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PACIFIC STUDIES

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HUMANITIES AND COMMUNITIES: A DIALOGUE IN PACIFIC STUDIES

Teresia K. Teaiwa
April K. Henderson
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Teresia K. Teaiwa: On the eve of our tenth anniversary as a program in Pacific studies, we sought an opportunity to document and tease out some of the issues we have been grappling with in our work at Victoria University of Wellington in New Zealand. We have been particularly interested in the challenges of articulating productive relationships between the university-based humanities traditions within which we work and our sense of communities or constituencies as teachers and researchers.

My academic background includes an undergraduate degree with a major in history, and double minors in political science and Spanish language; a master's degree in history—majoring in Pacific history with a minor in European intellectual history; and a PhD from an interdisciplinary program called history of consciousness. As a consequence I feel quite steeped in the humanities.

April K. Henderson: I completed an undergraduate degree in anthropology, technically a social science but one heavily influenced by the humanities and, as James Clifford and George Marcus emphasize with regard to ethnography (Clifford and Marcus 1986), strong literary underpinnings. I went on to get a master's degree in an interdisciplinary Pacific islands studies program, which included significant lashings of pacific history, and a PhD in the same interdisciplinary doctoral program as Teresia, history of consciousness. So while my academic trajectory began from a

different sort of point, it significantly converges with Teresia's at later stages, which I think provides us with a shared literacy in a broad range of material. Although we each have our research specialties, particular areas of interest, and quite different backgrounds and experiential contexts, I have always felt that we speak a mutually intelligible language with regard to our work and our program. Perhaps it could be called a shared cultural studies, or humanities, approach. This becomes patently clear to me when I speak to others who engage in more strictly quantitative methodologies; their language for discussing "identity," for instance, is quite different to mine.

TKT: Yet, it is often difficult to specify what exactly constitutes a "humanities approach." Universities don't help when they create arbitrary divisions among disciplines for the purposes of administration. The Pacific studies program is administered through the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences (FHSS) at Victoria University. A few years ago when Pacific studies underwent an administrative review there were discussions about possibly amalgamating our program with development studies, which is housed in the Faculty of Sciences by virtue of its association with geography and other Earth sciences, or incorporating us with Pacific nations education in the Faculty of Education. The pro–vice chancellor of our faculty expressed firm opposition to such proposals and stressed the importance of keeping Pacific studies within the FHSS. Of course, our location in FHSS makes sense to us. But what hasn't been worked out is exactly how our program is supposed to reflect what is actually a bifurcated location.

In a commentary on the state of the humanities in the United States, Rey Chow notes how it's been typical in the Anglo-American university tradition for "studies"—that is, programs such as film studies, gender studies, ethnic studies, cultural studies, etc.—to be framed as humanities projects. However, she goes on to note that it's precisely these "studies" that are blurring the boundaries of the humanities by intersecting with both the social sciences and the hard sciences. Chow suggests that what's going on in these "studies" might therefore be better understood as engaging in the more European tradition of "human sciences" rather than the strict "humanities" (Chow 2005: 47–48). This gives us a way to think about where we've come from in terms of our particular heritage of Pacific studies and where we might go with it in the future.

The humanities have laid a strong foundation for Pacific studies as we've inherited it and as we've developed it so far at Victoria University Wellington (VUW). In terms of the institutional development of Pacific studies internationally, the most prominent contributing disciplines have been history and anthropology (Wesley-Smith 1995), with political science and sociology

following closely on their heels—especially in New Zealand. But, as part of what Wesley-Smith would describe as an outcome of the "empowerment" rationale for Pacific studies, there has emerged a strong movement in what I would call "Pasifika research" in New Zealand. This is research that both uses and critiques much of the standard methodologies of social science while also asserting the emergence of distinct indigenous methods and theories (cf. Anae et al. 2001; Smith 1999). What the precise relationship between Pacific studies and Pasifika research is hasn't been worked out yet, and there's a lot of slippage between the two in New Zealand. But whether one takes a humanities approach, a social sciences approach, or a "human sciences" approach, it does make a difference.

