crane, "Island Sports," *Honolulu Advertiser*, November 12, 1927.

Baseball League, including multiple tours abroad to Japan and the United States.[51] For many young *Nisei* boys, "making the Asahi roster became the ultimate dream" during the early twentieth century and became an immense source of pride among their parents.[52] After the formation of the Hawaii Baseball League in 1924, the Asahis would go on to win a total of seventeen championships over the entire life of the league, including four of the first seven titles. The success of the Asahis was followed in detail by the two contemporary Japanese-language newspapers on O'ahu, *Hawaii Hochi* and the *Hawaii Times*, which in turn helped further promote the team and sport within the Japanese community of the Hawaiian Islands.[53] Such support for the team and the sport in general was observed by George Sakamaki, who noted that "athletes of Japanese descent have been particularly conspicuous in baseball – probably because more than 75 percent of the fans are of the race."[54] Sakamaki's estimation of the fan demographics emphasizes the importance of baseball among a specific ethnic community during the 1930s.

Such community support among the Japanese in the Hawaiian Islands was further exemplified by the popularity of numerous baseball leagues filled by Americans of Japanese Ancestry (AJA) that flourished in the first half of the twentieth century. Following the organization of the first all-Japanese baseball team by Takie Okumura in 1899, these AJA leagues provided increased playing opportunities for young Japanese players across the islands.[55] The many AJA leagues throughout the islands that formed between 1908 and 1940 included the Oahu Japanese Senior Baseball League, the Windward Oahu Japanese Baseball League, the

[51] Rod Ohira, "AJA Baseball: Pinstripes & Pride," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, February 19, 1998.
[52] Guthrie-Shimizu, *Transpacific Field of Dreams*, 60.
[53] Robert K. Fitts, *Wally Yonamine: The Man Who Changed Japanese Baseball* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 48.
[54] Franks, *Asian Pacific Americans and Baseball*, 50.
[55] Okihiro, *AJA Baseball in Hawaii*, 10-13.

Western Oahu Japanese Junior Baseball League, the Kauai Japanese Baseball League, the Maui Japanese Baseball Association, the Japanese Junior League of Hilo, the Japanese Senior Baseball League (Hilo), the East Hawai‘i Japanese Baseball League, the Kohala Japanese Baseball League, the Hamakua Coast League, and the Central Kona Baseball League, which each "provided welcome entertainment for the rowing Japanese communities."[56] Over the years, supporting the various teams in these leagues led to baseball becoming an important tradition in many communities, and when access to those leagues was questioned, as Johnathan Okamura has noted, league officials have sought to protect their "interests, resources, and privileges in response to a perceived threat from external forces."[57]

The support of the Japanese community for their baseball teams is just one example of the expression of ethnic identity in the Hawaiian Islands. Teams from the Chinese, Filipino, and other ethnic communities were afforded similarly strong support in terms of fandom and fundraising. The business community of Honolulu's Chinatown, for example, would even sponsor tours to both the United States and East Asia by members of the Chinese Athletic Club. The pride in and support for these ethnic leagues and teams belies the narratives of racial harmony advocated during the time period, as different groups could either challenge local social hierarchies by defeating other ethnically based teams in the HBL, or avoid such hierarchies entirely by competing in their own ethnic leagues. Sayuri Guthrie-Shimizu has contended that "these ethnic baseball subcultures, invested as they were with disparate social meanings and clashing ethnic pride, embodied the shoal of racial and cultural crosscurrents that was

[56] Okihiro, *AJA Baseball in Hawaii*, 13.
[57] Jonathan Y. Okamura, "Ethnic Boundary Construction in the Japanese American Community in Hawai‘i," in *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai‘i*, ed. Candace Fujikane and Jonathan Y. Okamura (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2008), 242.

Hawai‘i."[58] Such an assertion is certainly applicable when directed toward the Hawaii Baseball League, but the role of clashing ethnic pride in baseball can also be seen in the plantation camps and sugarcane fields.

As mentioned in Chapter Two, the migration of different peoples to and from the Hawaiian Islands had been increasing through the nineteenth century. While some of these migrations were temporary with travelers, merchants, or sailors staying briefly in growing ports, others were much more permanent as groups of Hawaiians settled elsewhere and groups of foreigners settled within the Hawaiian Islands. The main contribution to the increasing racial diversity of the islands was the influx of laborers for the growing sugar plantations.

The growth of the sugar industry helped to develop a plantation-based production system throughout the Hawaiian Islands. The sugar industry certainly influenced the economic and political relationships of the islands as Noel Kent and others have noted, but in terms of baseball, it is most central as an impetus for the demographically shifting importation of laborers.[59] Because Hawaiians generally refused to work for the low wages offered in the sugar fields, the government of the Hawaiian Kingdom enacted the Masters and Servants Act in 1850 to enable "the signing of labor contracts, enforced with penal sanctions" which "provided for the importation of indentured workers."[60] Using the new contract labor system created by the Masters and Servants Act, Hawai‘i plantation owners first recruited workers from China before looking to places such as Portugal, Japan, and Norway through the end of the nineteenth

[58] Guthrie-Shimizu, *Transpacific Field of Dreams*, 60.
[59] In particular, Kent outlines the rise of the sugar industry in Chapters Four, Five, and Six of his book. Kent, *Hawaii: Islands Under the Influence*.
[60] Edward D. Beechert, "Patterns of Resistance and the Social Relations of Production in Hawai‘i," in *Plantation Workers: Resistance and Accommodation*, edited by Brij V. Lal, Doug Munro, and Edward D. Beechert (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1993), 47.

century.[61] By the early twentieth century, the labor recruiting efforts had expanded to include Koreans, Filipinos, and African-Americans.[62] While the different waves of workers provided an influx of labor to plantation economies, they also shifted ethnic demographics throughout the early twentieth century and, as Ronald Takaki has noted, the experiences of each group differed in terms of length of stay, motivations for immigrating, and level of connection to their homelands.[63]

Though specific ethnic demographics on plantations throughout the islands varied, conditions were often rough. The wide variety of different ethnicities who came together in plantations often formed strong communities; some of these communities reached across ethnicities, while others remained more segregated. The plantation workers lived in camps and often times, the "formation of separate ethnic camps reflected the wave pattern of labor recruitment and immigration."[64] Among those who lived within these camps, baseball served as a popular pastime. In some cases, teams formed from specific ethnicities and would challenge others in the camps, while in other cases, teams were formed from a multitude of ethnicities that reflected the diversity of the plantation community itself.

In 1909, an O'ahu wide, four-month plantation strike by mostly Japanese laborers protested the harsh working conditions and sought higher wages by marching on Honolulu. In town, these striking laborers set up encampments on the ballfields of Kaka'ako, Mō'ili'ili and at 'A'ala Park.[65] In response to the labor unrest, the Hawai'i Sugar Planters Association (HSPA) strongly advocated that managers provide entertainment and avenues for amusement to their

[61] For a detailed discussion of the role of the Masters and Servant Act in the growth of the plantation economy of the Hawaiian Islands, see Edward D. Beechert, *Working in Hawaii: A Labor History* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 1985), 41-57.
[62] Takaki, *Pau Hana*, 22-29.
[63] Takaki, *Pau Hana*, 54.
[64] Takaki, *Pau Hana*, 93.
[65] Takaki, *Pau Hana*, 160.

workers. Circulars distributed to plantations throughout the Hawaiian Islands by the HSPA noted that a "baseball ground well laid out and grassed, could be afforded by every plantation, and to encourage this sport, which every nationality of laborers is keen for, prizes could be offered to winning teams."[66] Through baseball and other activities, the HSPA hoped that it would be possible to not only keep workers on the plantation, but also prevent future strikes by raising levels of happiness and dividing the different ethnic groups through competition with each other.[67] This resulted in plantation workers competing in the commercial leagues as part of ethnically segregated company teams.[68]

But baseball on the plantations was not limited to company teams and it did indeed grow in popularity throughout many of the plantation communities since, as Kerry Yo Nagawa has noted, "playing baseball in plantation camps gave the workers an opportunity to relieve their tedium and, for a few precious hours, forget their hardships and the harsh physical labor of the cane fields."[69] Among children of plantation communities, many would not only attend games as fans, but "cut guava trees to make bats," find old baseballs, and if they could, scrape together five or six dollars to buy a nice glove for fielding.[70] While nominally a form of entertainment and relaxation to distract from plantation work, baseball functioned as a site of communal identity for plantation groups where fans and players could share experiences with each other.

Since many plantation owners and managers adopted the HSPA-approved strategy of using baseball to divide workers by ethnic group, many of these communal identities formed in plantation baseball reinforced ethnic identities. But the desire of plantation owners to divide

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[66] Takaki, *Pau Hana*, 103.
[67] Takaki, *Pau Hana*, 103.
[68] Kerry Yo Nagawa, *Through a Diamond: 100 Years of Japanese American Baseball* (San Francisco, CA: Rudi Publishing, Inc., 2001), 6.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Francis Miyake, interview by Howard Nonaka, July 8, 1976, Tape No. 1-44-1-76, transcript, Center for Oral History, Social Science Research Institute, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, Honolulu, HI.

workers ethnically through baseball were not always successful and many pickup plantation teams were formed among and between different ethnicities for socializing. Where such pickup and inter-ethnic teams formed on plantations, baseball carried a contested purpose. While the plantation management attempted to divide workers ethnically through the creation of rival baseball teams, in more informal cases, the sport served as an arena of community that brought different ethnic groups together.

The strike by Japanese plantation laborers in 1909 would not be the last strike among plantation workers. In 1920, a more diverse group of workers went on strike in order to secure higher wages and push back against the plantation paternalism that dictated much of their lives. Unlike in 1909 however, this strike included Filipino, Chinese, Portuguese, and Hawaiian workers in addition to Japanese, who refused to work for the first six months of the year. Again, striking workers marched on Honolulu and used baseball fields such as ʻAʻala Park as meeting places since the popularity of baseball and the central place of diamonds within communities made them obvious locations for meeting spaces.[71]

The inter-racial nature of the 1920 movement, as noted by Ronald Takaki, was essential in establishing a labor organization in the islands that was not limited to ethnicity, as the participation of multiple peoples demonstrated a broad sense of community among plantation workers.[72] Part of that sense of community can be seen in multi-ethnic baseball teams that formed within plantation camps between 1909 and 1920. William Rego, who worked for the Waialua Sugar Company on Oʻahu, was quite a good ballplayer and in an interview with Norma Carr, he remembered all the teams in plantation leagues to be mixed ethnicities.[73] The

[71] Takaki, *Pau Hana*, 164-174.
[72] Takaki, *Pau Hana*, 175.
[73] As Rego recalls, he never once struck out, and as a sixteen year old held the Third Engineers team to two runs over nine innings in a game at Schofield Barracks. William Rego, interview by Norma Carr, July 8, 1976, Tape No.

fraternization between different ethnicities was not something unique to Oʻahu either, since on the island of Hawaiʻi for example, the Hutchinson Plantation featured "'racially mixed' baseball teams of Japanese and Filipino workers."[74]

This does not mean that all plantation baseball teams became an amalgamation of different ethnicities after 1910 however. Despite Rego's claims above, the Waialua Sugar Company on Oʻahu indeed had separate baseball fields in the Portuguese and Japanese camps, with teams formed from the separate camps.[75] One *luna*, or overseer, noted that on Sundays, there were "baseball games between the Filipino laborers and [the] young Japanese and Portuguese boys in which…timekeepers and some of [the] overseers join."[76] Over on the island of Hawaiʻi, growing up in Waipiʻo Valley, Joseph Batalona would later recall winning the Waipiʻo Valley championship for a team that was not only all Filipino, but entirely made up of his family during the 1930s.[77] Like the varied nature of the plantations themselves, the ethnic makeup of plantation baseball teams through the 1920s and into the 1930s remained variable, despite the efforts of plantation owners to use baseball to divide workers.

Baseball continued to be emphasized on plantations as labor organization among plantation workers became more prominent following the 1920s. Ray Sarmiento, a former camp boss and housing supervisor for the Waialua Sugar Company on Oʻahu, remembered a particular point of tension after the arrival of union leaders on the plantations who demanded that only unionized people should manage the camp baseball or basketball team. So while unionization

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1-42-1-76, transcript, Center for Oral History, Social Science Research Institute, University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa, Honolulu, HI.

[74] Takaki, *Pau Hana*, 104.

[75] Lucy Robello, interview by Chad Taniguchi, July 20, 1976, Tape No. 1-56-1-76, transcript, Center for Oral History, Social Science Research Institute, University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa, Honolulu, HI.

[76] Gerald Gems, *The Athletic Crusade*, 74.

[77] Joseph Batalona, interview by Vivien Lee and Yukie Yoshinaga, June 29, 1978, Tape No. 4-56-1-78, transcript, Center for Oral History, Social Science Research Institute, University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa, Honolulu, HI.

may have built upon multiethnic cooperation or helped bridge ethnic divides that existed on the baseball field, it also added barriers for people with certain jobs to participate on teams as they had in the past, if they were not unionized.[78]

While baseball served multiple roles with regard to relationships between ethnic groups in plantation contexts, the overall plantation experience helped to contribute to the development of a local identity in opposition to a haole sugar-planting oligarchy. Jon Okamura has characterized the emergence and growth of a local culture as "an accommodation of ethnic groups to one another in the context of a social system" with a sharp division between the oligarchy in charge of economics and those who worked the plantations.[79] According to John Rosa, this idea of a local identity became more defined and politicized in the islands during the 1930s when an alleged rape of Thalia Massie, the murder of Joseph Kahahawai, and the ensuing trial united various ethnic groups against a legal, political, and economic system dominated by haole interests.[80] While both the plantation experience and the trial contributed to the formation of a local identity, so too did baseball since it brought various ethnic groups together in a shared social arena whether on the plantations or in the town leagues.

Just as in the nineteenth century, the baseball diamond in the Hawaiian Islands during the early-twentieth century was a contested space. Prior to and following the annexation of the islands by the United States, baseball did not immediately shift to become a tool of assimilation and Americanization. Attempts to co-opt the sport for Americanizing purposes by educators, public officials, and plantation owners were at times successful, but it was an ongoing process to

[78] Ray Sarmiento, interview by Araceli Agoo, June 7, 1976, Tape No. 1-3-1-76, transcript, Center for Oral History, Social Science Research Institute, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, Honolulu, HI.
[79] Jonathan Y. Okamura, "Aloha Kanaka me ke Aloha 'Aina: Local Culture and Society in Hawaii," *Amerasia* 7, no. 2 (1980), 122.
[80] Rosa notes that when it is "told solely as a story of local identity, the Massie Case narrative assists in fashioning a politicized 'local' identity that obscures the historical differences between Native Hawaiian and non-Native groups." John P. Rosa, "Local Story," 110.

remove the sport from its historical context as part of the Hawaiian Kingdom and its actual reception by players and fans was much more ambiguous than officials allowed. Since baseball grew as space that reinforced ethnic identities among the teams and fans of the Hawaiian Baseball League, in various smaller leagues, and on plantations around the islands, the sport often contradicted the assimilation efforts of officials. Since these relationships between baseball and identity occurred at multiple levels and often simultaneously, the baseball diamond remained a contested space in terms of identity formation throughout the early twentieth century where people were both united and divided across ethnic lines.

Traveling Teams and Transnational Players

In addition to the movement of people and players within and between leagues in the Hawaiian Islands, a large number of players traveled beyond the Hawaiian Islands to other regions. As was the case during the nineteenth century, numerous people migrated to, from, and through the Hawaiian Islands for a variety of reasons. This process was facilitated by the regular transportation connections from Honolulu to Asian and North American ports. For routes between North America and the islands, such migrations were facilitated by the United States' annexation of the islands at the end of the nineteenth century. These migrations from the Hawaiian Islands to the United States included thousands of Asian plantation workers following the termination of contract labor in 1900.[81] As migrations continued through the twentieth century, ballplayers utilized many of these routes from the Hawaiian Islands to pursue baseball opportunities abroad.

[81] Takaki, *Pau Hana*, 141.

The temporary transits and permanent relocations of ballplayers connected to the Hawaiian Islands deserve special attention within the larger discussion of migrations to and through the archipelago. In the estimation of Sayuri Guthrie-Shimizu, "early generations of baseball-playing Japanese Americans constituted a critical link in the multidirectional, transnational circulation of America's national pastime in the integrating Asia-Pacific world."[82] For many of these early generations of Japanese Americans, it was in the numerous leagues of Territorial Hawai'i where their baseball-playing skills were honed. Furthermore, according to Guthrie-Shimizu, "periodic expeditions by Japanese collegiate teams and their participation in the Hawaiian and Pacific Coast League's postseason play became an important social nexus between the Japanese homeland populations and diaspora communities."[83] Consequently, the Hawaiian Islands served as an integral point of contact for the transnational circulation of players between North America and Asia. It was not only Japanese Americans who served as critical links in the multidirectional, transnational circulation of ballplayers however, since Hawai'i residents of various ethnicities were involved in baseball and traveled extensively through such networks to play the sport.

The history of enterprising ballplayers traveling to the islands for baseball purposes began in the nineteenth century with the November 1888 visit by A. G. Spalding and visit by a team of California ballplayers two years later as discussed in the previous two chapters. Following the turn of the century, there would be an increase in similar visits from traveling baseball squads as well as teams from the Hawaiian Islands embarking on their own adventures to foreign lands. Thanks to the abundance of leagues around the Hawaiian Islands at any given

[82] Sayuri Guthrie-Shimizu, "For the Love of the Game: Baseball in Early U.S.-Japanese Encounters and the Rise of a Transnational Sporting Fraternity," *Diplomatic History* 28, no. 5 (November 2004): 647.
[83] Guthrie-Shimizu, "For the Love of the Game," 659.

time, traveling teams from Hawai‘i had a deep pool of talent from which to draw and forming competitive teams to face visiting ball clubs was never a difficult endeavor.

In 1907, the ball-playing community of Honolulu experienced traveling baseball tours from multiple perspectives by both sending a team abroad and hosting a visiting team. After winning the senior league championship in September, the Honolulu team of St. Louis College alumni traveled to Japan in 1907 to play Keio University and Waseda University.[84] The series of games on the trip was a massive success in terms of attendance, as each game drew ten thousand Japanese fans.[85] Though the St. Louis team would drop the first game in thirteen innings against Keio University, they won the next nine games played in Japan including three shutouts against university teams.[86] Pat Gleason, the captain of the touring Hawai‘i team noted that the Keios fielded and bunted "better than any team in Honolulu, but lack in hitting," which resulted in closely played games filled with strong defense.[87] Thanks to their baseball skills, the members of this St. Louis team, which included a diverse ethnic array of players, had the opportunity to travel abroad and experience a foreign country.[88] For some, such as the outfielder Lo On, the trip even led to job opportunities as he accepted an offer to teach at Keio University after the baseball tour.[89]

While Honolulu was kept up to date on the St. Louis team's fortunes in Japan, the remaining ballplayers in the city were actively preparing themselves to receive a team of Pacific

[84] "St. Louis Victors Back from Japan in Best of Shape," *Hawaiian Gazette*, December 3, 1907.
[85] The large attendance was good for the Hawai‘i team financially as well since costs for the team's journey were financed upfront and by gate receipts from the games, which was a novel practice for Japanese baseball. Guthrie-Shimizu, *Transpacific Field of Dreams*, 91.
[86] *Hawaiian Gazette*, November 5, 1907; *Hawaiian Gazette*, November 15, 1907.
[87] "St. Louis Victors Back from Japan in Best of Shape," *Hawaiian Gazette*, December 3, 1907.
[88] A sketch of the team roster can be found in several of the papers, see for example, "St. Louis Team is off to Conquer Jap Nines," *Hawaiian Gazette*, October 18, 1907.
[89] "Will Teach at Keio College," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, December 19, 1907.

Coast all-stars under the management of Mike Fisher.[90] This team of stars from California was eagerly anticipated by both fans and ballplayers in Honolulu, especially since they brought with them Barney Joy, a Hawaiian player who, at that time, pitched for the San Francisco Seals and would play for the Hawai‘i team. The team picked to oppose Mike Fisher's stars featured many of the top players from the islands in addition to Joy, including Sam Mahuka, the Kamehameha star player from the 1890s who had been keeping up his baseball skills captaining the Parker Ranch team over on the island of Hawai‘i.[91] Following the lead of Spalding in the nineteenth century, Fisher's team was accompanied by sportswriters who covered and publicized the games for a variety of media outlets including the *Sporting News*.[92] One intended effect of extended published descriptions of baseball being played by known Pacific Coast Leaguers in the newly-acquired American territory was to Americanize the islands by helping to acquaint readers in North America with an image of the Hawaiian Islands that felt familiar. The results of the games themselves were not great for the hometown team since the Hawai‘i team only managed to win one game against Fisher's visitors, but that did not discourage other teams from wanting a crack at the team from California.

With so many active teams in the islands, each with their own fan bases, the picked team of all-stars was not enough to satisfy the demands of a public who wanted to see more of their

[90] Fisher had made a reputation for himself within the Pacific Coast League as manager of teams in Tacoma, Sacramento, and San Francisco, winning multiple league championships. According to Kevin Nelson, Fisher's deep roots in California baseball may have stretched back beyond the early days of the California League, as "it has been speculated, though never clearly established, that his father was John M. Fisher, one of the early pioneers of California baseball who founded San Francisco's first club, the Eagles, and played in the first organized game ever held in the state." "'Mique' Fisher," *Evening Bulletin* (November 9, 1907), 11; Kevin Nelson, *The Golden Game: The Story of California Baseball* (San Francisco, CA: California Historical Society Press, 2004), 62.
[91] *Hawaiian Star*, October 30, 1907.
[92] In this case, the person covering the games was W. Baggerly of *The Sporting News. Evening Bulletin*, September 28, 1907.

local players take on the visiting California stars.[93] The St. Louis team, having returned from their successful tour of Japan, also wanted a game with Fisher's team.[94] Thanks to the efforts of Barney Joy, who was a friend of many of the St. Louis players, a game was eventually organized between the teams.[95] Despite their recent success in Japan however, the St. Louis team fared no better than their fellow Honolulu players against the California team, losing the final game in the islands by a score of 7-2.[96] Within the baseball-playing community, 1907 served to illustrate the potential economic opportunities that existed in the game beyond the islands due to the continued growth of communication, steamship travel, and trade networks that reached across the Pacific Ocean and facilitated larger migrations.

The following year, not only did Keio University visit the Hawaiian Islands to return a series of games with St. Louis and other teams, but so too did a squad from Santa Clara College in California. The visits of each team overlapped for roughly one month so that the two teams could play each other, and throughout July and into August, fans were treated to baseball displays between multiple local teams and the two visiting clubs as double headers. Although every team in town wanted to play the visiting teams from Japan and California, only those in the senior league were on the schedule. This meant that the alumni teams from St. Louis, Punahou, and Kamehameha Schools as well as the Diamond Head Baseball Club were the only local teams

[93] Teams from outside O'ahu also got a chance to play the team of California players, as a visit to Kīlauea featured a game with a Hilo team that kept it close until the seventh inning before losing 7-3. "Hilo Game Hard Tussle," *Hawaiian Gazette*, December 13, 1907.

[94] The attempts to organize such a game rekindled some Honolulu baseball jealousies and animosities however, as Jess Woods, who picked the Hawai'i team to play the Californias, had been angry over the St. Louis team's decision to travel to Japan so close to Fisher's visit and refused to allow any of the St. Louis players to join, nor did he wish to allow St. Louis any of the gate receipts from a game with Fisher's team. "Fisher Tells of the Pilikia," *Hawaiian Gazette*, December 6, 1907.

[95] Due to Barney Joy's friendship with many of the players and familiarity with Mike Fisher's operation, he suggested that the St. Louis team could get a higher percentage of the gate receipts from Fisher than what he had agreed to with Woods. This led to further discontent between Woods and the St. Louis team once the game was scheduled. "Barney Joy is Roasted Very Hard," *The Hawaiian Star*, December 24, 1907.

[96] "Henley Allows but One Single," *Hawaiian Gazette*, December 20, 1907.

who would cross bats with the visitors. All of the games were well attended at the Athletic Park in Mōʻiliʻili, which charged upwards of $.75 for adult admission and $.25 for children.[97] In terms of wins and losses, most of the games were competitive with Honolulu teams getting a few more wins against the Keios than they did against Santa Clara, but nobody went undefeated over all the weekends of play. The two visiting teams were not confined to Oʻahu during their trip, as both teams traveled to see Kīlauea on the island of Hawaiʻi.[98] In hosting both the American and Japanese team at the same time, Honolulu served as a point of contact between the two baseball-playing nations, and the baseball diamond itself served as an arena where national identities were put on display for a local community that continued to relate the sport to multiple levels of identity.

The success of touring teams to the Hawaiian Islands in the early part of the twentieth century inspired an ambitious effort on the part of local businesses in Honolulu to sponsor a team of local players and send it eastward across the ocean to tour the United States. This baseball tour was, according to Joel Franks, part of an effort to increase "tourism and investment in the islands, as well as erect a cultural bridge between European Americans and Chinese Americans."[99] The organizers regarded baseball as a tool of Americanization to make the Hawaiian Islands appear more culturally American through the popularity of a shared cultural practice. Despite being financed by Chinatown business interests and often called the Chinese Travelers, the team itself was a multi-ethnic group of players who came from a range of socioeconomic backgrounds.[100] This team would tour the United States (and occasionally

[97] "Big League Will Have Players of Santa Clara Here," *Evening Bulletin*, April 30, 1908.
[98] Though the Santa Clara team did not play any games while in Hilo, the Keios played an exhibition against the Mooheaus, much to the delight of the many Japanese residents. *Hawaiian Star*, August 22, 1908.
[99] Franks, *Asian Pacific Americans and Baseball,* 101.
[100] For example, Fred Markham was the son of former Hawaiis player and royalist politician George Markham, Lang Akana was a bookkeeper, and En Sue Pung was a hardware salesman. Franks, *Asian Pacific Americans*, 102.

