

Book Reviews

John L. Culliney. *Islands in a Far Sea: Nature and Man in Hawaii*. Sierra Club Books, San Francisco, 1988. xiv + 410 pp. Illustrated. Notes. Index. \$24.95.

Gavan Daws. *Hawaii: The Islands of Life*. Signature Publishing, Honolulu, 1988. 156 pp. Illustrated. Selected Readings. \$24.95.

Two books published in 1988 celebrate the natural history of the Hawaiian Islands. Both are sponsored by conservation organizations, *Islands in a Far Sea* by the Sierra Club, *Hawaii Islands of Life* by the Nature Conservancy. Both purport to tell of the wonders of the island world that is Hawai'i and of the changes wrought by man. Here, however, the similarity stops. John Culliney asks, "What has happened to Hawaii?" and writes "about the intersection of natural and human history in the islands" (p. ix). Gavan Daws provides the text for a picturesque of Hawai'i's natural history, which the Nature Conservancy says is its "way of sharing the rain forests and other natural wonders of Hawai'i" with the hope that "there will create in each reader a desire to help protect them" (p. 11). Culliney's book is in a familiar 9 x 6 inch format, more than 400 pages in length, and illustrated with about 40 black and white line drawings and several black and white photos. The Daws book is large (approximately 11 by 12 inches), and the text is an addendum to more than 150 color pictures which, even in a state famed for magnificent pictures of its islands, must take their place among the best yet. *Hawaii: The Islands of Life* succeeds in accomplishing its purpose. *Islands in a Far Sea* is less successful. Why?

Islands in a Far Sea consists of six parts: "Island Evolution . . .," "The Surrounding Sea," "Shores of Many Moods," "Green Crags and Canyons," "Volcanoes in the Sky," and "The Fate of the Living Land." These sections contain 21 chapters which span the geological

history of the Islands, emphasizing modern geological theory of hot spots; the almost incredible spectrum of animals and plants of rain-forests, shorelines and ocean and mountain tops; the life and adventures of coral reefs and freshwater streams; and glimpses of a landscape changed first by the Hawaiians and later by westerners. The chapters include details of man's impact on ecosystems and organisms, from the effects of the immigrant Polynesians to those of hotels along the Kona coast. Throughout the myriad of facts and conjecture about Hawai'i's natural history, the author's feelings about man's impact surface and sometimes intrude. Neither the facts nor the messages are unique. They are available in Sherwin Carlquist's *Hawaii: A Natural History* (1970) and a host of scientific and natural history journals. What is unique is that the author has delved deeply into the history of man's impact on Hawai'i's natural history, and more facts and references are gathered within the covers of this single book than are available anywhere else. Unfortunately, the detail, while displaying the author's undoubted ability to ferret out references and information, is overwhelming, and the attempt at a synthesis is marred on several counts.

Major points, for example, are lost in a plethora of words, facts, and speculation. Why the details on DNA and "speculative scenarios of habitat development on an oceanic island"? Can the ordinary reader really understand the relationship between DNA and speciation?

The text is burdened by a style that is sometimes sermonic and at other times almost descends to the level of purple prose ("an immense hot geological womb"; "the humps of some unfathomable sea serpent"). Sentences are over-long and often awkward; one becomes impatient and skips to the end of a paragraph hoping to find the point of the paragraph.

Neither author nor publisher has paid sufficient attention to the "look" of the book. Simply put, the book is unattractive. The dustcover of the gods silhouetted against a setting sun conveys a feeling of doom even before one opens the book. Inside, the text itself goes on forever: "Species and Islands" occupies nearly eight pages without breaks except for paragraphs. The relatively few illustrations, all in black and white, neither provide an attractive setting for the text nor enhance it. Footnotes are segregated at the end of the text and are identified only by chapter number. The chapter number, however, appears only on the first page of the chapter, the remaining pages bearing the chapter title. If you don't happen to remember that you are reading chapter 6, then you can't find footnote 19 unless you thumb back to the first page of the chapter, in this case 18 pages.

Finally, typographical errors are annoying ("dolphin" instead of dolphin, for example). Factual errors can on occasion be excused—we are all human, but misleading statements are more worrisome. In this instance, writing style leads not only to excessive teleology, as in "[octopus] using powerful jets of water to propel themselves away from danger" (p. 98), but to statements which convey erroneous impressions, such as "the regional [the continental shelf of western North America] marine life . . . is unlikely to survive a very long passage into a much warmer realm" (p. 42). Apparently the assumption here is that temperature is the controlling factor in dispersal. But how are we to explain the fact that the marine organisms which are here may have come from waters of *higher* temperatures (mean 28°C) in the Marshall Islands to the *lower* temperatures (mean 25°C) in Hawai'i?

Is *Hawaii The Islands of Life* with its more than 150 pictures more successful in meeting its objectives because "one picture is worth a thousand words," or is there more to it than that?

There are six chapters: "Volcanic Origins," "Coasts and Sea Cliffs," "Drylands," "Streams and Wetlands," "Rainforests," and "Summits." The chapter titles are misleadingly concise. Volcanic Origins spans 70 million years of geological history from the hot spot to the atolls of Kure and Midway, a discussion of how life comes to the Islands and evolves; at the same time the excitement of being a scientist in Hawai'i is conveyed with a word-portrait of famed volcanologist Thomas Jagger. "Coasts and Sea Cliffs" is about seabird colonies in the northwestern Hawaiian Islands and the impact of man in the archipelago in the guise of the guano diggers. "Drylands" speaks to the diminishing range of habitats in which native plants live and again brings to life the observations of a scientist, in this case the French botanist Jules Remy.

There are only 18 pages of text among the 150 pages of the book, and they may have been intended only as a footnote to the pictures. But Daws's sparse, crisp, and clear writing, and the images he evokes by simply stating facts, makes the text the centerpiece of the book:

The only way to get to know a volcano, Thomas Jagger believed, is to live with it. . . . And here erosion by wind and wave may bring to the present-day surface evidence of endemic native life forms long dead: shells of land snails, fossil bones of birds, an eagle, a giant flightless goose, a thick-billed crow, a long-legged, bird-eating owl. . . . *Ma'o* is a shrub that grows two to six feet high, bringing forth bright yellow blossoms after the

seasonal rains. It is a form of cotton, in the same genus as American commercial cotton (p. 17).

It is the illustrations that draw one initially to *Hawaii Islands of Life*. They have been selected with enormous care, and Sam Gon's captions rival Daws' text for clarity and information. But Daws' text could stand alone without the illustrations.

Culliney's *Islands in a Far Sea* is a useful collection of references to Hawai'i's natural history, but it is Daws in *Hawai'i The Islands of Life* who gets the message across.

E. Alison Kay
Professor of Zoology
University of Hawai'i

Douglas L. Oliver. *Oceania: The Native Cultures of Australia and the Pacific Islands*. University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu, 1989. 2 Vols. xii + 1275 pp. Illustrations by Lois Johnson. Illustrated. Maps. Bibliography. Indexes. \$90.00.

Douglas Oliver set out to write this book a decade ago, he tells us, partly to update his classic *The Pacific Islands* (1951), and partly in response to "all the nonsense" being disseminated about an alleged "*The Pacific Way*" (p. ix). In nearly half a million words, the dean of Pacific anthropologists shows that Oceania's thousand or so distinct indigenous cultures contained few, if any, traits shared by *all* of them, and what traits they did have generally in common (e.g., subsistence economies centered in domestic households, land ownership by kin-based social units) existed also in many other parts of the world. "*The Pacific Way*," thus to Oliver, "is an evocative and euphoric slogan but not much more, the modicum of reality it reflects being the product of the homogenizing influences of colonialism" (p. xi).

Oceania is conceived in three parts and presented in one fat and one medium-sized volume, with extensive footnotes, a valuable 60-page bibliography, and hundreds of illustrations. Part 1, "Background" (121 pp.), establishes the geography of the region and reviews biological, linguistic, and archaeological evidence tracking the origins of Oceanic peoples and their movements into and within the region. Part 2, "Activities" (660 pp.), describes the tools and techniques pre-colonial

Oceanians used to satisfy their basic, pan-human needs: food and shelter; defense against dangers, real or imagined; transport and external exchange; sexual drives; accommodating the biological imperatives of birth, maturation, aging, and death. Part 3, "Social Relations" (362 pp.), a volume by itself, deviates from the prior topical approach to look at institutionalized social behavior from a primarily geographical perspective. Pointing out that technical activities described in Part 2 did not take place in a social-relational vacuum, Oliver acknowledges that his tripartite division is arbitrary. Nevertheless, in a comprehensive and scholarly review of this depth and richness, some such division of subject matter is mandatory. The result, he states, is comfortable for the writer and—in this reviewer's opinion—should prove comfortable for the reader.