In New Zealand at the moment, the government has made a significant financial commitment to boosting research capacity in the social sciences (see BRCSS 2009). By contrast, the New Zealand Council for the Humanities is far less generously patronized (see NZCH 2009).

AKH: As mentioned, my bachelor's degree was in a discipline generally construed as a social science, though many have written insightfully of anthropology's struggle to balance its humanistic, literary bent with the pressures of being taken seriously as an "objective science." Pungent critiques of anthropology over the past few decades have, of course, shown such objectivity to be a product of carefully manufactured artifice, but I think there yet persists in anthropology an ideal of objective distance between researcher and researched. And that's precisely why I joke that, after completing my bachelor's degree, I fled, a "refugee from anthropology," into an interdisciplinary program with a strong humanities foundation: I am so deeply implicated in the communities I work in and among that I can't even pretend objective distance. Even the now-acceptable moment of self-reflexivity in more recent ethnography (and credit goes to those anthropologists, particularly feminist ethnographers, who do it well) would not be enough for me, I think. While I am cautious about any search for objective "truths," though, I nevertheless still aspire to craft work that is resonant and useful. I am sympathetic to those theorists, like Albert Wendt, who resent scholarship that reduces Pacific peoples to the sum of the aggregated data collected about them (Wendt 1976); the texture of lived experience cannot be captured in a seemingly endless stream of statistics. As he and other Pacific scholars have pointed out (Hereniko 2000), sometimes an artfully told story better speaks to the complex and contested qualities of life. While my work retains strong ethnographic aspects, involving many years of what Renato Rosaldo might call "deep hanging out" (cited in Clifford 1997, 56) with the artists I write about, I think that what is allowed by my move into interdisciplinarity is more freedom to tell stories differently in the final product.

Part of what I construe as freedom is probably due to the fact that work in the humanities has no single definable approach, as you note above. And perhaps this contributes to why governmental emphasis (read: funding) for the humanities currently lags behind social sciences in New Zealand. Arjun Appadurai writes of the changing nature, and increasing importance, of "research" (academic or otherwise) in the era of globalization (Appadurai 2001). Governments and corporations now absolutely require documentation of "research" to inform policy. But the definition of what constitutes "research" in this frame is sometimes very narrow, generally reducible to easily analyzable sets of quantified, verifiable data, which are presumed to be value free. In this respect, those social sciences that deal in quantitative methodologies appear more useful to administrative and corporate projects. Government requires policy advisors who can unequivocally make statements like "data indicate that *x* percentage of Pacific migrants will become well-adjusted, productive citizens"; corporations require policy advisors who can say, unequivocally, "data indicate that *x* percentage of the Pacific demographic will buy your product." (And if data predictions prove incorrect, and policy fails, it's almost as if the decision makers can absolve themselves of responsibility, "but the *research* said . . . .") Neither governments nor corporations have much use for someone who instead tells a complex but deeply resonant story of migration, identity, and ambivalent desire! Unless of course that story is told in a hugely successful hit movie that the government can claim as an example of its tolerant benevolence toward minorities, and corporations can successfully market—but then that's why funding emphasis in New Zealand has also recently been placed on "creative industries." But in terms of pragmatic, applied, usefulness to government and corporate sectors, humanities seem to fall into a gap somewhere between the social sciences and creative industries. It's as if, in order to receive attention and funding, scholars in the humanities need to pitch their work to one side or the other. Processes of globalization are structuring societies in particular ways, and the corporatization of universities is one obvious example of this. The language of corporate efficiency requires that everything has to have an apparent usefulness, and be productive in obvious ways that can be quantified in terms of market value. In this climate, the humanities are the item in the wardrobe that they can't figure out how to wear: not practical enough for daily labor, not flash enough for a party.

TKT: The 1965 U.S. legislation establishing the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities provides a useful starting point for a definition of the humanities, including but not limited to, the study of the following:

language, both modern and classical; linguistics; literature; history; jurisprudence; philosophy; archaeology; comparative religion; ethics; the history, criticism and theory of the arts; those aspects of social sciences which have humanistic content and employ humanistic methods; and the study and application of the humanities to the human environment with particular attention to reflecting our diverse heritage, traditions, and history and to the relevance of the humanities to the current conditions of national life. (see NEH 2009).