Canada and the Caribbean) each year between 1912 and 1916, playing collegiate and semi-pro teams throughout the country from San Francisco to Philadelphia.[101] In order to maximize playing appearances, the Travelers scheduled games on Sundays, a common day to play baseball by this time in Honolulu.[102]

As they toured, the American press expressed surprise not only at their ability, but their English-language skills and knowledge of baseball slang and phrases.[103] In this sense, the traveling teams became "Hawaiians in unexpected places" as Adria Imada has discussed. Drawing on Philip Deloria's idea of "Indians in unexpected places," Imada says of Hawaiian *hula* circuits, which toured the United States at roughly the same time as these traveling baseball teams, that when Hawaiians were not performing, Americans were confronted with images of Hawaiians "in unexpected locations, such as snowbound streets, restricted military bases, diners in the deep South, Harlem nightclubs and New York City taxicabs."[104] Although the "Chinese" ballplayers were not necessarily identified as ethnically Hawaiian, they were still associated with the Hawaiian Islands and as such, their presence in the United States as people of color from the islands challenged and upset early twentieth-century stereotypes.

The particular stereotypes that these players challenged ranged depending on where the team traveled. Since they were often billed as the "Chinese Travelers" the players faced stereotypes against Chinese people that generally decried their ability "to compete effectively in a tough, physically strenuous game such as baseball."[105] When the players did not neatly fit such

[101] The 1914 team ventured into the Caribbean to play a series of baseball in Cuba. *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, March 3, 1914.
[102] Such scheduling did not always have the desired effect however, as Christian communities in cities such as Montreal were turned off by such heathenism. Franks, *Asian Pacific Americans*, 112.
[103] "Chinese Talk Baseball Slang," *University Missourian*, April 22, 1913; Franks, *Asian Pacific Americans*, 105.
[104] Adria L. Imada, *Aloha America: Hula Circuits through the U.S. Empire* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012), 19.
[105] Franks, *Asian Pacific Americans and Baseball*, 104.

stereotypes, audiences applied "primitivist racial stereotypes" that had been honed on African Americans throughout American history.[106] Such stereotyping was nothing new for the ballplayers from Honolulu since back home there were similar efforts to define their abilities based on race and ethnicity.[107]

The game results for these traveling teams were mixed, winning some and losing others. For the most part, the games were competitive and they continued to attract audiences at their various stops. American newspaper coverage often explained the fine play of the Travelers from Honolulu as the result of the United States' civilizing influence on imperial outposts. The *San Jose Mercury*, for example, noted in 1915 that Uncle Sam was "showing off his ability as a developer of races and as a teacher in this baseball trip."[108] Salt Lake City papers advised fans to notice that the "most interesting thing about these young fellows is that they are regular – not different, not unusual," but rather that they were "refined gentlemen of the highest type," especially in their skill on the diamond.[109] That such descriptions from the American media attributed the baseball skill of Hawai'i players to the effects of American occupation shows not only an ignorance of the sport's long history in the islands, but also the importance of baseball among definitions of masculinity. What made these men from Hawai'i different from other men of color around the world was that they were skilled at baseball, a feature that allowed them to appear in unexpected places throughout the United States in the early-twentieth century. Much of the team's multi-ethnic makeup was lost on the American commentators while the team barnstormed its way through the United States, but the financiers back in Honolulu hoped that future teams would feature more ethnically Chinese players.

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[106] Diamond, *American Aloha*, 21.
[107] E. H. Hand, "Physical Development of Hawaii's Athletes," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, May 22, 1910.
[108] Franks, *Asian Pacific Americans*, 114.
[109] Franks, *Asian Pacific Americans*, 114.

Following the 1914 tour, Lai Tin and Lang Akana, two prominent, part-Chinese members of the "Chinese" touring team, opted to sit out the next run and stay home in the islands with their families. As a result, the team became even more diverse, as Luther Kekoa and Chinito Moriyama, two players without any ethnic Chinese heritage, were added to the roster. Overall, the 1915 team would feature only three or four players of Chinese ancestry, along with Hawaiian, Japanese, Portuguese, and haole players. In an effort to ensure a baseball team that represented Honolulu's Chinese population, organizers formed a new team to rival the touring team of the previous three years. It included ethnically Chinese players drawn from the ranks of the Honolulu Chinese Athletic Club who had been competing in the Oahu Baseball League. The creation of this new team suggests that while the American media may have identified the traveling teams of 1912, 1913, and 1914 as Chinese, the players themselves and the Chinese businessmen in Honolulu did not necessarily identify the team the same way since they created a rival team with more ethnically Chinese players. In the case of these traveling efforts, again we see baseball as a contested space in terms of identity where both multi-ethnic teams and segregated teams formed to represent specific interests, similar to the situation on the plantations discussed in the previous section.

In the spring of 1915, this new ethnically Chinese team traveled to China and the Philippines as baseball ambassadors.[110] They had also intended to play some games in Japan against Waseda, Meiji, and Keio Universities, but that leg of the trip was cancelled due to anti-Japanese feeling in China.[111] The team was organized by the Chinese Athletic Union, managed by W. Tin Chong and Kim Tong Ho, two of the major critics regarding the lack of Chinese

[110] Franks, *Asian Pacific Americans*, 39-41.
[111] "Chinese Baseball Players Boycotted Japanese Teams," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, June 22, 1915.

players on the traveling team of the previous year, and captained by Kan Yin.[112] Through twenty-four games in Asia, the team had a record of fifteen wins and nine losses. The final results of the tour were quite successful, with the All-Chinese team winning games and playing competitive in losses in China and the Philippines. Their total record was twelve wins, two losses, and one tie, having played particularly well in China, as they swept through stops in Shanghai, Tianjin, and Beijing.[113]

During their stop in the Philippines, the team played and promoted the sport so well that Filipino businessmen in Manila sought to organize a four-team league. One prominent Chinese citizen of Manila was asked about the possibility of having a Chinese team among the new Manila ballclubs and responded that he had "no doubt that if a dozen Chinese players from Honolulu will come to Manila they will not find difficulty in finding a job. In the first place, they are all educated and speak and write good English better perhaps than an ordinary Filipino student…There are enough local Chinese firms and big stores that need their services in connection with this I may as well add that there are many Japanese players in Honolulu who can be induced to come to the Philippines."[114] With such opportunities available for select individuals, baseball networks that formed as a result of imperial and economic connections served as avenues for employment abroad.

While this team was touring East Asia, the former, multi-ethnic "Chinese Travelers" resumed their touring of the United States, prompting the *Star-Bulletin* to note that with "Chinese ball-teams in the Orient and the Occident simultaneously, Hawaii is uniquely advertised abroad."[115] The emphasis on advertising the Hawaiian Islands abroad certainly

[112] "All Chinese Team to Play Baseball in Far Eastern Tournament," *The Hawaiian Gazette*, February 12, 1915.
[113] "Chinese Baseball Players Boycotted Japanese Teams *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, June 22, 1915.
[114] "Manila Fans want Chinese Ball Players," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, June 5, 1915.
[115] *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, May 7, 1915.

illustrates one strand of how these endeavors were viewed. The financiers who backed such ventures wanted to increase business through investment and tourism and sought to use baseball to show other places how "American" the Hawaiian Islands were. Despite the *Star-Bulletin*'s observation, this was not the only way such baseball tours were perceived. The 1914 tour of the "Chinese Travelers" through the United States featured a stop in Arizona where one player later recalled that the Chinese community of Tucson was "very proud of our playing and our record, and gave us another dinner, and even opened a bottle of champagne to celebrate our victory over the haoles."[116] Such a reaction illustrates the contested uses of baseball within these international networks, just as in the Hawaiian Islands. The sport itself promoted travel across national boundaries and throughout different countries, but at the same time reinforced ethnic identities of minority groups in opposition to more hegemonic cultural groups.

Similarly, the tour through China and the Philippines was intended to increase foreign investment, but may have been received by spectators quite differently. In their East Asia tour, the All-Chinese teams played against squads from the United States Army and United States Navy in Tianjin, Shanghai, and Manila, while in Beijing they played against a team called the All-Americans. In the crowd for these games were Chinese and Filipino sports fans who, while possibly being encouraged to invest in Hawai‘i, would more likely have understood the victories by the Hawai‘i team as examples of vulnerability among occupying forces of the United States military. These episodes illustrate the complex nature of baseball for players from the Hawaiian Islands, who traversed baseball networks that were enabled by American imperial efforts, but at the same time, challenged those efforts by defeating military teams that were symbols of American authority.

[116] "Chinese Meet with Success on their Trip," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, March 31, 1914.

The Chinese Travelers were not the only club to tour abroad during this time, as the previously discussed Asahi squad also traveled to the United States and to East Asia beginning with a 1915 trip to Japan. However, it was not only through touring that the Asahi spread their baseball influence. According to Sayuri Guthrie-Shimizu, having been born in Hawai‘i, a large influx of *Nisei*, or second generation children of Japanese immigrant, ballplayers were able to immigrate to the continental United States in the late-1910s, circumventing an earlier gentlemen's agreement between Japan and the United States that limited Japanese labor migration to the United States.[117] Many of these migrants to the United States became stars of local baseball teams, having previously been "veterans of the Honolulu Asahi and well-seasoned in the competitive cauldron of the Hawaii League."[118]

What is interesting is that while these teams from the Hawaiian Islands were touring through the United States promoting their Japanese and Chinese heritage, Asians in general "were treated as alien and unassimilable to the U.S. national body," as illustrated by restrictive immigration acts that dated back to the nineteenth century. In her discussions of Hawaiian hula tours through the United States, Adria Imada has suggested that the performance of Hawaiian songs and dances not only helped to domesticate the Hawaiian Islands, but "packaged and presented [the islands] as wholly Hawaiian, not Asian." Accordingly, many of the Asian or part-Asian performers "sometimes did not reveal their Asian backgrounds to the public and were legible only as 'Hawaiian'."[119] In contrast, the baseball tours of teams from Hawai‘i during this time, which also featured multi-ethnic performers, were promoted and publicized as Asian teams

[117] Guthrie-Shimizu, "For the Love of the Game," 660.
[118] Guthrie-Shimizu, *Transpacific Field of Dreams*, 103-105.
[119] Specifically, the immigration acts of 1882, 1917, 1924, and 1934, as well as the restrictions and internment of Japanese Americans during World War II illustrate the national wariness toward Asians. Imada, *Aloha America*, 185-186.

from the Hawaiian Islands, actively drawing attention to the ethnicities that the hula tours sought to erase, while downplaying their Hawaiian identity.

The difference perhaps lies in gendered expectations associated with each of the cultural expressions. With hula, Adria Imada contends that it was critical for Hawai‘i’s tourism industry to not be too Asian “if American tourists were to visit,” and that “an imagined intimacy was generated between Americans and those perceived as ‘Hawaiians,’ not between Americans and Asians.”[120] Per Imada, it was the circulation of hula as an expression of indigenous Hawaiian culture through the United States that “facilitated this symbolic removal” of Asians from the American view of the islands.[121] By linking these tours to a Hawaiian identity though, the promoters drew upon feminine imagery that had characterized the Pacific Islands in American and European stereotypes since the eighteenth century and, according to Patty O’Brien, situated dance as “the supreme expression of indigenous women’s eroticism.”[122]

The baseball tours of the 1910s and 1920s worked against that removal of Asian identities from the hula circuits with their active promotion of baseball-playing men from Hawai‘i as either Chinese or Japanese. In the American media, these touring teams were characterized as being “regular – not different, not unusual,” or “refined gentlemen of the highest type,” thanks to their ball-playing ability.[123] As one American newspaper commented, “except for the color of their skins they might as well have been Americans, at least so far as baseball is concerned.”[124] This suggests that baseball played a role within definitions of American masculinity that allowed for the incorporation of men of color within a racial and ethnic

[120] Imada, *Aloha America*, 187-188
[121] Ibid.
[122] Patty O’Brien, *The Pacific Muse: Exotic Femininity and the Colonial Pacific* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2006), 82.
[123] Franks, *Asian Pacific Americans*, 114.
[124] “Chinese Ball Team Defeats the Tigers,” *University Missourian*, April 22, 1913.

hierarchy. While these two touring circuits of hula and baseball contradicted one another in terms of their ethnic emphasis, taken together, they obscured and erased Hawaiian men within the American media by highlighting Hawaiian women and Asian men. This erasure served the interests of the tourism industry by helping to create an image of the islands that highlighted Hawaiian women as eroticized dancers without any men to satisfy them.[125]

On an individual level however, many baseball players complicated the overarching narratives formed in the United States regarding race and ethnicity in the Hawaiian Islands. As mentioned previously, John Ganzel, who played for the Stars of the Hawaiian Base Ball League in 1895, was the first player from the Hawai‘i baseball-playing community to go on to play baseball as a professional. But his stay in the islands was a brief one and he was only a ballplayer in Honolulu for the 1895 season before heading back to the United States and onto a career in the Major Leagues.[126] After Ganzel, many different players from the Hawaiian Islands would utilize the various professional leagues abroad in both the United States and Japan as avenues for employment. Such individual efforts were assisted by the numerous baseball tours either from or to Hawai‘i that have been touched on above.[127] Although their backgrounds differed, the experiences and accomplishments of Barney Joy, John Williams, Henry Oana, En Sue Pung, Tony Rego, Bozo Wakabayashi, and Kenichi Zenimura illustrate how individuals were affected by baseball migration networks.[128]

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[125] Haunani-Kay Trask, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai‘i* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1999), 136-137; Adria Imada, *Aloha America*, 7-15; Jane Desmond, *Staging Tourism: Bodies on Display from Waikiki to Sea World* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 10-13; Ty Kāwika Tengan, *Native Men Remade*, 47-51.

[126] Fullerton, “Between Games,” 329; *The Hawaiian Star*, June 7, 1895.

[127] In his visit to the Hawaiian Islands in 1907 with some Pacific Coast League stars, for example, Mike Fisher “looked with a covetous eye on several of the Honolulu boys, as they worked out on the diamond” hoping to bring their talents into his own league. “Covets Local Ball Players,” *Hawaiian Gazette*, December 13, 1907.

[128] For an image of En Sue Pung, see Figure 8 in the Appendix. For an image of Barney Joy, see figure 9 in the Appendix.

Though he would not become the first Hawaiian to play in the Major Leagues, Barney Joy was the first Hawaiian to be drafted by a Major League team. Born in 1882, Barney Joy was a power-hitting, left-handed pitcher. Joy grew up playing around Honolulu in a number of different leagues, most prominently as a member of the Honolulu Athletic Club in the Honolulu Baseball League and as a member of the police team for whom he worked during the day. In 1907, Joy signed a contract with the San Francisco Seals of the Pacific Coast League (PCL) and moved to California. Unlike the erasure of Hawaiian ethnicity that would happen with later touring teams, the American press identified Barney Joy as ethnically Hawaiian with numerous accounts referring to him as "the big Kanaka."[129] Despite an up and down debut season, his potential pitching and hitting abilities intrigued a number of teams in the eastern United States, resulting in a brief bidding war among National League teams that was won by the Boston Beaneaters. Joy would never end up playing for Boston however, as American newspapers brewed up a storm of controversy regarding Joy's heritage and skin color. The press described him variously as a "negro," "Chinese," and "Malay," all in a negative fashion when discussing his Major League prospects. Boston refused to meet Joy's salary demands, so he remained in Honolulu working and playing baseball while the Beaneaters retained his professional rights, before selling his contract to a Pacific Coast League team in Spokane, Washington.[130] The success of Barney Joy in the PCL during 1907 led to increased interest in island ballplayers such as Vernon Ayau, Lang Akana, and R.P. Reuter.

[129] See for example, "Joy has Joined 'Frisco," *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 24, 1907; "Boodlers Break Winning Streak," *Los Angeles Herald*, June 30, 1907; "Baseball Notes," *San Francisco Call*, September 9, 1907; W. F. Slattery, "Commuters Solve Joy's Twisters and Score an Easy Victory," *San Francisco Call*, October 12, 1907.
[130] Among the newspapers to take issue with his race were the *Washington Post* and the *Fort Wayne Sentinel*. Peter Morris, SABR Baseball Biography Project s.v. "Barney Joy," http://sabr.org/bioproj/person/797ad4f7 [accessed 4/20/2013].

The man who would indeed be the first person of Hawaiian heritage in the Major Leagues was John Williams, who briefly played for the Detroit Tigers in 1914. Williams was the son of photographer J.J. Williams, a naturalized Hawaiian subject, and Julia Agnes Wills whose mother was Hawaiian. Growing up in Honolulu, Williams played for a number of different baseball teams, including Punahou and St. Louis, as well as for Schumann Carriage, where he worked, and the Honolulu Athletic Club as part of the Honolulu Baseball League. After a strong series in 1910 against sailors from the U.S.S. *New Orleans*, Williams followed in Barney Joy's footsteps to the Pacific Coast League where he played for the Sacramento Solons from 1911 to 1913. As a result of his fine pitching in Sacramento, Williams' next stop was the American League after being signed by Detroit. The 24 year-old's experience in Detroit would not be nearly as successful as his stint in the Pacific Coast League however, as "Honolulu Johnny" frequently battled illness and injury, pitching in just four games, losing two of them. His best outing came in August 1914 against the Washington Senators where he matched zeros with Walter Johnson through seven innings before poor fielding led to a 3-0 defeat.[131] He returned to the Pacific Coast League the next year, playing in Sacramento, San Francisco, Salt Lake City, and Los Angeles before joining a team in Missouri as part of the Western League. In 1917 he joined the army to fight in World War I, then toured Japan with a Hawai‘i team upon his return from the war. Williams continued to play baseball as a part of Standard Oil's team, for whom he worked through the 1920s, later taking a job for the city of Honolulu.[132]

The second Hawaiian ballplayer to make it to the major leagues was Henry Kawaihoa Oana. Originally from Waipahu on the island of O‘ahu, Oana honed his baseball-playing skills

[131] "Ought to Help Detroit," *Detroit Free Press*, August 4, 1914.
[132] This summary is drawn from the efforts of Rory Costello, SABR Baseball Biography Project s.v. "Johnnie Williams," http://sabr.org/bioproj/person/7a544ac1 [accessed 4/20/2013].

as part of a touring team that traveled to Japan during the 1920s. As discussed earlier, there were several such touring teams throughout the early twentieth century and many of the most talented players were invited to join these teams, regardless of their ethnicity. On one such trip, he caught the eye of Ty Cobb, who helped arrange a tryout for Oana with the San Francisco Seals of the Pacific Coast League, the same team that had signed Barney Joy several years prior. Oana made the Seals team in 1931 and hit over twenty home runs in helping the Seals win the league championship. The next season, he was traded to the Portland Beavers.[133] As a result of his continued hot hitting over the next two years, Oana was signed by the Philadelphia Phillies of the National League. Henry Oana joined the Phillies in 1934 to play left field, though was released after only a few games as the team struggled and he spent the rest of the season in the minor leagues. Over the next several years, Oana continued to bounce around teams in the minor leagues of the United States and occasionally would catch on with major league ball clubs such as the Detroit Tigers. In each of his stops, teams and local media promoted his Hawaiian ethnicity in order to attract more fans to his team's games.[134] Unlike Barney Joy and John Williams who had returned to the Hawaiian Islands after brief stints with baseball abroad, Oana settled in the United States upon completing his playing career, fitting within a long tradition of islanders traveling and settling abroad.

In the cases of Barney Joy, John Williams, and Henry Oana, each ballplayer was recognized as Hawaiian by various American periodicals. So while the traveling "Chinese" teams from Hawai‘i were portrayed as Asian and any Hawaiian ethnicity was ignored, some of the most prominent individual players from Hawai‘i in American leagues were actively depicted

[133] As Joel Franks has noted, Oana would be replaced on the Seals' roster by a young Joe DiMaggio in 1932. Franks, *Asian Pacific Americans*, 161.
[134] Franks, *Asian Pacific Americans*, 164-165.

as Hawaiian. This further shows that the baseball diamond was a contested space for players from the Hawaiian Islands, since fans, the media, and players themselves had different agendas when it came to identity in the sport. While baseball "appeared on the surface to stress autonomy and aggressive independence," it "simultaneously reinforced obedience, self-sacrifice, discipline, and a rigid hierarchy."[135] The Hawaiian men who were able to pursue professional employment opportunities through the sport complicated the hegemonic definition of white, middle-class masculinity in the early-twentieth century that characterized the world of American professional baseball.

Not all players sought professional employment abroad, however. Some, such as En Sue Pung, turned down offers to play for teams in the United States and chose to play abroad only as part of touring teams. En Sue Pung, whom the Los Angeles *Times* called "the Ty Cobb of the South Seas," was a teammate of Barney Joy's with the Honolulu Athletic Club and took part in a baseball tour through the United States as part of an all-Chinese team organized by Honolulu's Chinese Athletic Club.[136] Like Joy, he was also invited to tryout for the San Francisco Seals in 1906, but instead chose to remain in the Hawaiian Islands. While he was in Japan with the St. Louis team during 1907, he was described by Pat Gleason as "the favorite in all Japan. After each game the Japanese students get a hold of him and throw him up in the air and yell 'Banzai.' If we are invited anywhere, they would tell us not to come unless En Sue was along."[137] Overall, En Sue twice toured the United States and East Asia as part of traveling teams, but each time he returned to the Hawaiian Islands, where his career spanned over twenty-five years.[138]

[135] Michael S. Kimmel, "Baseball and the Reconstitution of American Masculinity, 1880-1920," 57.
[136] "Chinese Team Surprise to Californians," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, March 26, 1914.
[137] "St. Louis Victors Back from Japan in Best of Shape," *Hawaiian Gazette*, December 3, 1907.
[138] "Chinese Fielder in Game for 25 Years; Still in," *Daily Ardmoreite*, June 21, 1922.

Tony Rego was the second player from the Hawaiian Islands to reach the major leagues of the United States, following closely on the heels of John Williams. Born in Wailuku in 1897 to Portuguese parents, Antone Rego grew up playing baseball on Maui during the early twentieth century. Rego's parents arrived in the Hawaiian Islands during the 1880s and his father worked at the Iao Stables, helped operate a carriage line between Lahaina and Wailuku, and eventually managed the Wailuku Auto Company in the early 1900s. Throughout his youth, Rego played baseball as part of the Maui Athletic Association in and around Wailuku, for teams such as the Puunenes.[139] Rego enlisted in the United States Navy and was stationed in Los Angeles during World War I. After the war, Rego remained in California and continued to play baseball for the Los Angeles Angels as part of the Pacific Coast League in 1920. Over the next few years, he played for different teams along the west coast, including teams in Washington and in British Columbia. After three years in the Pacific Coast League, Tony Rego joined the St. Louis Browns of the American League in 1924. According to Rory Castello, at 5 feet, 4 inches tall, Rego became the shortest catcher to ever play in the Major Leagues and over two years he appeared in over forty games for the Browns. Though his light hitting made the 1925 season Rego's last with the Browns and last in the Major Leagues, his excellent defensive skills as a catcher led to a prolonged career over the next decade or so that took him to teams in Oregon, New Mexico, California, Texas, and Oklahoma.[140]

Professional baseball in the United States was not the only route for ballplayers from Hawai‘i to pursue however, as some players followed paths to professional baseball in Asia. Henry Tadashi Wakabayashi for example, went on to have a stellar baseball career in Japan that

[139] *The Maui News*, August, 20, 1913.
[140] Rory Costello, SABR Baseball Biography Project, "s.v. Tony Rego," http://sabr.org/bioproj/person/77ef83c1 [accessed May 6, 2012].

would result in him being inducted into the Japanese Hall of Fame. Born to *Issei* pineapple farmers in Wahiawā in 1908, "Bozo" Wakabayashi starred as a pitcher for McKinley High School in Honolulu. After high school, he played for the Asahis before joining an all-*Nisei* team from Stockton, California that had briefly stopped in Honolulu on its way to Japan in 1928. As part of the touring team that went 18-6 in games against University teams from the Tokyo Big6 Baseball League as well as some industrial league teams, Wakabayashi gained attention for his stellar play. Among those to express an interest in the young pitcher were coaches from Hosei University who approached Wakabayashi about joining the team. Wakabayashi stayed in Japan, enrolled in college at Hosei, and after a year of adjusting to the league, used his side-armed delivery to help lead Hosei University to two Tokyo Big 6 championships in the 1930s. This would be just the start for Bozo Wakabayashi in his Japanese career. After graduating, he joined the Osaka (later Hanshin) Tigers in 1936, where he pitched the team to multiple championships in the 1940s.[141]

Another player to hone his skills on traveling teams from the Hawaiian Islands and parlay those skills into a successful career abroad was Kenechi Zenimura. A first-generation *Issei*, Zenimura lived briefly in California before moving to O'ahu as a child. While living in the Hawaiian Islands, Zenimura played as part of the junior Asahi team before moving to Fresno, California and playing ball there in a league with an ethnically diverse group of teams.[142] While in California, Zenimura organized all-star teams as well as a *Nisei* league with multiple teams.[143] The organization of teams such as Zenimura's Fresno squad provided a bridge to assist further

[141] Guthrie-Shimizu, *Transpacific Field of Dreams*, 105-106.
[142] Franks, *Asian Pacific Americans*, 74.
[143] According to Joel Franks, the Fresno team that Zenimura formed consisted of *Nisei* players not only from California, but the Hawaiian Islands as well. Zenimura led his team of Japanese-American players against other California teams in and around the San Joaquin Valley, as well as traveling to Japan to take on baseball teams there. Franks, *Asian Pacific Americans*, 58-59.

migration for people between the Hawaiian Islands, the United States, and Japan, as first-generation *Issei* settlers in the United States played alongside second-generation *Nisei* and players from the Hawaiian Islands. Here, as in other cases, the Hawaiian Islands served as a transit point, both physically and culturally, for those migrating from Japan to the United States. Zenimura learned how to play baseball while growing up in the Hawaiian Islands and was able to organize games and teams upon his return to California.

