

Book Reviews

The Great Land: How Western America Nearly Became a Russian Possession.
By Jeremy Atiyah. Oxford: Parker Press, 2008. xi + 250 pp. Illustrated.
Bibliography. Index. \$29.95 cloth.

This posthumously published account of the Russian-American Company's (RAC) attempt to establish its presence around the Pacific Ocean provides an engaging introduction to a relatively unknown episode of European imperialism. Atiyah, a former travel editor for *The Independent on Sunday*, writes this sweeping history based on numerous records of historical events and his personal travel to many of the places involved. Reading the sections covering Sitka or Honolulu provides the modern reader a strong sense of the visual impact these spaces might have had on European arrivals at the turn of the 19th century.

Atiyah covers the development of the RAC from its launch out of the Russian Far East late in the 18th century up until its ill-conceived attempt to establish an outpost on Kaua'i at the beginning of the 19th century. He has exploited the many published sources available, drawing upon letters, log books, travel narratives, and petitions to explain the RAC's progress across the Pacific, including the permanent settlement in Alaska and its exploratory missions in modern-day Washington and California. He focuses particularly upon the contributions of Aleksandr Andreevich Baranov, who ran the company's outpost in Alaska. In this approach, Atiyah differs quite significantly from the recent history of the company written by A. Iu. Petrov (*Obrazovanie rossiisko-amerikanskoi kompanii [The Formation of the Russian-American Company]*, 2000), which focuses on the Shelikhov family who founded the company, remained its controlling shareholders, and negotiated its terms with the imperial government in St. Petersburg.

Atiyah's most important contribution is his inclusion of the RAC as a com-

petitive presence in the Pacific trade market, especially in its ability to exploit the Napoleonic Wars' impact on international shipping among European and American countries. He is quite clear that the RAC was a minor player, but used its opportunities to make grand territorial claims that stretched from Alaska to San Francisco. Once the combined forces of Great Britain and the United States re-entered the region following the resolution of the Napoleonic Wars, the RAC's efforts quickly collapsed. In this way, Atiyah's discussion of the geopolitical issues suggests that the RAC's colonial plans for Hawai'i were destined for failure. His approach only adds further evidence to Peter R. Mills's *Hawaii's Russia Adventure: A New Look at Old History*, (2002), which argued persuasively that the RAC's Fort Elizabeth on Kaua'i was far more important to Kaumuali'i than the RAC. From the Russian perspective, the RAC's attempt at a Hawaiian colony was at best an experiment and, at worst, an outright fiasco.

Though it makes a contribution to Pacific history, this book is not fully realized. In the preface, the author's father explains that he completed the text for publication based on his son's notes and outlines. The early chapters far outweigh the last chapter in terms of substance and insight. Though the narrative begins with the sale of Russian Alaska to the United States in 1867, the book largely focused on the decades between 1780 and 1820. What motivated the RAC to abandon the Pacific between 1820 and 1867 is not explored, suggesting that this might have been part of an unwritten section or a section left uncompleted. While this is not discussed in the preface, the gap in coverage is obvious.

Some problems emerge from Atiyah's unfamiliarity with the Russian sources and the broader history of the region. Following the errors of earlier historians of the RAC, Atiyah assumes a more direct connection between the RAC's activities and the Russian state than existed. Baranov, Atiyah's central figure, was hardly in regular contact with the director of the RAC, much less the government in St. Petersburg. Unfortunately, Atiyah frequently refers to the RAC as "the Russians," implying a level of connection that did not exist. In fact, the RAC's long-term project to establish a direct trade route to China through one of its Pacific ports was threatening to the Russian government. Since the 17th century, Russia had direct overland trade with China through the city of Nerchinsk. Attempting to circumvent the established route would cut directly into the state's profits. While undoubtedly the RAC, or at least Baranov, greatly desired a bypass to the Nerchinsk route, the Russian government would likely have protested it. Furthermore, readers should be aware that despite the title, this is not a history of Russian involvement in the Pacific, which would have to include the large numbers of Russian religious schismatics who migrated to new settlements in Alaska, Oregon, and Califor-

nia in the 19th century. As those communities are still a visible presence in those places, their legacy is far more important to North America than the RAC's failure.

For non-specialists who are unfamiliar with any of Russia's activities in the Pacific, Atiyah has written a readable account that extensively draws upon the published sources to provide some insight into the scope of the RAC's ambitions. For scholars of the Pacific, this book only hints at a deeper history still to be written. It is unfortunate that the author's death prevented the completion of his work, which appears to have resulted in its shortcomings.

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Sacred Claims: Repatriation and Living Tradition. By Greg Johnson. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2007. xi + 208 pp. Bibliography. Notes. Index. \$55.00 cloth; \$19.50 paper

In *Sacred Claims*, the multifaceted and ongoing negotiations over the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990 (NAGPRA) become a moving portrait of tradition in action, demonstrating author Greg Johnson's central point that human traditions are not static and unchanging essences but are always constituted in and through political disputes and contemporary realities. The book has three interconnected storylines. One is a legislative history of NAGPRA, emphasizing the significance of questions about the nature of "tradition" in its enactment and in ongoing negotiations over its implementation. That story provides essential background for the more compelling analysis of Native Hawaiian repatriation debates, and for a somewhat sketchier treatment of repatriation concerns among American Indians in the continental United States. A decade of ethnographic and archival research—including a good deal of time getting to know key figures in the Hawaiian disputes, and attendance at many of the hearings around NAGPRA—gives Johnson a detailed and personal knowledge of these events as they have unfolded in recent years.

The book is organized thematically rather than chronologically, a decision that successfully highlights its theoretical contributions. The first chapter describes some of Johnson's ethnographic experiences with Edward Halealoha Ayau (executive director of a leading repatriation group Hui Mālama and a controversial figure in Native Hawaiian repatriation disputes), illustrat-

ing how the author's changing and layered experiences with key individuals like Ayau informed his perspectives on how tradition is lived and negotiated. This kind of ethnographic reflexivity is a real strength of this book, providing the occasion for some of its most memorable stories as well as a useful entry point into its major arguments. Johnson shows how, as he heard about and learned to know Ayau in multiple contexts over several years' time, he came to see tradition not as something existing in unchanging form in the objects under dispute, but as something that is constantly negotiated and reconstructed in the context of political disputes. As Johnson notes, this is an important point because Native Americans (in Hawai'i and on the mainland) have so often been faced with the expectation that "pure" tradition is by definition unsullied by political interests. They are then faced with the almost irreconcilable dilemma that protecting their traditions requires political involvement, yet that very involvement can at times make them appear as unreliable or inauthentic representatives of that tradition. As Johnson rightly argues, this dilemma is solved through an understanding of tradition as a living and changing phenomenon that is never disconnected from political concerns.