That the legislation makes special mention of "those aspects of social sciences which have humanistic content and employ humanistic methods," suggests that there are other aspects of social sciences that do not have humanistic content or do not employ humanistic methods. Where the social sciences converge with science is where they diverge from the humanities. The New Zealand Council for the Humanities puts it this way:

> In the Western tradition, the humanities have been identified with literacy and with value-laden knowledge, the core requirements for establishing and maintaining a civil society. They connect the texts of the law with those of religion, philosophy, ethics, economics, history, science, technology, the arts and architecture. (see NZCH 2009)

I find it useful to think of the distinction between the humanities and social sciences as having something to do with text. The humanities draw on a long tradition of Western philosophy and thought. In this way, the humanities have a textual foundation. The social sciences share this intellectual heritage, but emphasize the production of new information via research, often with human subjects. An example of how the social sciences might "employ humanistic methods" is in the use of narratives or oral histories as research tools. By contrast, research with human subjects that does not seek those humans' own meaning-making is less humanistic in my opinion.

AKH: This comment about the "textual foundation" of humanities work is interesting, and I'm inclined to both agree but also to push this emphasis on text in a further direction. Humanities might once have been based on texts in the sense that there was a narrowly conscribed body of Western canonical tests believed to contain eternal truths about justice, beauty, and the human condition. The body of theory called poststructuralism has consistently challenged such "master narratives" of progress, however. A focus on texts persists, but in a different sort of way where there is the ever-present recognition of the fact that texts are *produced* and *constructed*

and the contextually specific and historically bound work that went into their production is foregrounded. Analyzing texts in this vein requires a level of remove; rather than eternal truths (*the real*), texts contain truth claims (*representations of the real*). This approach to texts has been very influential in my work, particularly if we widen the scope of what we might consider "texts" to also include oral narratives and other forms, in addition to literary texts.

My version of our Special Topic Course, PASI 302, is called Engaging Narratives: Hip Hop, Diaspora, and Imagination in the Pacific. It focuses on migration, diaspora, and identity, and in it I encourage students to analyze written histories, published interviews, oral narratives, and audio-visual materials such as films and recorded music, all as texts that have been produced under contextually specific conditions. I ask them to treat these texts as narratives that convey *a* version of events (not the only version possible), and to be aware of the multiple levels on which they work as narratives: for instance, what information is presented, what is excluded, how the way in which the information is presented affects our reception of it. My point is that the way someone might narrate a particular set of events, or even their conception of their own identity, will shift depending on when they are doing the narrating, where, how, for what purpose, and to and for who. Texts are contingent, relational, shifting. As an extreme example, I might pose the case of one particular artist who has figured quite significantly in my research over the years. Because he leads a public existence as a performer, there is a wealth of material available in books, magazine articles, and in the self-authored promotional material on his Web site, describing his background. Additionally, I have formally interviewed this artist several times over the past ten years, informally spent time with him on over a dozen occasions, and privately discussed his genealogy and upbringing with members of his family and people who knew him as a child. The curious predicament I have faced as a researcher is that few of the narratives of this artist's ancestry and identity—including his own at different times—precisely match up. These multiple articulations defy attempts to get at "the real" story of his background and cast into relief the problem of taking any particular version as representative of some eternal truth. From the perspective of a certain kind of social science research, which would seek to locate this artist in neatly defined ethnic, racial, and national categories in order to render him part of an analyzable data set, his case poses major challenges. If the dominant Western research ethic, as Appadurai notes, relies on replicability and verifiability, what do you do with information that continually shifts and changes? Another researcher probably won't be able to verify the story I got—I can't even verify it!

And that's really part of my point about narratives. Rather than a problem, I choose to read in his shifting biography an illustrative allegory about both the physical mobility of some Pacific peoples and the discursive mobility of their ways of narrating themselves.

TKT: You're absolutely right about needing to problematize both text and narrative—and this is perhaps where the humanities tradition of Pacific studies and the social sciences tradition of Pasifika research can productively inform one another.