Dozens of other players from the Hawaiian Islands would follow similar routes to professional baseball in both the United States and Japan.[144] These routes between Hawai‘i and Japan, the United States, and dozens of other places offered opportunities for a variety of migrations. People were able to utilize baseball to make new contacts abroad or to maintain ethnic identity in new places. The success of such players while away from the islands was often explained as the result of cultural assimilation and successful Americanization efforts in the islands, but frequently, the presence of Hawai‘i players abroad complicated stereotypical images associated with the islands.[145] Although the skill of players from Hawai‘i may have been narrated as examples of the assimilation and Americanization regarding people of color in the islands, the touring of players abroad afforded them employment opportunities that reached beyond national and cultural borders.

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[144] Among those to follow the Japanese route were Wally Yonamine, Bill Nishita, Jyun Hirota, and Dick Kashiwaeda. Kashiwaeda, a third generation *Sansei* born on Kaua‘i, grew up playing on plantations with his brothers. He would go to Honolulu to play for St. Louis in high school before joining the Asahi team and playing in the Hawai‘i Baseball League. Kashiwaeda was especially excited about making the Asahi roster, as he would later recall that he "was proud to wear the Asahi uniform because [that meant he was] considered among the best of the Japanese players. Asahi was a goal for all young ballplayers." Following World War II, Kashiwaeda would follow the example of Zenimura and Wakabayashi and play professionally in Japan. Robert K Fitts, *Remembering Japanese Baseball: An Oral History of the Game* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2005), 51.

[145] Adria Imada has noted that in "moving through the U. S. empire" as part of hula circuits, Hawaiians "modeled a kind of Native modernity – a Hawaiian cosmopolitanism." While not all ballplayers were ethnically Hawaiian or recognized as Hawaiian, they too displayed a modernity and cosmopolitanism linked to their ability to travel not only throughout the American empire, but through parts of Asia as well. Adria Imada, *Aloha America*, 19.

Baseball, Militarization, and World War

According to Robert Elias, the connection between baseball and the military played a prominent role helping to establish baseball as the national pastime of the United States. Such a connection to the military was not limited to baseball domestically in the United States either, as the sport was linked to American military forces around the globe.[146] As part of what Keanu Sai has characterized as a military occupation since the 1890s, the United States military has often been directly involved in the promotion and playing of sports in the Hawaiian Islands through the twentieth century.[147] The challenge matches between local teams and visiting sailors or soldiers for example, as mentioned in previous chapters, continued following 1898 when the United States significantly increased its military presence in the Hawaiian Islands.[148] However, as Kathy Ferguson and Phyllis Turnbull have noted, it is not only the "perceptible presence of military objects and events," but also "the social and economic insinuation of the military into other institutions, and the cultural imbrication of military codes, symbols, and values into daily life," that have combined to make Hawai'i into the "most densely militarized state in the union."[149] Organized baseball was among the earliest institutions that military forces insinuated their way into, beginning in the latter-half of the nineteenth century and continuing through the twentieth century.

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[146] Elias, *The Empire Strikes Out*, 284.
[147] Sai, "The American Occupation of the Hawaiian Kingdom," 153.
[148] Some of the linkages between the military and baseball during the twentieth century were tangential. For example, when the Santa Clara baseball team visited the Hawaiian Islands in 1908, the *Evening Bulletin* apprised readers that accompanying the players on board the steamer *Hilonian* was "the balance of the big guns for the U.S. fortification at Diamond Head." *Evening Bulletin*, July 8, 1908.
[149] Kathy E. Ferguson and Phyllis Turnbull, *Oh, Say, Can You See?: The Semiotics of the Military in Hawai'i* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 3.

In addition to organized teams from the various warships that visited the Hawaiian Islands, military units also organized clubs that regularly competed as part of Hawaiian baseball leagues. An example is the First Regiment of the National Guard of the Republic of Hawai‘i, which was admitted to the Hawaiian Base Ball Association in 1896. This First Regiment team of the 1890s featured players such as Harry Wilder and Percy Lishman, who had been part of the Hawaiian Base Ball League on other teams such as the Crescents or the Stars in previous seasons.[150] Other players such as John Ganzel, George Wood, Sonny Cunha, and others were recruited to the military not only (or even primarily) for their soldierly skills, but for their skills on the baseball diamond.[151] The First Regiment fielded a very competitive team in the late-1890s and finished at or near the top of the standings through the turn of the century. Although the First Regiments were not a team of players representing the United States military, they still established a precedent for military teams competing with civilian teams in the leagues of Honolulu on a more regular basis than previous challenge matches. This precedent would be important for the ensuing American soldiers and sailors who competed in various local leagues throughout O‘ahu following annexation and the further influx of servicemen to the Hawaiian Islands after 1898. Eventually, the abundance of military teams led to the formation of military leagues to host regular competitions between different military units.

The first Military Baseball League was established in the spring of 1909 and featured teams from the Fifth Cavalry, the Marines, the Twentieth Infantry, and the Territorial National Guard of Hawai‘i. League games were played at ‘A‘ala Park and in Leilehua on the island of O‘ahu.[152] Over the next several years, the League would expand and contract based on the

[150] “Base Ball,” *The Hawaiian Star*, June 25, 1896; “Saturday’s Ball Game,” *Evening Bulletin*, April 26, 1897.
[151] “Cunha Proved Too Many For the Stars,” *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, June 29, 1896.
[152] “Military Ball League,” *The Hawaiian Star*, April 6, 1909.

arrival and departure of different units to the Hawaiian Islands. Occasionally, all-star teams made up from the best players in the military league would compete against the best teams of the Oahu Baseball League, which, along with reports of military scores in the newspapers, contributed to a further insinuation of military personnel into the weekly lives of Oʻahu residents.

Among the military units to play baseball in the Hawaiian Islands during the first half of the twentieth century was the 25th Regiment of United States Infantry. This unit was one of four African-American army units created following the Civil War, and it began its baseball program in 1894 while stationed in Montana.[153] In 1913, the regiment was stationed at Schofield Barracks on Oʻahu where it played amongst other military units stationed on the island, as well as with teams from the Oahu Baseball League, winning a championship in its first year. Known as the "Wreckers," the 25th Regiment team played quite well not only against rival military teams, but also against civilian competition, going 42-2 against all opponents in 1916. Games between the Regimental team and local teams were always huge draws among the Honolulu population and attendance was "standing room only" on numerous occasions.[154] It was during their tenure in the Hawaiian Islands that the Regimental team was even approached by Al Earle about the Spalding Sporting Goods Company possibly sponsoring the "best Black army baseball team" in all of the United State military.[155]

The 25th Regiment team that was stationed in Hawaiʻi included future professional baseball stars such as Charles Wilber Rogan, the future pitcher, outfielder, and manager of the

[153] Jerry Malloy, "The 25th Infantry Regiment Takes the Field," *The National Pastime: A Review of Baseball History* 15 (1995), 59.
[154] Miles M. Jackson, "A Different Drummer: African Americans in the Military in Hawaiʻi," in Jackson, Miles M. ed. "They Followed the Trade Winds: African Americans in Hawaiʻi." Special Issue, *Social Process in Hawaiʻi* 43 (2004): 192.
[155] Marvin E. Fletcher, "The Black Soldier Athlete in the United States Army, 1890-1916," *Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education* 3 (December 1972): 19.

Kansas City Monarchs in the Negro National League.[156] "Cap" Rogan was the Wreckers' best player while they were stationed on Oʻahu and was acknowledged for his all-around skill not only as a pitcher, but also as a hitter and fielder at numerous positions in the local Honolulu press.[157] By 1917, Rogan was considered to be "the foremost player" in the Hawaiian Islands according to the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* and that year was presented with a silver cup and honored with a Wilber Rogan Day at Mōʻiliʻili Field that featured a double header of baseball games on Sunday, August 19.[158] "Bullet Joe" Rogan, as he was later known, was not the only Kansas City Monarch to be stationed on Oʻahu as part of the 25th Infantry during World War I however, as Dobie Moore, Hurley McNair, Oscar "Heavy" Johnson, Lem Hawkins, and Bob Fagan would also join the Kansas City team upon leaving the army.[159]

Rogan and several of his 25th Regiment teammates returned to the Hawaiian Islands in the 1930s when the Monarchs toured China and the Philippines. While they were stopped in Honolulu, the Monarchs played several games and both Rogan and infielder Newt Allen were offered jobs with the Dole Pineapple Company if they agreed to play baseball for the company team on Saturdays and Sundays. While the job description consisted of only having to check crates of pineapples during the week, the two ballplayers turned down the offer and returned to Kansas City with the rest of the team.[160]

Despite the popularity and skill of the African American players, they were still subjected to racialized characterizations in the local press, just as George Wood had been in the 1890s. Racist caricatures of the players appeared around town prior to important games in 1915 which

[156] For a picture of Wilbur Rogan, see Figure 10 in the Appendix.
[157] "All Round Star," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, February 28, 1916.
[158] *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, August 16, 1917.
[159] Malloy, "The 25th Infantry Regiment Takes the Field," 62.
[160] John Holway, *Voices from the Great Black Baseball Leagues* (New York, NY: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1975), 102.

prompted players such as Lawrence Lightfoot and George Williams to publically protest the insults in the pages of the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*.[161] On the one hand, the Wreckers of the 25th Infantry Regiment were acknowledged to be a tremendous team with excellent players, but at the same time, they were characterized in racial terms. For the local press, such characterizations fit within a racist trend that was seen in the 1890s with depictions of George Wood.

The experiences of the 25th Infantry team show some of the inherent imperial contradictions that exist in the relationship between baseball and militarization in the Hawaiian Islands. As military forces in the Hawaiian Islands ingrained themselves into the community, baseball fans became increasingly accustomed to seeing their civilian teams play against troops from the United States. For the Wreckers of the 25th Infantry, this created a situation where they could regularly play baseball with Hawaiian, Chinese, Japanese, haole, and other players in the multi-ethnic leagues around O'ahu. The 25th Infantry and their baseball team were part of the imperial efforts to extend American influence across the Pacific, but within the baseball diamonds of occupied territories, the players experienced a reprieve from the segregation that existed in the rest of the United States during the 1910s and 1920s. Additionally, the success of the African American 25th Infantry team in the multi-ethnic leagues of the Hawaiian Islands served to contradict the efforts of Major League Baseball in the United States, which sought to promote themselves as a national pastime for a white America by linking baseball to imperial projects.[162]

Following the end of World War I, the connection between baseball and the military would be further entwined thanks to a newly established veterans group: the American Legion.

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[161] "Twenty-Fifth Ball Team Has a Kick," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, October 17, 1915.
[162] Elias, *The Empire Strikes Out*, 96.

As Robert Elias has outlined, the American Legion promoted baseball for military implications with the idea that "the qualities of character stressed by athletic training are the same [qualities stressed in] making a soldier."[163] To this end, in 1925, the Legion created the American Legion Junior Baseball program. What Elias notes however, is that the Legion created this baseball program not under the auspices of its Boys Programs, but rather under its Americanism Programs which emphasized patriotism and sought to "teach concrete Americanism through playing the game."[164] The veterans of the American Legion viewed baseball as a tool to teach American values. This policy aligned the organization with like-minded efforts from the nineteenth and early twentieth century that we have discussed previously that used baseball as part of assimilation and Americanization efforts.

In the Hawaiian Islands, the American Legion encountered a region where baseball already had a very strong level of popularity. What the Legion provided in the islands was yet another institution to help fund, promote, and organize local games and leagues. Shortly after their establishment in the Hawaiian Islands, individual Legion posts formed baseball clubs to compete in local leagues and even formed smaller baseball leagues in Hawai‘i prior to the creation of their Junior Baseball Program in 1925. The goal of creating such teams and leagues was to increase Legion membership. On the island of Kaua‘i for example, the Legion organized an indoor baseball league in the fall of 1921. This league featured less players on each team and played in garages and gymnasiums with teams from Līhu‘e, Makaweli-Waimea, Kōloa-McBryde, Kawaihau, Nawiliwili Garage, and Waimea Stables, but in order to play, one had to submit an application for Legion membership prior to the start of the season.[165]

[163] Elias, *The Empire Strikes Out*, 97.
[164] Ibid.
[165] "Legion Indoor Baseball Schedule," *The Garden Island*, October 11, 1921.

Following the creation of American Legion Junior Baseball in 1925, outdoor leagues were established in the Hawaiian Islands for young players. The goal of Junior Baseball was to "train soldiers for future wars and rear citizens who will accept the status quo without objection, willing to play the game [by] rules prescribed by the American Legion."[166] Youth leagues had experienced considerable success on O'ahu prior to the 1920s, with several junior leagues flourishing in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. When added to such a context, Legion Junior Baseball also thrived in Hawai'i during the 1930s and further established the military as part of the baseball community since the veteran's group sponsored this junior baseball league.

Through World War I and in the ensuing years, the presence of United States military forces increased in the Hawaiian Islands. Such increases in the military presence in the Hawaiian Islands were not anomalies however, as many had occurred during prior decades. Ian Lind has outlined the roots of militarism in the Hawaiian Islands and highlighted the construction of a naval base at Pearl Harbor, along with the establishment of Forts Shafter, DeRussey, and Ruger, as well as Schofield Barracks prior to the outbreak of World War I as key events that contributed to the military infrastructure of the archipelago. In 1911, United States Army Brigadier General Montgomery Macomb laid bare such a plan of military development when he asserted that the island of O'ahu was "to be encircled with a ring of steel, with mortar batteries at Diamond Head, big guns at Waikiki and Pearl Harbor, and a series of redoubts from Koko Head around the island to Waianae." Following World War I, further increases to the extent of a military presence in the Hawaiian Islands prompted then territorial Governor Wallace Farrington

[166] Elias, *The Empire Strikes Out*, 98.

to observe in 1924 that "every day is national defense day in Hawai'i."[167] Accompanying that increased presence of the United States military was an increased visibility throughout the islands. This increased visibility coincided with and contributed to the increased promotion of tourism by business communities in the islands during the early twentieth century.[168] The involvement of military teams in baseball leagues was part of that increased visibility which further contributed to the social insinuation and cultural imbrication touched on by Ferguson and Turnbull above.[169]

The increased presence of military forces in the Islands by 1941 made Hawai'i a target for enemies of the United States. After decades of considering various invasion scenarios, Japan attacked the United States military forces in December 1941, bringing the Hawaiian Islands and the United States into World War II.[170] At the time of the attack, the Hawai'i National Guard was filling positions partly based on baseball-playing skills. As Colonel Bert Nishimura would later remember, the 298th and 299th Guard Regiments enlisted nearly two thousand men, including forty *Nisei* Guardsmen in October of 1940. The large number of men enlisted that month was due to the fact that "several Guard units needed baseball players to fill out their roster and [ballplayers] were recruited without regard to ethnicity."[171] During the war a huge number of American servicemen traveled to and through the Hawaiian Islands. Among these sailors and soldiers were a large number of baseball players who had enlisted in the armed forces following

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[167] Ian Y. Lind, "Ring of Steel: Notes on the Militarization of Hawaii," in Gerard Sullivan and Gary Hawes eds. "The Political-Economy of Hawaii," *Social Process in Hawai'i* 31 (1984/85): 25-30.
[168] For a discussion of the relationship between tourism and the increased militarization of the Hawaiian Islands, see Vernadette Vicuña Gonzalez, *Securing Paradise: Tourism and Militarism in Hawai'i and the Philippines* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013).
[169] Ferguson and Turnbull, *Oh, Say, Can You See?*, 3.
[170] For a discussion of the various invasion scenarios between 1909 and 1941, readers should consult Chapter IV of John Stephan, *Hawai'i Under the Rising Sun: Japan's Plans for Conquest after Pearl Harbor* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 1984).
[171] Colonel Bert Nishimura, "Prelude of the 442nd RCT," (442nd Veterans Club, 2008). http://www.442.us.com/442ndrcthistory/prelude.html [accessed May 9, 2013]

the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. Over ninety percent of the players in the Major Leagues and thousands more from the Negro Leagues and minor leagues joined the military during World War II.[172]

Not only were baseball players among the servicemen to travel through and to the Hawaiian Islands, but so too were baseball fans. Consequently, baseball games served as important sites for morale boosting and community building during wartime. As Jennifer Day Tope has pointed out, both the United States Army and Navy "established a program to train military leaders on how to organize and promote athletic programs for the armed forces" in order to help soldiers and sailors adjust to life in the military while at the same time overcoming feelings of homesickness or boredom.[173] Organized baseball games served to distract servicemen from the realities of global war. Though many of the professional baseball players who joined the United States military during World War II indeed fought on the frontlines of the war, many more served their country by playing baseball. Within the military, ballplayers who avoided the frontlines generally worked either as physical fitness instructors or entertained the general public and other troops with baseball games.[174]

Though the Hawaiian Islands had directly been a part of World War II since the end of 1941, the military generally did not send star baseball players to the islands until 1943, after "the islands were deemed safe from attacks by Japanese forces."[175] From that point on, the Hawaiian Islands were visited by Major League ballplayers such as Joe DiMaggio, Pee Wee Reese, Hank Greenberg, Johnny Mize, Ted Williams, Stan Musial, and many others. The arrival of such stars

[172] Jennifer Day Tope, "Fighting the Second World War in Paradise with a Bat and Glove: Major League Baseball Comes to Hawai'i," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 42 (2008): 265.
[173] Tope, "Fighting the Second World War in Paradise with a Bat and Glove," 267.
[174] Tope, "Fighting the Second World War in Paradise with a Bat and Glove," 268.
[175] Ibid.

in Hawai‘i was not an accident either, as Detroit Tiger outfielder Barney McCosky would later recall: “Did the Navy purposely put its best ballplayers in Hawaii? Oh, yeah. That’s for sure.”[176] In total, according to Jennifer Day Tope, roughly “one third of the professional baseball players serving in the military ended up in Hawai‘i competing on military teams” at some point during the war. In fact, as military forces from Great Britain, the United States, and their allies were planning to invade France in June 1944, Joe DiMaggio arrived on O‘ahu along with sixteen other Major League ballplayers.[177] The efforts of those in charge of the United States military sought to keep many of the professional players far away from the frontlines of battle resulted in what were essentially all-star teams arriving in the Hawaiian Islands. Though these players were popular among both military personnel and among the general public as a result of years of Major League Baseball coverage in the local papers, their arrival and playing furthered the connection between the sport and the military in the life of the islands.

With the Hawaiian Islands under martial law, the Hawaiian Baseball League established an Alexander Cartwright championship playoff series to incorporate the influx of talented military teams. The increase of talented baseball teams to the O‘ahu based league, combined with a wartime drain on the player pool, led to a breaking-down of ethnically divided teams in the league. While the haole Wanderers, Portuguese Braves Japanese Asahi, or all-Chinese teams had generally competed as ethnically segregated teams, the shifting demographics of the island led to more integrated teams. War between the United States and Japan also led to increased racial animosities among the O‘ahu population.[178] To help the teams distance themselves from

[176] Tope, “Fighting the Second World War in Paradise with a Bat and Glove,” 268.
[177] Tope, “Fighting the Second World War in Paradise with a Bat and Glove,” 268-269.
[178] For accounts of the internment of island residents at Honouliuli, see Suzanne Falgout and Linda Nishigaya eds., *Breaking the Silence: Lessons of Democracy and Social Justice from the World War II Honouliuli Internment and POW Camp in Hawai‘i* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2014).

anti-Japanese movements, names were changed from the Asahis to the Athletics and the all-Chinese to the Tigers, along with the additions of a few conspicuous haole to each roster. The all-Chinese name change was specifically designed to avoid being grouped with the Japanese by racist military personnel in transit through the Hawaiian Islands.[179]

While on Oʻahu, the military ballplayers put on exhibitions and games for over twenty thousand fans at Honolulu Stadium in Mōʻiliʻili. The military teams also competed with the local teams as part of the Hawaiian Baseball League. But while baseball helped the military establish links to the community in the islands, military officials also organized a separate Serviceman's World Series in September 1944. This eleven-game series was organized by Chester Nimitz and Robert Richardson, pitting select teams from the United States Army and Navy against each other. Though originally intended to be a seven-game series, the attendance was so overwhelming that four more games were added. In constructing the Army team, General Richardson assembled the best baseball players from all of the numerous bases around the Hawaiian Islands, which included both Joe DiMaggio and Hank Greenberg. The Navy responded by putting together "on three days' notice – one of the greatest baseball teams of all time," according to Steven Bullock.[180] Two days before the opening of the series, a naval transport plane arrived on Oʻahu with "a sorely-needed shipment of plumbing equipment" under the supervision of Boston Red Sox outfielder Dom DiMaggio and Yankees shortstop Phil Rizzuto. This airborne shipment was followed soon after by another Navy plane with a cargo of Major Leaguers Walt Masterson, Schoolboy Rowe, Virgil Trucks and Johnny Vander Meer, to join Barney McCosky, Johnny Mize and Peewee Reese who were already a part of the Navy

[179] Elias, *The Empire Strikes Out*, 147-148.
[180] Steven Bullock, *Playing for their Nation: Baseball and the American Military During World War II* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 23.

team on O‘ahu.[181] In total, thirty-six of the fifty players to appear in the series were Major Leaguers, resulting in some of the world’s best baseball during the war.[182] Partly because Joe DiMaggio and Hank Greenberg were held out of the series with various injuries for the Army team, the result was four straight Navy wins, but the popularity of the games led to seven more being played, though most of them had the same result as the first four.[183] The thorough defeat of the Army team led to reassignment of even more star players, such as St. Louis Cardinals outfielder Enos Slaughter, to the Hawaiian Islands. By the time these diamond reinforcements arrived however, many of the Navy players had been dispatched around the Pacific to play more exhibition games and boost troop morale.

As star players toured throughout the rest of the Pacific, more Major League talent continued to travel through O‘ahu. The 1945 military baseball season featured an all-Navy series that divided naval players into American and National League teams. Unlike the series from the previous year, these games were played at Furlong Field near Pearl Harbor and featured Ted Williams, Stan Musial and Johnny Pesky among other players in front of crowds of up to thirty thousand fans. The Navy National Leaguers ended up winning the seven-game series four games to three.[184] With so many players enlisted in the armed forces during the war, these service games in 1944 and 1945 have been characterized by scholars as an “appropriate, if not superior, substitute” for the talent-depleted organized baseball in the United States.[185] Regardless of the quality of play, such high-profile baseball games put on by American military

[181] Bullock, *Playing for their Nation*, 23.
[182] Elias, *The Empire Strikes Out*, 148.
[183] Bullock, *Playing for their Nation*, 23-24.
[184] Tope, “Fighting the Second World War in Paradise with a Glove and a Bat,” 274.
[185] Elias, *The Empire Strikes Out*, 148.

forces supplanted many of the local games of the Hawaiian Baseball League, which had itself been depleted by the wartime draft and martial law.

Not only were players coming to and through the Hawaiian Islands as part of their military service, but many Hawai‘i ballplayers left from the islands after joining the military. Joe Takata for example, was a *Nisei* slugger for the Asahi team who, during the war, played baseball for the 100th Infantry Battalion. While training at Camp Shelby, Mississippi in 1943, Takata traveled with the 100th Battalion team to play a game of baseball against interned *Nisei* at the Jerome Relocation Center in Arkansas. The fact that Takata and his military teammates played against the imprisoned Japanese Americans in Arkansas illustrates another aspect of the complicated relationship between baseball and imperialism, since the sport was able to unite people who had been divided by wartime policies that treated Japanese Americans in Hawai‘i differently from the rest of the United States.[186] When the 100th Battalion was eventually deployed to North Africa, the baseball team took on the 168th Infantry Regiment of the 34th Army Division, Takata won the game with a homerun in the ninth inning. This would be his last at-bat however, as Joe Takata became the first member of the 100th Battalion to be killed in action shortly after arriving in Italy.[187]

The overall impact of the increased connection between baseball and the military throughout the twentieth century contributed to the insinuation of the United States military into the social life of the Hawaiian Islands. Through the participation of warship teams in local leagues, the organization of leagues by the American Legion, the regular play of regimental teams such as the 25th Infantry, and the wartime exhibitions by Major League professional

[186] For a brief discussion of the different policies toward Japanese Americans in Hawai‘i versus the United States during World War II, see Franklin S. Odo, *No Sword to Bury: Japanese Americans in Hawai‘i During World War II* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2004), 269-272.
[187] Nagawa, *Through a Diamond*, 93-94.

players, organized baseball in the Hawaiian Islands was strongly influenced by an increasing militarism. What Kathy Ferguson and Phyllis Turnbull have noted about the relationship between the military and social institutions was evident in organized baseball which contributed to an overall militarization of the Hawaiian Islands where non-military arenas and events became associated with and symbols of military forces.