The book proceeds with a series of thematic chapters that describe NAGPRA's implementation and implications in various contexts. The second chapter describes on-the-ground repatriation disputes in Hawai'i; the third provides a blow-by-blow account of NAGPRA's legislative history with careful readings of arguments from Native Hawaiians and American Indians; the fourth highlights "cultural affiliation" as the crucial interpretive concept in debates over NAGPRA's scope; and the fifth describes a key Hawaiian dispute to show how competing Native Hawaiian organizations have constituted and made use of tradition in different ways. Chapter six analyzes Cheyenne and Ute discourses around tribal identity in particular contexts, showing how American Indian expressions of identity have shifted in response to NAGPRA; chapter seven returns to the Hawaiian context to argue that repatriation disputes have actually facilitated a revival of Native religious expressions; while the final chapter offers concluding reflections on the category of tradition and its relevance to the study of religion. There are some disadvantages to this organizational scheme. Although each chapter has a clearly articulated point, their arguments are so closely related that I had some trouble keeping several of them distinct as I read. In addition, several chapters circle back again to stories already told—especially around the Hawaiian disputes—creating a certain amount of narrative redundancy.

Since I have no personal knowledge of Native Hawaiian communities, I cannot predict the book's reception in that context, but in my reading Johnson is very even-handed in presenting diverse voices sympathetically while maintaining the integrity of his own analytical perspective throughout. Johnson's discussions of his developing research relationships and of key figures

like Ayau facilitate a forthright presentation of some of his own research dilemmas. He works hard to understand and present Ayau as a participant in the creation of tradition, even as he respects and wants to honor the voices of other Native Hawaiians who see Ayau as violating that very tradition. Crucial here is the portrait of Native communities as internally divided, and as developing alternative notions of tradition. Such disputes, Johnson suggests, are integral to the development and vibrancy of living traditions.

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Who Owns the Crown Lands of Hawai'i? By Jon M. Van Dyke. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008. xii + 485 pp. Appendices. Glossary. Illustrated. Bibliography. Index. \$60.00 cloth; \$28.00 paper

Under current law, the answer to the question posed in the book's title is that the Crown Lands do not exist. They once did: in the Mahele of 1845–1855, the Hawaiian government was careful to distinguish between two categories of land, Government Land and the King's own private domain. The purpose of this distinction was to preserve the king's ownership of land in the event of colonization by a foreign power. Kamehameha III and his advisors, at least two of whom were American-trained lawyers, correctly expected that any likely colonizer, whether Great Britain, France, or the United States, would assume ownership of Hawaiian public land, but would respect private land titles. The Mahele thus yielded approximately 1.5 million acres of government-owned land, and a separate 1 million acres of Crown Land—land owned by the King, not by the government. Even if Hawai'i lost its sovereignty, the hope was, at least the king would not be stripped of his land.

So what happened to the Crown Lands? Jon Van Dyke spends most of this thoroughly researched and engagingly written book telling the long and complicated story of how they disappeared. In 1864, the Supreme Court of Hawai'i held that the Crown Lands could only be inherited by the succeeding monarch, a decision that made the Crown Lands look less like privately owned land and more like public land. A year later, the Kingdom's Legislature took another step in the same direction by enacting a statute that barred the king from selling the Crown Land while alive. During the short-lived "Republic of Hawaii," the Land Act of 1895 formally merged the Crown Land and the Government Land into a single category of Public Land. All this Public Land was then ceded to the United States upon annexation. The final nail in

the coffin was the 1910 decision of the U.S. Court of Claims in *Liliuokalani v. United States*, which effectively ratified all that had come before. Upon statehood most of the Public Land, including most of the former Crown Lands, was transferred from the federal government to the state government.

Van Dyke is as much an advocate as a historian. The purpose of the book is not just to explain how the Crown Lands ceased to exist but to provide a basis for resurrecting them. Van Dyke is thus critical at nearly every stage of the story. He points out the logical inconsistencies in the 1864 Supreme Court opinion and the curious nature of the 1865 statute. He emphasizes the dubious authority of the "Republic" that formally consolidated the Crown Lands and the Government Lands. He shows how the U.S. Court of Claims decision was influenced by Western notions of land ownership, which had no room for a distinction between two kinds of public land, land held by the government for the benefit of all, and land held by the monarch, as an individual, but also for the benefit of all. Van Dyke concludes that it is time to undo all these errors, so that the re-recognized Crown Lands can "serve as the core land base for the restored Native Hawaiian Nation" (p. 382).

Restoration of the Crown Lands would create some new legal questions, so in the last quarter of the book, Van Dyke switches from historian to lawyer. Does the U.S. Supreme Court's recent decision in *Rice v. Cayetano* (2000) pose an obstacle to the efforts of Native Hawaiians to recover the former Crown Lands? What about the living descendants of the 19th century Hawaiian royalty? Do *they* have any legitimate claims to the former Crown Lands? These are not easy questions, so in these late chapters Van Dyke is appropriately evenhanded in his analysis.

If there is any fault in such a readable and informative book, it is that Van Dyke is sometimes frustratingly cursory exactly where a reader wishes he would say more. His chapter on the crucial 1865 statute, for example, is less than four pages long, and a picture of Kamehameha V takes up most of one of those pages. His analysis of the opinion in *Liliuokalani v. United States* (1910), a decision that would presumably have to be overturned before the Crown Lands could be restored, is not much longer. In an ordinary history book, one could understand such brevity in discussing matters of technical legal detail. In a book that aspires to persuade readers that the time has come to reverse more than a century of legal mistakes, however, one would expect more thorough coverage of exactly what those mistakes were and why they were made.

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White Enough to Be American?: Race Mixing, Indigenous People, and the Boundaries of State and Nation. By Lauren L. Basson. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008. xiv + 238 pp. Notes. Illustrated. Bibliography. Index. \$59.95 cloth; \$22.95 paper

White Enough to Be American? is a smart, theoretically-oriented exploration of the meanings and morphings of the nation, the state, and citizenship by a political scientist of considerable promise. Basson bases this exploration on four historical case studies of multiracial people who lived a century ago and more. She is interested mainly in the court cases that attended these people's lives, in the making and enforcing of legal definitions, and the relationship of those definitions to the changing nature of the American nation and state, rather than in the lives themselves.

The lives, however, are interesting and worth a deeper exploration. In the first case study, Jane Waldron and Barney Traversee were both people of mixed European and Native American parentage. Many observers thought Waldron looked White and lived as a White person, but she claimed Native status in her attempt to get a land allotment under the Dawes Act of 1887. Traversee's situation was the obverse. He attempted to claim white status and full citizenship, based on education and White-like behavior, despite his physical appearance and the contention of some around him that he and his family were Indians.

Louis Riel, the subject of the second case study, was leader of the Métis, a more-or-less cohesive group of people who stuck together on the basis of their common mixed Native and European (mainly French) ancestry and who formed a tribe of sorts that occupied territory on both sides of the U.S.-Canada border. Riel, an American citizen, tried to get the U.S. to annex the Métis lands and make them a territory of the United States under his leadership (not unlike the actions of Sam Houston in Texas a generation or so earlier). Canada's government took umbrage and charged Riel with treason. True to her purpose but frustrating for readers with historical interests, Basson concentrates on the details of the court case and on its theoretical implications, rather than on the fate of the Métis people or of Riel himself.

Lucy Parsons was a Texan-born anarchist of Native American and probably African American ancestry who challenged conventional attempts by the U.S. government and the American public to portray her and other members of the anarchist movement as foreigners.