But I'd like pick up on the point you made earlier when referring to Appadurai's analysis of research in the age of globalization. What is actually most essential for me about the Humanities tradition is what Rey Chow describes as "reflective delay" (Chow 2005, 52). As she observes, our academic endeavors take place in the era of the neoliberalization of university education, and in the age of the informationalization of knowledge. Remember how in the last round of consultations on the new Tertiary Education Strategy for New Zealand we were asked to make submissions on how Pacific people would contribute to the nation's exciting new "knowledge economy"? (See Tertiary Education Commission 2008.) What a humanities approach offers in the context of relentless processes of commodification is "reflective delay." It's an approach that doesn't rush to turn thought into information or data, or as Chow would term it, so many consumable, and therefore disposable "factoids" (Chow 2005, 50). Amplifying a call by Bill Readings in his book *The University in Ruins* (Readings 1996), Chow agrees that the proper role of the university in our time is the preservation of thought and thinking. But when most of our universities are careering down the path of instrumentalizing knowledge—and in New Zealand, quantifying knowledge through the Performance Based Research Fund regime—it becomes the task of the humanities to "press pause." That's what I would say Pacific studies at VUW has been offering up to this point: the space and time for students—and academic staff—to engage in thought before they rush off to produce information and other goods or services for the economy!

AKH: Absolutely! I find these comments of Chow's extremely resonant. I feel like I experience "press pause" moments on a daily basis. For example, upon learning that a report on the impact of domestic violence in a Pacific island country had to quantify that impact in terms of "lost productivity" in order to render domestic violence a meaningful issue at the level of national government. That is a moment where I want to scream, "WAIT!" There's something wrong with a scenario where violence, usually against women, must be shown to have a quantifiable (literally, in terms of

dollars) negative economic impact before policymakers are willing to register it as a problem. Pursuing that logic offers an appalling scenario where, at the level of an individual worker, domestic violence is only a problem from the perspective of the State if she can't show up to work the next day.

Now, I doubt that the researchers producing this particular report felt this way. Either they were asked by those who contracted their work to produce such a figure, or perhaps they viewed such data as another tool in their kit to really drive home to policymakers the seriousness of domestic violence as a social issue. Either way, I think this example gets to a niggling concern regarding such contracted research: producing such reports *disciplines* the researcher, in the Foucauldian sense. It is those contracting the work who have the power to set out which categories will have meaning, and the researcher fulfills a secondary role of plugging information into the categories provided. Even if they are not the categories that might initially be meaningful to the researcher, she or he uses them because they are the ones that speak to those who've contracted them. And perhaps, after a time, those *do* become the categories that are meaningful to the researcher, too.

Now, I recognize that we work in a university environment where our work is *always* situated in, conscribed by, and disciplined by the power matrices we are beholden to, in one way or another. Yet, I have a strong hope that Pacific studies at VUW *is*, as you've described, a place where we and our students can "press pause" and critically reflect on these power matrices, and critique the categories given to us, rather than simply supply data on request.

TKT: This is both the responsibility and the privilege that we have as inhabitants of the university, isn't it? And, at times, we are resented for it. A common knee-jerk reaction among academics to the question of communities is to invoke the "town and gown" divide, and images of the "ivory tower"—and there's always a rush to assert that our education hasn't changed us. In my travels around the Pacific to universities and colleges of higher education or polytechnics in New Zealand, Fiji, the USP region, Guam, and Hawai'i, and in discussions with colleagues from around the Pacific, it seems we are all a little bit insecure about how our participation in higher education may seem to distance us from our natal, ethnic, or local communities. I've managed to avoid this hang-up myself for the most part. My birth family, my extended families, my in-laws, and the various civic groups I've been involved with over the years have always helped me feel grounded as an academic. As the child of two parents who both have university degrees, and who have always been actively involved in various

kinds of communities—a community of faith, a community based on ethnicity, a community of taste, a community of shared principles, etc.—I've really been encouraged to see higher education as a worthwhile endeavor and not something to disavow.

