

Book Reviews

The Cambridge History of the Pacific Islanders. Edited by Donald Denoon, with Stewart Firth, Jocelyn Linnekin, Malama Meleisea, and Karen Nero. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. 540 pp. Maps. Illustrations. Tables. \$79.95.

This is a great CD-ROM of a book, beginning with the Pleistocene era and spanning the history of human movement and settlement in the Pacific from the colonization of Australia and the southwest Pacific 40,000 to 50,000 years ago to the end of the twentieth century.

It is deliberately titled *Pacific Islanders* and not *Pacific Islands*. Islands are commonly thought of as the most bounded of land forms, the classic example of how geography limits and determines the character of a culture and its people. The minute and scattered island cultures of the Pacific have frequently been reduced to this continental view of islands as static and marooned. The editors of this volume counter such geographical determinism by emphasizing the continuity of sea and land in the Pacific world and the "continuum of human movements and transactions" which has characterized its history. Voyaging has been the dominant Pacific experience from the remarkable expansion east that resulted in the Polynesian settlement of the Marquesas, Hawai'i, and Tahiti between A.D. 300 and 800 to the modern routes northeast from Apia to Los Angeles, south to Auckland, or west from Port Vila to Brisbane. From the beginning of settlement, land and sea have been constantly traversed by Pacific peoples, resulting in complex networks of alliance and diaspora. Highlighting mobility and exchange, the *Cambridge History* echoes Epli Hau'ofa's description of the Pacific as a "sea of islands."

From this point of view, European contact becomes one of several major influences rather than the sole determining one, and a full *history* of the Pacific Islanders becomes possible. This has often been denied. As Vanessa Smith has recently pointed out, ethnography has been the dominant dis-

course for describing Pacific cultures, partly, at least, because of the European perception that the idea of historical development is incommensurate with the description of peripheral or “primitive” cultures. The geography of the Pacific Islands has conspired with this, so that change and history “are represented as incursions from across the waves, negotiated at the sea borders of otherwise stable communities” (Vanessa Smith, *Literary Culture and the Pacific*, Cambridge University Press, 1998, pp. 193–94). It follows from this traditional view that the *history* of Pacific peoples did not begin until European contact. *The Cambridge History of the Pacific Islanders*, by contrast, is an almost seamless collaboration between historians and anthropologists that refutes such distinctions.

The terms of the volume are, inevitably, problematic. There is a basic difficulty in treating the Pacific as a single region, and its tripartite division into Polynesia, Melanesia, and Micronesia is a legacy of nineteenth-century colonialism that corresponds only very roughly to Pacific Islanders’ conceptions of their world. Nevertheless the editors accept that these blurred, unsatisfactory categories are inescapable and that the attempt to look “to Islanders for paradigms through which to understand the region” necessarily includes the ways in which Western concepts have affected how Islanders conceive of themselves. This is not a return to fatal-impact explanations but a recognition of the interactive nature of all culture contact and the enormous, though uneven, influence that colonialism had throughout the Pacific during the nineteenth century.

Part One, more than half the book, takes the story up to 1941. Its eight chapters are the responsibility of four of the book’s editors—Donald Denoon, Jocelyn Linnekin, Malama Meleisea, and Stewart Firth—although several subsections have been written by other contributors. There is much to learn and admire in each chapter, and some useful cross-referencing between them. The limited number of contributors ensures a flexible uniformity of style and approach. Occasionally the density of material results in a lack of clarity. The section on the New Zealand Wars strangely takes no account of James Bellich’s seminal history; Judith Binney’s important work on Maori prophets is also ignored. The early decades of the twentieth century are scantily covered. These, however, are minor quibbles in the context of its overall coverage.

Part Two adds another five chapters, with the volume’s remaining editor, Karen Nero, the dominant contributor to this section. It is particularly useful to have a comparative study of the differential effects of the war in the Pacific; Stewart Firth’s chapter pulls together scattered local studies in an admirable synthesis. Once again the chapters by the editors themselves are more successful than the specialist sections by other contributors. The pages

on the nuclear politics of French Polynesia are swamped in detail and the main outlines lost. There is a similar lack of focus in the account of Fijian politics since 1987, which also ignores the international dimensions of the coup and misses an opportunity to explain the muted British reaction to it in terms of Firth's earlier discussion of the British regard for the Fijians as a model colonial people.

The book, however, ends very strongly with Nero's concluding chapter, "The end of insularity," even if its title is somewhat misleading. Throughout the volume the emphasis has been on the open, porous nature of Pacific worlds, and the myth of insularity has been challenged by most of the earlier chapters. Nero brings this emphasis into the present and in doing so shows that the Pacific has perhaps gone further in dealing with (post)modern problems than many other parts of the world. What is the basis of cultural identity? When centers dissolve, do things fall apart? She demonstrates that in the Pacific (and elsewhere, I would argue) indigeneity is an increasingly nebulous concept and an unsatisfactory basis for deciding issues of ethnicity, identity, and nationhood. Her example of a Fiji citizen of Chinese, Samoan, Cook Islander, and Danish ancestry adopted by a Fiji-born Gujarati-South Indian man and his Fiji-born Samoan wife is not far-fetched, and it illustrates the extraordinary range of ethnicities such an individual may select or be ascribed.

If there are more Samoans living in Auckland and Los Angeles than at home, where then is home? If this might seem to imply a new kind of dependency, with Pacific Rim nations serving as metropolitan centers to the peripheral island-states of the Pacific, this is challenged by the perceptions of the Islanders themselves who live in these cities, remit money, receive food and other gifts in return, welcome relatives, and return home for visits or perhaps to stay. As Nero writes: "To any Islander, it is the Pacific that is center to the peripheral nations." But for many Pacific Islanders the experience is increasingly one of coming from several places rather than from a single home. Centers are caving in. The long-term implications of this are far from clear, and the experience itself is being repeated in other parts of the world.