The story most likely to interest readers of the *Hawaiian Journal of History* is that of Robert Wilcox, a man of mixed Hawaiian and Haole parentage and a politician from the latter years of the Hawaiian Kingdom to the territorial period. Wilcox was an outspoken advocate of Native Hawaiian sovereignty over the islands and an opponent of both the Bayonet Constitution and the

overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy. He led several abortive attempts to take back Hawai'i for Native Hawaiians. Later he served as the territory's first representative in the U.S. Congress and attempted to defend the interests of Hawaiians from that position. Basson charts a thoughtful and more-or-less historically accurate course through Wilcox's complicated career without ever revealing anything of his personal character or his relationship to Native Hawaiians' lives or hopes.

The book is notable for bringing together sketch analyses of five individuals whose lives exhibit very different narratives of multiraciality. This may give pause to glib advocates and equally glib opponents of simplistic versions of the multiracial movement.

It is perhaps unavoidable in a first book by a young political science professor that Basson's main concentration should be so relentlessly on questions of political theory that she misses most of the human depth to the stories she tells so briefly. That emphasis on theoretical implications will likely disappoint people who come to the book interested in Robert Wilcox (a fascinating figure), Hawaiian history, or indeed Native American or anarchist history. One hopes the book will win Basson tenure—it should, for it is excellent in its theoretical explorations—and the opportunity to write future books that will be more generous with story and character.

Let me bring up two small theoretical quibbles as I conclude. Again and again, Basson refers to her theme as a question of contests over the “boundaries” of “state and nation” (p. 54 and *passim*). It is perhaps not to be avoided that she should be concerned most about state and nation, for she is after all a political scientist; if the tool one has is a hammer, then a lot of things begin to look like nails. But she does not ever attempt to show that the question of how the state and nation are constituted amount to the most important issues in these four cases. She only demonstrates that state and nation are the issues in which *she* is most interested.

The boundaries matter is a bit more troubling. Basson, like many legal historians who work on questions of racial and national membership, assumes uncritically that boundaries are the issue. Perhaps one might venture beyond the hoary (and I think mistaken) ideas of Fredrik Barth (*Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, 1969) and begin to look at the centers of identities, the contents, the gravitational pull, the things that people in a group have in common.

Still, those theoretical hesitations aside, and longing still for a deeper look into the lives of her protagonists, I found this a thought-provoking book. It is one that I intend to assign to graduate students.

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Colonizing Leprosy: Imperialism and the Politics of Public Health in the United States. By Michelle T. Moran. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007. xiii + 280 pp. Maps. Notes. Illustrated. Bibliography. Index. \$59.95 cloth; \$21.95 paper

Moran builds on recent academic work challenging the traditional interpretation of Hansen's disease as an apolitical footnote to Hawaiian history; i.e., one that associated the disease with weakness in the native character and culture. She expands our political understanding of a public health issue by contrasting Kalaupapa with America's other Hansen's disease facility, the National Leprosarium at Carville, Louisiana. Although Hawai'i had been attempting segregation of those afflicted with leprosy since 1865 and the disease was known on the mainland in the 18th century, it was not until the United States started acquiring territories that the disease required national action.

The book explains how these institutions emerged in the United States although leprosy was not widespread, how the disease "came to represent an exotic danger that required strict containment and how various groups sought to mobilize their understandings of leprosy to challenge and reconfigure medical regulations and popular stereotypes" (p. 3). Moran starts with a concise history of each institution, stressing colonial attitudes of superiority and racial assumptions of "other" that came to be associated with the illness. With colonial expansion into Hawai'i, leprosy became a mechanism to demonstrate the American political resolve, as seen in narratives about the fugitive Ko'olau. Within the United States the presence of the disease called attention to veterans who had served the national interest in the Philippines, Cuba, or Hawai'i. The book follows the evolution of medical treatment and images of disease through the 20th century, noting that the purposes of medical professionals often conflicted with the interests of patient activists. The result is a dynamic account that challenges the reader to view public health policy in a broad human and social context.

Moran reveals how patients at both Carville and Kalaupapa actively sought to improve their own welfare and contributed to the communities in which they were forced by segregation to live. They are portrayed as part of local and national associations (e.g., Hawaiian political parties and the U.S. Veterans' Administration), able to utilize concepts of citizenship and identity to shape public opinion and win concessions from institutional administrators.

Kalaupapa is considered in the context of the conflict between Native Hawaiians and Euro-American merchants for control of the islands. This well-researched study further develops the contrast of Hawaiian and colonial perceptions of illness and frames it in terms of American political ideology. Leprosy was part of a national debate incorporating notions of race, power,

and economic expansion. The patients' use of the existing political system against the medical establishment is demonstrated with examples like the account of their demand to be allowed to try a remedy developed by South Asian medical practitioner Lor Wallach, who claimed an ability to cure leprosy (pp. 111–118).

Due to the ambitious scope of this history, some issues are simplified. For example, Moran implies greater complicity between the Hawai'i Board of Health and religious leaders than may have existed, stating that health officials welcomed Catholic, Protestant, and Mormon workers as a "means of instilling Western self-discipline" (p. 57). While it is true that the sisters who ran the Bishop Home for girls were indispensable, the predominantly Protestant members of the Board of Health saw their utility primarily in economic terms; these women, dedicated to working for charity, had no dependents to support. Efforts at instilling discipline met limited success since girls torn from their families and a normal life had nothing to lose.

Furthermore, it was the Hawaiians themselves who established the congregations at the settlement, attending church with the non-patient community and with ministers such as the Reverend Anderson O. Forbes, who commuted from his assigned congregation at Kalua'aha, South Moloka'i to preach to the patients until they obtained their own ministers. The clergy were not a placating force for the Board of Health. The patients' first public complaints reached the press through the Rev. Forbes in a letter to the editor of the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*.¹ Resident religious leaders, with the exception of the Catholics, were Hawaiian patients themselves and their sympathies were rarely with the board. Even Father Damien, through his connection to the worldwide missionary network for soliciting publicity and funds, often proved to be a political thorn to the board.

After World War II, under Lawrence Judd's enlightened administration, it became policy to teach Hawaiians that leprosy was not extremely communicable, that it was curable and "that there is no stigma whatsoever attached to it" (p. 190). Ironically, these are the very attitudes that had defined the Native Hawaiian as "uncivilized" half a century earlier (pp. 29, 59). One might conclude that with impending statehood, leprosy as a sign of colonial "otherness" had become counterproductive.

The strength of *Colonizing Leprosy* is in its investigation of those ambiguous

¹ The letter, attributed to a Dr. Belitenger, appeared in the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* on 29 December 1866. Cited in Moblo, *Defamation by Disease: Leprosy, Myth and Ideology in Nineteenth Century Hawai'i*, University of Hawai'i dissertation (1996) 81.

lines between medical practice as treatment for the patients and institutional regulations as a means to a social end. Through the analysis of policies that demanded the policing of patients' sexual lives, childbearing and rearing, and domestic spaces, assumptions are made about the management of disease in the imperial landscape. Moran makes a convincing argument in her assessment of American colonial assumptions underlying the control of leprosy in this welcomed contribution to the literature. This work leaves room for an expanded comparison between policies in the United States and practices elsewhere. For example, Hawai'i physician George Trousseau met criticism from a European colleague for his involvement in a late 19th-century policy that was "a relic of the ignorance and barbarism of the Middle Ages."²

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Pacific Performances: Theatricality and Cross-Cultural Encounter in the South Seas. By Christopher B. Balme. New York: Palgrave, 2007. xiv + 256 pp. Illustrated. Index. Notes. Bibliography. \$80.00 cloth

Pacific Performances explores a history of cross-cultural encounters in the Pacific through a combination of approaches in historical anthropology, performance, and iconography studies. Balme, a professor of Theatre Studies at the University of Munich, covers vast spatial and temporal terrain from the 18th century to the early 2000s across multiple islands, cities, and stages from O'ahu to London. His focus is on theorizing Polynesian and European exchanges and negotiations of meaning and power through performance, though occasional reference is made to the archival material on Melanesia. The result is a tracking of Pacific performative genealogies beginning with encounters during the Cook expeditions and ending with the Mau ensemble in Holland.