AKH: There's so much to say on the topic of "communities"! I agree that a presumed ivory tower/community divide is often invoked in both the type of Pacific institutional environments you describe and, with regard to my particular area of research, also among those studying hip hop and other popular culture forms in the U.S. and elsewhere. Sometimes this recourse to "*the* community" (a problematic term that naturalizes, reifies, and subsumes a whole lot of differences into a presumed sameness) becomes a part of academic politicking: scholars trying to one-up each other by claiming that their ties to "the community" are stronger than someone else's, etc. (I am tempted to draw an analogy between this phenomenon and the type of leftist academic one-up-manship Meaghan Morris critiques in "Politics Now," 1988.) I think particularly in Pacific studies, given our field's self-conscious valorization of a postcolonial "empowerment rationale" (Wesley-Smith 1995)—the idea that we are committed to the betterment of Pacific peoples' lives, and that community support is part of our mandate for continued existence—accusing other scholars of having lost touch with "the people" is quite a serious charge indeed. This is not to say that people making such charges are necessarily self-serving, or that they don't have genuinely good intentions. I can certainly recall my first fledgling years as a graduate student in Pacific islands studies, our heady cries to "decolonize the field!," and our outright rejection of any literature that we deemed "academic obscurantism" that "the people" would not be able to understand. We had the best of intentions, to be sure, but I think we were nevertheless naïve and simplistic in our construction of an idealized community "out there" somewhere, and our reactionary belief that anything smelling of "theory" was somehow of no relevance to them.

Some years removed now from those impassioned seminar discussions, my outlook is, I think, a bit more nuanced. And here I suppose I'm pursuing a tangential conversational trajectory regarding our need to *value* the intellectual work that we do in the academy (bear with me, I'll return to the topic of community more explicitly in a moment). Yes, of course there is a monumental historic power imbalance where Western knowledge, associated with academia, was and is consistently valorized over indigenous knowledge as part of colonial and neocolonial projects. It's our recognition of that fact, and, let's face it, our implicatedness in it, that contribute to the insecurities you reference among academic colleagues in the region. Yet, even while I recognize this, and actively work to highlight

and value indigenous knowledge in my teaching, it doesn't mean that I will foreclose possibilities for learning from Western texts. And really, making any hard and fast binary distinction between Western and non-Western is rather difficult anyway in a world where even the most anti-Western indigenous rights discourse, like other discourses of "rights," is genealogically linked to the European Enlightenment. The imbrication of West and non-West is an undeniable product of colonialism. As a researcher and teacher, my task is to recognize that complexity while maintaining a clear picture of the unequal power relations that produced, and are produced by, those relationships.

To return more explicitly to the topic of community, my small intervention regards how "the community" is often conceptualized. Whether people admit it or not, they generally have very clear images of what "the community" means in Pacific contexts: what it looks like, where to find it, or, most specifically, where it goes to church. My research has been with Pacific hip hop artists who often don't fit those expectations, so I've continually had to remind others (and even myself, at times!) that I work very closely with *a* community of Pacific (and other) people. It may not look, sound, or act like "*the* community" as most people envision it, but it is nevertheless a group of Pacific people who very much feel themselves to be part of an established community and use that term often (even while recognizing internal differences and divisions). Popular culture theorist Simon Frith elaborates how communities of style and taste cohere around shared interests and began to do, and see, and feel things together (Frith 1988). Pacific participants in hip hop feel palpable degrees of connection with others involved in hip hop, forming what Appadurai might call "communities of sentiment" (Appadurai 1996). So one of the consistent themes in my research is that ethnic and/or national identity does not necessarily trump other components of identity in the way people tend to assume. Thus, when writing about Samoan hip hop artists, for instance, I feel a very compelling need to do justice in my work both to "Samoan culture" *and* to "hip hop culture," because they both play a significant role in producing the community I am trying to describe and analyze.

TKT: That idea of "communities of sentiment" is really productive, and I'd like to return to it in a moment. But what I was thinking of initially, in terms of the communities I feel accountable to is this: as a teacher and researcher in higher education, the most immediate community or constituency for my work is actually at the university. Students and colleagues, therefore, constitute crucial communities for us in Pacific studies. Our students, moreover, are direct conduits between us and the communities that they come from—and they do come from a diverse range of