Nero's account of Pacific Islanders at the end of the twentieth century is not, therefore, a complacent postmodern celebration of difference and liminality. If Pacific societies have "always combined stasis and mobility along shared exchange routes," in the past they remained centered. These new societies of the Pacific are typically pan-state, spilling far beyond the boundaries established during the colonial period or the smaller groups characteristic of Pacific worlds before the nineteenth century. Does geographical dispersal inevitably mean cultural dissolution? The hybrid worlds of the Pacific and its Rim, so interesting to cultural theorists, are costly as well as exciting and

involve loss and displacement as well as new geographical and cultural configurations. A multiplicity of identities can seem to threaten identity itself.

From one point of view, Pacific cultures at the end of the twentieth century are caught in new forms of dependency that will be harder to survive than any previously: migration, remittance, aid, and bureaucracy, the MIRAB trap of dependency on metropolitan benefactors. Against this, however, Epeli Hau'ofa has emphasized new kinds of adaptation and response that question the very assumptions on which the MIRAB model is based, and the authors of this history provide several millennia of evidence to suggest that this is not merely a dream.

The editors of this *Cambridge History of the Pacific Islanders* are to be congratulated. Within a single volume, it offers a historical and geographical sweep found nowhere else in writing about the Pacific, and it synthesizes a great deal of modern scholarship previously scattered across remote specialist journals. In this, Pacific scholarship has often imitated the region it describes. This book tells stories, both ancient and modern, of voyage and settlement, of colonization and decolonization, of loss and survival, of cultural shock and adaptation. Its master narrative, if one there be, is of defiance: defiance of the vastness of the ocean, of the technology and organization of the West, of nineteenth-century forecasts of the imminent extinction of the Pacific Islanders, of the invasion of the Second World War in the mid-twentieth century, the nuclear politics of its later decades, and the globalization of the fin de millennium. Defiance, however, has also involved flexibility and adaptation. As the third millennium approaches, Pacific Islanders continue to spread out across their ocean, over its rim and into the continents of the world, forming new "arcs of linked units" as they move, settle, or return. As the *Cambridge History* makes clear, this is an unfinished story.

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Merchant Prince of the Sandalwood Mountains: Afong and the Chinese in Hawai'i. By Bob Dye. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997. x + 276 pp. Illustrated. Genealogy. Notes. Bibliography. Index. \$35.00.

Life in late nineteenth-century Hawai'i gained complexity and texture from the competing interests and cultures that converged on the Islands. Bob Dye's meticulous research into the life of Chun Afong (1825–1906), the

"Merchant Prince" of the book title, reveals something of the man and exposes much more about tensions underlying the politics and social relations among groups that vied for wealth and control in Hawai'i. Local issues had international implications, however, and shifting relations among Hawai'i, the United States, and China helped to shape the fate of Afong and the Chinese in Hawai'i.

Much of what Dye writes about nineteenth-century politics and the economy is familiar, but his narration from the perspective of immigrant history is freshly presented. In twenty-three brief chapters, a prologue, and an epilogue, Dye interweaves themes spanning the period of Afong's residence from 1849 to 1890. Although he brings to life major events and issues of the period when Hawai'i's monarchy still asserted autonomy, the lack of sources on the inner life of Chun Afong limits portrayal of the man, who remains elusive even while he and other Chinese learned to penetrate the circles of influence and power and prospered. The book is thus appropriately subtitled "Afong and the Chinese in Hawai'i" for the book is as much about the Chinese experience as it is about him.

At mid-century entrepreneurial newcomers such as Chun Afong and other immigrants above the laboring class found ample opportunities in Hawai'i. The youngest son of a gentry family of some means in Kwangtung province, Afong had the financial resources needed to launch himself in business in Hawai'i. Through shrewd investments, persistence, and skillful management of his resources, he branched into a number of successful ventures.

Afong's rise to wealth and prominence was the stuff of fable. He acquired an interest in the biggest sugar plantation on Hawai'i island, and over the years he leased or owned several plantations and sugar processing operations alone or in partnership. With his partner Achuck he owned a store in Honolulu that carried quality merchandise from China and exported foodstuffs and dry goods from Hawai'i to Hong Kong. Afong earned a reputation for fairness and generosity, but he also had an instinct for profit. In successive years he won bids for the lucrative monopoly license granted by the Hawaiian government to import and sell opium. The moral issue seemed inconsequential, for when debate arose on legalization of opium smoking, Afong took no stand. For his personal use Afong bought property in Nu'uuanu, Honolulu's prime residential district, where he built an expansive home to shelter his large family. Eventually he bought a fine oceanfront villa in Wai-kiki as well.

As Dye shows, growth of the sugar industry transformed forever the fabric of life in Hawai'i. The arrival in 1852 of the first boatload of Chinese contract laborers foreshadowed the drive for cheap labor by almost any means. Economic reliance on sugar strengthened the influence of the white sugar

planters on the monarchy and increased the pressure exerted by pro-American annexationists. The Chinese community also drastically changed. The influx of contract laborers introduced a decided cleavage between the merchant class and a laborer class drawn from the illiterate peasantry and urban underclass. Laborers imported from Fukien province, whose language and social practices differed from the majority immigrant population from Kwangtung province, added another divisive element in the Chinese community. Among Kwangtung immigrants, acrimony flared between two distinct language groups, the self-styled Punti and the Hakka, as their merchants competed for advantage. Labor became the crux of Hawai'i's immigration policies.

Dye presents a nuanced narrative of the international consequences of Hawai'i's sugar industry. The Treaty of Reciprocity in August 1876 granted Hawai'i planters the advantage of selling sugar in the United States without a tariff. Not included were terms regulating labor. Thus Hawai'i continued to import laborers under conditions of indenture or servitude in its own Masters and Servants Act. Since Hawai'i had no diplomatic relations with China, Chinese nationals had no redress for unfair treatment. The survival tactics of Hawai'i's government and the weak bargaining position of China could not withstand the economic interests of the sugar planters and forces for American expansionism. These imbalances abetted racism and narrow factional discord in Hawai'i.