Ancestors of contemporary Oceanians began to move into the region from Southeast Asia 40,000 or more years ago—a vast area of 3.5 million square miles that, by the time of Western contact (differentially effected over a 350 year period), supported some 3.5 million persons. Oliver has deliberately, "albeit somewhat reluctantly" (p. 129), adhered to the common ethnographic practice of dividing Oceania into Australia (including Tasmania), Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia. Fiji, especially in Part 3, is treated separately from Melanesia and Polynesia, as it should be, giving Oceania in essence a five-part division.

Like some recent authors, Oliver is uneasy about the implications of unity and diversity inherent in this traditional subdivision of Oceania. Concerning Micronesia, for example, "the great arc of high islands and atolls that extend from Tobi in the southwest to Arorae in the southeast" (p. 957), he finds this label "more geographic than cultural; while many of the societies in this immense arc share some cultural features, they fall short of the degree of cultural homogeneity that characterized Polynesia or even Australia" (p. 957). Furthermore, sub-boundaries drawn within Micronesia would differ according to whether the emphasis was based on, say, principal crops or social relations; and even the latter would vary depending on whether the focus was on kinship, political organization, or social stratification. In order to "attempt to provide an impression" (p. 957) of that region's social-relational similarities and diversities, Oliver subdivides Micronesia into three parts: Palau and the Marianas and Yap; the southern Gilberts and Banaba; and all other islands in between except for the Polynesian outliers Kapingamarangi and Nukuoro.

Acceding to the heuristic value of boundaries and labels, but

continually urging caution in their use, Oliver proceeds to cover the labyrinth of social relations in a logical, straightforward manner. Similar to his treatment of Australia and Polynesia, he provides for Micronesia detailed descriptions of social relations from two societies in each sub-area—one small, and the other larger and more complex—followed by generalizations about the sub-areas and region as a whole. Within Melanesia, however, where some 1,100 languages represented “about as many distinct societies” (p. 1026), their large number *and* heterogeneity render it impracticable to present social institutions by the same approach. Instead, Oliver selects a few institutions, which he carefully defines, then describes and compares them topically.

Thus, in his discussion of Melanesian kinship, wherein the main focus is descent, we find extended coverage of matrilineal, patrilineal, and ambilineal descent units, and societies with two unilineal descent systems. They are analyzed, as appropriate, from the vantage of span, property, activities, marriage, localization, and governance. In this long chapter on Melanesian social relations, Oliver also looks at affinity, social distance, relationships based on gender and age, partnerships of other kinds, cults, relationships based on expertise (gardening, pig raising, hunting, fishing, arts and crafts, music and dance, eloquence, fighting, barter, accumulating wealth, religious specialists, managing and organizing), and communities. Concluding with supracommunity relationships, rather than attempting to devise a classification for them, Oliver merely reminds the reader of the variety of relationships—kinship, affinity, economic, marital, religious, and others—that connect single communities into large units. “Experience shows that sociological classifications, including those proposed in this book, seldom survive the appearance of more data or different ways of viewing them” (p. 1149), he notes, characteristic of his reluctance to impose more on the data than warranted.

One of the book’s particular strengths is Oliver’s careful attention to terminology and his insistence upon clear definitions of anthropological concepts as they relate to types of human behavior. In the chapter on “Warfare and Killing” (Part 2), for example:

The measures now under consideration have been variously labeled and classified in anthropological writings, in words such as ‘magical’ (versus ‘religious’), ‘sorcery’ (versus ‘witchcraft’), and so on. But rather than take part in this technical, and in some respects unprofitable, discussion of such high-level abstractions, it may be more useful to group the numerous kinds of action under a number of more specific, lower-level headings (p. 490).

In the ensuing discussion of "religious measures," in contrast to physical or military means of killing, Oliver proceeds to "techniques" under the rubrics of spirit invocation, telepathy, witchcraft, bespelling, poison, projectile, effigy, bait, assault. Such precise attention to framework here and throughout the book, which the lay reader easily can grasp and appreciate, provides numerous, fresh insights equally to the most experienced professional.

Efforts to standardize technical terminology insure that comparisons and contrasts are carefully controlled. This is just one way Oliver uses materials drawn from so many disparate sources to demonstrate Oceania's great cultural diversity, as in his chapter on "Sex and Reproduction":

In fact, the only scientific purpose that I can hope to serve in this and other chapters of this book is to provide some indication of the extent of cultural variations that prevailed in Oceania and, where possible and practicable, to map cultural similarities where they existed. Thus these, and only these, limited objectives will be pursued in the following catalog of Oceanians' beliefs and practices concerning the biological reproduction of themselves. (p. 637).

Oliver presents "more than average amounts of description on one or another subject" (p. 1266) for about 130 of Oceania's thousand-plus cultural groups. Some are covered extensively—Murngin, Tikopia, Ifaluk, Palau, Truk, Yap, Mae Enga, Trobriands, to name but a few—and a host of others are referred to intermittently, among them 58 from New Guinea plotted on the back endpaper maps. Consistent favorites are those he knows firsthand—the Siuai of Bougainville, among whom Oliver conducted fieldwork in 1938–1939, and the Society Islanders, forever enshrined in his landmark *Ancient Tahitian Society* (1974). From Oliver's familiarity with so many Oceanians a very human element emerges. Discussing the post-European spread and use of (sometimes poorly cured) tobacco, for instance, he remarks offhandedly in a way sure to joggle many an ex-fieldworker: "Like the red patina of betel-chew spray that sometimes covered me, that continuous reek of green tobacco smoke was a condition of fieldwork I shall never, never forget" (p. 309).

Closing this monumental work based on a lifetime devoted to studying and teaching Oceania, Oliver reminds us again that any of the ways of thinking or behaving that happened to be shared by *all* Oceanians can be found elsewhere, be that Sub-Saharan Africa or South America.

"In other words," explains Oliver, "except for their location in the geographic region of Oceania there was nothing entirely distinctive about Oceanian cultures per se" (p. 1182). On the other hand, at least two Oceanic "multidimensional cultural complexes" had few parallels anywhere else in the world and can be judged "high cultural achievements by almost any standard of evaluation" (p. 1182). One was the "combination of actions and ideas" that enabled certain Australian desert peoples to survive and prosper in what has been called the most unreliable and impoverished environment in the world; furthermore, this adaptation was accomplished

. . . not with large kits of elaborate and specialized tools but mainly by means of culturally conditioned bodily skills and capacities, and of large inventories of natural-history knowledge integrated into and reinforced by comprehensive and practically useful religious beliefs and practices (p. 1183).

The closest parallels, it is suggested, lie among Eskimo and African Bushmen peoples, though whether they matched Desert Australians in their cognitive and religious adaptations, Oliver refuses to speculate.

Not a surprise, the other significant cultural complex was the maritime accomplishments of several Oceanic peoples, particularly some Micronesians and Polynesians. This comprised not only building and operating seaworthy boats—skills widespread in Oceania—but, "more uniquely . . . the prodigious systems of orally transmitted information and practice they had developed to navigate their boats to destinations hundreds of open-sea miles away—systems that were not matched by Europeans until a few centuries ago" (p. 1183). Though no Oceanic peoples had succeeded in inventing or adopting (until very recently) such hallmarks of Euro-Asian civilization as metallurgy, or alphabetic writing, or wheeled transport, "when comparing humans' cultural achievements over time,"—Oliver concludes his grand work—"the two complexes just mentioned must surely be rated very high" (p. 1183).

Douglas Oliver has dedicated *Oceania* to "the many anthropologists on whose descriptive writings this book is mainly based" (p. v). In addition, he pays much-deserved tribute to retired University of Hawai'i Librarian Renéé Heyum, "bibliographer and curator, *sans pareil*, of writings on the Pacific," and to University of Hawai'i Press

Executive Editor Iris Wiley, "matchless expert in the art and diplomacy of editing." Thanks to their combined gifts, now all serious students* of the Pacific—not least government administrators, inhabitants of the region, and numerous others including anthropologists—owe Professor Oliver a debt of gratitude for the prodigious efforts that went into creating this most major book.

Roger G. Rose
Department of Anthropology
Bishop Museum

* An 184-page abridgement, entitled *Native Cultures of the Pacific Islands*, is aimed at college-level courses on precontact anthropology, history, economy, and politics of the Pacific, excluding Australia.

Oliver, Douglas L.

- 1951 *The Pacific Islands*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Revised 1961 (The American Museum of Natural History and Doubleday & Company Inc.) and 1989 (University of Hawai'i Press).
- 1955 *A Solomon Island Society Kinship and Leadership Among The Siuai of Bougainville*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- 1974 *Ancient Tahitian Society*. 3 vols. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- 1989 *Native Cultures of the Pacific Islands*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Roy MacLeod and Philip F. Rehbock, Editors. *Nature in its Greatest Extent: Western Science in the Pacific*. University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu, 1988. 288 pp. Illustrated. Bibliographies. Index. \$34.00.