communities. Typically, our 100-level class is about 50%–60% of Pacific heritage, with Pakeha (European), Maori, Asian, and American exchange students making up the other half or third of the class. Of the students who trace their ancestry to Pacific islands other than New Zealand, the majority will be Samoan. We have consistent, but small numbers of Cook Islands, Tokelauan, Niuean, and Tongan students coming through our courses. And of course, we have a number of students of mixed heritage—inter-Pacific, hula-haka (mixed Maori and Pacific heritage), or Maori–Pacific mixes, and the Afakasi (usually mixed Pacific and European heritage) or part-European students. By the time we get to 300 level, though, our proportions are much more dramatic, with as high as 99% of the class being of Pacific heritage. We are teaching in a context in which Pacific students constitute around 5% of enrollments in the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, but 28% of students who are exiting (i.e., failing to complete) courses at the 100 and 200 levels (see VUW 2007: 37–8). What this means for us is that we carry a heavy burden in terms of ensuring the educational achievement of Pacific students at our university—and this is another area where Pacific studies and Pasifika research necessarily intersect.

The educational and public sector environments in New Zealand put a lot of emphasis on community consultation and community liaison. As a result, Victoria University has some pretty well-institutionalized mechanisms for facilitating our relationships as academics with communities. For example, we have our Pacific liaison officer, based in the student recruitment and course advice office, who organizes school visits for academics and who also coordinates Pacific-focused events during the Vic Open Day and runs Junior Pasefika Day and Senior Pasefika Day, when students of Pacific islands ethnicity from different secondary schools in the Wellington region come to the campus for customized visits. As Pacific studies staff, we've participated in the full range of the Pacific liaison officer's community outreach activities over the years. But in some ways, these aren't purely altruistic outreach ventures, as the overarching goal is to recruit Pacific students to the university!

We have also developed our own autonomous outreach programs as Pacific studies to various communities and constituencies, and wherever possible, we've tried to dovetail these with our teaching. So, for example, with PASI 101 The Pacific Heritage, our first year introductory core course for the Pacific studies major, we have an optional component in which students are able to create a work of art or perform an item based on research they have done in the course. Those students who select this option present their work at an evening event, called "Akamai," to which their family and friends are all invited, and which is also open to the public.

For the last three or four years, we have typically attracted audiences of between 250 and 300 to Akamai—and that's to see 15–25 students present their work. So on average, each student attracts 10 or more audience members. Akamai, which means smart or clever in Hawaiian, has become a nice bridge between the learning community we foster at the university and the other communities our students belong to. It really touches me when I see our students' parents and siblings and friends in the audience at Akamai. It's heartening to know that our students have support for their learning from their communities. We've even had successive siblings and cousins go through PASI 101 and Akamai—so we get to know certain parents and families quite well!

I couldn't imagine doing Pacific studies in a Pacific island nation (like New Zealand!) without some kind of early outreach to families and communities in this way. And we do variations on outreach with our students at different levels. PASI 201 Comparative Histories in Polynesia takes students out on field trips to our own marae Te Tumu Te Herenga Waka, Archives New Zealand, the Turnbull Library in the National Library of New Zealand, and the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. These trips introduce our students to different institutions that support Pacific studies research and introduce our students to different resource people within those institutions, with the intention of helping them gain a sense of a wider intellectual community for Pacific studies. PASI 301 Framing the Pacific: Theorizing Culture and Society students have in the past been required to present their research papers in community venues such as the nongovernmental organization (NGO) meeting rooms at James Smiths Arcade in Wellington Central, the Pacific Islands Network Centre in Newtown, Pataka meeting rooms in Porirua City, and to sixth and seventh form Pacific studies students at Porirua College and St. Bernard's Secondary School in the Hutt. Once, our PASI 301 students even presented their papers from the pulpit of an EFKS church in Porirua—at the invitation of the Reverend Minister, of course!