Hawai'i's much lauded racial harmony was a contingent matter rather than an absolute. Dye reveals the gradations of tolerance and the insidious nature of both subtle and blatant racism. Afong was not immune even though he was a citizen and sought to bridge cultural divisions in his public and personal life. Aside from a legal wife in China, with whom he fathered three sons, he also had a concubine in China and a son by her. But the relationship that produced the most progeny and benefit was his marriage in 1857 to Julia Hope Fayerweather (1840–1919), kin to royalty through her maternal line and a childhood playmate of David Kalākaua. Julia bore him twelve daughters and four sons. Afong was already a successful merchant, but the marriage gave him access to royalty and the elite among the white and part-Hawaiian society. Combined with his knowledge of Western ways and proficiency in Hawaiian and English, Afong mingled with ease in the highest circles.

On issues of common economic concern, Afong stood among the elite. Along with the white sugar planters, he relied on coolie labor for plantation work. However, his opposition to contract labor and advocacy of free laborers and payment of wages alienated him from his peers among the white planters of the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society and the largely white

members of the Chamber of Commerce. During his term as the commercial agent for China, Afong tried without notable result to protect resident Chinese and assure them the same rights enjoyed by other foreigners.

It is hard to gauge from this account the effectiveness of Afong's life in Hawai'i. His poignant statement in response to criticism that "I have now been here over thirty years and I feel and consider myself a Hawaiian, and my sympathies are Hawaiian" (p. 174) was a bittersweet reminder that however sincere his intentions, he could not overcome major obstacles to mutual understanding and fair treatment. He tried to nurture cosmopolitan values within his own family. He had brought Alung, his eldest Chinese son, to live and study in Hawai'i, and he took Toney, his eldest son by Julia, to China as a child for education in the village school. Of the Hawai'i-born children, only Toney married a Chinese and spent his adult life in China. Afong himself left Hawai'i for good in 1890 after dissolving his extensive enterprises and providing for Julia and their children, the youngest five ranging in age from seven to fifteen. There was apparently no thought that she would accompany or even visit him in China. Back in China, Afong created another commercial empire, assisted by Toney and his second Chinese son.

Bob Dye has enriched our understanding of the complexities of life in Hawai'i. This labor of familial love (his wife, to whom the book is dedicated, is Afong's great-great granddaughter) pares away some of the myth surrounding Chun Afong and the immigrant experience. In a way, what emerges is a cautionary tale of the dangers of a single-crop economy and weak political leadership, the human cost of diplomatic maneuvers, and the difficulties of creating a multicultural society free from exploitation. Yet although the title of the book refers to Afong and the Chinese in Hawai'i, the two dimensions alluded to are not explored as fully as they might be. That is, Afong's relations with and place among the Chinese in Hawai'i and the place of the Chinese among the native people of Hawai'i with whom Afong associated are topics deserving fuller treatment in their own right and as approaches to understanding Afong.

The dilemma of Chun Afong was one that other Chinese venturing overseas faced in the lands where they sojourned and settled. How much assimilation was possible and with what group should they identify? Afong was able to enter a foreign land, settle among the native population, learn their language, work with them, establish a family, and prosper. In Hawai'i the close relations between Chinese immigrants and Hawaiians were evident in the reconstituting of Chinese names into Hawaiian alternatives such as Akiona, Akana, and Ai. Chinese worked among Hawaiians as fellow laborers and employers. Afong himself had a large crew of Chinese and Hawaiians on his

plantations, and he earned a reputation for humane treatment of all his workers (pp. 152–53). Some immigrants spoke only Chinese and Hawaiian and never learned English, for their contacts and associations were with Hawaiians and not the white community of whatever class. Perhaps the Chinese immigrants' sense of their marginal status and the realization by some Hawaiians that they were being marginalized in their own land contributed to cooperation between the two groups at very basic levels. For example, Ho Fon, business manager of the *Hawaiian Chinese News*, was angry over continued disenfranchising of the Chinese. He joined the 1889 march on 'Iolani Palace by Robert Wilcox and the Liberal Patriotic Association to demand that Kalākaua sign a new constitution. The movement failed, and Ho Fon was arrested and fined \$250. Were there other Chinese who sympathized with Wilcox and identified with this or other causes of Hawaiian commoners? Was Afong's alleged advice to Ho Fon not to participate (pp. 219–20, no source cited) an expression of loyalty to Kalākaua, belief that the cause was doomed, or conviction that noninvolvement in volatile politics was safest? An exploration of the ties between Chinese immigrants and the Hawaiian populace would lend further insight into Afong.

Afong's place in the immigrant Chinese community is also shadowy. His marriage to Julia gave him cachet, and in like fashion his partner Achuck benefited from marrying Elizabeth Chapman, also a woman of rank. Did these marriages separate the men from their own ethnic communities? Dye writes of Afong's attempt to help the Chinese merchants overcome their narrow clan and regional loyalties by organizing them into an association. Curiously, despite his high visibility as the former commercial agent for China and his advocacy of rights and protection for Chinese in Hawai'i, he apparently had lost credibility among his fellow merchants. He was never an officer of the United Chinese Society, which was created in 1882, nor was he present when the society initiated its clubhouse in 1884 (see Clarence Glick, *Sojourners and Settlers: Chinese Migrants in Hawaii*, p. 378, n. 42). Dye cites a letter received by Elisha Allen, Hawai'i's minister in Washington, that describes Afong as being very unpopular with Hawai'i's Chinese and the target of a libel suit (p. 183). Did his relations with Hawaiian royalty, the white elite, and agents of China's government place him beyond the pale of the Chinese community? Afong's fall from grace among the Chinese in Hawai'i deserves further scrutiny because it bears on the ambivalent attitude that these Chinese held toward government (Chinese, Hawaiian, and American) and toward the kinds of activities that Afong engaged in for himself and, from his perspective, for their sake. Unable to stave off increasing anti-Chinese discrimination and facing hostility from fellow Chinese, Afong may

have been jolted by Alung's sudden death in 1889 to return to China.