In the first chapter, Balme analyses early exchanges between Europeans and Tahitians centered on the sexual trade. He reads these as a series of

² G.P. Trousseau to W. O. Smith, 15 July 1893 AH, BHL box 18. He was instructed to consult a report by the National Leprosy Fund Commission in India for comparison. Quoted in Moblo (1996) 191.

performative practices that ultimately challenge European moral codes and conceptual categories. These lead to the creation of new and often provocative theatrical genres on the European stage, explored in Chapter 2. Here we see how European representations of the Pacific move from attempts to “stage authenticity” to a more generalized representation of the “South Seas” maximizing exoticism. The tensions between the authentic and the exotic continue to play out in subsequent chapters. In Chapter 3, the “anti-theatrical prejudice” of the Protestant missions is explored in Tahiti focusing on the conversion of the chiefly members of the *arioi* or “comedians of the land”. The efforts of the missionaries to ban dancing and the work of the *arioi* are critical to religious transformation and the disconnection of performance from indigenous spirituality.

In the fourth chapter, “Dressing the Hula and Taming the Haka,” Balme outlines a process by which both performance genres first become the targets of missionary zeal and then re-emerge with a vengeance in the late 19th century. Haka and hula survive and with their “new forms and . . . altered functions” (p. 94) exist today as “synonymous with an indigenous people, where a particular dance or ritual comes to have the metonymic gesture of standing in for the whole of these respective cultures” (p. 97). While this is certainly true, this chapter would have benefited from an engagement with Amy Stillman’s corpus on the history of hula.¹

In Chapter 5, we move to central Polynesia and to encounters between Samoans and Germans from 1890 to 1912. The Samoans are literally put on display in zoos by the Marquardt brothers using Carl Hagenbeck’s *Völkerschauen*—zoological garden or ethnographic show. In spite of this, Samoans emerge from their problematic German encounters as “kindred spirits” and sometimes even as equals to the Europeans. This is indicated, for example, by the integration of the holders of the highest chiefly titles, Mata’afa and Tamasese, along with indigenous performance and ritual elements, in the ceremonies establishing German colonial rule.

From here, there is a slight disjuncture as we move to the American-Pacific in Chapter 6 where Balme reflects on three dramatic works (*The Bird of Paradise*, *Rain*, and *South Pacific*). The Pacific is both a theater of war and the stage on which displaced Americans play out their own moral dilemmas across a now multi-ethnic Pacific and Asian landscape. Asia, America, and the Pacific also converge in Chapter 7 where the Polynesian Cultural Center (PCC) is approached as a critical centre of tourist performance. At the PCC, staged

¹ See a list of Amy K. Stillman’s publications at <http://www-personal.umich.edu/~akstill/Publications/my%2olist.html>.

authenticity, however, also results in a comical subversion of power relations on the part of Samoan and Tongan performers. Both the American and the Asian gaze are flipped back on the tourist audience as the Polynesians demonstrate a multicultural literacy and global savvy in their scripted shows. From here on the focus is on indigenous agency and the use of theatricality to parody and subvert the discourses of alterity explored earlier in the book as a one-way European gaze due to the limits of the textual evidence. Chapter 8 notes how the Pacific diaspora, particularly in New Zealand, has produced a growing number of Polynesian artists who, through pageantry (including shows in drag), drama, and dance theatre, now innovatively challenge the codes and expectations developed across the entire performance genealogy laid out in this book.

Balme's work is a valuable contribution to the field of historical anthropology and to performance studies more generally. Scholars in Pacific studies will also find it useful in terms of the genealogy of performance it constructs. However, there is no reference to the Pacific Festival of the Arts, held every four years in a different part of the region. Here, Pacific performance and nationalism are ultimately unified, and "authenticity" is staged for intra-Pacific cross-cultural consumption. This is a major omission but like most scholarship on "cross-cultural encounters," the lines of alterity are drawn between European and Islander (mainly Polynesian) subjects, between natives and foreigners, rather than between Islanders. An incorporation of the complex ways in which Pacific Islander networks of cultural exchange operate across time and space would have moved the work beyond the limits of western historiography. *Pacific Performances* calls for such a reading.

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Guardian of the Sea: Jizo in Hawai'i. By John R. K. Clark. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007. xvii + 192 pp. Bibliography. Illustrated. Timeline. Index. \$19.00 paper

There are a number of obelisks at various shoreline sites across O'ahu erected as the result of tragedy. They serve as a warning to potential drowning victims, a testament to the power and danger of the ocean, and a monument marking the places where the two have tragically met. In *Guardian of the Sea: Jizo in Hawai'i*, the obelisks are also access points to help understand part of the

contribution of the Japanese immigrant legacy to the shaping of Hawai'i's multi-cultural experience.

It is certainly fitting that a valuable part of Hawai'i's history has been preserved and brought to light by a former lifeguard and firefighter. John Clark, through painstaking research and interviews with more than 300 people, has pieced together a fascinating account of the efforts of the Issei community (first-generation Japanese Americans) to come to terms with heartrending tragedies that have occurred off the shorelines of O'ahu. One such effort involves the setting up of statues of Jizo, a beloved guardian deity in the Japanese Buddhist tradition who appears in various forms and roles, one of which to protect ocean-goers.

Just as Jizo serves many purposes, *Guardian of the Sea* also seems to be multi-purpose in nature. There are eight chapters between the Prologue and Epilogue and readers will notice that there are at least four functions that the book serves: fishing guide, cultural history, religious brochure, and ocean safety manual. The story of the interaction of Hawai'i's Issei, the Buddhist deity Jizo, and the powerful sea, though, really begins in Chapter Three, "Jizo the Protector." Chapter One, "Casting the *Ulua*," as interesting and informative as it is, seems out of place. It is almost a false start of sorts. There are valuable pieces of information for the fishing enthusiast, the development of sport fishing in Hawai'i is traced, and tips on fishing techniques and places for the best catch are offered as well. The focus of the chapter, however, is on the *uluu*, or giant trevally (which can weigh up to 150 pounds and reach 5 feet in length). An exciting depiction of fighting an *uluu* gives the reader a vivid sense of why this fish is "one of the most prized catches in Hawaiian waters." (p. 12) Yet to dedicate so much space to the *uluu* in *Guardian of the Sea* is odd since a number of shoreline Jizo statues were not erected specifically for *uluu* fishermen but for children who drowned in the sea (Hale'iwa Jizo), ocean and automobile accidents (Kawailoa Jizo), "fishermen and swimmers of all nationalities" (Kawaihāpai Jizo), and for children who died not in the ocean but in a river (Wahiawa Kawamori Jizo). Chapter Two is a short summary of the transformation process of the Japanese immigrants in Hawai'i from visitor to resident through the development of fishing shops, clubs, and tournaments. Chapter Three introduces the bodhisattva Jizo, and along with Chapter Four and Chapter Six, detail some of the stories behind important historical sites where the deity of protection and compassion can be found. In Chapter Five, there is a moving retelling of the tragic drowning of Zensaku Uchibori, who was swept into the ocean from the Koko Head sea cliffs while trying to set up a warning obelisk after two other Japanese immigrants had drowned at the same spot. Some in the Issei community decided "something more was needed . . . something more powerful than the wooden, obelisk-