The title of this book of essays is from Johann Reinhold Forster's comment on his reason for being on Cook's second voyage to the Pacific, "*My object was nature in its greatest extent . . .*" (dedication). The editors treat of nature's extent in the Pacific by bringing together an array of essays that examine the Pacific as a historical laboratory for science.

Four essays are concerned with the ostensibly scientific voyages of the 17th and 18th centuries. O.H.K. Spate, examining the voyages

from Dampier to Cook as literature, finds that William Dampier's *New Voyage round the World* (1667) and Anson's *Voyage* (1748) were not only best sellers but served (with other South Pacific narratives) as sources of inspiration for Defoe and Swift. Indeed Gulliver's travels parody those South Seas voyages. Spate argues that it was "this span of 101 years that revealed the Pacific islanders to Europe and gave them a place in the history of ideas . . ." (p. 13), and laments that "the first fine rapture of the opening of the Pacific" as reflected in those early works was all too soon to be replaced by far less exciting "whalers' logs and voluminous scientific reports" (p. 23).

In the three essays which follow on the early voyages, each author finds an unusual twist to history. Alan Frost in a concise chapter on "Science for Political Purposes" explores the often overlooked political undertones which in effect supported the voyages between 1764 and 1806, examining the effects of political purposes on the actual courses of the voyages, and at the interface of two cultures when Pacific islanders and the ships' companies came face to face. The adventures of two French naturalists are examined in two separate essays. Lesson, a surgeon-naturalist, is described by Isabell Ollivier as a "misfit" in a successful system. A very young surgeon on the *Uranie*, his interest in botany was stifled by older professional botanists aboard and by the naval hierarchy to which he belonged. Peron sailed with Baudin on the expedition of the *Geographe* and *Naturaliste*, the first voyage into the Pacific which included anthropology among its scientific objectives. Miranda Hughes describes the challenges of instructions to provide detailed reports on the native inhabitants encountered. Hindsight tells us that predictably the instructions and the assumptions with which Peron and Baudin were to interpret what they saw would be completely unsuitable. Thus the Tasmanians were first described as favorable and friendly but within a few days had fallen so far from grace as to be near bestiality. Neither Peron nor Baudin could understand the problem of a primitive people.

Three essays examine two intertwined themes: the model that western science spread from its metropolitan center outward and the idea of "colonial" science. New Guinea, "the golden dream of all naturalists," is treated to a detailed review of the efforts of the great voyages and subsequent travellers and naturalists to realize the dream. But time and funds have always been short, even in the glorious years of the great expeditions; governments were reluctant to become involved; and an awesome topography constrained the great adventure. David

Frodin suggests that in the long run it was a combination of the metropolitan powers and interested people—Otto Finsch from Germany; Henry Ogg Forbes from the United Kingdom in the 19th century; Richard Archbold who sponsored the first American Museum of Natural History expedition to New Guinea; and J. Linsley Gressitt of the Bishop Museum in the 20th century—who have at least partially realized the dream.

No history of the Pacific is complete without some mention of Darwin. In this instance, there are two major references to Darwin and the history of science in the Pacific. Darwin is the principal through correspondence in Barry Butcher's discussion of the development of the British tradition in science in Australia. This colonial theme is further emphasized in Roy MacLeod's chapter on the Funafuti Expeditions. Charles Darwin in *The Structure and Distribution of Coral Reefs* (1842) proposed that atolls were formed by the subsidence of the volcanic islands on which corals grew. The theory was challenged later in the century. If Darwin was correct, a bore should pass through a great thickness of reef limestone, including shallow layers of coral formed during the supposed period of subsidence, to the base of volcanic rock. Three expeditions went out to Funafuti to test the theory; they were supported by the Royal Society in London, the Admiralty, the Colonial Office, and the government in New South Wales. There was virtually no result from the first expedition in 1896, but coral rock was drilled from several hundred feet during the second and third expeditions. MacLeod in this fascinating essay outlines the national politics of mounting an expedition, the colonial politics of Australia and its desire for a leadership role in the drilling enterprise, and the politics of science itself. No final answer resulted (it was not until 1952 that an American drilling operation did drill through coral rock to basalt at Enewetak in the Marshall Islands), but as MacLeod states, "At Funafuti, imperial science passed from the descriptive phase, characterized by expeditions from Cook to *Challenger*, and entered one of experiment and investigation" (p. 179).

Nature in its Greatest Extent does not stop with the turn of the century but goes on into the role of science in the contemporary Pacific. Rehbock sketches the origins of the Pacific Science Association. The role of science in the Pacific between 1945 and 1951 in the form of marine fisheries is examined by Harry Schreiber, and this third trio of essays is completed with Robert Randolph and John Bardach's

discussion of the Russian and Soviet experience in the Pacific with respect to marine biology.

The essays are eminently readable, there is a wealth of information, an assemblage of interesting insights into history, and the footnotes are detailed and helpful. Forster would have been pleased: here for the Pacific is "Nature in its greatest extent . . . and more particularly that class of Beings to which we ourselves belong."

E. Alison Kay
Professor of Zoology
University of Hawai'i

Douglas Oliver. *Return to Tahiti: Bligh's Second Breadfruit Voyage*. University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu, 1988. xxi + 281 pp. Illustrated. Appendix. Bibliography. Index. \$40.00.

Tahiti and Captain William Bligh are inseparably linked in the public mind through the ill-fated expedition of HMS *Bounty*, the mutiny to which it led, and the reams of both information and misinformation about this event and its principal actor, Bligh, that have appeared in print or emanated from Hollywood. Known only to those with some knowledge of Pacific Islands history is that Bligh made a second voyage to Tahiti and successfully accomplished his mission of transferring his precious cargo of breadfruit from Tahiti to the West Indies. Oliver's book is the first fully annotated account of Bligh's visit to Tahiti on his return voyage. No author is as well qualified as Douglas Oliver to produce it. His definitive, three-volume *Ancient Tahitian Society* (1974) established him as the recognized authority on Tahitian society and culture of the early contact period of Tahitian history, including the impact of European voyagers and missionaries. The volume under review consequently marks a return to Tahiti for Oliver, as well as for his subject, Bligh, and is a further fruit of Oliver's many years of research on the island peoples of Oceania.

Oliver begins his book by introducing the reader to Bligh and his principal officers. This second breadfruit voyage was actually Bligh's third visit to Tahiti, as he had served with distinction as Captain Cook's sailing master on the *Resolution* when Cook called at Tahiti for seven weeks in 1777. In 1787, Bligh was appointed to command the *Bounty*, from which ill-starred venture he arrived back in England in 1790.

Sir Joseph Banks, that entrepreneurial genius of science and President of the Royal Society, in cooperation with the Admiralty, immediately set about organizing the return voyage. Through Banks's support and influence, Bligh was selected to command it. Learning from experience, the organizers carefully planned the return voyage on a more ambitious scale than that of the *Bounty*. Two vessels were acquired: the *Providence*, a capacious West Indiaman merchant vessel; and the *Assistant*, a smaller brig to act as tender. A detachment of marines was added to the ships' complement, no doubt to obviate any possibility of a mutiny. The *Providence* and the *Assistant* sailed from England in August of 1791. When they arrived at Matavai Bay on the northwest coast of Tahiti the following April of 1792, Bligh and his expedition were well prepared for the efficient conduct of their mission. Bligh was no stranger to the island, had influential friends among the chiefs, and knew a good deal about Tahitian customs.

Oliver includes a summary of the voyage of the *Providence* and *Assistant* from England to Tahiti, and from Tahiti to the West Indies and back to England, but this is intended to round out his account. The main focus of the book is Bligh's observations of Tahiti and the Tahitians. Here Oliver reproduces the complete Admiralty version of Bligh's journal during his Tahiti stay, to which he has added differences from Bligh's own original version, now in the Mitchell Library in Sydney. In addition, Oliver includes relevant excerpts from the journals of Bligh's officers. Of the latter, the perceptively written comments of Lieutenant George Tobin, third mate on the *Providence*, are especially noteworthy. Bligh's journal and the accompanying excerpts from those of his officers are important historical documents for the information they contain on Tahitian society and culture; on the nature of the relations between the Tahitians and their English visitors; and for the perspective they afford on Bligh himself. His organizational competence, even-handed treatment of his crews, care for their provisioning, attention to the maintenance of his vessels and to his mission, and most particularly his discerning interaction with his Tahitian hosts mark him as a man of no mean ability.

This book, however, is much more than a careful compilation of journal accounts. Oliver's annotations raise it to a level seldom found in a volume of this type. Placed in the text rather than in notes, the extensive annotations provide the social and cultural context for what Bligh and his officers experienced and described. A few examples must suffice.