The brevity of most chapters gives an episodic quality to portions of the book, yet we owe Dye thanks for succeeding as well as he has in ferreting out materials on Chun Afong and assembling them intelligently. Family photographs enhance the biographical account. The family tree on the endpapers is informative, but a few details do not correspond to information in the text. For example, Martha (1878–1983) is referred to as Julia's twelfth child (p. 136) but is fourteenth on the chart. The difficulty of portraying a full personality out of public documents is only partially overcome by evocative speculation. In the chapter on Afong's marriage in China, the surmise that his wedding might have occurred as described helps the reader to picture a generic Chinese wedding but brings us no closer to Afong. Another device that adds perplexity is the frequent reference to Afong as a "Confucian," by which is meant a range of values and behaviors implied but not explained. Consistency in romanization of Chinese terms would also be preferable; usage of Cantonese pronunciations throughout rather than alternating with Mandarin would firmly ground the language in Afong's milieu. For example, *kit-fat*, referring to the primary legal status of the first wife, is Cantonese; the horoscope matching of *ba-zi* prior to the marriage is a Mandarin rendering that could easily be done in Cantonese. Nevertheless, these are motes that do not detract from Dye's grander vision.

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Representing the South Pacific: Colonial Discourse from Cook to Gauguin. By Rod Edmond. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. 320 pp. Illustrations. \$59.95.

In his introduction to *Representing the South Pacific: Colonial Discourse from Cook to Gauguin*, Rod Edmond insists that "colonial discourse studies . . . be historicized in more than theory" (p. 12). As one example, he points to the contention between critics promoting the "fatal impact thesis" and the "Pacific historians and anthropologists [emphasizing] the resilience and continuity of Pacific societies in the colonial period" (p. 10). For another, he cites debates among practitioners in colonial discourse studies, a field grounded in Edward Said's *Orientalism*, a text that has distinguished the dialectic

between the asserting agency of colonized peoples and “the European representation of others in terms which denied [the colonized] autonomy or agency” (p. 10). Edmond seems to assert his willingness to be moderator or mediator of the debates that have enlivened the theoretical struggle in Pacific history:

It is the immodest aim of this book to try and close such gaps, but only in terms of one particular region. While I hope that the attempt will have implications for other regions and other times, global questions are neither asked nor answered. There is no attempt to construct another general theory. . . . If some of what immediately follows seems too obvious to need saying, I can only add that it is often forgotten when the flattening juggernaut of colonial discourse analysis beg to roll. (pp. 11–12)

However, any attempt to synthesize or compromise various theories—“to try and close such gaps”—is by its very nature an attempt to theorize. Edmond’s attempt does tend toward the “too obvious,” but he saves his attempt by delving into sound discussions that are substantiated well by the limitation of the scope that he himself admits.

His thesis is that European representations of the South Pacific islanders and islands are rather critical representations of the Europeans themselves, representations that are governed by era and political/social constructs. It is a claim that is, of course, a one-way look-see, something that Edmond admits as a regrettable though unavoidable fault, as much cultural material is available for analyzing the European points-of-view, while, he claims, scarce for native-written sources due to “the relative absence of historical indigenous viewpoints” (p. 21). I disagree with this point if the prolific Pacific oral histories and the equally bounteous nineteenth-century Native Hawaiian historiographic tradition are considered critically. And although Edmond contends that Hawai’i is not a focus of his study, he does offer a significant discussion of the ongoing Gananath Obeyesekere–Marshall Sahlins debate concerning the contending Native Hawaiian viewpoints of Captain James Cook.

The book is organized chronologically, beginning with the question of the apotheosis of Captain Cook. Using primary sources, including Cook’s log and various artists’ depictions, Edmond gives one of the more interesting renderings in the book, ending this chapter with a detailed discussion of the debate between anthropologists Obeyesekere and Sahlins, a conflict that is of special interest to readers in Hawai’i. Edmond seems to take a middle-of-the-road position in this battle, an attempt that tries to justify the pros and

cons of each side, though one that ultimately regards the debate as perhaps a waste of time:

Each antagonist, in effect, tries to cast the other as Cook. Sahlins becomes the proto-imperialist that Obeyesekere takes Cook to have been; Obeyesekere becomes the European realist that Sahlins assumes Cook was. The death of Cook becomes, by symmetrical displacement, the death of an academic opponent. (p. 62)

As he wryly asks, “[W]hat is the significance of the contemporary debate around Cook’s death?” (p. 61). But perhaps Edmond is suggesting that there is an epistemological danger for Western historiography when there is an attempt to designify what Cook has come to represent in high Eurocentric culture.

The next chapter deals with the mutineers and beachcombers who pestered the Pacific islands from the first contact. Edmond presents specific texts, starting with a discussion of Herman Melville’s *Typee* and ending with considerations of the mutiny on the HMS *Bounty*, which demonstrate his point about how the Pacific became a symbol of adventure and opportunity for Europeans and Euro-Americans and a trope for Western sexual awakening and moral refiguring. A discussion worth noting in this chapter is the fascinating take on tattooing as a kind of sexual troping, of the human body.

The following chapters deal with other groups that promoted themselves and changed the region: missionaries, traders, and literati, especially Robert Louis Stevenson and Jack London, writers who contributed to the development of a “Pacific” literature. Finally, the book concludes with a chapter on the colonial presence in the Pacific, in particular Tahiti, with an especially interesting interpretation of the work of artist Paul Gauguin.

Representing the South Pacific provides fascinating insights of the themes generally situated in postcolonial theory of the Pacific, offering a progressive Eurocentric reading of how literary and artistic texts created and wove the Pacific into tropes of Western self-representations.

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War in the Pacific. By Jerome T. Hagen. Honolulu: Hawai'i Pacific University, 1998. 346 pp. Illustrated. References. Index. Bibliography. \$24.95 paper.