Conclusion

The rapid expansion of baseball in the fifty years between 1895 and 1945 consisted of more teams, leagues, and inter-island competitions than ever before and it was covered in more detail by local media. This growth in organization, funding, and popularity was accompanied by an increased American presence in the islands following annexation in 1898. While some viewed baseball as a tool of Americanization in the late-nineteenth century, the attempts to use the sport as a vehicle for assimilating the peoples of the Hawaiian Islands intensified in the twentieth century. School administrators, government officials, and plantation managers sought to use the sport to instill the values that they viewed as American such as hard work and discipline. But it was an ongoing process to link baseball to Americanization efforts since, in the Hawaiian Islands, the sport was not solely or, in some cases, even primarily associated with the United States during its early-twentieth century popularity.

A wide range of different social and ethnic groups were attracted to baseball in the Hawaiian Islands and contributed to the sports burgeoning popularity. Many of the teams organized by schools, companies, plantation camps, and other groups inspired tremendous pride among various social classes and ethnic communities who saw baseball victories as gains against

a prejudicial establishment. In addition to serving as a source of community pride, baseball encouraged further migrations to, from, and through the Hawaiian Islands. Traveling teams of ballplayers came out to Hawai‘i to play local teams, and select local teams toured abroad making connections to new regions and complicating the image of Hawai‘i that existed in many minds abroad. For example, a Chinese community in Arizona celebrated a touring Hawai‘i team’s victory over a white Arizona team. For such a community, baseball could be seen less as a form of Americanization and more as an avenue to resist and remedy racial prejudices and injustices. From these touring experiences, many players from Hawai‘i took the opportunity to leave the Islands and pursue ball-playing careers in places such as the United States and Japan, occasionally settling permanently in those locations and adding to diasporic communities throughout different lands. In this way, baseball helped connect peoples of the Hawaiian Islands to communities abroad and connect the islands themselves to an international world that included not only Japan and the United States, but also China, Canada, Korea, and the Philippines.

While the sport helped foster cultural assimilation and build community identity and spirit, baseball also helped contribute to the insinuation of the American military into the everyday life and society of the Hawaiian Islands. Part of the increased militarization of the Hawaiian Islands came from the direct participation of military teams in local baseball leagues. Not only were military teams in competition with civilian teams around the islands, but eventually, military and veterans groups sponsored civilian teams and leagues, promoting themselves through their involvement in baseball. While sports all around the world were interrupted by global war in the 1910s and 1940s, baseball in the Hawaiian Islands actually saw some of its best games, with star American players such as Bullet Joe Rogan and Joe DiMaggio being stationed on O‘ahu and expected to play baseball for service teams. With many aspects of

life disrupted under wartime martial law, baseball continued to serve as a major attraction, but in a way that was co-opted by the militarization of the sport through the arrival of professional players.

World-historical processes of imperialism, migrations, and ethnic, national, and gender identity formation were central to the competing interests that fueled the growth of baseball in the Hawaiian Islands during the first half of the twentieth century. These processes intersected in many ways since the imperial efforts led to increased militarization of baseball along with its connection to Americanization programs. At the same time, such efforts were resisted by groups who used baseball teams to reinforce their ethnic identities in the face of such assimilation efforts. Ethnic identification and Americanization efforts through baseball were both enhanced and contested through the transpacific networks that enabled players to travel from the Hawaiian Islands and pursue playing opportunities abroad. As we will see in the next chapter, using baseball as a lens to consider such local impacts of transnational forces enables comparisons between the histories of the Hawaiian Islands and other regions around the world.

CHAPTER 5
A TRANSNATIONAL SPORT: CONTEXTS AND COMPARISONS

In his 1911 history of baseball, Albert Spalding bombastically claimed that "base ball follows the flag" of the United States as it spreads around the world.[1] This image linking baseball to American imperialism was illustrated in Spalding's history and in the century since then, it has become imprinted on popular and scholarly understandings of the spread of baseball.[2] Many of the works on baseball's international spread cited in previous chapters, including those by Frank Ardolino, Monica Nucciarone, Gerald Gems, and Joel Franks, fit within this framework. By emphasizing the agency of the United States in the sport's promotion abroad, such scholarship continues to contribute to the narrative laid out by Spalding in 1911.

By framing the growth of baseball globally as an example of Americanization, most studies focus solely on imperialism and colonialism. To do that however, is to discount other influences on the sport's growth including many of the transnational processes that have been outlined in the previous chapters. Furthermore, although colonialism is important to the spread of baseball, the contexts and culture of colonialism differ throughout the world and, consequently, so too does baseball's relationship with colonialism. In order to shift the narrative of the spread of baseball away from the process of Americanization, it is necessary to use a world-historical perspective that focuses not only on the sport's connection to colonialism, but also migrations, cultural diffusion, and ethno-national identity formation which combine to create a variety of experiences for baseball's adoption outside of the United States.

Taken together, the confluence of transnational forces and local conditions in different places around the world cause baseball to carry with it a distinct pedigree depending on the

[1] Spalding, *America's National Game*, 371.
[2] Spalding, *America's National Game*, 12.

region to which it travels. As it is used here, the term pedigree refers to the collection of associated meanings and connections that have been accumulated by an idea or practice based on the historical experiences in a particular place.[3] A sport's pedigree therefore, refers to the various meanings and associations connected to a particular sport as a result of its historical background in a particular place. Consideration of a sport's distinct pedigree in each place enables nuanced discussion of the spread of a sport across regional and cultural boundaries.

This chapter briefly explores the spread of baseball and its differing pedigrees in North and Central America, Asia, Oceania, and the Caribbean Islands in order to situate the development of baseball in the Hawaiian Islands in a larger global context. By considering the larger global context of the spread of baseball, this chapter illustrates the benefits of a world historical approach to the study of sports as it emphasizes the combinations of transnational forces and local conditions that create a variety of baseball pedigrees. This helps further shift the discussion of the spread of baseball away from a narrative of Americanization.[4]

Separated into three parts, this chapter begins with a survey of baseball's development around the world. This first section briefly outlines the chronological spread of the sport through North and Central America, Asia, Oceania, and the Caribbean. The imperial influence of the United States is noted in this section, but in an effort to break out of the frame of baseball as Americanization, so too are the influences of other baseball-playing countries such as Japan and

[3] This definition builds on the second entry for the word "pedigree" in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, which defines the term as "the historical background of an idea, belief, custom, etc." *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., s.v. "pedigree."

[4] There has been some recent work that avoids framing the spread of baseball within a narrative of Americanization, including George Gmelch's edited volume *Baseball without Borders: The International Pastime* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), but the majority of baseball scholarship remains focused on the role of the United States and its agents in promoting the sport globally. See for example, Alan M. Klein, *Growing the Game: The Globalization of Major League Baseball* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006); William W. Kelly, "Is baseball a global sport? America's 'national pastime' as global field and international sport," *Global Networks* 7, no. 2 (2007): 187-201.

Cuba. Of particular interest in this section are the ways in which these transnational forces that promoted baseball around the world, including colonialism, were analogous to the forces operating on and within the Hawaiian Islands as discussed in the preceding chapters. Since colonialism is only one aspect of the baseball's pedigrees, this section also illustrates the importance of other influences as well as local contexts in the sport's growth and popularity.

After emphasizing the range of influences that helped to spread baseball between 1840 and 1945, the second part of this chapter looks at three contexts that offer comparisons with the Hawaiian Islands: the United States, the Philippines, and Taiwan. In each of these cases, there are specific colonial contexts regarding educational, assimilation, labor, or public health policies that can be likened to efforts in the Hawaiian Islands, but the overall development of the sport in each place differs. How baseball was influenced differently by such policies emphasizes the unique combination of transnational forces and illustrates the distinct pedigree of the sport in each of these regions, leading to different developmental paths for the sport overall.

The final section of this chapter further explores the variation in baseball's pedigrees by offering a close comparison between the development of baseball in the Hawaiian Islands and the development of the sport in Cuba. Baseball was introduced to both these regions at roughly the same time and expanded in popularity at comparable rates. Like the Hawaiian Islands, Cuba served as a hub for transnational migrations which heavily influenced the development of baseball. While the islands share numerous baseball characteristics with each other, the reason for most of the differences can be found in the divergent pedigrees that accompanied the sport's development in both places. By linking baseball in the Hawaiian Islands to practice of the sport in Cuba, Taiwan, the Philippines, the United States, and elsewhere in the world, this chapter helps to emphasize the nuance and contradictory motivations evident in the sport that are

obscured when the spread of baseball is used as shorthand for American imperial expansion. In doing so it further illustrates the value of approaching sports from a world-historical perspective.

The Spread of Baseball Around the World (1840-1945)

Baseball in the Hawaiian Islands shares a similarly transnational scope as other sports in Oceania such as cricket and football, yet it is generally framed within a narrative of Americanization. As previous chapters have demonstrated, baseball's development in the Hawaiian Islands was influenced by a variety of transnational forces in addition to American imperialism. Cultural diffusion, migrations, colonial resistance, the formation of ethno-national identities, and other forces helped the sport gain popularity in ways that cannot be fit under the umbrella of Americanization. In order to further break away from this frame of Americanization and provide a more global context for baseball's development in the Hawaiian Islands, what follows is a brief survey of baseball's chronological spread around the world between 1840 and 1945.

Unsurprisingly, the nation where baseball was most popular during this time period was its country of origin, the United States. The sport developed in small increments before the 1860s then rapidly grew in popularity following the Civil War.[5] As industrialized cities expanded throughout the nineteenth century, baseball, according to Steven Riess, became increasingly popular "as a valuable vehicle to promote community integration because it

[5] For a discussion of baseball prior to the 1860s, see John Thorn, *Baseball in the Garden of Eden: The Secret History of the Early Game* (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 2011); William J. Ryczek, *Baseball's First Inning: A History of the National Pastime through the Civil War* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2009); David Block, *Baseball Before We Knew It: A Search for the Roots of the Game* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2005).

supposedly instilled civic pride in fans."[6] Employers, politicians, and social reformers saw the sport as "an educational game that taught modern values such as teamwork and certified traditional values like rugged individualism, honesty, hard work, temperance, and respect for authority – qualities that would make urbanites better citizens and disciplined workers."[7] It was this ability to instill discipline that appealed to reformers throughout not only the United States, but abroad as well. The 1870s and 1880s featured competition between various professional leagues that included the National Association, the National League, and the American Association. This period also featured touring baseball teams such as the Spalding trip in 1888 and 1889 that sought to promote the sport and open new markets for baseball. With the annexation of colonial territories following the Spanish-American War and increased immigration of the early twentieth century, social reformers advocated baseball as a tool of assimilation to incorporate new peoples into American culture. As numerous professional leagues encouraged the sport's popularity throughout the first half of the twentieth century, it was the segregated Major Leagues that spread its influence widest. That popularity was enhanced with a nationalist undercurrent, as the Major Leagues sought to tie themselves to the official policies of the United States through patriotic support of war efforts and aggressive foreign policy.[8]

Across the Pacific Ocean, baseball gained considerable popularity in Japan. First introduced in the 1870s by American teachers, Meiji-era school teachers and administrators soon sought to promote physical activity as part of the educational curriculum.[9] Just like in Hawai'i

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[6] Steven A. Riess, *Touching Base: Professional Baseball and American Culture in the Progressive Era* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 7-19.
[7] Steven A. Riess, *City Games: The Evolution of American Urban Society and the Rise of Sports* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 67.
[8] Elias, *The Empire Strikes Out*, 283.
[9] In *The Chrysanthemum and the Bat*, his landmark 1977 study of baseball in Japan, Robert Whiting notes that there was initial opposition to the sport, as critics such as educator and government official Inazo Nitobe called it "a

and the United States, baseball was linked to understandings of modernity that accompanied the industrialization of the Meiji Reformation. At first, baseball games were played on field days or by student groups in cities such as Tokyo or Sapporo, but by the 1890s, proponents of the sport celebrated values such as "order, harmony, perseverance, and self-restraint" and promoted the sport by invoking "traditional virtues of loyalty, honor, and courage [which] symbolized a "new *bushidō*" spirit of the age."[10]

In addition to embodying traditional values, baseball quickly served as a national rallying point when a team from the First Higher School (*Ichikō*) of Tokyo defeated a group of Western ballplayers in 1896. Observers declared the win not only a victory for the school, but "a victory for the Japanese people" since the players recognized that national prestige was on the line. Over the next eight years, the Ichikō team would face teams made up of Western players twelve more times, winning ten of the games. The victories by the Japanese students helped to galvanize much of the Japanese population since defeating the Americans at baseball evinced a strong national spirit and manly character traits on an international stage.[11] Such victories also showed the strong sense of Japanese resistance to the encroaching imperialism of the United States.[12]

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pickpocket's sport…in which the players are tensely on the lookout to swindle their opponents, to lay an ambush, to steal a base. It is, therefore, suited to Americans, but it does not please Englishmen or Germans." Robert Whiting, *The Chrysanthemum and the Bat: The Game Japanese Play* (Tokyo: The Permanent Press, 1977), 3.

[10] Donald Roden, "Baseball and the Quest for National Dignity in Meiji Japan," *The American Historical Review* 85, no. 3 (June, 1980), 519-520.

[11] In the first contest between the First Higher School of Tokyo's Ichikō team and a group of Western ballplayers from the Yokohama Athletic Club in 1896, Ichikō won by a score of 29-4. The rematch between the two teams had a similar result, with Ichikō defeating Yokohama Athletic Club 32-9, only this time, the Yokohama Club had recruited ringers from the USS *Charleston* and USS *Detroit* which were anchored in port. A third game was played between the two clubs on the school field rather than at the Yokohama Athletic Club, but the result again was a dominant performance by the Ichikō team, winning 22-6. Another defeat for the Yokohama Club led to further recruitment of American players from ships anchored in the harbor and finally, the Americans were able to gain a 14-12 victory in the fourth game between the teams. By 1904, these teams played another nine games and Ichikō won eight of them. Roden, "Baseball and the Quest for National Dignity in Meiji Japan," 520-524.

[12] Guthrie-Shimizu, *Transpacific Field of Dreams,* 36.

Consequently, school ballclubs such as Ichikō and later Keio and Waseda Universities became the standard bearers for baseball skill in the country due to well-organized practices. From these schools, the sport grew in popularity throughout the country as the students who played the sport in their youth "subsequently became leaders in government and industry."[13] As with the United States, baseball in Japan was linked to definitions of masculinity that emphasized individual achievement but within group competition. For author and magazine editor Shunro Oshikawa, the growth of baseball in Japan coincided with the growth of a masculine nationalism where "the ideal of Japanese masculinity" was represented through a man's "physical appearance as well as his ability to subordinate individual desires to national goals." Baseball served as a stage on which to display these qualities, resulting in further popularity for the sport.[14]

The growth of school, commercial, and professional leagues in Japan through the twentieth century led to touring teams that promoted baseball as the Japanese national pastime abroad. Additionally, the expansion of imperial Japan during the early twentieth century led to the imposition of the sport as a tool of assimilating colonized peoples. Because of their geographic location between Japan and the United States, the Hawaiian Islands were on the receiving end of numerous baseball tours from both countries and served as a site of mediation between traveling athletes from both countries because of the diversity of the various Honolulu and Hawaiian Islands leagues.[15]

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[13] Masaru Ikei, "Baseball, *Besuboru*, *Yakyu*: Comparing the American and Japanese Games," *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies* 8, no. 1, Symposium: Baseball in the Global Era: Economic, Legal, and Cultural Perspectives (Fall, 2000), 73.
[14] Jason G. Karlin, "The Gender of Nationalism: Competing Masculinities in Meiji Japan," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 28, no. 1 (Winter 2002): 72-74.
[15] Guthri-Shimizu, *Transpacific Field of Dreams*, 88-90.

Aside from the United States and Japan, baseball also took root and became popular on the island of Cuba beginning in the mid-nineteenth century under Spanish colonial rule. As would be the case in many countries, the sport was first learned by students at American schools who then promoted baseball more widely. For Cuba, students returned from schooling in the United States with knowledge and equipment that helped dozens of teams and leagues form through the 1870s and 1880s.[16] Baseball became popular among the creole elite of Cuba, but also encouraged social mobility as the sport reached across classes to unite those who opposed Spanish policies as a symbol of anti-colonial modernity.[17] By the 1890s, the prominent practice of baseball among political dissidents and the large percentage of ex-ballplayers among the Liberation Army caused Spanish officials to ban the sport as a subversive activity during the 1895 Cuban War for Independence.[18]

The brief American occupation of Cuba following the Spanish-American War led to a reinstatement of baseball and upon independence, the sport's popularity increased even more.[19] The popularity of baseball in Cuba through 1945 led to numerous island visits by American ballplayers, especially from the Negro Leagues, as Cuban baseball was far more accommodating of people of color than its northern counterpart. Additionally, Cuban teams toured abroad,

[16] Robert González Echevarría gives a concise outline of the major figures and development of the game after its introduction to Cuba. Roberto González Echevarría, *The Pride of Havana: A History of Cuban Baseball* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 90-111.
[17] Louis A. Peréz, Jr., "Between Baseball and Bullfighting: The Quest for Nationality in Cuba, 1868-1898," *The Journal of American History* 81, no. 2 (September 1994), 508-509.
[18] Peréz, Jr., "Between Baseball and Bullfighting," 513.
[19] Upon occupying the island after defeating Spain, many "United States officials came to see baseball as a potential instrument of political order and social control," and subsequently promoted the sport heavily. During the military occupation, Cuban teams played separate series of exhibition games against American teams both in New York and in Cuba. This was an opportunity not only to showcase the talent of Cuban ball players, but for those living abroad to see how their countrymen stacked up against the Americans. Louis A. Peréz, Jr., "Between Baseball and Bullfighting," 516-517.

playing games against a range of competition levels and creating networks of travel and communication across North America and the Caribbean.

Baseball also arrived in China and Australia during the mid-nineteenth century, but it was nowhere near as popular in these regions as in the United States, Japan, and Cuba. In China, baseball was first played in 1863 by the Shanghai Base Ball Club and was promoted by American missionaries. By the 1870s, students who had attended schools in the United States returned with an interest in the game. Following the Russo-Japanese War, Chinese students were sent to Japan and again, many returned with an interest in baseball. Nationalist revolutionary Sun Yat-sen, who had spent time going to school in the Hawaiian Islands in the early 1880s, "saw baseball as a convenient revolutionary tool" since the sport served to strengthen community bonds while teaching practical skills that could be used for throwing hand grenades when the revolution got under way. Consequently, he organized a baseball club in Changsha, Hunan in order to improve physical fitness and unify communities.[20] Furthermore, according to Joseph Reaves, "university baseball clubs served as a cover to help Sun Yat-sen's revolutionaries overthrow the Chinese Emperor."[21] By meeting under the guise of baseball practices, students were able to avoid imperial scrutiny for brief periods of time. Following the revolution in 1911, baseball grew in popularity, but never reached the extent of Japan, Cuba, or the United States. In this case, the sport served primarily as a shield for nationalists who promoted the baseball to cover their political movements and gain support among communities prior to the revolution.

In Australia, baseball was first played in the 1850s among American, English, and Australian cricketers, although it would not be until 1878 that the first recorded game would

[20] Joseph A. Reaves, "China: Silk Gowns and Golden Gloves," *Baseball Without Borders* edited by George Gmelch (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 53.
[21] Joseph Reaves, "China," 44.

appear in local records.[22] Organized baseball began in 1886 when American expatriates and diplomats, including Consul G. W. Griffin, founded the New South Wales Baseball Association.[23] This group played exhibitions against teams from around Sydney as well as from visiting ships such as the *Mariposa* which ran a regular route between Australia and the Hawaiian Islands.[24] The arrival of Spalding and his touring team in 1889 resulted in more permanent baseball organization under the direction of Harry Simpson, a member of the Spalding tour who had stayed in Australia following the ballplayers' departure. Under Simpson's direction, the sport grew to the point where an Aussie baseball tour of the United States and Europe was organized in the 1890s, but it would not be financially or competitively successful.[25]

Overall, baseball in Australia made little headway gaining popularity due to competition with the well-established sport of cricket. When baseball did become more popular following the turn of the century, it was largely due to the new sport filling a niche as a winter counterpart to cricket. Hundreds of teams formed in New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia, and were generally "affiliated with a parent cricket club."[26] This affiliation and the winter season schedule relegated baseball to second-class status in relation to cricket and it still had to compete with both rugby and Australian football for seasonal popularity. Australia attracted visits from

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[22] According to Joe Clark, there are numerous stories surrounding the sport's origins that attribute the first games to American miners in the gold fields of Ballarat as early as 1857. Shortly after the first recorded game of baseball in Australia, Melbourne hosted the Georgia Minstrels, a touring American music troupe of black men who played baseball among local cricketers and American expatriates in 1879. Although there is not substantial documentation with regard to baseball in the gold fields or the game played by the Georgia Minstrels, it appears as though baseball's early history in Australia, like its history in the United States and Hawaiian Islands, has numerous influences that are often overlooked and discounted. Joe Clark, *A History of Australian Baseball: Time and Game* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2003), 5.f

[23] "Baseball," *Sydney Morning Herald*, February 5, 1886.

[24] One game with the *Mariposa* took place on June 4, 1887 where the crew of the *Mariposa* won 11-8 in a two-hour game. "Baseball," *Referee*, June 9, 1887.

[25] Joseph Clark, "Australia: Baseball Down Under," *Baseball Without Borders*, ed. George Gmelch (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 294.

[26] Clark, "Australia: Baseball Down Under," 294-297.

touring American baseball teams through the early-twentieth century, but it would never reach the popularity of cricket, rugby, or Australian football since, as Joe Clark has noted, "some Australians saw baseball as a crass American import as well as an obvious foreign plot to replace good old cricket."[27] Like other regions, the transnational nature of baseball in Australia is rooted in the routes by which it arrived in the country thanks to the migrations of players and teams, but the Australian links to the sporting heritage of Great Britain proved too strong for baseball to surpass previously established sports in popularity.

Following the mid-nineteenth century adoptions of baseball in the United States, Japan, Cuba, and to a lesser extent China and Australia, the sport primarily spread during the 1890s and early 1900s due to imperial expansion and missionary efforts. This does not necessarily mean that baseball was spread specifically by imperial agents, but rather within the context of the waves of imperialism emanating from both the United States and Japan. As a result, baseball was adopted in Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, Taiwan, the Philippines, Korea, Palau, and the Mariana Islands due to a combination of the colonial efforts and the transnational migrations that accompanied them. As imperial agents from the United States and Japan settled in new territories, they sought to utilize baseball as a means for spreading aspects of their own cultures, either to civilize colonized populations or to make themselves feel more comfortable in a foreign environment.

Although the sport was first introduced to Puerto Rico under Spanish rule in 1896 by Cuban immigrants, it was not actively promoted on the island until American occupation two years later.[28] Following American annexation, an influx of citizens from the United States, both

[27] Joe Clark, *A History of Australian Baseball*, 135.
[28] Roberta Park notes that the first baseball game in Puerto Rico took place between a Cuban team and a Puerto Rican team called Borínquen. R. J. Park, "From La Bomba to Béisbol: Sport and the Americanisation of Puerto Rico," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 28, no. 17 (December 2011): 2579.

as military personnel and government administrators, promoted the sport, particularly as part of the educational curriculum. Like in the Hawaiian Islands, this new educational curriculum featured English-language instruction and baseball as ways to assimilate Puerto Ricans. As noted by Antonio Sotomayor Carlo, the sport's promotion in schools caused an initial popularity that was mostly limited to "the educated middle class, but it later trickled down such that dockworkers, sugarcane hands, and farmers" were all involved with baseball to the extent that the sport "became a cultural phenomenon used by both the government and the people to pursue their respective interests."[29] In his study of sports, nationalism, and the Olympics in Puerto Rico, Sotomayor Carlo further notes that the association of the sport with American soldiers, government officials, and educational administrators led to "the preeminence of baseball as one of the first 'modern' sports to become popular" in Puerto Rico.[30] In this respect, the growth of baseball in Puerto Rico echoed its development in Cuba, where the sport was associated with modernity relative to the old-fashioned sports of the Spanish.

Through the 1910s and 1920s, Puerto Rico became a point of transit for touring teams, connecting the island to wider ball-playing networks as Puerto Rican teams traveled around the Caribbean and teams from the United States came to the island to play winter ball. By the 1930s, Puerto Rico featured a first-class baseball stadium with a 13,000 person capacity and saw the founding of a semi-professional league in 1938. This was soon followed by the organization of the Puerto Rican Winter League in 1940 which, in addition to Puerto Rican players, attracted ballplayers from Cuba and the Negro Leagues.[31] Roberta Park concludes "that sports introduced

[29] Antonio Sotomayor Carlo, "Playing the Nation in a Colonial Island: Sport, Culture, and Politics in Puerto Rico," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 2012), 28.
[30] Sotomayor Carlo, "Playing the Nation in a Colonial Island," 106-107.
[31] Thomas E. Van Hyning and Franklin Otto, "Puerto Rico: Major League Steppingstone," *Baseball Without Borders* ed. George Gmelch (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 161-163.

by Americans have been of considerable consequence in bringing Puerto Rico into wider global affairs and enabling its people to graphically express many of their abilities."[32] In doing so, baseball became linked to the formation of a national identity since Puerto Ricans could compete and participate with other countries across transnational ball-playing networks and in international competition.