Largely by necessity, Bligh dealt mostly with Tahitian chiefs at a time when there was much Polynesian-style rivalry among them and the districts they controlled, although the Pomares were on the rise as a dominant force on the island. Oliver clarifies Bligh's account of the chiefly class he came to know by adding a succinct explanation of Tahitian political organization and class structure. These in turn were linked to the friendship pacts established between the chiefs and Bligh's expedition, an important element in the barter exchange that followed between the two parties. Oliver shows how these pacts were an extension of Tahitian institutionalized friendship, an important aspect of Tahitian social relations. As Bligh's journal and those of his officers move from one sector of Tahitian culture to another, Oliver's explanatory annotations follow. A great variety of topics are covered: ceremony and rituals, temples (*marae*), canoes, warfare, tattooing, sexual relations and restrictions, and Tahitian dance, to name but a few that engaged the attention of the English visitors.

It is interesting that Bligh does not devote much space in his journal to breadfruit, the object of his mission. Five days after anchoring in Matavai Bay, he informs us that he had established his shore nursery and that the breadfruit operation was under way. Presumably it went smoothly enough that comment was unnecessary, although he noted that he gave instructions to his gardeners on the correct procedure in potting; on collecting plants in the mornings to avoid the heat of day; and to be careful in the selection of varieties. By July 18, 1792, after nearly three and a half months, Bligh recorded that he was ready to sail for the West Indies with 2,126 breadfruit plants safely on board, plus 508 of "other fruits" and "curiosity plants," the last doubtless bound for Kew Gardens. The *Providence* was indeed a floating nursery.

Oliver states that although the focus of his book is on Bligh's ethnographic observations of Tahiti, his second purpose "is to reveal a little-known, highly admirable side of a man I came to respect in the course of my own work." On both counts, Oliver has succeeded with distinction. His book also contains an appendix dealing with Bligh's brief stay at Aitutaki in the Cook Islands on the voyage from Tahiti to the West Indies. Excellent illustrations enhance the volume. The watercolor reproductions of George Tobin are of special interest.

Alexander Spoehr
 Anthropologist
 Former Director, Bishop Museum

Glynn, Barratt. *The Russian Discovery of Hawai'i: The Ethnographic and Historic Record*. Honolulu: Editions Limited, 1987. 259 pp. Illustrated. Maps. Index. \$27.50.

Glynn Barratt. *The Russian View of Honolulu, 1809-1826*. Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1988. 424 pp. Bibliography. Illustrated. Notes. \$27.50.

For many years, both in the USSR and in the West, scholarly interest in and research on 19th century Russia centered on such topics as revolutionary movements, reforms, reaction, agriculture, industry, peasants, workers, intelligentsia, students, bureaucrats, women, education, the military, and similar subjects. Moreover, most of the fascination was confined to the European part of the empire. Little or nothing was done on Russian imperial possessions in Siberia, Central Asia, the Far East, Northern California, Alaska, the Aleutian and Kuril Islands, on Russian scientific work in those areas, and Russian activity in the Pacific.

The situation has changed for the better in recent years, as is evident in the appearance (in the USSR and abroad) of numerous monographs, articles, and collections of sources; by the growing number of scholars interested in hitherto neglected areas and topics; and by the increased attention these areas have been receiving at regional, national, and international scholarly meetings. Space will not allow the listing of all individuals or institutions who have contributed to the emergence of this renaissance. Their efforts, however, represent a positive trend, and everyone should applaud their work.

The two volumes under review are the latest examples of the growing interest in Russian activity that in the past commanded little or no attention. *The Russian Discovery of Hawai'i* consists of five parts. Part I provides brief background information on the first Russian voyage around the world (1803-1806) to the North Pacific that included a brief visit to Hawai'i. Part II gives the texts of the recorded impressions the visit produced on eight leading members of the expedition: namely, Iu. F. Lysianskii, N. I. Korobitsyn, N. P. Rezanov, I. F. Krusenstern, F. E. Shemelin, V. N. Berkh, G. H. Langsdorf, and E. E. von Loewenstern. Part III, based on the recorded texts, analyzes such ethnographic evidence as barter, clothing, body ornamentation, agriculture, husbandry, food, diseases, drinking, religion, and Hawaiian contacts with foreigners. Part IV offers a brief resume on Hawaiian

artifacts and illustrations. Part V supplies biographical information on the eight Russian observers of Hawai'i. The volume also contains a few maps, photographs of the principal participants and of some artifacts, a brief vocabulary of Hawaiian words, a glossary, and a selected bibliography.

The Russian View of Honolulu, 1809-1826, consists of three basic parts. In Part I, Barratt discusses the visits to Hawai'i by Russian vessels between 1804 and 1816; the role of Honolulu as envisioned by Russian naval officers in their North Pacific plans from 1816 to 1826; Russian contacts and activity in Honolulu between 1809 and 1826; Russian views of Hawaiian-*haole* (foreign or Caucasian) relations; and Russian and Russo-German science on O'ahu from 1816 to 1826. Part II includes observations by prominent Russian visitors to Honolulu on such matters as: Honolulu Harbor, the political and social system, Hawaiian traditional ways, Honolulu village, and the impact of missionary activity on indigenous Native Hawaiians. Part III offers brief biographical sketches of the principal Russian mariners and artists who visited Honolulu and comments on their drawings, lithographs, sketches, and aquarelles of Hawaiian scenes. The volume has several illustrations, a few notes on archival sources, and a selected bibliography.

Anyone interested in Hawaiian history (especially those unfamiliar with Russian or German languages) will find in these volumes a rich reservoir of information. This is because both of Barratt's works are based on extensive archival material and on English translations of eyewitness accounts on a variety of topics. For students of Hawaiian history the importance of these accounts centers in the fact that they were given by highly-educated and keenly-observant individuals. As such, they enrich (and in some cases correct) contemporary American, British, and Hawaiian sources. It should be noted, however, that while these observations are valuable, they, like similar sources, should be used with caution for at least two reasons: first, because Russian visitors stayed in Hawai'i for only a very brief time, and second, because these visitors, although well-educated, were not familiar with the Hawaiian language, history, culture, politics, and way of life.

The value of these revealing but impressionistic observations would have been greatly enhanced had Barratt included some material by Georg A. Schaeffer, the adventurous German doctor who, as an emissary of Alexander A. Baranov, the "Lord of Alaska," spent several months in Hawai'i trying to establish permanent Russian outposts on

Kaua'i and O'ahu. Had Schaeffer been successful in his undertaking one may wonder how "Waikikiki" Beach would have looked today! Also, Barratt's bibliography omits two important works: N. N. Bolkhovitinov's excellent article about Schaeffer's adventure in Hawai'i, in the 1973 *Hawaiian Journal of History*,¹ and Khlebnikov's reports, which the Oregon Historical Society translated and published in 1976 under the title *Colonial Russian America: Kyrill T. Khlebnikov's Reports, 1817-1832*.

In spite of such omissions, the two works under review represent a major contribution both to Hawaiian history and to knowledge of Russian intentions and activity in the Pacific early in the 19th century. Both works belong in every library, and their content should be studied carefully as background material for understanding the emerging Soviet interest in the future of the Pacific Rim.

Basil Dmytryshyn
Professor of History
Portland State University

NOTES

¹ N. V. Bolkhovitinov, "The Adventures of Doctor Schaeffer in Hawaii, 1815-1819," trans. Igor V. Voribyoff, *HJH* 7 (1973): 55-78.

Selected Writings of Hiram Bingham 1814-1869. Missionary to the Hawaiian Islands: To Raise the Lord's Banner. Edited by Char Miller. (*Studies in American Religion, Volume 31.*) Lewiston, New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1988. 590 pp. Index. \$79.95.

Since Alfred M. Bingham published his touching and diverting "Sybil's Bones, a Chronicle of the Three Hiram Bingham's" in this journal in 1975, the study of the surprising Bingham family has prospered. Char Miller's book, *Fathers and Sons* (1982), was a landmark sign of this renewed interest. Now Miller has produced a well chosen selection of letters and other documents to flesh out the controversial career and personality of the first Hiram Bingham, leader of the first company of American Board missionaries to Hawai'i in 1820. With the help of a discerning introduction and abbreviated biographical entries on surrounding *dramatis personae*, the book traces the emotionally draining triumphs and traumas of Bingham's education, calling, and sending out

from Calvinist New England, his 20 years of stormy labor among the Hawaiian *ali'i* (chiefs) and people, and the pathetic long decline of the rest of his life in the eastern United States, dogged by frustrations and the threat of poverty. The details of this long swan song are sad; to many they will be new and revealing.

The merit of Char Miller's presentation of Bingham is that here he is allowed to address us with his own voice—generally prolix, pompous, and tedious. The letters and sermons are overblown with gratuitously preachy scriptural allusions in abundance. Some diligent annotator might care to tag these references with the help of a concordance. Bingham's style was pompous. In one of his letters written to his mentor Samuel Worcester of the American Board in 1819, he reveals an important influence on the self-righteous tone of voice he so often displayed—the equally wordy New England Puritan chronicler Cotton Mather, author of the *Magnalia Christi Americana*. We are hardly left to wonder why Bingham's colleagues, as well as his opponents in Hawai'i, complained that his "overmuch speaking" became counterproductive for the causes he defended.