As one of the defining periods in history, World War II, arguably, has been the subject of more documentation than any other event involving human conflict. Books fill library shelves throughout the world, describing and dissecting, chronicling and criticizing, explaining and exclaiming this historically cataclysmic event from every conceivable perspective: military, political, psychological, socioeconomic, and so on.

War in the Pacific by Jerome T. Hagen is another account of the war, but this book does not belong on a shelf. It is a rare history that is difficult to put down after starting. As important as it is for its factual and concise descriptions of the major events preceding and during the Pacific war, it is equally fascinating how the book came to be. To commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the surrender of the Japanese (September 2, 1945), Hagen, a dean at Hawai'i Pacific University and a decorated combat pilot and retired general officer in the U.S. Marine Corps, wrote a series of stories about the Pacific war that were published in *The Honolulu Advertiser*. They appeared almost daily during August 1995. The public responded with hundreds of appreciative letters to the newspaper editor and to Hagen, many suggesting that he compile the articles into a book.

The book is not for the military historian. Rather, Hagen writes about some of the most notable events of the war and presents them in a clear, concise, and factual manner. It is a book written for every veteran of the war and for everyone who was too young to remember it. As the reader easily moves from chapter to chapter, few of which are more than six or seven pages in length, it is evident that the book is designed to: (1) describe the fanaticism and the brutality with which the Japanese prosecuted the war; (2) show how war, in and of itself, is horrendously catastrophic; and, perhaps most important, (3) counteract revisionist theories about what occurred in places like Manchuria, Nanking, Wake Island, Bataan, and Japanese prisoner-of-war camps. In the preface, Hagen quotes Eleanor Roosevelt to frame his intent: "We have to remember that in the future we will want to keep before our children what this war was really like. It is so easy to forget; and then, for the younger generation, the hardships, the horror of war and the sorrow fade somewhat from their consciousness."

In the first few chapters of the book, Hagen succinctly summarizes the six decades preceding the war. He explains how Japan, at the expense of China, Russia, and Korea, became an international and colonial power and rose to challenge the United States and Great Britain as one of the foremost naval

powers in the world. However, Japan's fear of a growing China resulted in the abrogation of international treaties. The author describes the isolation of Japan from the world community through its bloody, unprovoked, and successful incursions into Manchuria, Mongolia, and China. He provides brief, but vivid, descriptions of the incidents at Chinchow, Mukden, Shanghai, Manchukuo, Sian, Peking, and the most infamous and enduring incident (at least in the minds of the Chinese) in Nanking. The savagery and barbarism of the Japanese army during "The Rape of Nanking" shocked even the Nazi officials working in the capital city.

Hagen highlights the differences of opinion among the senior Japanese military commanders as they plotted a course of action in the Pacific and the emergence of Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto as the architect of the attack on Pearl Harbor. The author describes how success at Pearl was dependent, to a large measure, on the Japanese overcoming deficiencies in refueling at sea, redesigning their air-launched torpedoes to be deliverable (and effective) in the shallow waters of the harbor, and improving the accuracy of their dive-bombing pilots.

Hagen summarizes the early conquests by Japan of Hong Kong, Wake Island, Malaysia, and Singapore. He devotes many chapters to the horror of being a captive of the Japanese. From the "death marches" and "hell ships" to the prisoner-of-war camps throughout Southeast Asia and in Japan, the brutal, inhumane treatment by the Japanese of military prisoners and civilian captives is framed against the code of chivalry for every Japanese warrior. *Bushido* held that "the greatest honor for a warrior was to die for the emperor." Fighting to one's death was expected, and anyone who surrendered *ceased to exist*. Captured prisoners who failed to fight to the death were viewed as "something less than animals, to be used as the Japanese saw fit until they died or were executed by their captors" (p. 34). It did not matter whether captives fought well or were wounded; they ceased to be human beings if they were captured alive. In one of the most poignant chapters of the book, "The Kamikazes," Hagen describes the finality, in the name of *bushido*, with which these Japanese pilots prepared for their one-way flights:

The modern kamikazes were young men who had scarcely finished flight training . . . (and were) assigned to aircraft that were no longer fit for conventional missions. The aircraft were stripped of all radios and instruments; not even a compass remained. The gas tanks were fueled with just enough gasoline for the plane to reach the enemy fleet and to dive upon a ship. . . . Before leaving on his first and last mission, the kamikaze pilot often participated in his own funeral service and drank several cups of ceremonial sake. More than once the young

pilots climbed into cockpits on legs made wobbly by too much sake. (p. 106)

As hopeless as the situation was for most captives of the Japanese, so, too, was it for the crews of the light cruiser USS *Juneau* (chapter 15) and the heavy cruiser USS *Indianapolis* (chapter 22), both of which were sunk by Japanese submarines. These incidents punctuate the gruesome aspects of war that, perhaps, could be classified as “accidental” or “avoidable.” Hagen’s description of men consigned to their death by the rays of the sun, starvation, dehydration while bobbing in an ocean, or the ravenous appetite of sharks is compelling. Equally so is the amazing story of survival by Lord “Tally Ho” Blears. Blears frequently appears as a guest in Hagen’s military history classes, where his personal recounting of his experiences leaves the students stunned, amazed, and, many times, choked with emotion. Although readers of the book are not treated to Blears’s personal description of his ordeal, Hagen creatively describes the chilling events and circumstances of Blears’s brush with death.

In describing the famous battles (Midway, Coral Sea, Okinawa, etc.) of the Pacific War, including the dropping of the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Hagen keeps his writing interesting and informal. His vivid description of Japan’s difficulty in coming to grips with the “unconditional” nature of the allied surrender demand is noteworthy.

The war-crimes trials and ultimate executions of the “Seven Samurai” accused of prosecuting Japan’s war conclude the book. Tried by a panel of international judges, these seven Japanese military and political leaders were convicted of masterminding the Pacific holocaust. It’s hardly closure, but, as mentioned earlier, closure was not the author’s intention in writing the book.