shaped warning signs” (p. 107). Jizo statues were thus placed at different locations “to stop the drownings” (p. 106). In these chapters we see how an assortment of people in the Issei community—plantation workers, taxicab drivers, fishermen, wives, and mothers (confronted with various forms of heartbreak—drownings, automobile accidents, infertility, physical pains)—turned to Jizo for help and protection. Chapter Seven is a promotional guide that encourages readers to make pilgrimages to coordinated Jizo sites around the island while asking potential pilgrims to “Please make a donation to each temple that you visit during the pilgrimage” (p. 141). The tone of the book turns again in Chapter Eight as the author’s lifeguard instincts take over and practical advice and warnings for dealing with the ocean are offered, including what to do when swept out to sea.

There are some statements in *Guardian of the Sea* that scholars would not agree with (Buddhism did not arrive in Japan “during the fourth or fifth century A.D.” (p. 20)) and if one looked hard enough typographical errors can be found, but these are quibbles and do not take away from the fact that John Clark has written a wonderful book.

The true wonder of *Guardian of the Sea*, though, is not the bodhisattva Jizo, but is best expressed through him. There are no miraculous stories of people being saved from drowning by this Buddhist deity. In fact, drownings do not stop and the number of drowning victims actually increases (p. 160) despite the placement of Jizo images at various shoreline sites. Moreover, it is interesting to note that all except one of the shoreline Jizo set up to protect people in the end are the ones that needed protection. The bodhisattva who is supposed to save others must himself be saved time and again after falling into a river, being tossed into the sea, or having his head shot off—the last being the result of target practice and anti-Japanese sentiments during World War II. And yet one might still conclude that the compassionate bodhisattva does possess a kind of saving power. By having people save him, we see displays of courage, care, and commitment and the development of a people over time. Through such endeavors, community is created from individuals and culture emerges from seemingly disparate experiences.

Guardian of the Sea itself, then, serves as a literary obelisk of sorts. It is multifaceted in its look at the drownings that have occurred on O’ahu, a monument attesting to the power and danger of the sea, yet all the while pointing to the human capacity to endure and find meaning and identity in the face of change.

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Pathways to the Present: U.S. Development and Its Consequences in the Pacific. By Mansel G. Blackford. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007. xi + 267 pp. Bibliography. Illustrated. Notes. Index. \$48.00 cloth

Mansel G. Blackford presents a broad historical survey of the Pacific region—with particular attention to economic, military, and social changes in the post-World War II era in specific sites. Blackford's modest thesis—that World War II was a watershed for the geopolitical, economic, sociocultural, and environmental changes in the Pacific—is nothing new. Nevertheless, *Pathways to the Present* is a compelling modern history of the region because of Blackford's case study approach and clear prose. Following an all-too-brief, general, and rather uncritical history of the Pacific in the first chapter, the five chapters that make up the core of the book provide detailed, interesting accounts of postwar change brought about primarily by American military spending in what the author calls "America's possessions."

Blackford ranges from Hawai'i, Seattle, California's Silicon Valley, Alaska, Japan, Guam, American Samoa, and the Philippines in order to illustrate the economic and environmental regional reintegration wrought by increased American military presence, U.S. aid, transnational capital, and local actors. However, *Pathways* is less a story about regional reintegration and more a series of comprehensive but individual histories of how different kinds of spaces were shaped by American military actions. While the chapters stand on their own as complete stories of U.S.-influenced development, taken together, they are not convincing illustrations of increasing regional integration—which is not to say that such integration doesn't exist. Blackford does point to cross-migrations, anti-nuclear activism, and indigenous cultural movements as examples of regional integration but does not prioritize analyses of these phenomena across chapters. Indeed, there is little done to connect the chapters to each other apart from the author's occasional brief comparison or mention. The core case studies, however, do pay close attention to military and business histories, and how those histories affect environmental matters, disputes over natural resource use, urban and rural planning, and decision-making in the local communities involved. As individual histories of Pacific region sites, they are well written and fascinating.

The first case study considers the conflicts over the Hawaiian island of Kaho'olawe, used as a target range by the U.S. military since the 1930s. As with all the case studies presented, the chapter begins with a brief pre-1945 history, which broadly contextualizes general economic and social processes that have shaped the site. Blackford spends the bulk of the chapter using Kaho'olawe as a fulcrum to discuss the development of an environmental

movement spearheaded and shaped by Native Hawaiian concerns over land-use, sovereignty, and cultural identity.

The second case study, which focuses on the Pacific coast cities of Seattle and Silicon Valley, similarly looks at how people's lives were affected by the rapid growth of these regions as high-technology industrial districts funded by federal, corporate, and military moneys. Blackford notes the uneven development and distribution of power and wealth in the region, as he does in other examples, providing detailed corporate histories alongside stories of women- and minority-led activist movements that addressed the problems of rapid, poorly planned urban expansion on quality of life issues.

Alaska is the subject of *Pathways'* third chapter, particularly the development of its vast natural resources such as fish and oil. This case study is particularly strong in its portrayal of the tensions between federal and local politics, and its nuanced consideration of the negotiations between business and environmental concerns. The author's very short discussion of the creation of Berengia Heritage International Park as an example of cultural and economic integration is interesting enough to be a chapter of its own rather than a three to four page addendum near the end of the Alaska chapter.

More fully developed is Blackford's fourth chapter on the U.S. postwar occupation of Japan. Comfortable in discussing the urban planning history of Hiroshima before and after its annihilation by the atomic bomb, Blackford pays close attention to the debates over what a rebuilt Hiroshima would look like and what it would symbolize. The discussion of Okinawa's rebuilding that follows suffers by comparison because of the kind of detail that structures Blackford's Hiroshima example.

Finally, Blackford's last case study, which groups together Guam, the Philippines, and American Samoa, is more a discussion of Guam's fate at the hands of the American military presence and administration of the islands, rather than a comparison of the three sites. Looking at controversies and conflicts over military concerns, native Chamorro matters, and environmental impacts, Blackford deftly weaves a story of negotiation and compromise in Guam.

Blackford's ambitious and multi-faceted approach, while making for interesting, detailed place histories, sacrifices other important parts of the story. The most significant omission is a deep consideration of postcolonial scholarship of the region, which has more critically assessed U.S. military and economic interventions, particularly with regard to a history of U.S. empire and violence. *Pathways to the Present* contributes to scholarship that considers the Pacific as a unit of analysis, even as it steers away from the critical theoretical interventions that characterize much of the body of work on this region. It offers a good overview of the different social and economic forces that shaped

the region in the postwar era, providing a broad, yet detailed foundation for future research.

