

ing of the role white women played in the Americanization of the islands. This book will also spark fruitful conversations and critical reflections on the broader influence of white Progressives in Hawai'i at the turn of the twentieth century.

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*Return to Kahiki: Native Hawaiians in Oceania.* By Kealani Cook. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018. xiii + 255 pp. Glossary. Bibliography. Notes. Index. Cloth, \$49.99; cloth

Over the past decade, Hawaiian historiography has seen a re-appreciation of developments in the Islands during the nineteenth century, and a move away from the fatal-impact discourse of the previous decades that cast them merely as a prelude to the American occupation of the archipelago.

One important aspect of those nineteenth century developments that many previous scholars have missed is the intense re-establishment of connections with the rest of Oceania that happened during that period, with hundreds of Hawaiians visiting and sometimes settling on other islands, most of them as sailors on Western ships. While these only very rarely left any written records of their lives and interactions with other islanders, three other sets of Hawaiian travelers and sojourners in Oceania during the nineteenth and early twentieth century did.

The first of them were native missionaries of the Hawaiian Missionary Society who worked primarily on the Gilbert Islands and the Marquesas from the 1850s to the early 1900s. The second were Hawaiian diplomats sent by King Kalākaua to Sāmoa in 1886–1887 in order to lay the groundwork for a pan-Oceanian confederation. The third was a retired Hawaiian statesman and entrepreneur who went on a round-trip of Oceania in 1907. In *Return to Kahiki: Native Hawaiians in Oceania*, Kealani Cook recounts and analyzes their stories, based on archival materials and newspaper articles in both Hawaiian and English.

As implied in the title, Hawaiian voyages to other Pacific Islands in the nineteenth and early twentieth century were much more than just overseas adventures, but in fact re-connections to the islands in the south that fig-

ure in oral traditions as Kahiki, the place of both origins and destinations of the great epic voyages in Hawai'i's earlier history. This reconnection with ancestral ties is one of the central aspects in Cook's narrative. Because reconnecting with Oceania also meant reconnecting with Hawaiians' roots in deep time, each of the three examined phases of Hawaiian interaction with other Oceanian peoples can tell us a lot about Hawaiians' relation to their own past. Specifically, their perception of and relation to other islanders was based on their own attitude towards Hawaiian identity during *ka wā 'ōiwi wale* (the period of native people only, i.e. before Western contact) and the subsequent changes due to Western influences.

In the first two chapters, Cook looks at the attitudes held by the various Hawaiian missionaries in the Gilbert and Marquesas Islands towards their host communities and the local Christian neophytes under their pastoral care. Based on an analysis of the missionaries' letters and reports back to Honolulu, most of them essentially internalized the worldview of Western missionaries, seeing themselves as intermediaries between the *na'auao* (enlightenment, civilization) of the West and the *na'aupō* (ignorance, savagery) of the islanders. While themselves deeply uneasy about the danger of "backsliding" to a Hawaiian identity of *ka wā 'ōiwi wale* and feeling inferior to Christian Westerners because of it, they asserted themselves as much more advanced in *na'auao* than the islander neophytes, whom they regarded with the same suspicion and contempt that Westerners had towards Pacific Islanders in general.

The next two chapters focus on the 1887 Hawaiian legation to Sāmoa. This diplomatic mission happened in a very different context, of a Hawaiian government becoming increasingly assertive in its foreign policy under King Kalākaua, who aimed at building a pan-Oceanian confederation to protect the islands' independence against Western imperialist expansion. Emphasizing ancestral ties between the two nations, the Hawaiian diplomats and their staff were indeed popular among the Samoans. They were able to persuade Samoan leaders to sign a confederation treaty with Hawai'i and also to strengthen the burgeoning Samoan state by mediating between disputing local factions. The mission had to be prematurely aborted, however, due to the "Bayonet" coup by American missionary descendants in Honolulu in June of 1887 and an almost simultaneously occurring German naval invasion of Sāmoa.

Despite this anti-colonial context of the legation, the Hawaiian diplomats were not free of attitudes of civilizational arrogance similar to those held by the aforementioned Hawaiian missionaries. Shifting the *na'auao/na'aupō* discourse from a religious to a political and economic dimension, the Hawaiian diplomats saw Sāmoa as a deficient and underdeveloped version of Hawai'i, and their mission as one to bring Samoans up to the level

of Hawaiians, including the introduction of a centralized monarchical state and an advanced capitalist economy. However, the two leaders of the Hawaiian legation, Envoy John Bush and legation secretary Henry Poor, differed in the intensity of that discourse, with Bush being more open to understanding Samoan viewpoints while Poor essentially reiterated European colonialist views.