Cubans also introduced baseball to the independent Dominican Republic in the 1890s. The sport initially became popular among the elite classes but then quickly spread throughout society until a professional team was finally organized in 1907. From then, major cities organized ballclubs to compete with each other and by 1921, professional teams from San Pedro de Macories, Santiago, Escogido, and Licey all vied for prestige in island-wide tournaments. Like Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic hosted teams from Venezuela and Cuba by the 1920s and, for a brief period, the professional teams signed players from Cuba and the United States. With sugar production as a driving force of the Dominican economy, numerous teams were organized in refinery towns. Using these teams, the managers of sugar refineries could reward "cane workers by giving them time away from cane cutting," which led to workers honing their baseball skills to get time off from the fields.[33] Such efforts within the Dominican sugar industry served the interests of both the workers, who could parlay baseball skill into jobs off the plantation, and the owners, who could limit discontent among the workers.[34] This mirrors the efforts by plantation owners in the Hawaiian Islands who sought to defuse worker unrest on

[32] Park, "From La Bomba to Béisbol," 2587.
[33] Alan Klein, "Dominican Republic: Forging and International Industry," *Baseball Without Borders*, edited by George Gmelch (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 121.
[34] Alan M. Klein, *Sugarball: The American Game, the Dominican Dream* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993), 151-153.

sugar plantations through the installation of baseball diamonds in labor camps and the formation of the Oahu Plantation Baseball League.

Elsewhere around the Caribbean, baseball gained popularity in Panama, Mexico, Nicaragua, and Venezuela through the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century due to migratory circuits throughout the region. In Nicaragua for example, baseball was introduced among cricket players along the Atlantic coast beginning in 1888 and on the Pacific coast in 1891 by Nicaraguan students returning from school in the United States. The sport's popularity continued to grow under United States occupation from 1912 to 1933. During this period, American military leaders took advantage of the sport's popularity to establish youth leagues and tournaments in Managua, insinuating the military into the everyday life of the city. As with other countries, Nicaraguan teams toured internationally and the 1938 Nicaraguan team that placed second in a tournament in Panama etched itself into the consciousness of the growing nation as a symbol of national identity.[35]

Like its introduction and promotion in the Caribbean, baseball was also heavily encouraged as part of colonial efforts in the Pacific. In Taiwan, baseball was introduced as a tool of Japanese colonialism in 1895 when the island was ceded by Qing China in the Treaty of Shimonoseki following the end of the First Sino-Japanese War. At first the game was restricted to only Japanese players, but by the 1910s, aboriginal Taiwanese and Chinese players were accepted onto organized teams and began touring other countries in the early 1920s.[36]

Andrew Morris has noted that spectatorship of the sport became an important element of Japanese efforts to domesticate a colonial outpost following World War I. For the Japanese

[35] Dan Gordon, "Nicaragua: In Search of Diamonds," *Baseball Without Borders* ed. George Gmelch (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 177-179.
[36] Andrew Morris, *Colonial Project, National Game: A History of Baseball in Taiwan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 17.

colonial officials, attendance at baseball games was an opportunity for the Taiwanese population to demonstrate their adoption of Japanese understandings of etiquette. This adoption often did not occur to the extent the Japanese desired and through the 1920s, Japanese periodicals criticized the dress and customs of Taiwanese fans.[37] From its beginning, according to Sumei Wang, the practice of "baseball in colonial Taiwan indicated the distinction between the ruler and the ruled: the Japanese colonizer and the colonized islanders."[38] This separation was tied into understandings of masculinity since the Japanese in Taiwan "did not regard the locals as capable of playing such a manly game as baseball."[39]

By the 1920s, policy shifts led to baseball being used to assimilate Taiwanese youth in schools and as students grew and left school, they increasingly participated in the sport throughout the island. Through the twentieth century, the Japanese continued to promote the sport as a civilizing agent, but as Sumei Wang notes, just as "Americans could not control how the Japanese thought of baseball, neither could the Japanese simply impose their concept of baseball on Taiwan."[40] Consequently, the sport came to serve as a symbol of resistance for the Taiwanese, especially following World War II when the island was again governed by the Chinese.

In the Philippines, baseball accompanied American occupation during the Spanish-American War in 1899 and upon its arrival was utilized for character-building purposes by Governor-General W. Cameron Forbes.[41] The attitudes of Forbes and other officials resulted in baseball becoming closely linked to assimilation policies in and around Manila. Because many

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[37] Morris, *Colonial Project*, 12.
[38] Sumei Wang, "Taiwanese Baseball: A Story of Entangled Colonialism, Class, Ethnicity, and Nationalism," *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 33, no. 4 (2009), 356.
[39] Wang, "Taiwanese Baseball," 358.
[40] Wang, "Taiwanese Baseball," 360.
[41] Gerald Gems, "Whiteness, sport and American imperialism in the Pacific," *Sportwissenschaft* 36, no. 2 (2006), 177.

colonial policies of racial segregation institutionalized racist attitudes among American colonial officials in Manila however, baseball took on an equally racially charged atmosphere in the capital city.[42] When Filipinos played in Manila, baseball's pedigree linked it to the racist policies of American colonial officials. Numerous players from the countryside came to the city to play baseball since religiously-minded groups such as the YMCA saw baseball as a way to promote muscular Christianity and sponsored competitions to integrate different regions of the Philippines with one another.[43] Consequently, in a reversal of the situation in Cuba during the turn of the century, many Filipinos in Manila adopted sports with Spanish influences in opposition to American-preferred sports.[44] As a result of these local colonial contexts, baseball did not gain the same level of popularity in the Philippines as in many of the countries in the Caribbean, but was still quite popular.

Among the Filipinos who did play baseball, many used the sport to resist the colonial administration and challenge racist perceptions. Luis Santiago, a San Mateo intermediate school principal during the early 1900s, required every class in his school to organize a baseball team. This fit within desires of the colonial government, but for Santiago, the purpose of the teams was to promote ethnic and national pride among his students against the American occupiers.[45] By 1911, a representative team from his school was able to defeat a team of Americans on numerous

[42] Gems, "Whiteness, sport and American imperialism," 178.
[43] Gems, "Whiteness, sport and American imperialism," 178.
[44] Gems, "Whiteness, sport and American imperialism," 179.
[45] Mary Fee, a teacher in the Philippines during American occupation, recalled having a good baseball team at her school at Capiz in 1903, but remembered realizing the popularity of the sport among youths when she encountered a mid-afternoon baseball game being played in the streets. The players in this game consisted of young boys and girls who used a pomelo as a ball and an eight-inch wide, wooden board as a bat. In the enthusiasm for a game of street baseball, Mary Fee saw evidence of Americanization and an avenue for assimilation, though how the youngsters felt about any larger issues at stake in their game is unknown. Mary H. Fee, *A Woman's Impressions of the Philippines* (Chicago, IL: A.C. McClurg & Co., 1912), 283-286.

occasions.[46] According to Gerald Gems, victories over the Americans in baseball "enabled Filipinos to test the assumptions and foundations of whiteness. In doing so they proved to themselves that whites lacked the physical prowess and intellectual superiority that they claimed."[47] So while baseball certainly served as an avenue of imperialism in the Philippines in the sense that colonial officials used it to promote what they perceived as civilized and American values, the sport also offered an arena for resisting the American assertions of racial superiority.

In Korea, baseball was introduced by an American Christian missionary named Philip Loring Gillett in 1905. The first games were informal ones at the YMCA set up by Gillett, but the sport's development was strongly influenced by the Japanese who actively promoted the sport through the school system.[48] By 1910, the year Korea was formally annexed by Japan, the country saw its first official game between schools which marked the sport's mainstream popularity.[49] In regard to Koreans under Japanese rule, Joseph Reaves has noted that baseball "became a way for them to both appease and challenge their occupiers," and it "provided a vent for political, as well as physical, frustrations" by bringing Koreans and Japanese people together in "nonpolitical commonality."[50] As Koreans rebelled against Japanese rule in the 1920s, baseball was utilized by Japanese leaders specifically "to foster cultural conciliation."[51] While baseball often served as a site for non-violent resistance in occupied territories, in Korea it was

[46] Luis Santiago, "The Organization of the San Mateo Baseball Team," (1912), in *Tales of the American Teachers in the Philippines*, edited by Geronima T. Pecson and Maria Racelis (Manila: Carmello & Bauermann, Inc., 1959): 195-199.
[47] Gems, "Whiteness, sport and American imperialism," 179.
[48] Gillett trained as a missionary at Springfield College in Massachusetts which situated him within the growing YMCA movement outlined in Chapter One. Joseph A. Reaves, *Taking in a Game: A History of Baseball in Asia* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 115.
[49] Joseph Reaves, "Korea: Straw Sandals and Strong Arms," *Baseball Without Borders* edited by George Gmelch (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press), 93-96.
[50] Reaves, "Korea," 96.
[51] Reaves, "Korea," 97.

prominently used to bring opposing sides together as the region hosted numerous touring teams from both Japan and the United States through the 1920s and 1930s.

In addition to helping promote the spread of baseball in Taiwan and Korea, Japanese ballplayers and colonial officials were also responsible for introducing the sport to several islands within the South Pacific Mandate, or the Nan'yō-chō. In Palau for example, baseball was introduced in 1922 by Motoji Kono, a Japanese government official. Specifically, Kono taught young Palauan men how to catch, throw, run the bases, and slide in a baseball context, although in his opinion, most Palauans were already quite proficient in hitting without much instruction.[52] As with Japanese colonial policy elsewhere, baseball was used in Palau as a way of assimilating the people in newly-acquired territories. The first Palauans to pick up the sport regularly were government workers who frequently interacted with Japanese officials. The Japanese were eager to sell uniforms, cleats, bats, and gloves to the Palauans and even supplied the more expensive catcher's equipment such as chest protectors, gloves, and masks on credit or at discounted rates.[53]

As a result of Palauan enthusiasm for the sport and Japanese promotion, a series began between a Japanese team and the Palauan First Team in the summer of 1927 which ended with a victory for the Japanese. This result matched the expectations of the Japanese, who saw the Palauans as an inferior opponent. The results were flipped the next year however, as the Palauan First Team won handily against the Japanese. This Palauan victory led to the Japanese ending inter-ethnic competitions in order to maintain a colonial superiority.[54] Following the change in administration after World War II, baseball grew in popularity beyond government workers in

[52] Donald R. Shuster, ed. *Baseball in Palau: Passion for the Game From 1925-2007* (Micronesian Area Research Center: University of Guam, 2008), 5.
[53] Shuster, *Baseball in Palau*, 6-7.
[54] Shuster, *Baseball in Palau*, 7-8.

Palau. As Donald Shuster has noted in his collection of oral interviews, baseball did not just shift to an American style after the changing of administrations, it also became heavily influenced by magic, especially in interisland games when Palau played teams from Pohnpei, Kosrae, or Chuuk.[55] In the case of Palau, baseball's pedigree exhibits not only strong Japanese and American influences as a result of changing governments promoting the sport, but local influences that build on traditional relationships and rivalries between island groups.

Elsewhere in Oceania, the people of the Mariana Islands also began practicing baseball near the turn of the twentieth century. On Guam, American military personnel brought the sport to the island following its annexation with the Treaty of Paris in 1898. Within ten years, the sport was popular enough among the indigenous Chamorro population for a native team to win the 1908 league championship over teams that included American government officials and military personnel. Over the next five years, the league expanded from four teams to eight and by 1913 included two Chamorro teams: the Natives and the Carabaos, with the Carabaos beating a team of United States Marines 5-4 for the league championship.[56] As Vicente Diaz has noted, although baseball itself was linked to American assimilation efforts, the sport enabled Chamorros to retain aspects of cultural identity through team names, uniforms, symbols and chants.[57]

North of Guam, the Japanese introduced baseball in the 1920s as part of their administration of the Nan'yō-chō in other Mariana Islands. The Japanese South Seas Government enabled inter-island travel of baseball and the first Chamorro pitcher from Saipan,

[55] Shuster, *Baseball in Palau*, 10.
[56] Bob Coldeen and Frank Palacios, *Saipan Baseball: From the Beginning* (Saipan: Northern Mariana Islands Council for the Humanities, 2006), 2.
[57] Diaz elaborates on the ubiquity of the carabao as a beast of burden and transport into the twentieth century and notes its link to cultural and material wealth of days past. Vicente M. Diaz, "Simply Chamorro: Telling Tales of Demise and Survival in Guam," *The Contemporary Pacific*, vol. 6, no. 1 (Spring 1994), 34-36.

Jose Salas Sablan, picked up the sport not in Guam or Japan, but rather in Palau during the 1920s. Unlike colonial settings where baseball was imposed from the top down for assimilation purposes, Saipan adopted baseball without the same links to colonial power structures as places such as the Philippines, Taiwan, or Puerto Rico. By learning how to pitch in Palau, Sablan utilized colonial travel networks, but spread baseball to Saipan as part of cultural diffusion more than colonial imposition. As with Palau, the Chamorros of the Northern Mariana Islands adopted Japanese terminology and styles of play for the sport. Unlike Palau's segregation of baseball after 1928, games in Saipan continued to be played between Japanese and Chamorro teams, although the teams themselves were generally divided along ethnic lines. One notable exception to the segregation was in 1934 when Juan Blas Blanco, a Chamorro from Saipan who was educated in Tokyo, played with the Japanese team upon his return to the island. The reason for this exception had to do both with Blanco's education and his exceptional curveball.[58] Whereas many of the islands in the Caribbean adopted baseball with American influences, many of the Micronesian islands adopted baseball through a Japanese prism as a result of colonial policies and migratory circuits of the early-twentieth century.

Between the 1840s and 1945, the growth in baseball's popularity was not solely fueled by American colonial efforts, but rather a combination of overlapping forces that included imperialism as well as transnational migrations, cultural diffusion, and ethnic and national identity formation. Despite narratives of baseball as Americanizing regions around the world, the sport was generally adopted to fit local conditions, whether that meant as a symbol of national unity in the case of Japan, or as a symbol of resistance and agency in places such as Cuba. Like in the Hawaiian Islands, baseball around the world reflects the competing and often

[58] Bob Coldeen and Frank Palacios, *Saipan Baseball*, 4-6.

conflicting nature of these transnational influences, resulting in the development of a sport with multiple meanings depending on the context. The combination of transnational forces operating in and upon the Hawaiian Islands created a specific path for the development of baseball. This path featured characteristics that were shared by many of the regions mentioned above, but the sport developed different meanings and uses in each region due to baseball's different pedigree in different settings.

Comparable Colonial Contexts in the USA, the Philippines, and Taiwan

Within the Hawaiian Islands, the development of baseball was linked to imperialism partly through educational, assimilation, labor, and public health initiatives. It is the connections between baseball and colonial policies in these arenas that enable comparison with particular elements of baseball's development in the United States, the Philippines, and Taiwan. Despite shared characteristics, the popularity and development of baseball in these three regions differed from the Hawaiian Islands due to the sport's differing colonial pedigree in each region. By comparing these three regional contexts with baseball in the Hawaiian Islands, this section illustrates the role of a differing colonial pedigree in influencing the growth and development of the sport.

One context from the United States that offers comparison to the development of baseball in the Hawaiian Islands is the role of the educational system in promoting the sport. Part of this comparison stems from the fact that since 1898, the educational system in the Hawaiian Islands was controlled by the United States. Prior to American rule in 1898 however, the role of baseball in the educational curriculum displays several analogies between the Hawaiian Islands

and parts of the United States. At Kamehameha Schools beginning in the 1880s, as discussed in previous chapters, school administrators such as William Oleson and Theodore Richards advocated baseball to encourage hard work and discipline among the students at the school. They also advocated baseball's ability to civilize and acculturate a Hawaiian population in the eyes of haole and white Americans. This assimilating purpose of baseball in the view of the school administrators aligned with efforts made by other educators at several Native American boarding schools across the United States.

Among these boarding schools was the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Pennsylvania where, as Jeffrey Powers-Beck has noted, "administrators saw in the national game a means of assimilating Native American youth into American culture."[59] In addition to the Carlisle School, other boarding schools of the nineteenth century such as the Chilocco School in Oklahoma, the Chemawa School in Oregon, and the Haskell Institute in Kansas all sought to suppress their students' indigenous cultures through assimilationist policies that included baseball.[60] In her discussion of the Chilocco School, Tsianina Lomawaima has noted that these "boarding schools did not train Indian youth for assimilation into the American melting pot, but trained them in the work discipline of the Protestant ethic, to accept their proper place in society as a marginal class."[61] Such an attitude was starkly evident among the early administrators of Kamehameha Schools like Oleson and trustee Charles Hyde who emphasized the industrial trades for students and who, as Ron Williams has noted, did not even "want higher education at all at Kamehameha Schools," since, according to Hyde, the "average Hawaiian [had] no such capacity."[62] Among

[59] Jeffrey Powers-Beck, "The Carlisle Indian Industrial School's Baseball Legacy," *Pennsylvania Legacies* 7 no. 1 (May 2007): 9.
[60] Jeffrey Powers-Beck, ""Chief": The American Indian Integration of Baseball, 1897-1945," *American Indian Quarterly* 25, no. 4 (Autumn, 2001): 512.
[61] K. Tsianina Lomawaima, *They Called it Prairie Light: The Story of the Chilocco Indian School* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), 99.
[62] Ronald Williams Jr., "To Raise a Voice in Praise," 9.

these educators, the purpose of the schools was to train students of color to contribute to the working class of American society and baseball was a way to assimilate and instill discipline.

John Bloom has further outlined that the beginning of this federal boarding school system in the United States featured "a strong, assimilationist perspective, one in which administrators and the Bureau of Indian Affairs understood Native Americans as fundamentally equal but culturally inferior human beings."[63] Such an outlook of cultural inferiority among the students at such schools was shared by many of the school teachers and administrators in the Hawaiian Islands. Although policymakers sought to utilize baseball for assimilation purposes, the players at Carlisle, according to coach Pop Warner, knew that people regarded "them as an inferior race, unable to compete successfully in any endeavor with the white men, and as a result they [were] imbued with a fighting spirit, when pitted against their white brethren, that [carried] them a long way toward victory."[64] In this sense, the opportunity to utilize a tool of assimilation to defeat a colonizer was an attractive notion to many of the Native Americans who played baseball at these schools. The idea that baseball in these educational contexts can serve as both a tool of assimilation and a tool of resistance illustrates the competing and often contradictory roles that the sport can play, often at the same time, depending on the perspectives of the participants involved.

Jeffrey Powers-Beck has further argued that Native American participation in baseball serves as an example of cultural resistance since not only could Native Americans beat whites at their own game, but they "owned the games they played and made them part of their own culture," since "students found in the sport a sense of freedom, accomplishment, and community

[63] John Bloom, *To Show What an Indian Can Do: Sports at Native American Boarding Schools* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 30.
[64] Jeffrey Powers-Beck, ""Chief"," 515.

while far removed from their families and tribes."[65] Additionally, Native Americans could use baseball to make "a life quest out of what was supposed to be a leisure-time recreation. While Anglo society considered play a welcome respite from agricultural or wage labor, Indians saw play as a means of acquiring survival skills and as an initiation into manhood."[66] Through excellence in baseball, some Native American students such as Charles Bender, Jim Thorpe, Ike Kahdot, and John Levi were able to make a living in professional leagues rather than the agricultural or wage labor that the schools had intended for them.[67] In this sense, despite the sport's origins and imposition as a tool of assimilation by a colonizing power, the way it was received by students could not be controlled by educators and administrators. Many Native American students participated in and excelled at the sport on their own terms and saw success as a sign of resistance, traits that were shared by students of Kamehameha School in the Hawaiian Islands, many of whom parlayed success on the field to employment opportunities following the rise of the commercial and business leagues in Honolulu.

Among the examples of Kamehameha students who found employment following the completion of their coursework was Sam Mahuka, who was offered a shot at playing professionally by John Ganzel.[68] While Mahuka declined the offer from Ganzel to possibly earn a living through baseball, he did play for several company baseball teams in his later places of employment.[69] Whether or not Mahuka or dozens of other former Kamehameha students

[65] Powers-Beck, "The Carlisle Indian Industrial School's Baseball Legacy," 9; Powers-Beck, "'Chief'," 520.
[66] Powers-Beck, "'Chief'," 520.
[67] For a brief list of Native American ballplayers from these boarding schools who played professionally, see Jeffrey P. Powers-Beck, *The American Indian Integration of Baseball* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 7-14.
[68] While he played for New York between 1901 and 1904, Ganzel wrote to Mahuka offering to secure him a tryout for the Highlanders. "Sam Mahuka May Play in Big Series," *Evening Bulletin*, October 25, 1907.
[69] Among Mahuka's many places of employment in Honolulu and on Hawai'i, he played baseball for H. Waterhouse & Co., as well as the Parker Ranch teams. "He Had a Knife," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, July 7, 1899; "Mahuka May Play Here," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, October 26, 1907.

attained jobs for those reasons, it was possible for them to use their skill at baseball, nominally a leisure-time recreation and a respite from wage labor, to secure employment opportunities. The fact that baseball was used as an avenue for employment links the experience of some students of Kamehameha Schools with students from Native American boarding schools. What separates the experiences is that unlike in the United States where Native Americans could be directly paid for playing baseball, the leagues in which Hawaiian graduates of Kamehameha Schools played were not professional leagues. This lack of professional leagues was the result of the sport's pedigree in the Hawaiian Islands which included an emphasis on amateurism over professional leagues.

For Native Americans enrolled in boarding schools, baseball presented an opportunity to avoid the agricultural work and resist the reform efforts of administrators within a framework of sports. In its development in the Hawaiian Islands, baseball grew within a context where ideas of missionaries, temperance, and amateurism prohibited any sustained professional leagues in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. While it was certainly possible for Hawaiians to pursue opportunities as professional baseball players, those opportunities were limited to leagues in the United States (and later Japan). Whereas Native American boarding schools sought to incorporate students into an American society based on industrial and agricultural jobs, such attempts could be resisted through professional baseball. Because the Hawaiian Islands had commercial leagues rather than professional ones, playing baseball could not necessarily serve as resistance to assimilation in the same manner as it could for Native Americans. This does not mean that resistance through baseball was impossible however, but it manifested itself along different lines than in the United States. Instead, the baseball-playing students of Kamehameha

Schools were able to challenge colonial efforts by defeating haole teams on the field, continuing use of indigenous language, and parlaying baseball success into employment opportunities.

Aside from educational institutions, businesses also attempted to use baseball to "Americanize" Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, and other ethnic groups who migrated to the United States. This Americanization came in several forms, including assimilation efforts on the part of business owners to instill so-called American character traits of discipline and hard work that were embodied by the sport. Through marketing the sale of baseball products, some companies, such as Spalding & Bros., Co. or A.J. Reach & Co., also engaged in Americanization efforts by expanding consumerism through sports and creating a dependency for American-made supplies in international markets.

Beyond Americanization efforts though, baseball was used by businesses in the United States in attempts to curb labor disputes among workers. One such example comes from southern California where both social reformers and employers encouraged Mexican Americans to play baseball in the 1920s. Similar to the Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association in 1910, the California Fruit Growers Exchange (CFGE), "organized a sophisticated corporate welfare system that included Americanization classes, a housing program, recreational facilities and sports clubs."[70] Furthermore, CFGE emphasized baseball "to improve workers' physical health and mental preparedness for the arduous backbreaking field work."[71] José Alamillo notes that many of the citrus growers in the region followed the lead of CFGE and established baseball diamonds and teams on their land.[72] However, neither the California agricultural business owners nor

[70] CFGE was one of the leading fruit producers in the country and would later become known as Sunkist Growers, Inc. José M. Alamillo, "*Peloteros* in Paradise: Mexican American Baseball and Oppositional Politics in Southern California, 1930-1950," *The Western Historical Quarterly* 34, no. 2 (Summer 2003): 193.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Among the ranch owners to follow this trend was Keith Spalding, the son of A. G. Spalding who owned a four-thousand acre ranch in Ventura County, California. Alamillo, "*Peloteros* in Paradise," 193.

Hawai‘i plantation owners, similar to the colonial educators, could control the way that their workers would perceive the sport. While baseball was often successful at curbing labor unrest in the eyes of business owners, many workers in both southern California and in the Hawaiian Islands used the sport to strengthen ethnic and community identities and formed leagues outside of their places of employment.

For Mexican American ballplayers in southern California, as José Alamillo has noted, baseball was used to "promote ethnic consciousness, build community solidarity, display masculine behavior, and sharpen their organizing and leadership skills." Alamillo continues to note that consequently, baseball clubs were "transformed…into a political forum to launch wider forms of collective action."[73] Beginning in the late 1920s and early 1930s, baseball leagues, such as the *Asociación Deportiva Hispano Americana* (Hispanic American Sport Association), *La Asociación Atlética Mexicana del Sur de California* (Mexican Athletic Association of Southern California), and *La Liga Mexicana de Baseball del Sur California* (Mexican Baseball League of Southern California) were created as spaces for various residents of Mexican descent to play ball either as amateurs or as semiprofessionals.[74] As was the case with the ethnically-based teams of the Honolulu and O‘ahu leagues, Mexican American teams in southern California fundraised and sought sponsorships from local business in order to tour within the United States and abroad to Mexico. Like many of the touring teams from the Hawaiian Islands, these touring circuits created baseball-playing networks in which players from the Oxnard Aces, Santa Paula Limoneros, Corona Athletics, or other southern California teams could hone their skills in hopes of eventually signing contracts with Pacific Coast or Major League teams where they would be

[73] Alamillo, "*Peloteros* in Paradise," 192.
[74] Alamillo, "*Peloteros* in Paradise," 196.

paid salaries for playing the sport as professionals, rather than be paid through businesses essentially for their work on the diamonds.[75]

Among what separates the ethnically-based baseball teams of Honolulu from those in Southern California discussed by Alamillo is the variety of different ethnicities represented. Alamillo emphasizes that the competition between Mexican and white men on the baseball diamond "represented a struggle over racial, class, and masculine pride" within the communities as players sought to demonstrate their manliness through "highly charged hit-and-run plays, aggressive batting, or game brawls."[76] While such demonstrations of manhood and ethnic competition were certainly evident in the various leagues around the Hawaiian Islands, it was not simply a racial or ethnic binary of opposition.