In summary, Hagen’s book is an extremely worthwhile historical narrative of events in the Pacific during World War II. The book is much better than the articles that spawned it, in that it contains illustrations, maps, and more detail—things that were deleted due to space limitations in the newspaper. It does not open new nor dispel old theories about the war. Rather, when read in the context and with the focus that the author explains in the preface, it is sure to evoke in the reader an appreciation similar to the hundreds who took the time to write comments about the articles when they appeared in *The Honolulu Advertiser*.

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Honolulu, Hawai‘i

Ke Kumu Aupuni. By Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau. Honolulu: 'Aha-hui 'Ōlelo Hawai'i, 1996. xxiv + 325 pp. Illustrations. Index. \$35.00.

At last, Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau's Hawaiian history is available for those who wish to read his Hawaiian text. Kamakau wrote a three-year-long serial column about the history of Hawai'i from the birth of Kamehameha I until the reign of his son Kauikeaouli, Kamehameha III, which appeared in the Hawaiian newspapers *Kū'oko'a* and *Ke Au 'Okō'a* from October 20, 1866, to October 14, 1869. Due to the length of the text, the work is being presented in two volumes. *Ke Kumu Aupuni*, "The Foundation of Nationhood," is the first volume and contains material beginning with the birth of Kamehameha I and ending with the death of his son Liholiho, Kamehameha II. The second volume, *Ke Aupuni Mō'ī*, "The Kingdom," which has just been completed for publication, continues the story of the Hawaiian kingdom through the reign of Kamehameha III.

Samuel M. Kamakau (1815–1876), Hawaiian historian, genealogist, teacher, judge, and legislator, was an outstanding individual in Hawai'i's history. He lived at a time when drastic changes were taking place in his beloved homeland, changes that would forever alter the lifestyle and culture of his people. In order to retain the historical and cultural knowledge that he saw slipping away, Kamakau gathered and recorded that information and had it published so that his people would have access to it. He also encouraged others to do the same, and in an effort to formalize this endeavor, he was involved in the establishment of the 'Aha-hui 'Imi I Nā Mo'olelo Kahiko, a group devoted to collecting and writing about Hawaiian culture and history. His work appeared in the Hawaiian-language newspapers, which provided him and other Hawaiian scholars of the day a venue to relay Hawaiian history and culture. We have relied on his work in Hawaiian history for more than a century.

Ke Kumu Aupuni is a significant publication for several reasons: it makes Kamakau's Hawaiian text available to whoever wishes to read this important primary source; it presents the material in the order he intended it to be read; it includes glottal stops and macrons, which aid modern second-language readers; it has a comprehensive index; and lastly, the book includes pictures that have never been published before.

Prior to the publication of *Ke Kumu Aupuni*, anyone who wished to read Kamakau's work had to access it through fragile copies of the Hawaiian newspapers or microfilms. It was not unusual to work with documents that were second-, third-, or even fourth-generation photocopies. This text appears in columns as the original did, and the paragraphs have been numbered for easy reference. With increasing numbers of people speaking and reading

Hawaiian, this is a welcome and valuable addition to the literature in the Hawaiian language.

The text is presented in the order that Kamakau intended. Although information from Kamakau's history and his other works has been used to create publications such as *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*, *The People of Old*, *The Works of the People of Old*, and *Tales and Traditions of the People of Old*, *Ke Kumu Aupuni* and its companion volume present the material in its entirety as he presented it to his readers. Kamakau's history started with the chief Alapa'i and the birth of Kamehameha and continued to the government of Kamehameha III. After that, he wrote about and published material concerning the ancient chiefly lines. This work is being prepared for a third volume to complement this body of Kamakau's work.

An added feature of *Ke Kumu Aupuni* is the inclusion of 'okina (glottal stops) and kahakō (macrons) following guidelines set by the 'Ahahui 'Ōlelo Hawai'i. Obviously, these were not necessary at the time of the original publication because native speakers of Hawaiian knew the proper pronunciation and meaning by context. However, these are especially helpful to the beginning student of Hawaiian language and facilitate proper pronunciation and interpretation, especially in the absence of someone who is familiar with the vocabulary. I look forward to the day when the fluency of our population makes the 'okina and kahakō unnecessary.

An outstanding feature of *Ke Kumu Aupuni* is its index. Because of the nature of the contents of this book, an extensive index is a must. The reader will not be disappointed because names of individuals, places, and historic events are listed alphabetically and cross-referenced. This is probably the only fully indexed Hawaiian text in print today. One can simply read the index and glean important information from it.

Finally, the pictures included in this volume are extraordinary. Two of the portraits in this book have never been published before. They are the portraits of Liholiho, Kamehameha II, and his wife Kamāmalu that are believed to have been painted by John Hayter in 1824, when the young couple visited London. Other pictures of note are paintings by the Russian artist Mikhail Tikhanov done in 1818, when he visited Hawai'i aboard the *Kamchatka*. Special permission to publish Tikhanov's work was given by the Scientific Research Museum of the Academy of Arts of Russia in St. Petersburg through the assistance of Ludmilla Finney. Securing pictures of the era was not an easy undertaking as there are not many pictures available from that period of Hawaiian history.

Ke Kumu Aupuni is not only a Hawaiian history textbook in the Hawaiian language but is a beautiful book as well. A project of this magnitude could only be completed through a group effort. The project, which took nearly

five years to complete, was led by editor Puakea Nogelmeier and his team of R. Lalepa Koga and T. Sāhoa Fukushima, who worked diligently proofreading, making sure of the proper pronunciation of names and words before adding diacritical marks, and searching for pictures that would complement the text. Chieko Tachihata and Noenoe Silva developed the index. D. Nakila Steele was the instigator and facilitator of the project, and the 'Ahahui 'Ōlelo Hawai'i provided institutional support. *Ke Kumu Aupuni* sets a high standard for Hawaiian textbooks, and I can see students again using photocopies of Kamakau's work, only this time they do so in order to preserve their copies of this beautiful book.