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"Whole Oceans Away": Melville and the Pacific. Edited by Jill Barnum, Wyn Kelley, and Christopher Sten. Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2007. xxi + 350 pp. Illustrated. Bibliography. Index. \$65.00 cloth

"Whole Oceans Away" collects 22 essays and thus provides one of the most extensive and varied portraits of Herman Melville's experiences in and writings about the Pacific, particularly Hawai'i, since "Melville spent the largest portion of his Pacific travels in Hawai'i" (p. xv). The volume also places Melville within the historical contexts and ideologies of his time and ours; the essays examine his sources and influences, as well as the impact Melville had on later conceptions of the Pacific. The focus of the whole volume necessarily involves imperialism, colonization, and race, issues that here generate diverse and interesting responses by the authors.

The editors divide the essays into four categories: "Pacific Subjects," "Colonial Appropriations and Resistance," "Empire, Race, and Nation," and "Postcolonial Reflections." The first part, in essays by both Melville scholars and scholars of Hawaiian history, considers Pacific Islanders as "other" to the Westerners who encountered them. Some previous critics have stressed Melville's tolerant cosmopolitanism, while others see Melville tied to a Western attitude that considers the natives inferior. Qualifying this dichotomy, Charlene Avallone analyzes the influence of Elizabeth Elkins Sanders's critique of the missionaries' relations with the Hawaiians as what Avallone calls "the baneful workings of ethnocentrism" (p. 34); she sees Melville as not presenting "a coherent case against imperialism and colonialism" (p. 44) but representing "Hawaiians as lacking in civil capacities" (p. 45). Others in this section go further, indicting Melville's views of the natives as, in the words of Monica A. Ka'imipono Kaiwi, "distortions of Hawaiian culture and history" (p. 3); the result, she says, "was slanderous, perpetuating damaging rumors and prejudices against *Kānaka Maoli*" (p. 15).

Like the first section, "Colonial Appropriations and Resistance" primarily concerns the implications of colonial encounters in the Pacific. These

essays—all but one by established Melville scholars—focus on the influences that helped shape Melville's view of the Pacific. Among these are David Porter's *Journal for Typee*, the numerous narratives that are sources for *Omoo*, maps and mapping for the Pacific novels, and natural history for *Mardi*. According to John Bryant, as early as his first novel Melville, "by unfolding himself in the writing of *Typee*, . . . had grown considerably in his awareness of imperialism and his role in it" (p. 96). Perhaps the most interesting essays in this section are Sanford E. Marovitz's and Christopher N. Phillips's discussions of mapping, an issue generally underrepresented in Melville criticism, yet one that, in Phillips's words, "highlights crucial issues in understanding Melville's relationship to . . . the epistemological opportunities and challenges that the Pacific posed to those seeking to chart it" (p. 124). The whole of this section, according to the volume's editors, "explores the indeterminacy of earlier and later encounters in the Pacific, as different factors in the cultural encounter work to create ambiguity and tension" (p. xix).

Developing these concerns, the last two sections "focus on Western self-determination in relation or opposition to the Pacific subject, and on theoretical synthesis" (p. xx). "Empire, Race, and Nation" turns away from resistances to the incursions of Western culture and toward "Western modes of self-definition, according to ideologies of race and national identity" (p. xx) occasioned by Pacific encounters. The authors articulate Euro-American attitudes toward the Pacific in *Typee* (compared to Poe's *Pym*), *Moby-Dick* (on whaling, on Japan, and on Asia and Asians, generally), "The Encantadas," and *Benito Cereno*. The *Moby-Dick* essays form the center of this section: John T. Mateson discusses Melville's representation of the "heroic materialism" guiding American whaling and exploration, concluding that "after *Moby-Dick* heroism evaporates from Melville's depiction of labor and commerce" (p. 182). Both Ikuno Saiki and Elizabeth Schultz examine Melville's depiction of Asians as "mysterious"; as Saiki says, "Primordial Asian communities, however, could be discovered only within the Western discourse of Orientalism, as Edward Said has suggested" (p. 196). The essays on "The Encantadas" and *Benito Cereno* show these attitudes persisting in Melville's writings following *Moby-Dick*.

The last section, "Postcolonial Reflections," takes Melville's Pacific into his poetry and, in the majority of the essays, into a comparison with later writers and issues. The authors discuss Daniel Quinn, W. S. Merwin, reality television, tattooing, and the war on terror, thus providing a sense of how Melville's depiction of the Pacific relates to our contemporary culture. As the editors say, "These essays recognize the resistance of both traveler to and native of the Pacific region's colonial past but at the same time suggest the importance of an intercultural encounter based on principles of evenhandedness and respect for others" (p. xxi). Of the most interest to Melville scholars, however,

is Warren Rosenberg's essay, which shows that "the time Melville spent in Polynesia was critical for his turn to poetry . . . , [evident] especially in Melville's use of Edenic imagery in *Clarel*" (p. 241). Rosenberg concludes that "In Polynesia Melville was reborn a poet" (p. 252).

"*Whole Oceans Away*" will certainly be of interest to students of Melville and of Pacific culture and history. The editors have included a wide variety of approaches and topics that raise insightful and suggestive questions concerning literary influence, race, native cultures, and Western imperialism. The essays, universally well written and soundly researched, add much to our understanding of the region and the West's relation to it.

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Ka Mo'olelo o Hi'iakaikapoliopele: Ka Wahine i ka Hikina a ka lā, ka u'i Palekoki Uila o Halema'uma'u = The Epic Tale of Hi'iakaikapoliopele: Woman of the Sunrise, Lightning-Skirted Beauty of Halema'uma'u. By Ho'oulu-māhie. Translated by M. Puakea Nogelmeier. Honolulu: Awaiaulu Press, 2006. 2 vols. Illustrated. Index. \$80.00 cloth (trade); \$300.00 cloth (boxed set); \$1,500.00 cloth (centennial edition boxed set)

He Mo'olelo o Hi'iakaikapoliopele, or The Epic Tale of Hi'iakaikapoliopele is the latest twin publication of the Kalihi-based, non-profit Awaiaulu Press. Simultaneously released in 2007, the two volumes—one in Hawaiian and the other an English translation—span nearly 1,000 pages (each volume about 500 pages), four years of work, and countless hours from many dedicated individuals to bring this publication to life in its current formation. The roots of these publications run much deeper in history than the publication date of these volumes; the story of this specific publication cannot be told without exploring its origins and publication history.

"The truth about stories," writes Native American scholar Thomas King, "is that is all we are."¹ If this is true, what do stories say about us? What do culturally-based stories say about the cultures they come from and the worldview of their people? Perhaps this is a reason Native Hawaiians, by many accounts, took to "ka palapala" (western literacy) quite rapidly; by the mid-19th century,

¹ Thomas King. *The Truth about Stories: A Native Narrative* (University of Minnesota Press, 2005).

a myriad of nūpepa (newspaper) publications began to flourish, featuring traditional Hawaiian mo'olelo (story/history), recounting the deeds of gods, mythic beings, and ancestors, all of whom overlap and intertwine with each other, and in multiple ways.