Chapters five and six recount the pan-Pacific voyage of John Tamatoa Baker, a former Hawaiian kingdom official and entrepreneur based in Hilo, through Tahiti, Rarotonga, New Zealand, Fiji, Sāmoa and Tonga in 1907. Baker's trip took place in yet another political context: A decade after the United States had occupied the Hawaiian Islands, the kingdom's political elite had lost most of its power, yet a few of its members like Baker were doing economically quite well by following Western patterns of business development. As a Hawaiian nationalist who had fought against the US takeover, and being himself of part-Tahitian ancestry, Baker was very sympathetic towards the Oceanian sister peoples he encountered and generally lacked cultural arrogance towards them. Yet, while admiring their resilience and wisdom, Baker often commented on other islanders' lack of entrepreneurial spirit and urged them to become more successful capitalists. Cook problematizes this attitude, given the opposition of capitalist values to those of *ka wā 'ōiwi wale*.

In conclusion, Cook argues that the different ways Hawaiians engaged with other Pacific Islanders in the nineteenth and early twentieth century can serve as an inspiration for the resurgence of pan-Pacific connections today, but also warn us of possible drawbacks if Hawaiian's claims to superiority resurface within such relations. Referring to the reconstructed Hawaiian voyaging vessel *Hōkūle'a* and its multiple trips around the region, the author sees the presented history as a "bridge between modern recognition of pan-Oceanic ties and the period of migration" of centuries ago (p. 229). Yet today's relations between Hawaiians and other Pacific Islanders have not always been smooth. Cook specifically mentions the Micronesian communities living in Hawai'i today that are often treated with coldness, if not hostility, by the local population of Hawai'i, including Native Hawaiians (pp. 226–229).

Like in other good books, there is always a little room for improvement. For Baker's 1907 trip, not generally known in Hawaiian historiography, a more detailed and systematic presentation of his itinerary at the beginning of chapter five might have been helpful, instead of immediately delving into the analysis of specific encounters and interactions on the trip. A few statements made in the book are problematic also. The description of King Kalākaua's confident and advisor Celso Moreno, who was disliked by Western businessmen and American missionary descendants because of his pro-Hawaiian attitude, as an "international con artist" (p. 98) for instance, uncritically repli-

cates the discourse of the king's pro-American enemies, which the author otherwise rightfully dismisses as propaganda. One other puzzling issue is why the publisher included the book in its series on North American Indian History and even mentions in the flap text that it contributes to the "study of native peoples of the Americas." In fact, Cook's book does not touch upon Native Americans at all. While not of importance for the book's overall evaluation, this affiliation with the wrong geographical region of the world will likely confuse some readers.

But these are merely petty blemishes in an otherwise well-written and informative work that reads quite smoothly. One of the bonuses the editor deserves credit for is that the book uses footnotes that facilitate checking the author's source citations, instead of the nowadays fashionable, but very impractical, endnotes. The first book-long study in over a century dedicated to Hawaiian relations with the rest of Oceania, *Return to Kahiki* will certainly be read with much interest by Hawaiian and Pacific historians.

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*Kalaupapa Place Names: Waikolu to Nihoa.* By John R. K. Clark. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2018. xix + 377 pp. Bibliographic references. Index. \$28.00 paper; \$75.00 cloth

In his newest book, meticulous researcher John Clark explores the place names of Kalaupapa and the lives of leprosy patients exiled there from across the Hawaiian kingdom in the late 1800s. Unlike histories delivered through the lens of St. Damien or St. Marianne, Clark's book instead elevates the residents through inclusion of more than 300 original letters printed in Hawaiian language newspapers of the time, many never before translated. "They spoke and wrote in their native language, and they brought their regional customs, skills and traditions with them, including their love of place names," Clark writes.

Clark sets a personal tone from the start, dedicating the book to his great-great-grandmother, who was sent to Kalaupapa in 1884. The comprehensive place names section reveals that many were shaped by those who lived and died in the settlement. The translated newspaper letters—by government officials, Hawaiian royalty, visitors and patients—further lend an intimate texture.