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Guardians of Empire: The U.S. Army and the Pacific: 1902–1940. By Brian McAllister Linn. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997. 343 pp. Illustrated. Maps. Appendix. Notes. Bibliography. Index. \$39.95.

Guardians of Empire is a detailed examination of U.S. policy for the defense of Hawai'i and the Philippines for the forty years prior to December 7, 1941. Author Linn contends that the United States was not caught off guard by the Japanese attack but had foreseen and accurately predicted such an attack.

Why then, with such knowledge and almost four decades to prepare, were U.S. forces unable to defend our Pacific possessions against Japan? The answer is what makes this book so informative and enjoyable.

Following Commodore George Dewey's seizure of Manila Bay on May 1, 1898, the War Department sent 15,000 soldiers to capture the city of Manila from the Spanish and to occupy the Philippines. The Spanish were in no mood for a protracted siege and surrendered quickly. Emilio Aguinaldo, exiled by the Spanish for an earlier uprising, returned to Manila, declared independence from Spain, and assumed the presidency of the new government. When it became apparent that the United States was not going to recognize his government, Aguinaldo led his irregular forces in a fight for independence.

By 1899, most of Aguinaldo's army had ceased fighting, but Aguinaldo himself escaped capture and continued his resistance. It would take the U.S. Army fourteen years and 125,000 men to complete the job of pacification.

This increase in manpower resulted in a threefold increase in the size, and a drastic change in the composition and character, of the regular army. It changed the army from an imperial constabulary to a modern military force.

Lacking a career corps of colonial civil-service personnel, the U.S. Army was forced to use as administrators the same officers who had subdued the guerrillas. Not surprisingly, these joint duties created serious differences of opinion regarding precedence of constitutional or military law that continued throughout the army's administration.

Major General Arthur MacArthur, division commander and military governor in the Philippines, viewed his task as one of "conquering eight millions of recalcitrant, treacherous, and sullen people." He doubted that any authority, other than the military would be able to restore and maintain law and order. Such a view, on the part of the most senior administrator, created the basis for friction between the army and the governor-designate during the transition process from military to civil rule.

Following pacification, the question of how to protect U.S. Pacific possessions began. The cost of defending just the Philippines was estimated at \$67.5 million and 45,000 men as early as 1902. Ultimately, defense of Hawai'i and the Philippines was based on two strategies: fixed fortifications to defend against enemy naval forces and mobile ground forces to defend against assaults launched from the sea. Initially, the army saw its role in the Pacific as the defense of our naval bases, thus enabling the U.S. Navy freedom of movement throughout the Pacific.

Numerous studies, some initiated as early as 1898, were conducted to make recommendations for the defense of Pearl Harbor and Subic Bay. Such studies reaffirmed the need for huge fixed-gun emplacements for harbor defense and tens of thousands of soldiers for beach defense. Pearl Harbor and Honolulu defenses could be combined for mutual defense, but Subic Bay and Manila could not. The distance between the two was too great for mutual defense since troops stationed at Subic would be isolated on the Bataan Peninsula in the event of attack and would be unavailable for the defense of Manila. Thus began the next series of studies, boards, and war-gaming to decide the proper defense strategy for the Philippines.

As early as 1908, an Army General Staff report noted that Japan was able to transport and debark a force of 10,000 soldiers in complete secrecy during Japan's blockade of the Russian fleet in Port Arthur. Many comparisons were made between Port Arthur and the "rat trap" of Subic Bay.

In 1907, the Army War College at Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, predicted a Japanese attack on the Philippines and possibly Pearl Harbor. The report also revealed the Navy's admission of helplessness against a Japanese

fleet far superior to any U.S. naval forces in the Pacific. During this war game, Japan defeated the Subic defenders in less than a month and captured O'ahu in three weeks and most of the West Coast in four months.

Faced with such predictions, more joint boards, studies, and general staff and committee reports were generated. Due to the plethora of new reports and service differences of opinions, no plan gained the necessary support throughout the period that ended with World War I. By the end of the war, the U.S. Army had nearly vanished from Hawai'i and the Philippines. Debates concerning the overall size of the army, as well as its roles and missions, began anew.

During the mid 1920s, defense of the Philippines rested with Filipino reserve forces. The necessary force was thought to be about 145,000 men; however, no provisions were made to raise or support such a force. By 1929, General Douglas MacArthur estimated that he could defend the Philippines with as few as 76,000 Filipino soldiers in three divisions. Again, no funds were made available by Congress, and not until 1935, when MacArthur was military advisor to the Philippine government, was the issue raised again. In similar fashion, the 1924 plan for defense of O'ahu called for 94,000 men, but only 10,000 of the 15,000-man local component were ever drafted.

Close examination of U.S. policy during this period reveals a mess of contradictory and incompatible projects, most uncompleted, some outdated, and many of which were never started, the result of too many studies and too much indifference to the threat. By 1929, the War Plans Division concluded that local defense forces could not defend the Philippines and that it would be necessary to relieve the force in the event of war.

By 1933, MacArthur was in agreement with the war planners and predicted that Japan would initiate the war with a surprise attack on the U.S. fleet. His plan called for immediate reinforcement by six mainland divisions, the entire strength of the continental U.S. Army. At the time, no one seemed to have understood that without the fleet, there could be no reinforcement of the Philippine garrison, even if adequate forces had been available.

The 1936 Orange Plan (war with Japan) eliminated reinforcement of the Philippines as an option and accepted Japanese occupation of Guam, the Philippines, Saipan, Palau, the Carolines, and the Marshall Islands by a million or more Japanese soldiers. Even O'ahu, the Panama Canal, and the U.S. West Coast were thought to be in danger of being raided, seized, and occupied.

At that time, when our overseas colonies were being written off and the mainland United States threatened, our army strength dropped below 135,000, and President Roosevelt announced plans to cut \$144 million from

the War Department budget. Small wonder that Japan embarked upon its occupation of China and subsequent invasion of the Pacific.