This is not the whole story. In some of his more intimate correspondence, a tender streak appears. He was the son of a Vermont farmer. His practical gifts and executive firmness were never in dispute. He fought bravely to defend Hawaiian royalty, *ali'i*, and commoners, against the depredations of self-interested and exploiting sailors and traders. Before he left Honolulu after 20 years of stormy crises, he had, in one sense, endeared himself to his fellow missionaries; in another sense, he had exasperated them. As a result, what he envisaged as a furlough became an extrusion. They maneuvered through the pastoral diplomacy of the American Board's brilliant administrator, Rufus Anderson, to ensure he never returned. All this comes through clearly in these documents.

The nature of Bingham's relationship with Ka'ahumanu, Hawaii's female regent, the *de facto* power in the land after the death of Kamehameha the Great, is not so clearly revealed. The introduction suggests that she manipulated Bingham and the mission in order to ensure royal and noble supremacy and survival. The evidence rather indicates a relationship of mutual interdependence between their dominating personalities. In explaining it, we need to credit Ka'ahumanu with good faith, with gratitude for the person and influence of Jesus in her life, menaced as it had been by a religious vacuum when she consented to suspend the old Hawaiian religion and the *kapu* (tabu) system. The

most telling evidence on this point is in Bingham's report of her deathbed scene in 1832. She was led by Bingham to accept Christ; her own peremptory authoritarianism also brushed off on him, so much so that his affronted colleagues resolved on the preservation of Yankee democracy in their decision-making procedures.

The introduction has also only briefly dealt with a crucial period for the mission and its effects on both Bingham and Ka'ahumanu. Between 1822 and 1824, Hawaiian chiefly society was stirred—and deeply influenced to accept Christianity—by the unanticipated preserve of nine Tahitian converts and their wives under the joint leadership of a prestigious Tahitian chief, Auna. They came with William Ellis of the Society Islands London Mission. Auna's coming can be detected in the text of Miller's book, but he is not in the introduction or the index. While Ellis, already fluent in Tahitian, coped easily in Hawaiian and assisted the struggling ABCFM missionaries toward better usage and orthography, Auna and his impressive wife made extensive tours with the *ali'i* on several islands, conversing freely, telling of royal and chiefly conversions in Tahiti, and commending themselves and their faith to high and low in Hawai'i. Auna's own journal, Ellis's volume on Hawai'i in his *Polynesian Researches*, and the South Seas Journals and Letters of the London Missionary Society tell the story. These documents, together with the manuscript Sandwich Islands Mission Journal (at Harvard), need study. Linguistically, culturally, and at the level of "pious royalty," the episode was a crucial breakthrough for Bingham and the mission.

Char Miller has indicated the importance of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society's *Missionary Album* and other sources as accompaniments to the present work. ABCFM microfilmed records for Hawai'i of the period, Bingham's own solid (and boring) *Residence of Twenty-one Years*, and the London Missionary Society materials (also on microfilm) need consulting, especially for fuller background within Oceania.

The book is a well-bound computer print-out. Proofreading and final editing are not, however, of high standard. There are many typographical errors. These small complaints aside, devotees of the Bingham must be grateful. Many will now wish to read, or re-read, Char Miller's *Fathers and Sons*. The first Hiram Bingham raised "the Lord's banner" in Hawai'i, along with the second banner of "disinterested benevolence." His descendants have been raising the second banner, if not the first, ever since. The impulse lives on.

John Garrett
Pacific Theological College, Suva, Fiji

Emmett Cahill. *Hawaiian Stamps: An Illustrated History*. Volcano, Hawai'i: Orchid Isle Publishers, 1987. 36 pp. Illustrated. Bibliography. \$5.95 (paper).

The author of this colorful and handsomely presented little booklet has admirably fulfilled his announced intention of introducing the amateur collector of Hawaiian stamps, or even the non-philatelist interested in Hawaiiana, to some of the more fascinating elements of Hawai'i's unique postal history. Although brief, as is the case with most philatelic literature intended for the non-specialist, it will prove of great interest and considerable value to the beginning collector as the biographical material on Hawaiian monarchs and members of the royal family depicted on stamps is certain to make the amateur philatelist aware of the exceptional nature of Hawai'i and its history. Indeed, in many ways, this is more a brief history of the Monarchy as illustrated by its stamps than a work about philately.

Mr. Cahill provides a summary of Hawai'i's philatelic history from the establishment of the postal system in 1850 to the present in four stages: the Monarchy, the Provisional Government, the Republic, and as a territory and finally a state of the United States. Additionally, he presents a brief section on foreign stamps with a Hawaiian connection. Of particular interest in this last category is a Japanese semi-postal of 1942 which shows an aerial view of Pearl Harbor and the U. S. Pacific Fleet as seen by Japanese pilots on December 7, 1941, just before the bombs began to fall. Accompanying the text is a series of illustrations of the principal issues of Hawaiian stamps as well as a four-page centerfold in color depicting about one-third of Hawai'i's 82 regular issues, plus official stamps, revenues, and postal stationery, in addition to U.S. and foreign postage which commemorate Hawaiian themes.

It is to the Monarchy that the author quite properly devotes the majority of his text as this is the period which demonstrates the uniqueness of Hawai'i's philatelic history. Hawai'i is the only part of the United States formerly a sovereign nation which issued its own internationally recognized postage; it is Hawai'i #1 which is the most valuable stamp of what is now the United States; Hawai'i was also, this reviewer believes, the first to issue stamps in two languages and to have a stamp (Hawai'i #4) clearly identified as valid for postage in two countries. Beginning with the establishment of the postal system, Mr. Cahill discusses the reasons for the emission of each of the principal varieties of Hawaiian stamps, enlivening his presentation with occasional

anecdotes which the reader will enjoy, such as the two cent blue (Hawai'i #1) which led to murder or the fate of the statue of Kamehameha the Great shown on Hawai'i #47. But it is the biographical material relating to the royal portraits which will prove of greatest interest to the reader. The commentary on each stamp illustrated, although regrettably brief, provides a summary account of the role and significance of the individual in Hawaiian history in the form of a capsule biography, as well as, for the later issues, an explanation of the symbolism depicted on the stamps.

The booklet, however valuable, does have faults. Certain of the color illustrations are of copies with poor centering, smudges, or bad cancellations (U.S. #647). Better copies are readily available and could have been utilized for the color photography which is one of the booklet's best features. Moreover, surely the only known cover with a Hawaiian Missionary stamp should have been pictured. Of greater concern are the errors which have crept into the text, either through inadvertence or poor proof reading, such as the reference to the "nine months" of the reign of Kamehameha IV and Queen Emma (p. 20), or the transposition of the terms "territory" and "republic" (p. 36) in reference to the Great Seal of Hawai'i. The statement (p. 14) about David Kalākaua as "the first living monarch" to appear on Hawai'i's postage is clearly untrue as Kamehameha III (Hawai'i #5, 6), Kamehameha IV (#27, 28) and Kamehameha V (#32, 33) appear on stamps printed during their reigns.

From the point of view of more advanced philatelists, the absence of any detailed philatelic information such as presses, plating, and perforations, is a serious deficiency. They will still be obliged to refer to the various specialized articles (Cartwright, Crocker, Westerberg, and others¹) on such subjects in stamp journals because the original pamphlets are not generally available, or to the work of Henry Meyer, et al, *Hawaii, its Stamps and Postal History*, now out of print and virtually unobtainable.² As the number of those interested in Hawaiian philately continues to grow, this constitutes a serious lack, one which perhaps Mr. Cahill will address in the future. Moreover, even though space is limited, a brief discussion of color errors or forgeries, particularly the Grinnell counterfeits (mentioned on p. 7) would have added to the interest for the casual reader as such matters are fascinating even to the non-specialist. Nonetheless, even with those reservations, this booklet constitutes a

valuable contribution to Hawaiian philately. It deserves to be on the bookshelves of all even casually interested in Hawaiiiana.

Ray E. Cubberly
Professor of History
University of Hawai'i

NOTES

- ¹ Bruce Cartwright, *Hawaiian Islands Postage Stamps* (Honolulu, 1911); Henry J. Crocker, *Hawaiian Numerals: A Compilation of Unofficial Data Relating to the Typeset Stamps of The Kingdom of Hawaii* (San Francisco, 1909); Joshua Westerberg, *Plating The Hawaiian Numerals* (Honolulu: Mission Press, 1968).
² Henry Albert Meyer, *Hawaii, Its Stamps and Postal History* (New York: Philatelic Foundation, 1948).

Lynn Ann Davis, with Nelson Foster. *A Photographer in the Kingdom: Christian J. Hedemann's Early Images of Hawaii*. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1988. 184 pp. Illustrated. Bibliography. Index. \$38.50.