The influx of migrants and settlers to fill labor needs on plantations that coincided with the growth in baseball popularity in the Hawaiian Islands resulted in the formation of numerous ethnic leagues throughout the islands and especially on O'ahu. On plantations, ethnically based teams played among their own groups but also challenged each other, while around Honolulu, numerous smaller leagues were organized by Portuguese, Japanese, and Chinese settlers. The pinnacle of baseball in Hawai'i, the Hawaiian Baseball League of the 1920s and 1930s, featured a Hawaiian team, a Portuguese team, a Japanese team, a Korean team, a Chinese team, and a haole team. Often times the smaller leagues acted as feeder systems into these teams where, for example, the best players of the Japanese league would earn spots on the Asahi club of the HBL. Consequently, there was a constant struggle between different groups on the baseball diamond that at various times served to both divide fans against each other or unite them against common rivals. Rather than a binary opposition like in southern California, the colonial context of the

[75] Alamillo, "*Peloteros* in Paradise," 202-203.
[76] Alamillo, "*Peloteros* in Paradise," 205.

Hawaiian Islands had created a plethora of different groups of people due to the migration and settlement of mostly plantation workers.

Over in the Philippines, baseball's importance to colonial health policies, in addition to its role as a tool of assimilation, also invites comparison with the Hawaiian Islands. In establishing a leper colony at Culion in 1906, the American colonial administration sought to segregate part of the Filipino population. According to Michelle Moran, the "very concept of a segregated facility designed expressly to isolate all people diagnosed with leprosy was grounded on the colonial practices of the Moloka'i settlement" at Kalaupapa.[77] In terms of public health policies with regard to leprosy, the Philippines were administered closely along the same lines as the Hawaiian Islands since the basic tenants of U.S. leprosy policy was established on Moloka'i and then transferred across the American empire to settlements in Louisiana and the Philippines.

At Culion, the settlement was structured "as a laboratory of therapeutics and citizenship, a place where needy patients were resocialized [among themselves], where they performed somatic recovery alongside domestic hygiene and civic pride."[78] Warwick Anderson has noted that in the Philippines, colonial administrators fused notions of health with ideas about civilization and "amalgamated corporeal deficiency with perceived cultural failings." This led American doctors to emphasize good hygiene not only as a remedy for sickness, but as a remedy for savagery. At places such as Culion, these American colonial administrators sought to treat both physical disease and lack of civilization by placing "their charges on a single trajectory from illness to health and from primitive to civilized."[79] Among the activities encouraged by

[77] Michelle T. Moran, *Colonizing Leprosy: Imperialism and the Politics of Public Health in the United States* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 46.
[78] Warwick Anderson, *Colonial Pathologies: American Tropical Medicine, Race and Hygiene in the Philippines* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 158.
[79] Anderson, *Colonial Pathologies*, 159.

health officials at Culion was baseball which, along with regular bathing, tending gardens, and voting, would help cure the Filipino lepers.

According to Anderson, one of the effects of establishing a settlement at Culion was to create a visible dichotomy between Americans and Filipinos in the islands, not only in terms of segregating illness, but also in terms of segregating civilization. By separating sick afflicted Filipinos from the American settlers, colonial administrators in the Philippines were hoping to segregate the modern American civilization from what they considered to be a backward culture affected by a colonial disease. Michelle Moran has elaborated on this notion of leprosy as a colonial disease by noting that for haole settlers in the Hawaiian Islands, "the disease came to represent a physical and symbolic 'native' threat to the process of civilization. These colonials found in medicine a useful tool both for combating the perceived threat of leprosy and for implementing imperial policies through the categorization, management, and containment of Hawaiians."[80] Following the ideas of the health officials in the Hawaiian Islands, administrators in Culion sought to reform the diseased population after it had been categorized and contained separately from the rest of the population.

Like school officials and reformers in American territories, the medical officials at these settlements implemented baseball as a tool to promote a healthy body. In the case of Culion, while baseball fit within other practices that promoted healthy living such as regular bathing and exercise, it also provided the patients with an arena for protesting their forced segregation at the hands of American medical officials. Through baseball, Filipino players had the opportunity to criticize umpires, argue with calls, and generally challenge authority in ways that were not permitted elsewhere in the settlement. In one extreme example of such resistance, the colony's

[80] Moran, *Colonizing Leprosy*, 47.

resident physician, Dr. John Snodgrass, cited an instance where displeasure with a call resulted in players from both teams attacking the umpire with bats.[81] Rather than framing such protest as proof of a lack of civilization, Snodgrass saw such unrest on the baseball diamond as an example of the patients possessing "the true American baseball spirit."[82] Certainly not all instances of resistance on the diamond included attacking an umpire with bats, but through baseball, leprosy patients could protest against a symbol of American authority within an arena where protest and resistance had a built-in level of tolerance and acceptability among the eyes of administrators.

While the contexts are different, the insistence on baseball as a part of rehabilitation for leprosy patients and health policy is also seen in the Hawaiian Islands. Anderson notes that despite a longer history, the settlement of Kalaupapa on Molokaʻi eventually came to be managed and disciplined in a similar fashion to Culion after 1909.[83] Efforts to totally segregate the settlement were thwarted however, as many "Hawaiians found ways to recognize and manipulate fractures in the system to suit their own ends and to challenge foreign dominance."[84] As discussed in the previous chapter, baseball had been played on Molokaʻi beginning in the late-nineteenth century and among those to play were the patients at Kalaupapa, who had their own baseball field.[85] After 1909, as the settlement was reorganized along the lines of Culion, baseball continued to be promoted. A vacationing school teacher from Fresno noted that baseball games on Molokaʻi in 1909 pitted "lepers on one side of the fence against the clean boys on the other side of the fence. Different bats and balls were used and it was a square game from start to finish. The lepers resent anything like pity or favoritism in games. The score stood

[81] John E. Snodgrass, *Leprosy in the Philippines* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1915), 24-25.
[82] Snodgrass, *Leprosy in the Philippines*, 24-25.
[83] Anderson, *Colonial Pathologies*, 171.
[84] Moran, *Colonizing Leprosy*, 72.
[85] For a discussion of leprosy in the Hawaiian Islands during the nineteenth century, see Kerri A. Inglis, *Maʻi Lepera: Disease and Displacement in Nineteenth-Century Hawaiʻi* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 2013).

26 to 22 in favor of the lepers."[86] Unlike in Culion where patients were separated from the larger population, interactions occasionally occurred between residents of Kalaupapa and people from elsewhere on Molokaʻi.

Baseball created an atmosphere where leprosy patients could regain a level of social interaction with others. American author Jack London noted during his trip to Molokaʻi that "the Superintendent, the doctors, and a mixture of nationalities and of diseased and non-diseased were all engaged in an exciting baseball game."[87] Over the next several years, baseball would grow in popularity and teams from Kalaupapa played against teams from Kaunakakai and other islands. Because of the differing colonial pedigrees of the sport, while it was not mandated of the Hawaiian patients in the same way as the Filipinos, its encouragement illustrates the sport's contested roles both as a tool of colonialism and as a challenge to the colonial policies designed to segregate those diagnosed as unhealthy.

A third region that offers more specific comparable context to baseball in the Hawaiian Islands is Taiwan. Taiwan was one of several regions in which baseball accompanied Japanese imperial expansion in the late nineteenth century and at first, the Japanese prevented the colonized population from playing. Following World War I, the Japanese revised colonial policies and emphasized baseball as part of a policy of assimilation toward the various ethnic groups of Tawian, both those who were indigenous to the island and later Chinese settlers.[88] Taiwanese intellectuals, however, "saw baseball as an opportunity to reject publicly the

[86] It is unclear what this description means in terms of players being on different sides of the fence, but this suggests that the baseball diamond was a place where leprosy patients could compete with people who did not live at the settlement. "Fresno School Teacher Writes Much About Hawaii," *The Hawaiian Star*, August 18, 1909.
[87] Jack London, *The Cruise of the Snark* (New York, NY: The MacMillan Company, 1911), 97.
[88] For a concise summary of the effects of Japanese colonialism on various ethnic groups in Taiwan, see Liao Ping-Hui, "Taiwan Under Japanese Colonial Rule, 1895-1945: History, Culture, Memory," in *Taiwan Under Japanese Colonial Rule, 1895-1945: History, Culture, Memory*, edited by Liao Ping-Hui and David Der-Wei Wang (New York City: Columbia University Press, 2006), 4-5.

inequalities of colonialism."[89] In the early 1920s, the first all-Taiwanese baseball team was formed in Hualian, a region of eastern Taiwan. This team, called *Noko*, consisted of aboriginal youths who were organized for assimilation purposes by the Japanese governor of the region. The governor claimed that "teaching the raw barbarians to play baseball is amazing…Although they were born with violent blood, we can correct their nature and teach them the true spirits of sports. In addition, this will demonstrate our efforts in civilizing these raw barbarians."[90]

With this outlook, the Japanese efforts matched those of the United States with regard to both Native American boarding schools and school administrators in the Hawaiian Islands. Junwei Yu has noted that even though this team was short-lived and soon co-opted by Japanese officials who renamed it *Nenggao* and sent the players to the Hualian Agricultural School, it inspired more indigenous Taiwanese to take up the game, resulting in other teams being formed not only by students, but by middle-class employees.[91] The students and middle-class workers used baseball as an opportunity to challenge and resist Japanese authority within an arena where competition was encouraged.

Not all the teams were ethnically segregated however, as the team from the Jiaya Agricultural and Forestry Institute was made up of not only indigenous players, but Han and Japanese players as well. By 1931, this team was talented enough to come in second at Japan's National High School Baseball Tournament, which further increased the popularity of the sport.[92] Despite Japanese intentions to use the sport as a tool of assimilation into their growing empire, Sumei Wang has noted that "baseball actually strengthened the islanders' self-

[89] Morris, *Colonial Project*, 29.
[90] Qtd. in Wang, "Taiwanese Baseball," 359.
[91] Junwei Yu, *Playing in Isolation: A History of Baseball in Taiwan* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 16-17.
[92] Wang, "Taiwanese Baseball," 359-360.

confidence and collective identity."[93] In this sense there is a clear parallel to the development of baseball in the Hawaiian Islands. Where haole residents of Hawai'i may have seen baseball as a tool for Americanization, the sport could be understood in a variety of different ways by the people playing it. While employers may have pitted different ethnic groups in competition against each other in efforts to divide and rule their workers, in the case of Hawaiians and plantation workers, certainly successes on the baseball field would, like in Taiwan, have reinforced the confidence and identity of various ethnic groups against haole settlers. As a result of its spread across different classes and ethnic boundaries, baseball, according to Chien-Yu Lin and Ping-Chao Lee, "became an instrument of nationalist assertion, indigenous self-respect and anti-imperial expression in the face of Japanese attempts to use the game as a means of political hegemonic control, militaristic purpose and cultural integration."[94]

Despite baseball's popularity in Taiwan, it would not be promoted nearly as much by the Chinese government that would follow World War II. Under Chinese rule, "Japanese and Taiwanese languages were banned in public places" such as schools and in the media, but at baseball games, Taiwanese were able to congregate and exchange ideas in their own language.[95] Over the course of nine innings, fans and the teams themselves spoke both Holo and Japanese without fear of punishment, despite the languages being officially banned.[96] Although the time period is markedly different, this situation in Taiwan following World War II is reminiscent of the efforts to impose English as the sole language of instruction in Hawai'i schools beginning in 1896. In the case of Hawai'i, public spaces such as the baseball field offered arenas for people,

[93] Wang, "Taiwanese Baseball," 360.
[94] Chien-Yu Lin and Ping-Chao Lee, "Sport as a Medium of National Resistance: Politics and Baseball in Taiwan during Japanese Colonialism, 1895-1945," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 24, no. 3 (March 2007), 320.
[95] Wang, "Taiwanese Baseball," 362.
[96] Yu, *Playing in Isolation*, 29.

including children, to congregate in a social setting and utilize whatever language they wished, despite Hawaiian being banned in educational settings. For a brief time in both Taiwan and the Hawaiian Islands, the baseball diamond was a space where indigenous groups could resist the imperial efforts of colonizing powers.

In the settings mentioned above, colonial polices toward education, labor, and public health sought to utilize baseball as a tool of assimilation. In each case, the way the sport was adopted by different Native American, Mexican American, Filipino, and Taiwanese groups shows how the sport could be co-opted into a tool of resistance by which people challenged colonial or labor authorities. How successful those efforts were depended largely on the pedigree of the sport in that specific context. Such efforts by educational and plantation officials in the Hawaiian Islands who sought to use the sport as a means of Americanizing both Hawaiians and immigrant workers fit the patterns displayed in the United States, the Philippines, and Taiwan, but for the Hawaiian Islands, the pedigree of the sport led to different understandings among the players and fans. While the sport could be used to resist assimilation efforts, the nature of that resistance was influenced by the larger colonial context and pedigree of the sport itself. In terms of assimilation and resistance, baseball offers an avenue for further comparison between these regions and the Hawaiian Islands that draws on local circumstances to illustrate colonial aspects of the sport's transnational nature.

Colonial Contrast but Transnational Similarities: The Case of Cuba

Of the many regions to which baseball spread during the nineteenth century, Cuba offers the closest comparison to the Hawaiian Islands in terms of the transnational nature of the sport's

development. Along similar timelines, baseball arrived in both regions, saw the organization of multiple teams and leagues, simultaneously united and divided racial and ethnic groups, was utilized to placate plantation laborers, and enabled migration across wider regional networks. The key difference between baseball in the two regions was the sport's close link to national identity and colonial resistance in Cuba. While the sovereign and independent Hawaiian Islands were annexed by the United States at the end of the nineteenth century, Cuba was aided by the United States in achieving independence from the Spanish colonial empire that had ruled the island since the sixteenth century. It was during this struggle for independence that baseball became linked to Cuban identity. The similarities between baseball's development in Cuba and the Hawaiian Islands therefore, illustrates the importance of transnational migrations and cultural exchange in shaping the sport's pedigree since the colonial contexts were, in a sense, reversed.

Similar to the Hawaiian Islands, the introduction of baseball to Cuba is somewhat unclear, though there are several accounts regarding how it first came to the island. Robert González Echevarría notes that these accounts of baseball in Cuba blend "facts with errors, inaccuracies, and distortions," much in the same way baseball in the Hawaiian Islands has been prominently linked to Cartwright despite any clear involvement on his part.[97] Most accounts tend to involve three young Cubans, Nemesio Guilló, Ernesto Guilló, and Enrique Porto who, as young students in 1858, were sent to Springhill College, a Catholic school in Mobile, Alabama. Upon their return home in 1864, Nemesio Guilló brought with him a baseball and bat which was then used to teach the sport to friends and neighbors.[98]

[97] González Echevarría, *The Pride of Havana*, 75.
[98] González Echevarría provides a concise outline of the major figures and development of the game after its introduction to Cuba. González Echevarría, *The Pride of Havana*, 90-111.

As teams were organized through the 1870s and 1880s, baseball became a way of resisting and challenging Spanish colonialism. With the growth of nationalist identities across the globe, new countries were being formed during the 1870s and 1880s on the basis of shared culture and understandings. For Cubans, baseball played a major role in forming such a nationalist identity in opposition to Spanish colonialism. In his 1994 article, "Between Baseball and Bullfighting," Louis Pérez links baseball not only to the formation of Cuban national identity, but also to a Cuban understanding of modernity. The "modernity and progress implied in baseball, associated with the United States," stood in contrast to the "inhumanity and backwardness suggested by bullfighting, associated with Spain."[99] This implied modernity stemmed from the sport's association with nineteenth-century urban centers of the United States and was championed by authors, reformers, and businessmen around the world. Such a link between modernity and baseball based on the sport's quick pace and quantifiable nature was evident not only in the United States, but in both the Hawaiian Islands and Cuba as well.

For many Cubans, this association with modernity was cemented by the growing Cuban diaspora of the late-nineteenth century in the United States. As the sport took root in the island, so too did many Cuban migrants establish networks between the island and the United States thanks to frequent connections formed by students, businesses, and political refugees. This resulted in a situation where nearly "all the Cubans associated with the early development of baseball on the island had studied or lived in the United States."[100] As Cubans struggled to define themselves against the Spanish who colonized the island, baseball played a major role as both "an expression of change and an agent of change" in colonial resistance.[101] This was not

[99] Pérez, Jr., "Between Baseball and Bullfighting," 505-506.
[100] Pérez, Jr., "Between Baseball and Bullfighting," 500.
[101] Pérez, Jr., "Between Baseball and Bullfighting," 505.

the case for the Hawaiian Islands, since they were governed as an independent kingdom and their link to the sport was largely at home rather than in the diaspora.

This Cuban resistance featured not only political and social challenges to the Spanish rule, but also outright war between Cuban rebels and the Spanish colonial government during the 1860s and 1870s with the Ten Years War (1868-1878) and the later *Guerra Chiquita*, or Little War (1879-1880), all of which resulted in Spanish victories. Following the end of open conflict, many Cubans who had fled to the United States returned to the island where they were able to share their passion for the growing sport. Although the experience of Cuba was different from the Hawaiian Islands due to its colonial context, baseball grew in the islands similarly as a result of cultural diffusion and exchange since neither place had it imposed upon them as a practice, but rather, both adopted it on their own terms.

Consequently, the number of amateur baseball teams in Cuba exploded, with a plethora of neighborhood teams forming during the 1880s.[102] Beyond its association with modernity and progress, baseball became "a process in which defeat was temporary and victory a function of preparation and unity," a metaphor which resonated powerfully with the defeated nationalists of the Ten Years War.[103] For Cuba, as noted by Adrian Burgos, the fact that baseball arrived in the islands "in the midst of anticolonial struggles" was integral to "the sport's development into a transnational cultural practice for Cubans."[104] While "baseball was not the epicenter of the insurgent nationalist movement fighting Spanish colonial rule," Burgos, along the lines of Louis

[102] Pérez, Jr., "Between Baseball and Bullfighting," 501.
[103] Pérez, Jr., "Between Baseball and Bullfighting," 508.
[104] Adrian Burgos, Jr., "Entering Cuba's Other Playing Field: Cuban Baseball and the Choice Between Race and Nation, 1887-1912," *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 29 (2005): 12

Pérez, contends "that baseball's popularity during the 30 years of nationalist insurgent activity signified a cultural movement that ultimately had ideological implications."[105]

The colonial context of the Hawaiian Islands created a far more ambiguous connection between baseball and colonial resistance when compared to Cuba, but so too did the demographics of the two regions. By the time baseball arrived in both regions during the mid-nineteenth century, the Hawaiian Islands were home to an established indigenous population that controlled the governance throughout the region. In Cuba on the other hand, indigenous groups had been pushed into swamps and mountainous regions by the early-seventeenth century where they formed many of the *palenque* communities that existed on the margins of Cuban society over the next four-hundred years of colonial occupation.[106] This longer colonial history in Cuba due to Spanish control also caused the island to experience far more colonial settlement than the Hawaiian Islands which remained an independent kingdom throughout most of the nineteenth century. By 1899, census records indicate that nearly 68% of the Cuban population was characterized as white, either creoles born in Cuba, or settlers from Spain.[107] By comparison, according to censuses taken in the Hawaiian Islands following American occupation and annexation in 1900, only 5% of the total population was American and the total haole population made up just over 10% of all the island residents. Although both regions featured strong colonial resistance in the late-nineteenth century, the vastly different settler demographics and colonial powers meant divergent experiences in terms of how baseball was fit into colonial understandings.

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[105] Burgos, Jr., "Entering Cuba's Other Playing Field," 14.
[106] Richard Gott, *Cuba: A New History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), 21-23; Thomas G. Thrum, *Hawaiian Almanac and Annual for 1904: The Reference Book of Information and Statistics Relating to the Territory of Hawai'i, of Value to Merchants, Tourists and Others* (Honolulu, HI: Thomas G. Thrum, 1908), 18
[107] Gott, *Cuba*, 119.

What the two regions share in terms of baseball and demographics is the fact that the sport gained considerable popularity among the large labor force imported to the islands which made up a significant portion of both populations. For Cuba, that labor force was made up mostly of African slaves. Cuba's participation in the transatlantic slave trade began in the 1520s and over the island's three-hundred year involvement with the trade, Spanish and Cuban authorities brought people from dozens of African ethnic groups, including Yoruba, Malinke, Carabalies, and a variety of others, to work in the mines and on the plantations of the island.[108] By 1899, people of African descent made up 30% of Cuba's population. The influx of labor migrations to the Hawaiian Islands had an even bigger effect on the total population there, as the 1900 census recognized over 55% of the population as either Chinese, Japanese, or another Asian ethnic group.[109] In both regions, baseball gained considerable popularity among both Afro Cubans and Asian settlers as people sought to move away from plantation work and into the cities.

This growth in baseball popularity during the late-nineteenth century in Cuba was accompanied by the increased use of modern technologies such as railroads, newspapers, and the telegraph. Just as they did in the Hawaiian Islands, these technologies enabled people throughout the island of Cuba to follow any local teams if they lived far from the field or were unable to attend a game at one of the many baseball diamonds that popped up throughout the colony.[110] The innovations in infrastructure and communication that kept fans up to date with their favorite teams were complemented by a sport that adopted up-to-date rules and regulations

[108] For discussion of the many different African ethnic groups in Cuba, see Laurent Dubois and Julius S. Scott eds., *The Origins of the Black Atlantic* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2013) and Margarita Cervantes-Rodríguez, *International Migration in Cuba: Accumulation, Imperial Designs and Transnational Social Fields* (State College, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011), 64.
[109] Thrum, *Hawaiian Almanac and Annual for 1904*, 18.
[110] Pérez, Jr., "Between Baseball and Bullfighting," 503.

with equal alacrity. Like baseball in the Hawaiian Islands during this period, Cuban baseball adopted new rule changes shortly after they were proposed in the United States, which enhanced baseball's image as a symbol of modernity and resulted in a sense of uniformity and enthusiasm that furthered popularity.

Diasporic Cubans in the United States were just as enthusiastic about baseball as those at home. As Louis Pérez has noted, this diaspora was continuously reinforced by the "displaced and dispossessed" who joined a group that included "the unemployed and the unemployable, black and white, young and old, men, women, and children of all social classes, sometimes as entire families but just as often as shattered households."[111] Since the 1870s, Cubans had been playing on college and university teams in the United States and organizing local clubs wherever they established communities.[112] In the 1880s, author and nationalist leader Jose Martí, then a resident of New York, marveled at how popular baseball was, noting that games were in every neighborhood of the city and that children would hide from police in order to play baseball in courtyards.[113] Martí could have just as easily been referring to children in Havana or Cienfuegos since the game's popularity was paralleled in both countries. The Cubans who lived abroad were situated in an atmosphere that inundated them with baseball as much as if they had been at home. The connection maintained between Cubans in the diaspora and those at home contributed to the transnational nature of the sport, which began in the nineteenth century and carried into the twentieth century.

[111] Louis A. Pérez Jr., *On Becoming Cuban: Identity, Nationality, and Culture* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 37.
[112] Four teams were formed in Key West for example and played in a Sunday municipal league organized by a local cigar manufacturer. Pérez, Jr., "Between Baseball and Bullfighting," 499.
[113] Pérez, Jr., *On Becoming Cuban*, 75.

For the people of the Hawaiian Islands, the relationship with baseball did not develop the same connection to national identity as it did for Cubans due to the differing experiences with imperialism. In the nineteenth century, Cubans were able to use baseball to define an identity in opposition to the Spanish colonial regime since the Spanish did not play baseball. The people of the Hawaiian Islands meanwhile, were governed as an independent kingdom under imperial pressure throughout most of the nineteenth century. While Jon Osorio has noted that the government could never "truly represent the nation, the lāhui," the nature of that government's contention with imperialism could influence what symbols were used to represent national identity.[114] Since the Hawaiian Islands contended with an increasingly imperial United States rather than the Spanish, baseball could not serve as a symbol of opposition in the same way as it did in Cuba since the sport was so popular among the United States. Baseball could still be used to connect people abroad back to the Hawaiian Islands thanks to the publication of scores and statistics of the Hawaiian Base Ball League in the pages of *The Sporting News* and *The Sporting Life* in the 1890s. But where Cubans living abroad could rally around the sport in opposition to the Spanish, Hawaiians abroad would not have seen the sport as anti-American since it was not connected to an oppositional national identity.