The 1938 and 1940 versions of the Orange Plan confirmed the concept that reinforcement of the Philippines would not be possible. Instead, the creation of a large Filipino army, with U.S. fighter and bomber aircraft support, was seen as all that could be done. As a final gesture of support, MacArthur was designated as commander of U.S. Army forces in the Far East. The increase in the size of the Filipino army was never funded, and the thirty-five B-17 bombers that actually reached the Philippines prior to December 8 were destroyed on the ground, along with the fighters.

Linn concludes that our failure to defend Hawai'i and the Philippines on December 7 and 8, 1941, was not due to negligence on the part of the local commanders, but to forty years of inconclusive study and debate, at the highest level.

For the most part, these debates and studies continually circulated among various staffs until a new study or project was introduced and the cycle would start all over again. In addition, the debates were often stalled by a lack of coordination between the U.S. Army and Navy. In the final analysis, such debates and studies not only failed to develop an effective Pacific strategy, they prevented one from being developed.

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Sites of Maui. By Elspeth P. Sterling. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1998. 285 pp. \$49.95 cloth; \$29.95 paper.

Near the beginning of this handsome book one learns that there is a large rock on the northeastern rim of Haleakalā known by Hawaiians as Palaha. The eight traditional *moku* (districts) of East Maui—Hāmākua, Ko'olau, Hāna, Kīpahulu, Kaupō, Kahikinui, Honua'ula, and Kula—all meet at Palaha, giving the Hawaiian division of this land a symmetry and neatness that speaks clearly to an ideal view of the cultural landscape. On West Maui matters were more complex. The *moku* of Lāhainā and Ka'anapali on the west end of the island are today separated from East Maui by the modern district of Wailuku, but in traditional Hawaiian times this heavily populated isthmus belonged to no *moku*. Its four *ahupua'a* of Waihe'e, Waiehu, Wailuku, and Waikapū, home

to some of the largest and most numerous *heiau* (shrines) in the Islands, were considered independent and were referred to either as Nāpoko or Nāwai'ehā (the four waters).

Elsbeth Sterling's *Sites of Maui* is no ordinary tour of the ruins left by traditional Hawaiian culture. Its rich compilation of previously published and unpublished accounts invites the interested reader to think deeply about Hawaiian culture, to see the ancient ruins as part of a cultural landscape, and to ponder the very different cosmos that gave rise to it. Here one reads of the traditions behind the names with which Hawaiians made themselves one with the land. Can one's experience of the beautiful caves at Wai'ānapanapa, the "water flashing rainbow hues," ever be the same after hearing the tragedy of Pōpō'alaea, whose death at the hands of a cruel and jealous husband left the cave walls stained with blood and spattered with white bits of her brain? Here one also finds long lists of Maui's winds and rains: the misty, white rain of Hāna; the cloudless rain of Honua'ula, whose shoulders are pummeled by the Moa'e wind; the noisy rain of 'Ulupalakua. Is it possible today to imagine the experiences and rhythms of a life that inspired a Hawaiian-language correspondent to write to a newspaper in 1922 about the prettiness of the names of the rains in Hāna—"I do not think that there are rains anywhere else to compare with these"? And there is the matter of the independent *ahupua'a* of Nāwai'ehā. Was the ideal traditional division of the land, so well expressed on East Maui, sacrificed to some other ideal on the isthmus? If so, what might it have been?

Elsbeth Sterling is no ordinary tour guide. Born in Honolulu in 1917, she was educated at Hanahauoli and Punahou Schools and later studied at the University of Hawai'i and on the Mainland. Fluent in Hawaiian language, she was well known for her Hawaiian-language translating abilities. She began to volunteer her time at Bishop Museum in the 1950s and was appointed research associate in anthropology in 1963. She moved in 1961 to Maui, where she worked with a long list of *kūpuna* to learn the traditional Hawaiian cultural landscape. In this book she blends their teaching with information from Bishop Museum archives, late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century newspapers, journals, books, and other secondary sources. Her tour of Kahi-kinui *moku*, for example, draws on the writings of Moses Manu and Thomas Maunupau, Sam Po's knowledge of coastal places and names, correspondence and diaries of missionary families, and the works of well-known authorities such as A. Fornander, E.S.C. Handy, J. S. Emerson, and K. P. Emory. One of Sterling's primary sources is Winslow Walker's unpublished manuscript of the site survey he completed for Bishop Museum more than sixty years ago. Publication of Walker's information, which includes locations and descrip-

tions for 230 *heiau* and a wide variety of other sites, fills a long-standing gap in the literature.

Sterling completed the manuscript for *Sites of Maui* in 1970, at a time when professional prehistorians were turning in large numbers to archaeology and to an explicitly scientific approach to the past. That approach, at least as it was practiced at the time, had little use for the information in Hawaiian traditions but placed its faith instead in a belief that the discovery of order among the jumbled physical ruins of the past would yield insight into the systematic patterns of culture, patterns of the kind so well evidenced at Palaha, where the eight traditional *moku* join. In this environment, *Sites of Maui* undoubtedly seemed an old-fashioned pastiche of disconnected and largely irrelevant details, and it languished in manuscript form until 1985, when Yosihiko Sinoto, then chair of Bishop Museum's Anthropology Department, initiated the effort to publish the book, placing it in the capable hands of Elaine Jourdan and Toni Han-Palermo. After a long period of gestation, it would no doubt please Sterling that *Sites of Maui* comes out at a time when the study of Hawaiian tradition is once again fashionable in academia, and knowledge of the particular and unique—the independent *ahupua'a* of Nāwai'ehā among the *moku*—are celebrated.

The content and organization of *Sites of Maui* was based on *Sites of O'ahu*, which Sterling co-authored with Catherine "Cappy" Summers in 1963. Happily, it is better organized than *Sites of O'ahu*, and the clean, contemporary layout makes it a pleasure to read. The book contains both a general index and an index of place names. Marginal notes give sources, comments, and cross-references.

This book is a welcome addition to the literature of Hawai'i's past that will be well used by anyone who is curious to know Maui's traditional Hawaiian landscape.

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