One such example is the mo'olelo of Hi'iakaikapoliopole, beloved healer, patroness of hula and favored youngest sister of the esteemed Hawaiian volcano goddess, Pele. From the 1860s to the 1920s, at least ten separate mo'olelo recounting the epic adventure of Hi'iaka were published. At the core of the Hi'iaka-centered mo'olelo is her quest to fetch Pele's love, the chief Lohi'au, and escort him from his home at Hā'ena, Kaua'i to Pele's home at Halema'uma'u, Hawai'i. Hi'iaka encounters many dangers (battling mo'o) and other obstacles (surfing competitions, healing the sick) along the way. Her task is further impeded by Lohi'au's unexpected death prior to her arrival at Hā'ena, and her need to revive him. Upon her success, they embark on their return to Halema'uma'u, only to meet a variety of new obstacles (a kilu game, a jealous rival, a riddling contest, more healing work), which further delays their progress. Due to the unexpected delays, Pele is furious by the time the travelers return to Halema'uma'u. The sisters battle, and Lohi'au's life hangs in the balance once more.

All but one of these earlier Hi'iaka stories were published in Hawaiian, and all but one were published by Native Hawaiians, including *He Mo'olelo o Hi'iakaikapoliopole*. *Hi'iaka* was originally published from 1905–1906 in two separate publications: it began in *Hawaii Aloha* (July 15–November 24, 1905), but when the publication folded, it was continued in the newspaper *Ka Na'i Aupuni* (Dec. 1, 1905–Nov. 30, 1906).² Credited to Ho'oulumāhiehie, his or her identity is still unknown, although some evidence suggests it could be noted Hawaiian editor and scholar Joseph Poepoe, who was associated with both publications when *Hi'iaka* was printed.

The individual texts are not simple recounting of a single tale; they are multiple versions and complex. Collectively, they comprise a wealth of information—chants, cultural protocol, cultural practices, attitudes, food, etc. Therefore, it is quite stunning that no complete translation of any of the Hi'iaka texts has been previously published. Until now, with few exceptions (i.e., those with Hawaiian language fluency and the patience to sit through hours of scrolling through microfilm to look at preserved images of newspaper pages a century or so old), anyone interested in the mo'olelo had to rely on a highly edited and poorly translated summary, complete with colo-

² John Charlot. "Pele and Hi'iaka: The Hawaiian-Language Newspaper Series." *Anthropos* 93.1/3 (1998) 56.

nial anti-Hawaiian sentiments and cultural biases, published by Nathaniel B. Emerson in 1915. Thus, the translation and publication of Ho‘oulumāhiehie’s mo‘olelo is a tremendous gift to Native Hawaiians, cultural practitioners, and scholars because it opens up new spaces for research previously unavailable. Herein also lies some of the criticism of the publication and Awaiaulu’s over-all mission.

Awaiaulu Press was founded in 2003 by Puakea Nogelmeier and Dwayne Steele for the purpose of translating and publishing Hawaiian “legacy texts” from nūpepa and archival sources. Their goal was to familiarize modern readers with the mo‘olelo and the cultural knowledge contained within the Hawaiian “legacy texts,” as well as develop translators and scholars in the fields.

While Translation Studies as a whole is a dynamic field of practice and scholarly discipline in all parts of the globe, it does not exist without social/political context, and is often contested. The colonial history of translation in Hawai‘i, particularly in regards to the dismissal of Hawaiian language as inferior to English, has made it an even more sensitive and contentious issue in Hawai‘i.

Aside from criticisms of whether the mo‘olelo should be translated to English at all is the question of whether Hawaiian text should be marked with modern orthography. Unmarked text contains more ambiguity, which is a plus in Hawaiian language, where words are often intentionally imbued with multiple meanings. Marking the Hawaiian text imposes a more fixed meaning, and can distract the reader from kaona or other associations, which might be evoked through reading unmarked text.

There is no easy response to these questions, although they are valid points of ongoing discussion and debate and important to keep in mind when reading this or any other similar text. A traditional ‘ōlelo no‘eau (proverb) cautions, *‘A‘ole pau ka ‘ike i ka hālau ho‘okani*—not all knowledge is contained in one school—and therefore, multiple perspectives on these issues remain.

Highly unusual, neither volume contains a preface, introduction, opening editor’s note, or table of contents. It is distracting to not have a preface, which could have answered some of the criticisms and issues posed above. Instead, the books contain back matter. There is a short commentary on the publishing of the mo‘olelo, background on the illustrations and artist, a few editorial notes, and a detailed and extensive index, which is a useful tool for specific research. However, with no note at the beginning of the text, the reader doesn’t even know it is there; at over 400-pages, it does take some time to get into this useful and valuable reference information.

Native Hawaiian artist Solomon Enos illustrated the substantive text with twenty color paintings, which were commissioned for the publication. The illustrations are beautiful, if at times awkward, humorous, fantastical, and

downright strange. There is at times perhaps an overly literal interpretation of the scenes, as with Hi'iaka's descent into Milu, or Pele's revealing her "repulsiveness" to Kaua'i chief Kauakahiapaoa and the "birthing" of "all kinds of horrible things emerging from her." The constant presence of bared female breasts, prominent in every illustration, comes off tired and redundant, and the lack of curvaceous female forms hints at western standard of female beauty, rather than an indigenous one. Overall, the lush illustrations do not detract from the mo'olelo. It is refreshing to see characters portrayed in a more culturally appropriate and un-stereotyped, sexualized way as seen in other artistic depictions of the goddesses.

While not extensively footnoted to be considered a scholarly edition, this *Hi'iaka* mo'olelo brings to light a large number of chants, episodes in the mo'olelo, vocabulary, characters, and cultural information not found in Emerson's widely available publication, information he purposefully deleted. Despite editorial decisions that detract from the publication, this mo'olelo is a positive contribution to the study of Hawaiian literature, and will hopefully encourage readers to look beyond what they think they know about this mo'olelo, Hawaiian traditions, and cultural practices.

ku'ualoha ho'omanawanui
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We Go Eat: A Mixed Plate From Hawai'i's Food Culture. Edited by Susan Yim. Honolulu: Hawai'i Council for the Humanities, 2008. 138 pp. Illustrated. \$10.00 paper

We Go Eat is an unprepossessing little volume, an anthology of essays, oral histories, poems, and reprinted articles released without much fanfare in conjunction with the local installation of a Smithsonian Institution food history display, "Key Ingredients: America By Food," that has already left O'ahu.

As virtually every one of the writers is someone whom I have interviewed, whose work I have read before, or with whom I have worked, I did not expect to learn much from it. Nor did I expect to have a desire to keep it (when your bookshelves are stacked as tightly as mine, you learn to exercise bibliodiscipline).

But as I closed the book on Wing Tek Lum's insightful poem, "Chinese Hot Pot,"—"all in one broth/like a stew that really isn't"—I knew the book had found a home with me.

As a cook, I have to keep the book for the small secrets contained therein—Peter Adler’s exposition of the proper components of oxtail stew and Amalia Buento’s hints from the chicharon-expert RitaLita sisters.

As a lover of food history, I want to read again Bob Dye’s piece on “Hawai‘i’s First Celebrity Chef,” and Kristin McAndrews’ exposition on *poke*. She argues convincingly that it’s a recent addition to the Hawaiian menu, not something pre-contact Hawaiians ate, putting the scholarship in my own *The Island Plate* food history to shame.