This is a beautiful book: beautifully designed, beautifully printed and bound, well organized, richly illustrated, but primarily, exquisitely written. It is a pleasure to read and an opportunity to refresh faded memories of the overthrow of the Hawaiian Monarchy and the irresistible forces which brought this to pass.

The photographic prints were drawn from age-damaged glass plates, wet collodion negatives, and other early materials. Most of them were the work of Christian Hedemann himself and are much more imaginatively seen and arranged than those few coming from the studios of the more formal professional photographers. Many of them were made by a devoted father and family man; many depict situations connected with the sugar industry. Most, however—and these are the most interesting—are seen by the discerning eyes of a lover of the Hawaiian landscape of yonder years.

In essence, the book covers the experiences of Christian J. Hedemann and his young wife, Meta, first in the very rural Hana and later in the more bustling Honolulu, the growth of their family, friends and fortune,

and finally, the happening linked with the overthrow of the Monarchy: the annexation of Hawai'i by the United States of America.

It describes the immigration of the recently married young couple from Copenhagen, Denmark to Hana, Maui in 1878; his development and success as amateur photographer, and his career as draftsman and designer of sugar machinery at the Hana Plantation from 1878 to 1884. Later, in Honolulu, he joined the Honolulu Iron Works as chief draftsman and advanced until he became manager in 1896.

Hedemann retired in 1917 but retained the responsibilities as Advisor, Technical Director, and 3rd Vice President. He was named Consul-General of Denmark and attained other honors and positions, both in Europe and in republican Hawai'i. He died in 1932, a wealthy and respected man.

He and Meta had six sons and two daughters, of whom the older one died as a child in 1890. Although progressively successful, the Hedemann family lived modestly in rented houses and raised their children lovingly but under Danish discipline. It was not until 1912 that the family moved to a house designed for them on Judd Street.

Although Christian Hedemann's business, governmental, and social responsibilities continued to grow, his position and prestige in the firm allowed him to devote more time to his family and to his beloved photography. His camera captured images of those momentous years in Hawaii when Monarchy gave way to republic.

Hedemann served as president of the Honolulu Camera Club. Progressive camera and chemical technology, together with the activities of the Hawaiian Camera Club, organized and established on January 10, 1887, enabled the technical and artistic qualities of both amateur and professional photographers to flourish under Hedemann's presidency.

Alfred Preis

Fellow of the American Institute of Architects

Helena G. Allen. *Sanford Ballard Dole: Hawaii's Only President, 1844-1926*. Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1988. 304 pp. Illustrated. Bibliography. Index. \$19.95.

With the centennial observance of the overthrow of Queen Lili'uokalani and the end of the Hawaiian Monarchy, readers can expect to see

considerable scholarly activity which will examine in greater detail the dramatic occurrences of the late 19th century. Many questions about this controversial period remain unanswered. Why was there not more Hawaiian resistance to the overthrow of a popular Queen? What were the dynamics in the American planter community which led to revolt rather than compromise? What specific economic forces in Hawai'i and the United States help explain the events of 1893? How did general beginnings of progressive reform in the U. S. in the 1890s impact upon life in Hawai'i during the Republic and early years of annexation? To what extent did the personal backgrounds of the leaders of the revolution determine the course of the event and to what extent did geographical, economic, demographic, and other material forces determine its direction? To what extent did Sanford Dole "lead" the revolt and shape the subsequent Provisional Government and Republic, and to what extent was he led by others?

This recent biography by Helen G. Allen is one such effort. In it, the first since Ethel M. Damon's *Sanford Ballard Dole and His Hawaii* (1957), the author consults primary source material at the Bishop Museum, Hawaiian Historical Society, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, and the State Public Archives to reconstruct Dole's early life in Hawai'i, his education at Williams College, his legal career prior to the overthrow, his public career as President of the Provisional Government (1893-1895), the Republic (1894-1898), and his services as the first Territorial Governor (1900-1903). The biography closes with a survey of Dole's later life as a federal judge.

The book details the often strained family relations which plagued Dole throughout his life. The product of a *haole* elite society, Sanford Dole was brought up by puritanical parents who placed heavy demands on their complex son. Indeed, the biography views Sanford Dole's strangely liberal lifestyle as being the result of his rebellion against family tradition. Such rebellion would bring Dole into periodic conflict with his conservative wife, Anna, and with establishment community, business, religious, and social tradition.

The reader might, in poring over the author's long discussion of Dole's problematic family life, wonder how the detailed information explains his actions in the 1890s and beyond. Without such a connection, only readers deeply interested in family history per se will have an interest in much of the book. Moreover, Dole's restlessness with the restraints his father attempted to impose on him and with the values of the first generation missionaries is not unique. Indeed, many of the children of

this pioneering group experienced uncertainty about careers and the universal applicability of their parents' values. The careful reader will miss the author's analysis of why this was so and how this fact might help explain the events of the 1880s and 1890s. Without doubt, this generational difference deserves a serious socio-psychological study of its own.

Allen does make clear that whatever differences Dole had with his father and his father's values, he shared some broad assumptions about the political capacity of the Hawaiians held by most of the American planter society. These very unrepublican ideas included the belief that all European countries owed their civilization to Teutonic political genius. This "genius" was transported to Hawai'i in 1820 and had, in the eyes of Dole, won the day in 1893. Dole saw the overthrow of the Monarchy as the culmination of decades of progress due to the Americanization of Hawai'i. He believed that the restriction of the right to vote to white Americans and northern Europeans during the years of the Republic could be justified in part by reference to his faith that only the Teutonic populace were capable of self-government and sophisticated political institutions. The device for "filtering out" Hawaiian, Asiatic, and other non-Teutonic groups from participating in government was to impose severe literacy and property qualifications. Thus Dole, in the name of the Republic, was instrumental in creating an oligarchy that would do much to repress the Hawaiian culture. The legacy of this repression would, of course, have consequences far beyond the short life of the Republic.

Dole's difficult role as President of the Republic and his role in encouraging Hawai'i's annexation have been covered by other historicans. The reviewer wishes that Allen had spent more time analyzing the relations between Dole and other key planter leaders such as Lorrin Thurston, W. R. Castle, W. O. Smith, John Mott-Smith, J. A. McCandless, R. W. McChesney, J. H. Soper, and others. Did Dole reflect the thinking of these men? Did he shape their thoughts or actions? Did he take steps independently of their wishes? How much did Dole really do to bring about annexation? Allen hints at differences with some of these leaders but, generally speaking, does not give details. Sadly, the definitive history of the Republic remains to be written.

Although Allen's biography offers little that is new, her book does hold considerable interest for the casual reader of Hawaiian history. Because of the many lengthy quotes from primary sources, readers unfamiliar with Dole's letters and other key sources from the period

1844-1926 will be interested in the actual words of some major actors in Hawai'i's history. Of particular interest are some examples of Dole's poetry written in private moments. Those curious about the personal life of this most complicated man will enjoy the accounts of Dole's family, education, marriage, and friendships. Those wanting new insights into Dole's public life or the extent to which this life was shaped by larger economic and ideological forces will have to look elsewhere.

Alfred L. Castle
Associate Professor of History
Hawai'i Pacific College

Wayne Patterson. *The Korean Frontier in America: Immigration to Hawaii, 1896-1910*. University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu, 1988. xii + 274 pp. Illustrated. Bibliography. Index. \$30.00.

The Korean community in Hawai'i originated in a wave of some seven thousand men, women, and children who arrived during the brief span from January 1903 to mid-1905. Lured abroad by recruiters for the sugar plantations, more than half the immigrants settled permanently in the Islands. Joined by a bare trickle of newcomers, they remained the core of the Hawai'i Korean community until the revamped immigration laws of the 1960s opened the way for a surge of new immigrants. How and why this first wave of Korean immigration began and why it stopped abruptly after so short a time is the central thread in Wayne Patterson's *The Korean Frontier in America*. Around this thread, he weaves a broader discussion that encompasses Korean politics, the efforts of Hawai'i planters to satisfy their labor requirements, the Japanese seizure of Korea, and U.S.-Japanese relations in the era of the "gentlemen's agreement."

Island sugar planters had employed immigrant laborers since the 1850s, bringing workers from Europe as well as from Asia, mainly China and Japan. So numerous had the Japanese become by 1900 that they appeared to be on the verge of monopolizing plantation labor. To the planters, this forecast rising labor costs and growing instability as Japanese workers pressed for more money and better conditions, sometimes using strikes and increasingly abandoning the plantations

for the U.S. Mainland where they could double their wages. This was the context in which the planters began to explore the idea of importing Koreans, expecting them to be docile, stable, and inexpensive workers who would offset the pressures created by the Japanese.

Acting through the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association (HSPA), the plantation owners in 1902 enlisted the help of Horace N. Allen, the U.S. Minister in Korea, and an American businessman, David W. Deshler, to create a company to provide the desired Korean workers. This company was franchised by the Korean government through Allen's influence and was begun with \$25,000 provided by the planters. It recruited emigrants, evidently signed them to work agreements, obtained passports for them, and paid their steamship passage and other expenses using the planters' capital. In return, the company received a commission for each worker it provided.