Following the abolition of slave labor in Cuba between 1880 and 1886, baseball further grew in popularity as more Afro Cubans left the sugarcane fields and stepped onto the playing field. With the game spreading beyond those educated in the United States, there was concern among the upper-class Cubans that baseball would no longer be played for leisure or competition and instead players would demand better payment for playing. For former slaves and other plantation workers who now joined the ranks of Cuban ballplayers, baseball presented an

[114] Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui*, 259.

opportunity to get away from plantation work permanently if they could secure wages for practicing the sport. This push for professionalization was opposed by the educated class of players and the result was a brief conflict over the nature of the sport that echoed ongoing amateurism conflicts in Great Britain, the United States, and the Hawaiian Islands during this time period.[115]

In this case, as Adrian Burgos has noted, the established baseball leaders who had been involved in the development of the sport in Cuba in the 1870s enlisted the help of the sports media to emphasize nationalism against the Spanish and minimize arguments for professionalization.[116] This campaign to link baseball to nationalism was largely successful since, for many nationalists during the late 1880s and 1890s, "baseball had the capacity to unite the Cuban masses on the island and in exile against Spanish despotism by acting as a social leveler that bonded Cubans across race, class, and gender."[117] While there were some degrees of racial segregation within baseball during this time, issues of race were mostly subordinated to issues of nationality and the fight against Spanish colonialism.

The popularity of baseball into the 1890s caused alarm among Spanish-supporting residents of Cuba. As more and more Cubans turned away from the bullfight and toward baseball as their sport of choice, Spanish citizens and government officials saw baseball as anti-Spanish and sought to have games banned and teams disbanded.[118] There had been many attempts by Spanish officials to curtail baseball since the late-1860s due to "its obvious ties to nationalists," but it was not until the Cuban War for Independence in 1895 when, during their

[115] For a brief discussion of sports and amateurism in Britain and the United States, see Tony Collins, *Sport in Capitalist Society: A Short History* (London: Routledge, 2013), 32-37.
[116] Burgos, Jr., "Entering Cuba's Other Playing Field," 19.
[117] Burgos, Jr., "Entering Cuba's Other Playing Field," 12.
[118] Pérez, Jr., "Between Baseball and Bullfighting," 511.

first decrees of the war, the Spanish colonial government officially banned baseball as a subversive sport.[119] The subversive nature of the sport was linked to the fact that many ex-baseball players made up a large portion of the Liberation Army.[120] Many of these rebels with ball-playing experience sought out and organized baseball games in hopes of recruiting more support for their cause. This again contrasts with the experience in the Hawaiian Islands due to the sport being popular among the imperial power. As discussed in Chapter Three, while many ballplayers in the Hawaiian Islands were involved on either sides of the rebellions of the 1890s, baseball served as a regular site of interaction between rivals.

Other examples of baseball's link to Cuban national identity came from the diaspora, where Cubans organized baseball games as fundraisers during the 1890s to support the Cuban war efforts. Places such as Key West, Tampa, and New York City saw local games in the community raise money through gate receipts that was then put to use making propaganda and supporting local revolutionary parties.[121] One prominent example of a Cuban ballplayer who specifically linked politics and sport in this fashion is Agustin Molina, a Cuban American who was born in Key West and during local games in Florida sought to "raise funds for the Independence Movement."[122] Adrian Burgos notes that according to popular accounts, Molina played an even "more direct role in the insurgency" than solely fundraising, because when he traveled between the United States and Cuba, he also "transported important documents for the nationalist movement and played several baseball games in Matanzas to avoid suspicion."[123]

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[119] Adrian Burgos notes that Spanish officials attempted to ban baseball numerous times between 1868 and 1898, with the first two bans coming during the Ten Years War. Adrian Burgos, Jr., "Entering Cuba's Other Playing Field," 25.
[120] Pérez, Jr., "Between Baseball and Bullfighting," 513.
[121] Often times, these fundraising games were sponsored by local cigar factories not only to be involved with the independence movement, but also to provide activities for their workers. Pérez, Jr., "Between Baseball and Bullfighting," 514.
[122] González Echevarría, *The Pride of Havana*, 410.
[123] Burgos, Jr., "Entering Cuba's Other Playing Field," 27.

Through organized fundraising and recruitment at games in both the United States and Cuba, baseball was directly linked to efforts resisting Spanish imperialism. This is another noticeable difference between anti-imperial efforts in Cuba and the Hawaiian Islands where resistance efforts did indeed feature many prominent ballplayers such as Prince Kūhiō Kalaniana‘ole and John Wise, but the sport itself remained a contested arena in the Hawaiian Islands.

In 1898, the United States joined the Cubans in war against Spain and used the war to justify imperial expansion in the Pacific as it occupied the Philippines, Guam, and annexed the Hawaiian Islands. Like in the Philippines, Guam, and the Hawaiian Islands, many United States officials who occupied Cuba after defeating Spain saw baseball as a useful tool for not only maintaining political and social order, but for encouraging American values. Consequently, the sport flourished during and after the military occupation of Cuba that lasted until 1902. The military occupation by the United States also featured the touring of North American baseball teams which resulted in a series of exhibition games between Cuban and North American teams both in New York and in Cuba. This series served not only as an opportunity to showcase the talent of Cuban ballplayers, but also to help further connect the network of Cubans at home and in the diaspora through a shared experience of rooting for their countrymen against teams from the United States.[124]

While baseball in Cuba remained closely linked to a national identity following independence from Spain, issues regarding baseball’s relationship to racial and class identities resurfaced. Such divisions among the general Cuban population were revealed during a visit to the island by the Negro League Brooklyn Royal Giants in 1900. Instead of uniting all Cubans against the visiting team from the United States, the series between the Negro Leaguers and a

[124] Pérez, Jr., “Baseball and Bullfighting,” 516-517.

team of Afro Cuban players called the San Franciscos resulted in many of the lighter-skinned Cuban spectators loudly supporting the North American Negro Leaguers. What appeared to United States sportswriters as a racial division was actually, according to Adrian Burgos, more of a class conflict that stemmed from earlier attempts to address the place of race in Cuban baseball.[125]

As mentioned above, many of the upper-class, white Cubans who founded the sport in the islands fought against professionalization, while Afro Cubans often pursued the sport as a means of economic livelihood after leaving plantations. Since many Afro Cubans used baseball for financial gain rather than as a leisure pastime and organized teams with like-minded players, the result was a collection of successful Afro Cuban teams in the professional league. By rooting against this particular Afro Cuban team, which also happened to be leading the Cuban professional league and doing better against the visiting teams from the United States than teams of its lighter skinned countrymen, fans sought to maintain class divisions within the island's baseball structure. The formation of such successful Afro Cuban teams led to contemporary critiques of discrimination that claimed that teams made up of all Afro Cuban players broke "the social compact between baseball, race, and nation by failing to put nation first as the original cohort of Cuban players had."[126] As a result, the upper class and white fans saw the San Franciscos' success in the league and against visiting North Americans as a lack of patriotism.

The continued success of Afro Cuban teams such as the San Franciscos however, led to increased economic opportunity as the sport's popularity grew. Following the end of United States military occupation in 1902, traditionally white Cuban teams signed more Afro Cuban players, which eventually contributed to breaking down both racial and class barriers on different

[125] Burgos, Jr., "Entering Cuba's Other Playing Field," 29.
[126] Burgos, Jr., "Entering Cuba's Other Playing Field," 22.

teams throughout the Cuban baseball community.[127] Beginning in 1907, Cuban teams also started signing players from the United States. The racial integration of Cuban baseball resulted in increased travel between Cuba and the United States by a large number of touring teams through the 1940s. These tours would not include any North American Major League teams after 1911 however, as the National and American League presidents banned their teams from visiting the island during the winter due to the racial integration of Cuban baseball.[128]

The continued growth of baseball's popularity into the 1940s, as in the Hawaiian Islands, resulted in numerous teams and leagues forming and reorganizing. By the 1940s, there were over fifteen active leagues on the island of Cuba including an intercollegiate league, a social league, the Amateur League, and the Liga Azucarera for sugar workers, in addition to the professional league.[129] Roberto González Echevarría identifies four different levels on which baseball developed during this time: the professional game, centered in Havana; semipro ball that was open to everyone with company-sponsored teams; sugarmill baseball which had "the broadest national dissemination because it spread through the provinces and was directly tied to Cuba's main industry;" and amateur baseball as played by the social clubs.[130] Aside from the professional league, these tiers correspond to the divisions of ballclubs in the Hawaiian Islands, which featured semipro ball, plantation teams, commercial teams, and junior leagues.

The development of so many organized teams and leagues in both Cuba and the Hawaiian Islands led to both places becoming regional hubs of larger baseball-playing networks.

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[127] Burgos, Jr., "Entering Cuba's Other Playing Field," 29.
[128] Following losses by the Cincinnati Reds on a trip to Cuba in 1908, National League President Garry Herrmann banned tours to Cuba and playing winter ball on the grounds that such games wore players down, but he went on to add that he found "that the Reds are playing against certain men in Cuba against whom there is an unwritten law in the big leagues." Three years later in 1911, the American League followed suit. Garry Herrmann, "No More Trips," *The Sporting Life*, December 26, 1908; Burgos, Jr., "Entering Cuba's Other Playing Field," 31.
[129] Paula J. Pettavino and Geralyn Pye, *Sport in Cuba: The Diamond in the Rough* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1994), 27.
[130] González Echevarría, *Pride of Havana*, 115.

As a result, the sport enabled transnational connections through migrations of players in the twentieth century. In many cases, what these players from Cuba and the Hawaiian Islands shared when pursuing professional opportunities abroad was the numerous forms of racism in the United States.[131]

Beginning with Esteban Bellán in the 1870s, a number of different Cubans played baseball professionally in the United States, either as part of touring teams, for Negro League teams, and for Major League teams.[132] The names of some of the Negro League teams during this time speak to the place of Cuba and its players within the baseball community. Many Negro League teams adopted names such as the Cuban Stars, Cuban Giants, or any number of other names that referenced the Caribbean island in order to use a sense of foreign exoticism in hopes of sparing players from racist vitriol.[133] While some of these teams featured Afro Cubans such as Eustaquio Pedroso and José Méndez, other teams did not, but still adopted misleading names such as the Cuban X-Giants well into the 1930s. For players of color from the Hawaiian Islands, regardless of their ethnicity, newspapers and promoters used a similar exoticism to increase attendance at the games of teams that toured the United States.

Regardless of how they were promoted, teams and players from both Cuba and the Hawaiian Islands still faced racism on numerous fronts. In 1909 for example, Cuban infielder Armando Cabañas was denied entry to the United States in Key West after a customs officer took note of his high cheekbones and mistakenly determined that Cabañas was of Chinese

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[131] In some cases, such travel was pursued to avoid segregation attempts in Cuban baseball since, despite the nationalist rhetoric that championed racial equality in the late-nineteenth century, many of the "lighter skinned participants in Cuban baseball opted to campaign for the restructuring of the professional game in hopes of creating opportunity for themselves," after national independence had been achieved. Burgos, Jr., "Entering Cuba's Other Playing Field," 34.

[132] Nick Wilson, *Early Latino Ballplayers in the United States: Major, Minor and Negro Leagues, 1901-1949* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2005), 3-17.

[133] Sarah L. Trembanis, *The Set-Up Men: Race, Culture and Resistance in Black Baseball* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2014), 145.

descent, and therefore undesirable as an immigrant.[134] For Lang Akana, the part-Chinese, part-Hawaiian outfielder who had twice toured the United States, the chance to play with the Portland Beavers of the Pacific Coast League was similarly denied by anti-Asian sentiment and agitation among the local press.[135]

The case of Hawaiian pitcher Barney Joy, whose race caused a media storm of controversy when he signed a contract with the Boston Beaneaters, was echoed by Armando Marsans and Rafael Almeida, two light skinned Cuban players. These two players, like Joy, proved themselves to be shrewd businessmen, holding out at various times during their rise through the minor leagues in order to earn more money before being signed by the Cincinnati Reds in 1911.[136] Before they could make their debuts however, the issue of race was front and center. As word spread about their impending signing, speculation began as to whether or not baseball would shift the color line that separated the National and American Leagues from the Negro Leagues. An article from the *Cincinnati Tribune* on June 23 stated that while there was no actual legislation against people of color in the major leagues, it had always been understood, and that "these particular Cubans may be of Spanish descent and they may be of African," but the racial situation in Cuba gave North Americans no way of knowing.[137] Both Almeida and Marsans were considered white by Cuban standards, but were forced to highlight their Spanish descent in order to play for the Reds and pacify fans. Although both Marsans and Almeida did eventually play for the Reds, they did not settle in the diaspora and, like Barney Joy, returned home where they continued to play on local teams.[138]

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[134] Wilson, *Early Ballplayers*, 16.
[135] Joel S. Franks, *The Barnstorming Hawaiian Travelers: A multiethnic Baseball Team Tours the Mainland, 1912-1916* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2012), 120-127.
[136] Wilson, *Early Ballplayers*, 23.
[137] Qtd. in Wilson, *Early Ballplayers*, 29.
[138] While playing for the Almandares Blues in Cuba, Almeida and Marsans would help two of their teammates, José Rodriguez and Oscar Tuero, fulfill their path to professional baseball in the United States. Twelve other Cuban

Later Cuban players such as Adolfo Luque, Luis Tiant, and Roberto Estalella would experience varying degrees of discrimination in terms of their playing opportunities, but many earned their ways onto Negro League and Major League rosters in the 1930s and 1940s. This discrimination was not only due to the skin color of Cuban players, but also their language skills, as many Spanish-speaking Cubans had trouble when traveling to cities without large Spanish-speaking communities. Between the baselines, Cuban players faced racism not only from fans, but other players as well. Roberto Estalella remembered an "alarming number" of fastballs were thrown at his head by pitchers who "were of that peculiar big-league mold which is almost psychopathically opposed to Roberto and his coffee-colored colleagues."[139] Despite the racism and discrimination faced by these Cuban players, some of which caused them to dissuade others from playing in the United States, their skills and experiences helped open the door for later generations, including some of their own children to go on and have successful professional careers in the United States.[140]

For players from Cuba, the racism experienced while playing abroad in the United States was a shared trauma that influenced the development of a transatlantic identity. According to Adrian Burgos, the transatlantic realm where Cuban baseball players pursued the sport was "more than a geographically situated location," it was a site where "identities were shaped

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players made professional debuts in American leagues during the 1910s along with Tuero and Rodriguez. Additionally, the drain on American manpower during World War I, created many employment opportunities in all leagues, several of which would be filled in by Cubans. Wilson *Early Ballplayers,* 40, 54-66.

[139] A story among sportswriters of the time period involved the efforts to which Washington's management went to cover up Estalella's African heritage. Allegedly, sometime in the late 1930's, Estalella invited his father from Cuba to come watch him play a Major League game. Estalella's father traveled all the way from Cuba to Washington, D.C., finally arriving at a train station. As the story goes, the Senators manager, Clark Griffith, immediately identified the father and quickly ushered him back onto the train before the press could get a glimpse of the dark skinned man. While the Senators front office considered Estalella's skin color to fit within the racist parameters of Major League baseball, they were not prepared to have his father subjected to the scrutiny of the press. Bob Considine, "Ivory from Cuba," *Collier's,* August 3, 1940, qtd., Wilson, *Early Ballplayers,* 135-136.

[140] Luis Tiant, Jr., for example pitched in the Major Leagues for over nineteen years, while Estalella's grandson, who was born in the Cuban diaspora had a nine year Major League career as a catcher. Wilson, *Early Ballplayers*, 67-70, 127, 135-138.

through…movement between and among the various countries."[141] Despite the racism, this transatlantic realm afforded access to economic opportunities across national boundaries and encouraged migration of players through baseball networks. In looking at the many Cubans who sought employment as professional baseball players within this transatlantic world, there are notable similarities to players from the Hawaiian Islands who traveled throughout the Pacific.

A comparable transpacific identity built on the pursuit of economic opportunities and shaped by shared racism characterized many of the players from the Hawaiian Islands. For someone like Kenichi Zenimura, such a transpacific baseball identity was forged by baseball links between the Hawaiian Islands, the United States, and Japan. Zenimura was born in Japan, but learned the sport of baseball in his youth on O'ahu and excelled as a player after moving to California. Zenimura used baseball to negotiate political conditions in multiple countries in a way that united ethnically Japanese people across the Pacific Ocean. Upon the internment of Japanese Americans in the United States following the outbreak of the Second World War, Zenimura helped organize baseball games and teams among those relocated to the Fresno assembly center in California, where he built a baseball diamond in 1942. During his internment at the Gila River camp in Arizona, Zenimura constructed another diamond and coached the Gila River high school team to a victory over the three-time Arizona state champions from Tucson.[142] At his busiest, Zenimura helped to organize and equip more than thirty two different teams during the war.[143] Following the end of the war, Zenimura continued his involvement in California baseball and used contacts in Japan to negotiate an exchange of players from Fresno

[141] For Burgos, "within this Transatlantic world, the economic livelihood these men pursued took into account multiple factors: the player's resource base (including networks), regional economies, and political conditions at 'home' and 'abroad.'" Adrian Burgos, Jr., "Playing Ball in a Black and White 'Field of Dreams': Afro-Caribbean Ballplayers in the Negro Leagues, 1910-1950," *The Journal of Negro History* 82, no. 1 (Winter, 1997): 68.
[142] Nagawa, *Through a Diamond*, 90.
[143] Franks, *Asian Pacific Americans*, 62.

to the Hiroshima Carp in 1953.[144] As a player and manager, Zenimura used baseball to maintain connections between California, Japan, and the Hawaiian Islands for his own economic livelihood.

In the case of Kenichi Zenimura and others who were interned during World War II, a major part of their transpacific baseball identity was shaped by their racist forced confinement. For them, baseball created a form of subaltern agency similar to what was experienced by the patients at Culion or Kalaupapa. Players were able to express themselves and control their time while on the baseball diamond and for fans, it provided a sense of continuity and community as thousands of people would watch games at the camps. In addition to Zenimura, many other internees had honed their skills in island leagues before moving to the United States. The influence of the Hawaiian Islands was evident in many of the winning teams, who often featured ballplayers from the islands, but also in the team names. At the Tule Lake camp in California for example, one team referenced the island plantation upbringing of their players and fans by naming their team Okole House, or outhouse, to refer to the situation in which they found themselves.[145] While the political conditions stripped interned players of their ability to earn money as they did previously, baseball served as a way to assert their own agency against American authority.

As it relates to baseball, the idea of a transpacific realm where identity was shaped through movement to, from, and through the Hawaiian Islands fits the experience of many migrants discussed in Chapter Four such as Barney Joy, Henry Oana, and Bozo Wakabayashi. Sayuri Guthrie-Shimizu and Joel Franks both come close to articulating an idea of a transpacific

[144] Bill Staples, Jr., *Kenichi Zenimura, Japanese American Baseball Pioneer* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company Inc., Publishers, 2011), 197.
[145] Noboru Shirai, *Tule Lake: An Issei Memoir*, translated by Ray Hosoda, edited by Eucaly Shirai and Valerie Samson (Sacramento, CA: Muteki Press, 2001), 146-147.

identity, but the focus of both scholars ultimately leads them away from fully fleshing out an idea similar to Burgos. For Guthrie-Shimizu, the Hawaiian Islands occupy a middle ground both physically and metaphorically between Japan and the United States where the frequent stops of touring teams combined with the "ethnic baseball subcultures, invested as they were with disparate social meanings and clashing ethnic pride, embodied the shoal of racial and cultural crosscurrents that was Hawai'i."[146] Following the incorporation of the Hawaiian Islands into the United States, Guthrie-Shimizu notes that "more than half of the two hundred thousand Japanese people who migrated to Hawai'i moved to the U.S. Pacific coastal states and Canada's British Columbia in the 1900s and began to form ethnic communities there."[147]

In his ethnically-based analysis of baseball in the Pacific and California, Joel Franks similarly notes that the Hawaiian Islands were a key transit point for Asians and Pacific Islanders, but he stops short of outlining a larger shared identity. However, both authors and many contemporary accounts discussed in the previous chapter make it clear that the movement of people across and throughout the region as part of touring teams and labor migrations created a much wider network from which baseball players from the Hawaiian Islands could draw for establishing venues in which to play. By pursuing opportunities across the transpacific realm, players from the Hawaiian Islands were able to assert their own agency within a transnational space and were able to define that space through baseball in the face of racist experiences. The extent to which various countries and their racial attitudes shaped the baseball identities across this space in a transpacific fashion akin to the transatlantic one outlined by Burgos is unclear, but it remains a fruitful avenue for future research.

[146] Guthrie-Shimizu, *Transpacific Field of Dreams*, 60.
[147] Ibid.

In both Cuba and the Hawaiian Islands, baseball has been characterized as an Americanizing force despite the fact that in each region, the sport's pedigree includes a number of contradictory influences. While there are many similarities in terms of the sport's development and its use as an avenue for economic opportunity within larger regional networks, the fact that the colonial history and demographics of each region are, at times, markedly different creates divergence in baseball's connection to national identity. Nonetheless, it is intriguing that Cuba offers a close comparison to the Hawaiian Islands through baseball since the two regions also share historiographical trends.

In his discussion of history and historiography, Louis Pérez has noted that while the year 1898 and the Spanish American War have filled numerous volumes in the historiography of the United States, the war and period of expansion have been treated with ambivalence and ambiguity by scholars. The reason for this, according to Pérez, is that most narratives of 1898 are based on perspectives that focus solely on the United States, which results in a self-possessed and self-contained historiography.[148] In the hundred years that followed 1898, most accounts of the time period in U.S. history generally exclude Cuban participation due to a "general lack of familiarity with Cuban historiography and neglect of Cuban archival sources and manuscript collections. The discussion of Cuba in 1898, when acknowledged at all, has been derived principally from U.S. sources and accounts, repeated and reproduced, again and again, with such authority that it soon assumed fully the force of self-evident truths."[149]

In its name, the Spanish-American War "denied the Cuban presence and participation," but beyond names, Cubans were excluded from settlement negotiations and relegated to the

[148] Louis A. Pérez, Jr., *The War of 1898: The United States and Cuba in History and Historiography* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), ix-x.
[149] Pérez, Jr., *The War of 1898*, xii.

passive role of "onlookers as sovereignty of the island passed from the Spanish to the United States."[150] Newspaper reports from the United States reinforced this image, and consequently, narratives based on those accounts cemented a lack of Cuban participation in American views of the War of 1898 where American victories "were attributed either to American valor or Spanish blunders," but not the work of Cuban insurgents who had been fighting since 1895.[151] These views dominated the historiography of 1898 into the 1990s.[152] Furthermore, framing the Spanish-American War like Teddy Roosevelt did, as a "splendid little war," disavows "war as a means of calculated policy for empire," through a tone "suggesting something between farce and folly."[153]

Similarly, Puakea Nogelmeier has outlined a "discourse of sufficiency" when it comes to the history of the Hawaiian Islands that permeates the historiography of the islands. This discourse is constructed on the "long-standing recognition and acceptance of a small selection of Hawaiian writings from the 19th century as being sufficient to embody nearly a hundred years of extensive Hawaiian auto-representation."[154] Just as Cubans are denied agency in many of the histories written about their island touched on by Pérez, so too does this discourse of sufficiency and lack of attention to Hawaiian-language sources obscure the numerous opinions held within the Hawaiian community of the nineteenth century, as well as de-emphasize the role of Hawaiians in the history of Hawai'i during the twentieth century.

This is similarly true of the historiography of baseball in the Hawaiian Islands which, as discussed in previous chapters, has largely been framed as an example of the Americanization of

[150] Pérez, Jr., *The War of 1898*, 83.
[151] Pérez, Jr., *The War of 1898*, 89.
[152] Louis Pérez cites scholars such as John Scott Reed, David Healy, David Trask, Thomas Paterson, Jules Benjamin, J. Garry Clifford, and Kenneth Hagan as emphasizing a variety of ways in which Cuban involvement shaped the experience of the United States during war with Spain. Louis A. Pérez, Jr., *The War of 1898*, 106-107.
[153] Pérez, Jr., *The War of 1898*, 115.
[154] Nogelmeier, *Mai Pa'a I Ka Leo*, 1-2.

the islands. When discussing baseball in the Hawaiian Islands, it is necessary to consider the role of Hawaiians and other non-American actors not only in the sport's early development, but also in its continued popularity through the twentieth century. Like in Cuba, baseball in the Hawaiian Islands developed as a transnational sporting experience due to the processes of cultural exchange, migrations, and identity formation in addition to imperialism, but that divergent imperial experience led to the lack of a connection between baseball and national identity. By linking these two nations, baseball, despite its American origins, offers an opportunity to highlight history that is often submerged beneath historiographical trends of the United States.

Conclusion

In looking at baseball around the world between the 1840s and the 1940s, it is apparent that the combination of colonialism, migrations, and other transnational influences played important roles in the growth of the sport's popularity. However, the fashion in which different regions adopted baseball depended on the local contexts and circumstances of the sport's arrival. The overall experience of the Hawaiian Islands fits within a general pattern of baseball's expansion to the Caribbean, Central America, East Asia, and elsewhere in Oceania in the sense that it featured multiple and contested motivations behind the promotion and growth of the sport.

Exactly what those different motivations were in promoting the sport depended on baseball's pedigree in a particular region. The contextual meanings, uses, and implications of baseball varied by region both in terms of who was promoting the sport and who was adopting it. How those meanings and uses of baseball were accepted or changed depended on the ways in

which transnational forces were negotiated by local conditions. Consequently, the proportions of colonialism, migrations, identity formation, and cultural exchange that contributed to baseball's pedigree also varied depending on the local conditions.