As an appreciator of writing that amuses and enlightens, I want to giggle again over two very different works about our Zippy’s fixation, one each by the two Lees (Cataluna and Tonouchi) and I want to take more time to ponder W. S. Merwin’s free-form poem “Questions to Tourists Stopped by the Pineapple Field” (note, as you read, that the questions are put to tourists, not coming from them).

I knew the writers I had not met would become sources for me in future food research projects. I coveted, as only a history writer can, their bibliographies, the connective leaps they had made to uncover stories, I, too, want to tell.

And, besides, it was just an enjoyable read of a sunny morning, sitting on my deck sipping Kava coffee, eyeing a neighbor’s tragically cut-back mango tree, my lust for the thunk of ripe fruit on the roof stimulated by John Wythe White’s “Unstill Life with Mangos.”

Granted there is, as there always is when Islanders grow nostalgic, a bit of hyperbole stirred in. The irresistible mixed plate, melting pot, chop suey, stew, and *kaukau tin* metaphors get trotted out. My explorations of Island food history taught me it’s not that simple: Yes, we are multicultural, as is the cuisine we label “local.” But profit motive and accident of history are the basis of our food tradition at least as often as a desire to share, to meld, and to celebrate our culinary roots. In fact, one reason exploring food history is so difficult here is that many of these traditions have been lost because a) they were undervalued or b) people refused to pass them on.

Still, in her essay on an Island favorite food that defies explanation to the rest of the country, “SPAM I Am,” Thelma Chang speaks of “those Hawai‘i to Hawai‘i moments” when two locals lock eyes and shrug without having to move their shoulders. This book is like a protracted version of such a moment—but one written without any harsh “we-they” attitude. It is a book that locals can chuckle and nod over while non-Islanders or newcomers learn much.

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The White Pacific: U.S. Imperialism and Black Slavery in the South Seas after the Civil War. By Gerald Horne. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007. v + 253 pp. Illustrated. Notes. Index. \$59.00 cloth; \$29.00 paper

Gerald Horne's aim in this study of American activity and influence in the South Pacific in the late 19th century is to link the racial theories and practice of the Confederate South with the phenomena of blackbirding and the White Australia policy. He then extends the argument northwards and claims that the Hawaiian Kingdom's move towards Japan as a source of support and labor was countered by U.S. annexation, furthering American influence in the Pacific.

Horne is at his strongest when investigating the role of individual Americans, both black and white, in the early contact history of the South Pacific and Australia. That there were substantial numbers of Americans in the whaling and bêche-de-mer trades is well-known, as is the presence of Americans, fresh from California, on the Victorian gold-fields—even though they were outnumbered by Germans and other Europeans. But the personal biographies of James T. Proctor, a Mississippi planter who had cotton interests in Fiji in the 1870s and then became involved in labor trading in the New Hebrides, or "Black Tom" Tilden an ex-slave from Delaware who jumped ship in Sāmoa, married a Samoan chiefly lady and built a business, only to be expelled to the Marshall Islands and ended up in the Kingsmill Islands (modern Kiribati), give concrete expression to those links, and also provide fascinating glimpses into the fluid nature of 19th century Pacific societies.

But Horne pushes the personal biographies too far. That interesting and influential Americans were present in the Pacific Islands in the 19th century does not mean that they were the driving force behind all events there. Nevertheless, Horne comes close to claiming just that. Non-Americans are used to claims that the USA is the source of all good; Horne turns this on its head and suggests that most of the ills of the South Pacific and Australia were the responsibility of American Confederates, while African-Americans led and influenced Islanders and settlers. It was American Confederates, apparently, who gave the British the idea of transportation to Australia (p. 17), stirred up the Maori against the British (p. 21), and, through the person of Charles Williams, influenced the setting up of the White Australia policy (p. 158). African Americans also had astonishing influence, leading the Eureka rebellion (pp. 23–24), and becoming the dominant cooks in Sydney (p. 145), though here even Horne cannot substantiate any long-term influence on the Pacific. His suggestion that inter-group fights amongst Fijians, long predating any external influences in the Pacific, were caused by Euro-American activ-

ity is undoubtedly overstated. Set against this American “hyperagency”, in Horne’s account, Islanders, as well as Australians and New Zealanders (settlers and indigenous), are bit players, simply reacting to American initiatives.

Horne’s approach to Pacific history emphasizes the episodic and ignores the contextual, and reveals his ignorance of Pacific history and the major debates of the last 20 years. Two topics, out of many possible, demonstrate this. Horne unproblematically equates the labor trade in the southwest Pacific with slavery, taking as his authorities for atrocities and their frequency the 1930s journalist Thomas Dunbabin and the modern popular writer Nigel Randall. The emphasis (a whole chapter) on the sensational story of Bully Hayes sets the tone: sexual exploitation of girls and women, raids on unsuspecting villages, piracy, and murder (though Hayes predates the main SW Pacific labor trade and was more brigand than trader). Although recent scholarship disputes this characterization of the labor trade, Horne gives only passing reference in a footnote (see note 6 on pp. 179–180) to the long and nuanced debate on voluntarism in the labor trade amongst Pacific historians Dorothy Shineberg, Adrian Graves, Peter Corris, Clive Moore, Ralph Shlomowitz, Kay Saunders, Doug Munro (who are either not cited, or are cited on minor rather than substantial matters) and others. This ignorance of the current state of scholarship is a serious defect in an academic study, as this book purports to be. But to acknowledge any voluntary recruitment of Malaitans (from the Solomon Islands) or Tannese (from Vanuatu) would be to give Pacific Islanders agency, something Horne seems reluctant to do, given that so much of his argument depends on an acceptance that slavery thrived in the Pacific.

Horne’s Pacific is a strangely undifferentiated, and rather confused, place. Old and new names for islands are mixed indiscriminately together; in discussing Bully Hayes’ exploits, there is no indication where Savage Island (p. 55), Strong Island (p. 57), Humphreys Island (p. 56), or Danger Island (p. 56) might be. (The first is the old name for Niue, the others are in the Cook Islands—none of them areas where the later labor trade thrived.) In discussing blackbirding, Horne characterizes it as the “practice of luring Melanesians and Polynesians to toil for next to nothing” (p. 2), not recognizing that the use of these terms was fluid in the 19th century; another topic about which Pacific historians, in this case Bronwen Douglas, Helen Gardner, Chris Ballard and others have written extensively. Solomon Island and New Hebridean workers in Queensland were regularly described as “Polynesians”, reflecting Charles de Brosse’s original designation of the whole Pacific Ocean as “Polynesia”. Polynesians in the modern sense were rarely recruited. In his frequent assertions that there was a physical similarity between African-Americans and Islanders, Horne fails to realize that many European and American comments

about physical appearance, similarity and difference—as well as the persistent story, cited uncritically, about “lost tribes of Israel”—were part of a discourse about human origins and migration, matters of great anthropological interest, rather than objective descriptions. It passes belief, for example, that Mark Twain really thought that Hawaiians objectively resembled Africans (p. 13).

Horne has published widely on black American history. Overall this book is a sad example of the truth that it is unwise for historians to move outside their specialty without doing their homework very carefully.

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