The entire project was beset by complications stemming from the corrupt and capricious character of the Korean regime, Japanese encroachment on the Korean government, Japanese and American efforts to stem the flow of Asian laborers into the continental United States, and the requirements of the immigration laws. Not the least of these complications was a ban on contract labor and financial assistance to immigrants, enforced in Hawai'i beginning in 1900 as a result of the U.S. annexation of the Islands in 1898. As Patterson describes it, Deshler circumvented this ban by coaching the interpreters who accompanied the immigrants to conceal the assistance when answering inspectors' questions.

Although problems with the laws interrupted the flow of immigrants on occasion, the eventual cessation was the result of Japanese pressure on the government of Korea, which by 1905 was in the process of becoming a Japanese protectorate. Simply put, Japan's leaders were concerned about rising anti-Japanese sentiment in the United States and wanted to ease tensions by restricting the movement of Japanese laborers from Hawai'i to the Mainland. This they tried to do in part by enhancing opportunities in Hawai'i, thereby diminishing the attractiveness of the Mainland. Japanese policymakers believed they could best achieve this goal by removing the competitive pressure represented by Korean immigrants who worked for lower wages and were sometimes used as strikebreakers against the Japanese.

Patterson brings all these threads and their complicated interrelationships together in a clear and straightforward account, broken by two digressionary chapters on the characteristics of the Korean immigrants

and their performance as workers. For the most part a conventional political and diplomatic history, the work is sometimes short on background and, in the main text, deals only minimally with the human aspects of the immigration experience. Patterson compensates for this by including in an appendix excerpts from published and unpublished accounts of the personal experiences of some of the immigrants.

Specialists in Hawaiian history may feel that Patterson provides too little context in his discussions of the sugar company executives and their practices. He makes much of the impropriety of the planters' assistance to the immigrants, indeed flogs the reader with repetitious parenthetical reminders that this activity was illegal. The HSPA trustees remain one-dimensional, conspiratorial characters always willing to "break the law and resort to bribery" and "accustomed to operating outside the law" (pp. 87-88). Similarly, his assertion that the planters bribed a federal judge seems strained.

Horace Allen is also especially criticized for the way he facilitated the emigration project. Patterson here is following an interpretive trail blazed more than 40 years ago by Fred Harvey Harrington's classic work, *God, Mammon and the Japanese* (1944), but he brings forth interesting new details on the scope of Allen's activities and those of David Deshler. Whether Allen's actions were, as Patterson says, "reprehensible" (p. 177) may be a matter of judgment. Although Patterson does not discuss the others, Allen was but one of several diplomats who tried to circumvent what they considered a shortsighted American policy of disinterest in Korea. Allen happens to have been the most influential and the one with the longest career in Korea.

Comparative studies will benefit from Patterson's treatment of the differences between the Korean immigrants and those who came from Japan and China. In all three cases, most of the immigrants were unmarried young men between 20 and 30 years old. But where most of the Chinese and Japanese immigrants were farmers from rural areas, most of the Koreans were from urban areas and were of diverse backgrounds. Unlike their Chinese and Japanese counterparts, many of the Koreans were Christian converts and had been encouraged to emigrate by certain missionaries. Their diverse, urban origin, Patterson suggests, is the key to understanding why the Koreans, ultimately, were not exceptionally good plantation workers. Few had ever engaged in agriculture before, and most had no stake in succeeding as plantation laborers. Most seem to have viewed the plantations as merely an inter-

mediate step toward a better life, and they abandoned the cane fields in favor of other occupations faster than any other ethnic group.

Patterson's well-researched volume draws on archival and other sources in American, Japanese, and Korean repositories, including the minutes of the HSPA trustees and the personal papers of some sugar company executives. It is a pioneering book that begins to bring to Korean immigration the kind of scholarly attention that has long been given to some of Hawai'i's other immigrant communities.

Michael E. Macmillan
Historian

Bob Krauss. *Keneti: South Seas Adventures of Kenneth Emory*. University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu, 1988. ix + 419 pp. Illustrated. Index. \$35.00.

This book is much more than the adventure story suggested by the subtitle. Rather, it is a very readable account of the family background, childhood and youth, and professional career of an anthropologist internationally recognized for his researches on Polynesia and well known in Hawai'i as a distinguished resident.

At Kenneth Emory's invitation, Krauss undertook to write this biography of his old friend, now in his 91st year and unfortunately incapacitated by illness. In preparing himself for his task, Krauss assembled an impressive corpus of material, since donated to the Bishop Museum. The resulting biography is written in Krauss's informal, perceptive, and personal style. It is not written in an academic genre and makes no pretensions to being a critical appraisal of Emory's extensive published contributions to anthropology. Instead, Krauss delineates Kenneth Emory's temperament and character as he grew to adulthood, and thereafter portrays Emory's single-minded pursuit of knowledge of Polynesian culture and of the ancient settlement of the Polynesian islands. Emory's dedication to his lifelong task is a main theme around which Krauss has fashioned his biography.

Kenneth Emory was born in Fitchburg, Massachusetts in 1897 and was transported to Honolulu in 1900 by his adventurous parents. Kenneth attended Punahou School and while in high school acquired

competence in photography, as well as a consuming interest in the South Seas, leading him to commence the serious study of the Hawaiian language under the guidance of a Hawaiian tutor. In 1916, he entered Dartmouth, where he majored in biology, enjoyed skiing (as an accomplished surfer he found the transition to skiing easy), played the steel guitar for the enjoyment of his friends, and taught swimming during summer vacations. By his senior year, he knew he wanted a career in the South Seas without being able to figure out a practical way of how this was to be accomplished.

The answer to Kenneth's dilemma came to him in the form of a letter of introduction from an old family friend, Dr. Montague Cooke, malacologist at Bishop Museum, to the newly appointed Director of the Museum, Herbert Gregory, Silliman Professor of Geology at Yale. At a following interview, young Emory impressed Gregory with his potential as a future Polynesian field researcher and was hired on the spot as a member of the Bishop Museum staff, to take effect on his graduation in the spring of 1920. Emory's career in the Pacific Islands was launched.

After an introductory section covering Kenneth's youth in greater detail, Krauss devotes his book to the unfolding pattern of Emory's life. By 1920, it was clear that any major advance in knowledge of traditional Polynesian culture and of the Polynesian past could be attained only through field research. Emory's wide-ranging field work is accordingly given pride of place throughout the biography. Beginning with Emory's first exploratory studies on Maui, Lana'i, Necker, and Nihoa, Krauss takes the reader on Emory's subsequent odyssey southward to Tahiti, the leeward Society Islands, and the isolated, far-flung Tuamotus in the years before World War II; and after the war, westward to Kapingamarangi, the Polynesian outlier in Micronesia, and southward once again to French Polynesia. The physical demands on the field worker are well described and are exemplified by Emory's two 1200-mile round trips from Tahiti to the Tuamotus in 1929-1930 in his 28-foot cutter *Mahina*.

Emory was also undaunted when unforeseen circumstances arose. The *Kamiloa* expedition aborted in Tahiti in 1925, but Emory induced Mr. Kellum, owner of the *Kamiloa*, to provide him with funds for some six months' field work, which the economical Emory stretched to more than a year. With commendable versatility, he also broadened his interests to woo and to wed the vivacious, part-Tahitian, French-educated Marguerite Thuret of Papeete. The couple returned to

Honolulu, via a study tour of European museums, two years after Emory's departure from Hawai'i.

Emory remained at Bishop Museum throughout his long career. No institution has had a more loyal staff member nor one more concerned about its welfare. Krauss weaves into his story Emory's relations with the museum and gives a succinct account of that venerable institution's ups and downs. Kenneth was fortunate in arriving at the Museum at the same time as Gregory, its second Director. A consummate fund raiser, Gregory established a notable program of field research throughout Polynesia in anthropology and natural history and developed a pattern of cooperation with other institutions in assembling the necessary manpower. By his leadership, Gregory also laid the foundation for a Pacific-wide community of scientists through the founding of the Pacific Science Association, which held its first meeting at Honolulu's 'Iolani Palace in 1920, with young Emory acting as Gregory's man Friday. Emory had no anthropological training when he arrived, but a supportive Gregory encouraged him to gain his professional credentials through study at the University of California at Berkeley and at Harvard, completed with a doctorate at Yale after Gregory's retirement. Gregory would have been pleased to witness the award to his protégé of the Gregory Medal for distinguished service to Pacific Science at the 1983 Pacific Science Congress in New Zealand.