Indeed colonialism played a major role in the spread of baseball, but just as pedigrees of baseball differ throughout the world, so too do colonial experiences. The colonizing process was both informed by experiences in other regions and tailored to unique local contexts. Colonial officials used baseball for a variety of purposes and the sport often became linked to colonial policy both directly and indirectly. It is because of that colonial link that baseball in the United States, Taiwan, and the Philippines offer comparable contexts to baseball in the Hawaiian Islands through their connection to public health, labor, and educational policies. How baseball was adopted and understood in those regions, however, differed due to the local circumstances. In Cuba, baseball and its American legacy was used to define a modern Cuban identity against Spanish colonial rule. Conversely, it was precisely that American legacy being opposed by many Filipinos who saw baseball as an imposition of a new colonial regime and sought to promote Spanish traditions as a form of resistance to American colonialism. For the Hawaiian Islands, the pedigree of baseball certainly includes educational, labor, and public health policies that allow for comparisons with other regions, but the sport's meaning in Hawai‘i is more contested than elsewhere because of the sport's early introduction and adoption at a time when the Hawaiian Islands was governed as an independent kingdom.

Most scholars who discuss the spread of baseball during this time period do so through a lens of colonialism since it played an integral role in the growth of baseball's popularity in each of these regions. However, to focus solely on colonialism is to not only overlook other important transnational influences such as migrations, but to disregard the considerable diversity of

colonial experiences in each of these regions. The experiences of Puerto Rican, Native American, Chamorro, Taiwanese, and other peoples differed greatly when it came to how they were treated by and reacted to colonizing forces. To attribute the spread of baseball primarily to colonial forces is to steamroll the nuance of the colonial endeavor across time and place.

Furthermore, focusing solely on colonialism's role in growing baseball popularity in the Hawaiian Islands ignores a major transnational influence in the sport's development: transnational migrations. Especially as it compares to Cuba, the role of transnational migration routes to and through the Hawaiian Islands was central to baseball's appeal as an avenue for travel. While the colonial experiences may differ between the Hawaiian Islands and Cuba, the movement of teams and players across a wider network illustrates a commonality for the sport's development in both regions. For Cubans, that network included not only its North American neighbors in the United States and Mexico, but other Caribbean sites such as Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, Panama, Nicaragua, Honduras and elsewhere. It was the travel to and through these various countries that created, according to Adrian Burgos, a transatlantic world for Cuban ballplayers. Similarly, teams and players from the Hawaiian Islands traveled to North America as well as Asia to play baseball in the United States, Canada, Japan, China, Korea, and the Philippines. These circuits created a transpacific world for many of the players whose cosmopolitan baseball-playing experiences granted them opportunities to expand their networks beyond the Hawaiian Islands.

These differing pedigrees that resulted from the varied experiences with colonialism, migrations, and other transnational forces led to a wide range of histories regarding baseball's development around the world. Although the sport spread to numerous places between the 1840s and 1940s, the local contexts and the sport's pedigree explain many of the divergences in

terms of when and why the sport reached certain levels of popularity. By framing baseball in the Hawaiian Islands as a transnational sport linked to a range of world-historical influences in the previous three chapters, this study has opened more avenues for comparative research.

CONCLUSION
TWO TOURING TEAMS AS ISLAND REPRESENTATIVES

In the summer of 1940, two teams from the Hawaiian Islands competed in separate international baseball tournaments in Japan and Cuba. The involvement of such teams in these tournaments fits within a larger history of baseball players and teams from the islands touring abroad to play games. The growth in baseball popularity in the Hawaiian Islands through the twentieth century combined with the islands' central location between the ball-playing networks of the Americas and East Asia enabled players and teams from the Hawaiian Islands to take advantage of the different travel routes and expand their own ball-playing horizons. In the case of these particular instances in 1940, the participation of these two teams in international tournaments is notable for the fact that they did so not as representatives of the United States, but of the Hawaiian Islands themselves as a separate entity.

In June, the Asahi baseball team, consisting of fifteen players and two coaches from the Hawaiian Islands, competed in the East Asian Games in Tokyo against teams from Japan, occupied China, Korea, Manchuria, and the Philippines.[1] Originally, Japan had planned to be the center of the sporting world in the summer of 1940 as host of the XIIth Olympiad. However, in order to focus on the ongoing imperial expansion in Asia and the Pacific, the Japanese government forfeited their right to host these Olympic Games.[2] In their place, Japan held a series of commemorations designed to celebrate Tokyo's new position as a seat of imperial power in East Asia. Among these commemorations was the East Asian Games which featured a

[1] Athletes from Thailand were also invited but did not make the trip to Tokyo. Sandra Collins, *The 1940 Tokyo Games: The Missing Olympics. Japan, The Asian Olympics and the Olympic Movement* (London: Routledge, 2007), 179.
[2] Collins, *The 1940 Tokyo Games*, 1-5.

baseball tournament and served, as Sandra Collins has noted, as "a staged allegory of the 'Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere'."[3]

The Asahis were quickly knocked out of the double-elimination tournament in Tokyo, losing to the Tokyo Collegiate All Stars and the team from the Philippines in their first two games, although both games were close ones. The first game ended in a 4-3 loss in the bottom of the ninth as a blooper dropped into left field just out of the reach of the Asahi shortstop and in front of the two outfielders.[4] The second game ended 4-2 as the Filipinos scored a run in both the eighth and ninth innings to break open a tie game.[5] Although they met with a quick exit, what is notable about the Asahis is the fact that they were invited to participate in the tournament at all. Imperial Japan had designed the East Asian Games to showcase their own influence in the region and while they did not invite the United States, they welcomed the Asahis thanks to years of baseball exchanges that followed labor migrations to and through the islands.

Four months later in September 1940, a team from Honolulu arrived in Cuba to compete for an international amateur baseball championship. Billed as the "Amateur World Series," this Cuban tournament featured teams from the United States, Puerto Rico, Nicaragua, Venezuela, and Mexico as well as the host country. The Cubans won the tournament with ten total wins while Hawai'i finished the tournament with 5 wins and 7 losses, a record that tied them with Venezuela and placed them ahead of Puerto Rico and Mexico.[6] As with the Asahis in Japan, it is not necessarily the final standings that are of interest with these tournaments, but rather the

[3] Collins, *The 1940 Tokyo Games*, 179. For a discussion of the nature of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere see William G. Beasley, *Japanese Imperialism: 1894-1945* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1987), 233-250.
[4] "Asahi Team Defeated in Japan," *Honolulu Advertiser*, June 6, 1940.
[5] "Asahis Lose to Filipinos; Out of Series," *Honolulu Advertiser*, June 7, 1940.
[6] Peter Bjarkman, *A History of Cuban Baseball, 1864-2006* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2007), 196.

participation of a team from the Hawaiian Islands representing themselves rather than the United States in an international competition.

By highlighting the participation of teams from the Hawaiian Islands in these international tournaments, the anecdotes above helpfully encapsulate the three main issues addressed in this study. Firstly, the East Asian Games and Amateur World Series are representative of a growing trend in international tournaments that helped create an increasingly global athletic arena in which people from the Hawaiian Islands were active and enthusiastic participants. For baseball during the 1930s, such international competitions were most frequently organized under the auspices of the International Amateur Baseball Federation (IABF).[7] Founded by former Major League ballplayer Leslie Mann, the IABF sought to organize an international series of baseball games that would culminate with the sport being played at the summer Olympic Games in 1940.[8] In his quest to gain Olympic recognition for the sport, Mann organized a World Baseball Tournament and established a baseball congress with representatives of amateur baseball associations from around the world where baseball had spread culturally, including the Hawaiian Islands.[9]

In addition to the Hawaiian Islands, the countries to enlist in the 1940 World Baseball Tournament were the United States, Japan, Germany, England, China, Mexico, the Philippines,

[7] The IABF has since reorganized itself to include professional baseball leagues around the world and is now called the International Baseball Federation (IBAF). For more information see www.ibaf.org/en/.
[8] At the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin, Mann was able to organize a demonstration game between two amateur American teams. This game, with its 6-5 final score, was held after all of the medal events in front of between 90,000 and 125,000 spectators in Nazi Germany and was lauded as a massive success for increasing the sport's popularity. Although the exhibition at the 1936 Games was originally intended to be between the United States and Japan, the game on August 12 ended up featuring two American teams since the Japanese withdrew their participation before the Olympics began. Sayuri Guthrie-Shimizu has noted that while the reasons for Japan's withdrawal "are not entirely clear...the game's status as a non-medal-yielding demonstration event likely played a part," since the Japanese Amateur Sports Association that controlled the country's Olympic teams was far more interested in winning medals. Guthrie-Shimizu, *Transpacific Field of Dreams*, 169.
[9] Leslie Mann, *Baseball Around the World: International Amateur Baseball Federation* (Springfield, MA: Springfield College, 1941).

and Cuba.[10] Steere Noda, the longtime manager of Honolulu's Asahis in the Hawaiian Baseball League, represented the Hawaiian Baseball Association and served as one of thirteen governors of the IABF.[11] As precursors to the 1940 tournament, a number of international matches were planned for the intervening years between Olympic Games. Dual matches and three-team series were set for cities such as Tokyo, Panama City, Paris, and elsewhere both as part of larger expositions and on their own. Following the Berlin Olympic Games in 1936, the United States accepted an invitation to play in Japan and shortly thereafter an invitation was to "be extended to the Hawaiians for a Japanese-American-Hawaiian series" in the summer of 1937, with a second series between Japan and the United States set for Honolulu in 1939.[12] Such ambitious plans for the late-1930s would not come to their full fruition, as Japanese military and colonial expansion prevented them from competing in IABF tournaments.

According to Barbara Keys, such international competitions created a shared experience for athletes and fans that, when played out on an international stage, served "as a means of mediating between national and international identities."[13] While those identities were defined in opposition to other nations during international competitions, they were shaped by experiences with the same forces of imperialism, cultural diffusion and exchange, and migrations that made such tournaments possible by 1940. For these two teams from the Hawaiian Islands, the difference between local and international layers of identity was pronounced in these tournaments. The Asahis in Japan drew their traveling team from the Asahi team of the HBL

[10] Added to these charter members were Peru, Spain, Belgium, France, Egypt, Canada, and the Netherlands. Leslie Mann had hoped to expand membership to include Costa Rica, Colombia, South Africa, Venezuela, El Salvador, and New Zealand as well by the time of the 1940 tournament. Leslie Mann, *Baseball Around the World*, 5.
[11] "16 Nations form Baseball Group," *New York Times*, August 9, 1936.
[12] "16 Nations form Baseball Group," *New York Times*, August 9, 1936; Sayuri Guthrie-Shimizu, *Transpacific Field of Dreams*, 170.
[13] Barbara J. Keys, *Globalizing Sport: National Rivalry and International Community in the 1930s* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 3.

which, at the time, was owned by Katsumi Kometani. A dentist in Mō‘ili‘ili, Kometani had purchased the team in 1937 and continued the practice of employing the top players of Japanese ancestry from O‘ahu. When they played in the HBL, their identities as ballplayers were based primarily on ethnicity but while in tournaments abroad such as the East Asian Games they became representatives of the Hawaiian Islands and were identified as such by foreign media and fans. Similarly, the Hawai‘i team in Cuba was made up primarily of the Wanderers, a local haole team of the HBL. Any ethnic segregation that existed in the HBL was discarded in the international arena however, as the traveling squad that made the trip to Cuba featured several players of color from a variety of different HBL clubs. When competing at the international level, baseball helped players add new layers to their own identities that brought them together beyond the ethnically divided Hawaiian Baseball League.

Secondly, these episodes illustrate the value of approaching baseball in the Hawaiian Islands from a world-historical perspective. These tournaments featured teams from around the world and were not arenas for domination by the United States. By shifting the study of baseball in the Hawaiian Islands away from the frame of Americanization, this study has re-centered the subject in a global context. This allows events that have been previously submerged in discussions of assimilation to be examined in light of their contribution to the development of the sport in the islands. Despite occupation and annexation by the United States since the end of the nineteenth century, the Hawaiian Islands were regarded as separate when seen through the eyes of the international baseball community. The participation of ballplayers from the Hawaiian Islands in such international tournaments as the 1940 East Asian Games and the Amateur World Series as members of the IABF illustrates this distinctiveness of the Hawaiian Islands from the United States through baseball. That both of these events are scarcely mentioned in histories of

baseball in Hawai‘i highlights the need to consider the development of baseball in the Hawaiian Islands on its own terms since it enabled participation beyond avenues facilitated solely by the United States.[14]

And thirdly, these two tournaments illustrate how baseball itself was a transnational sport in the Hawaiian Islands. The sport was not imposed upon the islands by the United States, nor did it develop in isolation in the middle of the Pacific. Instead, baseball in the Hawaiian Islands grew in communication with the sport's development globally, as players traveled to, from, and through the islands with new styles, innovations, and rule changes that kept the game up to date. These tournaments were opportunities for residents of the Hawaiian Islands to use baseball as an arena to expand their own horizons and connections to the larger world. In these cases, players were able to partake in foreign travel and visit either Japan or Cuba using funds raised for them through community and league support.[15]

In a larger sense, through the study of baseball in the Hawaiian Islands between 1840 and 1945, this dissertation not only illustrates the value of sports to the study of world history, but the value of world history to specific topics within the study of sports. By showing the ways in which the development of baseball is linked to world-historical themes of imperialism, migrations, identity formation, and cultural diffusion and exchange, the preceding chapters have emphasized the confluence of global and local forces that play out on the baseball diamonds in terms of who is involved with the sport as either players, managers, administrators, sponsors, or fans. It is this interaction between global and local forces that creates such a ripe transnational

[14] Among the studies that touch on baseball in the Hawaiian Islands in the twentieth century, only Sayuri Guthrie-Shimizu even mentions the events, briefly touching on them in a single paragraph. Guthrie-Shimizu, *Transpacific Field of Dreams*, 170-171.

[15] In the case of Matsuo "Lefty" Higuchi who pitched for the Asahis in Japan and the Hawai‘i team in Cuba, these tours enabled the travel to both Japan and Cuba.

arena for the study of world history through sports and it is here that this dissertation fits into a void in existing scholarship.

As a lens for analysis, sports have generally garnered very little attention from world historians. There have been some efforts to analyze sports within a framework of globalization, but these often work their way backward to explain the historical development of present-day sports' global nature.[16] Indeed, sports are important scholarly subjects in terms of how they are connected to globalizing forces of the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first centuries, but they are also valuable lenses of analysis because of how they illuminate cross-cultural connections and larger processes in and of themselves. While the preceding chapters have focused on the connection between sports and larger processes in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, a time period central to the rapid acceleration of globalizing forces, they have not done so with an eye to explain the current state of baseball in the Hawaiian Islands nor its place in the global baseball-playing community. By detaching this study from efforts to study the contemporary globalization of sports, this discussion contends that sports are a valuable lens for examining the influence of larger processes on and within society at specific times, regardless of their importance or popularity today.

Accordingly, sports are a fruitful avenue for approaching the study of world history where everyday social interactions on the pitch, field, rink, court, or diamond can be examined in terms of how they reflect the negotiation of transnational processes and local contexts. For C. L. R. James, the "cricket field was a stage on which select individuals played roles which were

[16] See for example, Maaten Van Bottenburg, *Global Games* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2001); David McComb, *Sports in World History* (New York, NY: Taylor & Francis Inc., 2004); Alan M. Klein, *Growing the Game: The Globalization of Major League Baseball* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006); Richard Giulianotti and Roland Robertson, *Globalization and Football* (London: SAGE, 2009); as well as the special issues of *Global Networks* 7, no. 2 (2007) and *Journal of Global History* 8, no. 2 (2013).

charged with social significance."[17] But that social significance was the result of racial and class tensions that had been created and fueled by the ways in which people in the West Indies had negotiated transnational processes such as colonialism and capitalism at the local level. The different ways in which people of the Hawaiian Islands negotiated transnational processes in their everyday lives resulted in a sport such as baseball being understood differently than cricket in the West Indies, but with no less significance when it comes to illustrating social interactions.

Not only does this dissertation illustrate the value of sports to the study of world history, but so too does it show the value of world history to the study of sports. Incorporating a world historical perspective that focuses on the connections between sports and larger processes helps break the study of sports away from nation-centered narratives. This is an important shift since, as Matthew Taylor has noted with regard to much American scholarship, "research on sport has tended to stay locked within national parameters."[18] By using a world-historical perspective that explores the "shifting patterns of cross-cultural connections, relationships, networks, interactions, and exchanges" that occur in the sporting arena, this study breaks away from nation-centered narratives.[19]

Such a break from nation-centered narratives is especially important with the sport of baseball, a subject whose spread has been primarily discussed within a frame of Americanization. For the Hawaiian Islands, that means considering how the participation of different groups, the formation of new leagues catering to specific interests in the islands, the projection of identities through the organization of touring teams, and the migrations of

[17] C. L. R. James, *Beyond a Boundary*, 66.
[18] Matthew Taylor, "Editorial – Sport, Transnationalism, and Global History," *Journal of Global History* 8, no 2 (July 2013): 203.
[19] Jerry H. Bentley, "Globalizing History and Historicizing Globalization," *Globalizations* 1, no. 1 (September 2004): 78.

individual players and teams illustrate a variety of effects of transnational forces on and within the islands as well as the local response to those forces. In order to adequately tell the history of baseball in the islands, it is necessary to include all of these aspects, and to do that requires taking a world-historical perspective, as seen in the previous five chapters.

Chapter One connected the study of sports in Oceania to four key processes in the study of world history. The growth of many sports in the region were intricately tied not only to aspects of identity and cultural diffusion and exchange, but to imperialism and transnational migrations as well. In outlining the ways in which these processes contributed to and are reflected in the growth of sports in Oceania, this chapter illustrates the value of sports to the study of world history and provides a regional context for the development of baseball in the Hawaiian Islands that includes not only American influences, but European, Asian, and Pacific influences as well.

The second, third, and fourth chapters then surveyed the development of baseball in the Hawaiian Islands in terms of how it is influenced by and reflects these world-historical processes outlined in Chapter One. How the sport relates to issues of identity, culture, imperialism, and migrations through not only its introduction, but its subsequent growth in the islands prior to 1890 are central concerns of Chapter Two. The multiple and competing claims regarding the sport's introduction; the connection of the sport to understandings of modernity and masculinity; the effect of temperance and gambling on sustained league play; the popularity of baseball over cricket; and the playing or cancelation of games as a result of political uprisings in the late-1880s all show the effects of world-historical processes on the everyday experiences of regular people.

The political unrest of the late 1880s carried over into the 1890s and Chapter Three concludes that despite such upheaval in the islands, the baseball diamond remained a relatively

stable social arena. Political opponents met one another on the field of play and spectators shared the stands with political rivals. Despite rebellion in 1893 and again in 1895, the imprisonment of several key baseball men, protests against the Republic of Hawai‘i, and annexation by the United States, it was a gambling incident that caused the most disruption to the Hawaiian Base Ball League by cutting the 1894 season short. In a decade of immense political turmoil, the social significance of baseball was that it proved to be a stable site of interaction where rivalries could be passionately, but peacefully played out.

The role of the baseball diamond was tested over the next fifty years, as Chapter Four outlines with regard to the increasing efforts to use the sport for assimilationist and identity-forming purposes. The twentieth century featured the growth of baseball in the towns and on the plantations, leading to a baseball-playing community in which ethnic tensions and rivalries were played out on the field. Into these competitions were added the physical forces of American imperialism in the Hawaiian Islands as United States military teams formed their own leagues and competed with local island teams. The popularity of the sport led to an increased number of touring teams to and from the Hawaiian Islands which helped create a transpacific baseball-playing identity for the athletes skilled enough to travel the pathways enabled by the sport.

The combination of these world-historical processes on the development of baseball in the Hawaiian Islands created a unique pedigree for the sport that, although it shared some aspects with the development of the sport globally, differed in several key ways as Chapter Five illustrates. Like areas in the United States, Taiwan, and the Philippines, baseball in the Hawaiian Islands was used as a tool of the imperial repertoire to assimilate different groups of people while at the same time it was also used to challenge imperial stereotypes and understandings. In Cuba, where baseball’s development compares closely to the Hawaiian Islands, the sport similarly

served as a path for transnational migrations, but took on very different connections to national identity. Overall, what separates baseball in the Hawaiian Islands from these other regions is its origins as part of an independent and sovereign Hawaiian Kingdom which allowed the sport to develop a unique pedigree that established connections to identity different from other places in the world.

In order to account for the many confluences and contradictions of the competing interests that fueled the growth in baseball's popularity in the Hawaiian Islands as opposed to elsewhere, it is necessary to identify and examine how transnational forces were negotiated within local conditions. This dissertation achieves that by situating the development of baseball in the Hawaiian Islands between 1840 and 1945 in a world-historical perspective while at the same time emphasizing the actions of local players, managers, teams, sponsors, administrators, and fans who navigated the shifting position of the islands in an international context. In doing so, hopefully it has illuminated further avenues for research that continue to view the Hawaiian Islands in a global context, rather than an American one, and inspire further exploration of sports as avenues for studying world history.

APPENDIX:
FIGURES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1: John E. Bush
San Francisco Examiner, January 20, 1895.

PIONEERS.

	OUTS.	RUNS
G Roberts, p	4	1
A W Judd, c	4	1
E Macfarlane, 1st b	5	0
S Nott, 3d b	4	0
F Wundenberg, 3d b	3	1
J H Black, s s	0	3
Thos Snow, r f	4	0
H E Whitney, l f	1	2
A W Carter, c f	2	1
	27	9

PACIFICS.

	OUTS.	RUNS
C T Gulick, p	3	2
W S Wond, c	3	1
G Harbottle, 1st b	3	2
J Nakookoo, 2d b	4	0
J N Gillman, 3d b	5	0
J Naone, s s	3	1
G Laanui, r f	3	1
J Meek, l f	2	2
J E Bush, c f	1	2
	27	11

INNINGS.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
Pacifics	1	0	1	0	2	2	4	1	0	—11
Pioneers	2	2	0	0	0	3	0	1	1	— 9

P. C. Jones, Umpire.
A. W. Judd, Captain Pioneers. W. S. Wond, Captain Pacifics. H. G. Crabb and C. H. Rose, Scorers.

Figure 2: Pioneers vs. Pacifics Box Score
Pacific Commercial Advertiser, August 31, 1867.

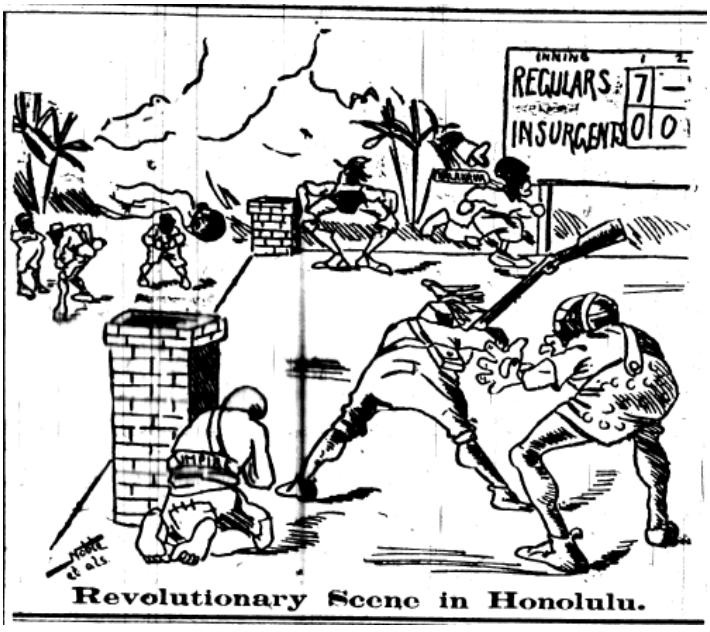

Figure 3: Political Cartoon of 1889 Wilcox Rebellion
San Francisco Examiner, August 11, 1889.

Figure 4: Spalding Cup
Pacific Commercial Advertiser, August 17, 1895.

Figure 5: George Wood
Hawaiian Star, August 2, 1895.

Figure 6: Lionel Hart
Hawaiian Star, October 27, 1896.

Figure 7: James Thompson
Hawaiian Gazette, May 8, 1895.

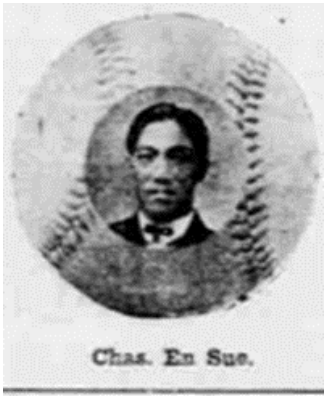

Figure 8: En Sue Pung
Hawaiian Gazette,
October 18, 1907.

Figure 9: Barney Joy
Honolulu Evening Bulletin,
April 29, 1907.

Figure 10: Wilbur Rogan
Honolulu Star Bulletin,
February 28, 1916.

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Hawaii Holomua
Ko Hawaii Pae Aina
The Hawaiian Gazette
The Hawaiian Star
Honolulu Advertiser
Honolulu Daily Bulletin
Honolulu Evening Bulletin
Honolulu Star-Bulletin
The Independent (Honolulu, Hawai‘i)
Ka Leo o ka Lahui (Honolulu, Hawai‘i)
Los Angeles Herald
Ka Makaainana (Honolulu, Hawai‘i)
The Maui News (Wailuku, Hawai‘i)
New York Clipper
New York Mercury
Ka Nonanona (Honolulu, Hawai‘i)
Ka Nupepa Kuokoa (Honolulu, Hawai‘i)
Ka Oiaio (Honolulu, Hawai‘i)
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Philadelphia Sunday Mercury
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