World War II brought a halt to field work, but Emory's firsthand knowledge of the Pacific Islands was put to good use through a survival training program that he devised and carried out for pilots and other combat personnel and for which he received citations from both the Navy and the Army. After the war, Bishop Museum went on a downhill slide. Emory and Sir Peter Buck, Gregory's successor as Museum Director, received support through the National Research Council for their work on Kapingamarangi, but thereafter, with Buck ill with cancer and with a somnolent board of trustees, the Museum drifted to the point that by the early 1950s it had become an institutional basket case. These were times of severe financial hardship for Emory and his family.

It is to the credit of the University of Hawai'i that at the time of Emory's financial need, the University invited him to teach a class in archaeology. Krauss describes how from this modest beginning a new train of events in Emory's career followed. Among them were his archaeological excavations in the Hawaiian Islands and his participation in the conservation of major archaeological sites; the gradual

improvement in the Bishop Museum's fortunes; and the appearance on the scene of a new generation of technically more sophisticated archaeologists, of which Yosihiko Sinoto, Emory's successor at the Museum, was one. To this new generation Emory gave full encouragement.

The events in Emory's life touched upon here are drawn from Krauss' book. By necessity, he had to be highly selective in the choice of his material. Krauss's clearly written biography is true to his own style and is a sympathetic portrayal of his subject, whom he rightly calls a pioneer in his chosen field. A particular merit of Krauss's book is that with the eye of a skilled reporter, he introduces the reader to the varied and often colorful personalities with whom Emory was associated and to the social milieu through which Emory moved—Honolulu and Hawai'i in the early decades of the century, Papeete before World War II, and Polynesian island communities at a time when they retained a character that has since disappeared.

The book is handsomely produced by the University of Hawai'i Press and includes a useful chronology and a full index.

Alexander Spoehr
Anthropologist
Former Director, Bishop Museum

Fay Alailima. *Aggie Grey: A Samoan Saga*. Introduction by James Michener. Mutual Publishing, Honolulu, 1988. \$13.95 (paper).

Using a delicate blend of fact and interpretation, Fay Alailima in her book on Aggie Grey has given us a good example of the history/novel that has come to be accepted under the general heading of biography. What is required in this genre is a solid basis of geography and history aligning the environment of the saga, interlaced with fictionalized accounts based on intuition and probability. The move from the one to the other cannot be disruptive, so whenever a conversation appears in this sort of biography, a conversation that could never have been documented even had it occurred in fact, the reader must without a second's pause have a sense of its probability. On this score, Fay Alailima's work demonstrates that such moves from fact to fiction, from history to interpretation, can be graceful indeed.

The biography of Aggie Grey is one that lends itself most perfectly to this hybrid genre. As an 'afakasi woman who endured and prevailed with good humor within what were often dangerous and, at the very least, depressing conditions, Aggie Grey has become an important part of South Pacific lore, a legend of persistence, charm, and good business sense. In Western Samoa, her hotel, "Aggie's" remains a place to be, with its fresh flowers and fine food and Vailima beer. As Aggie's biographer, Fay Alailima is known for an earlier work, *My Samoan Chief* (1962), an account of her own cross-cultural marriage. As a woman who has had, as did Aggie, significant immersions in more than one culture, Alailima is able to make some informed guesses as to what the characters in Aggie's "saga" might have legitimately said or done in a given circumstance.

At the time Aggie's grandfather, Willie Swann, arrived in Apia in 1888 as an English pharmacist's mate on a ship from Fiji, the Samoan chiefs were being kept in constant battle by a German merchant, who was selling guns to all of them in exchange for land. In that same year, Robert Louis Stevenson set sail on his own journey that was to result in his spending the rest of his life in Apia, resulting also in his *A Footnote to History* (1892), essentially a public argument denouncing the German administration of Western Samoa and garnering support on behalf of Mataafa, the chief not favored by the Germans. The remaining years of the 19th century in the South Pacific, in fact, would cause a veering in the heritage of all islanders, and the inevitable conflicts between colonial and indigenous populations have no better documentary than that provided by Western Samoan history in the years into the 20th century, when the island, 48 miles long and 12 miles wide, was torn apart by three local chiefs and four European consuls.

Aggie Grey, then, was born into a time and place when and where some significant history was coming to pass. More importantly, she steadfastly hung on to a position that enabled her, if not to be a direct part of that history, to be at least one of the first to hear about it. In Aggie's grandfather's time, Apia itself was in the "European protected area," a living space for the Europeans and an area the chiefs had agreed to keep their battles away from. In such a situation, Willie Swann found his Samoan princess and started a family. In the year after Aggie's birth, the Treaty of Berlin (1899) accorded the islands of Upolu and Savaii (now Western Samoa) to Germany; Tutuila, Manua, and the Rose Islands (now American Samoa) to the United States; and the Solomons to England. At the beginning of World War I, the English

and the Germans attempted to live as comfortably as ever with one another in Apia, trying to deny the implications of the war, but the German rule came to be undermined when ships from Australia and New Zealand arrived, "taking" Western Samoa for the Allies.

In the meantime, circumstances and her own determination led Aggie Grey to order her growing up and her life in such a way that many of the people involved in this tumultuous history often shared her hospitality, uncensoring their conversations and unloading their hearts. That Fay Alailima covers the historical background behind the growth of Aggie's hotel as thoroughly as she does in her biography of this remarkable woman is what establishes the *ethos* necessary to persuade the reader that the fictional elements enriching that history are both necessary and believable, in that much of history, as we all know, is made in unexpected places where no historical recorder is. At one point in the biography, Aggie is sailing with her seven-year-old daughter to New Zealand to meet their husband and father, who is there in a struggle with tuberculosis. The reader already knows that Gordon, Aggie's husband, is dying, so Aggie's optimism on the journey is sweetly painful:

[Peggy] romped around the deck, her white frock snapping in the breeze, while Aggie watched from a sunny deck chair. They both loved New Zealand milk and butter and were first in line at the dinner gong. It was such a release from washing bottles and diapers that Aggie felt young and gay again. After all, she was still in her twenties. Perhaps Gordon was already cured. They would have another honeymoon and put this ghastly interlude behind them just as they had the 'flu (p. 162).

The use of dramatic irony as a narrative technique, enabling the reader to participate in the tension created between what the reader knows (more) and what the main character knows (less) provides an advantage in the empathetic understanding of Aggie Grey as a complete person, an understanding not as easily attained through staying exclusively with historical fact. When Peggy, Aggie's daughter, later dies of tuberculosis herself, the reader remembers the sunny child on deck and achieves as a result a keener awareness of the extent of the mother's grief, along with a deeper respect for her subsequent resilience.

What emerges from the Alailima biography is the story of a woman who was at once at odds and strangely in tune with her own and other cultures, who began a life of pleasing visitors by serving alcohol disguised

as medicine during prohibition from behind a counter in rented quarters; who entertained all political factions with a determinedly cheerful and neutral stance; who loved and lost more times than falls to the average share; who recognized the shrewd moves when the openings appeared; and who spent a lifetime working very, very hard. Because Aggie used, as a man would use, all resources available which enabled her to survive and to survive well, as in the case of Emma Coe ("Queen of the South Seas") before her, Aggie was inevitably cast into the stereotype of the "wild woman" of the South Pacific, such women having been allotted by outside observers a sort of noble savagery of their own. I think the most effective part of Fay Alailima's biography is the tone it takes in tempering this "wild woman" mythology. Women such as Emma Coe and Aggie Grey have had, of course, personalities and life situations that lent themselves to the later hours. But there were always children to be raised (and sometimes buried), and goals to be attained (and often mourned). The party, in other words and contrary to much public fantasy and opinion, was never all there was. Amidst the crowding of history and often against all odds, Aggie Grey had a real knack for seeing to it that her guests consistently enjoyed a good time. And Fay Alailima's finely honed translation of that good time into a dignified and triumphant life achievement is what makes *Aggie Grey: A Samoan Saga* a fine biography. The author's careful mixing of the actual and the probable allows a reader to exercise a multiplicity of sensibilities in the reading, winding up thereby with a more comprehensive apprehension of a complicated, and lively, life history.

Gay Sibley
Assistant Professor of English
University of Hawai'i

Virginia Cowan-Smith and Bonnie Domrose Stone. *Aloha Cowboy*. University of Hawai'i Press, 1988. vii + 152 pp. Illustrated. Bibliography. Index. \$19.95.

A fairly comprehensive view of horses, horsemanship, related industries, and Island cultural associations is presented in Cowan-Smith and Stone's *Aloha Cowboy*. The text is well-organized; chapters are developed

with a keen sense of historical fact and cultural attitudes. Throughout, an excellent balance is maintained between the fact and the anecdote, which makes for enjoyable yet informative reading.

The writing style is serious yet delightful. Neither is there too much text to wade through. The authors instead have illustrated the book interestingly with appropriate graphics and photographs.

This book should appeal to a wide range of readership—from the history buff to the newly-arrived resident and the visitor. The subject is a good one, and the book merits a place on any Island bookshelf.

Carol Silva

Archivist, Hawai'i State Archives