Part of the rationale for undertaking these activities in the community was to broaden the public perception of what Pacific studies was or should be. I remember our first PASI 301 seminar series out in Porirua in 2001, when an audience member berated me as the students' lecturer for not speaking in my own language to introduce the seminars. His expectation of Pacific studies was that we should be promoting "traditional" cultures and languages. I explained to him that if I spoke my own indigenous Pacific language (Kiribati) it was unlikely that he or my students or others in the audience would understand me, and that if our task in Pacific studies was to promote traditional cultures and languages, we would have an impossible

task on our hands with the 1200 or more indigenous languages and cultures of our region. But his confrontation allowed me to address misconceptions about Pacific studies, and also provided me and my students with an opportunity to highlight what we found valuable about the ideas we had been able to explore (in the English language) with a Pacific focus. My exchange with this gentleman (who I eventually became related to when I married into his extended family, ha ha!) also highlighted for me the importance of using indigenous Pacific languages as a sign of respect. There's something of a mantra that's developed in New Zealand in terms of the ritual string of Pacific greetings that are used to open Pacific events. It's tempting to see this as an empty gesture, but, in fact, communities find them useful gauges for assessing a speaker's confidence, competence, and openness. Of course, English does limit our understanding of indigenous Pacific cultures in many ways, but as a medium for critically analyzing contemporary economic, social, cultural, and political phenomena we can't get around English.

AKH: These last comments of yours dovetail with my earlier confession regarding my first years of graduate school. When I hear challenges made to the fact that English is our primary language of instruction, or even to the particular *types* of English we use, which draw on certain critical vocabularies, I have to smile and remember that that was once me metaphorically pumping my fist and wanting to label anyone using terminology I didn't understand "The Oppressor." I have a couple further comments to make on that topic, both of which surface from time to time in my classroom lectures and will be familiar to my students. My first comment actually draws from one of your lectures, Teresia, "Learning the Hard Way," which I encountered when I first arrived at Victoria as a teaching fellow some seven years ago and tutored your introductory Pacific studies course, The Pacific Heritage. Among the other themes of that lecture is the salient point that some of the most powerful and important lessons in life are those that are the hardest to learn. Acquiring new knowledge is not always, and should not always be, easy. Learning is *struggle*, often. When I discuss this with my students, it's usually in terms of their difficulty reading, and comprehending, academic writing. Some of this difficulty owes to basic academic literacy skills, which our students may or may not come equipped with when they enter our classrooms. We are keenly aware of this, and in our practice at Victoria we are continually working to give our students the tools they need in this respect, drawing upon the support of our excellent colleagues in Student Learning Support Services. But even for those whose tool kits are good, there is still an element of struggle and challenge in terms of what we ask them to do as processors and creators of original,

creative, intellectual work. But for me, that's the point: if there is no struggle, no challenge, I'm not actually sure that we are teaching them anything. Sometimes it helps to make this point by highlighting the intensely disciplined, rigorous, processes for acquiring new knowledge in indigenous Pacific contexts, outside the university. No one would expect to sit down with Satawalese navigator Mau Piailug and be able to "get" the science of interisland navigation instantly. No one should expect to dance hula like a kumu on their first try. No, skill is acquired through years of intense, disciplined effort and engagement.

There's another comment I make to my students regarding language, generally, and academic language, specifically. Just as it was for my peers and I as fresh young graduate students so many years ago, much of their immediate discomfort with, even rejection of, some of their assigned reading is simply about vocabulary. So I have a little speech I give, asking them,

> What if the *only* word available to you to describe a feeling of happiness is *happy*? So no matter the scenario or context, or degree of happiness, that's the only word you've got. Thus, the All Blacks finally win the Rugby World Cup—fans are ... *happy*. A couple desperate for children finally conceives after ten years of trying—they're ... *happy*. You win ten million in the lotto—you're, yes, ... *happy*. Think of how impoverished we'd be without all those other splendid words and vernacular phrases that add texture and nuance to the English language; delighted, joyful, ecstatic, over the moon, rapt, *chuffed*.

When students encounter a lot of unfamiliar vocabulary, they often express resentment, as if the author is *deliberately* trying to sound "smart" (or, in Samoanglish slang, *fiapots*), and *deliberately* attempting to exclude them from a community of understanding, when in fact writers are simply trying to choose terms with the degree of precision required to convey their argument. It's just that, after years of reading and writing, they have a much broader sense of the vocabulary available to them than our undergraduate students. Again, an island analogy is sometimes useful: a skilled orator draws from a much deeper well of language than the average village inhabitant. Of course, there are bad writers in academia, just as in other genres of literature! But sometimes even bad writers have something important to say, so we must struggle to read and reread and figure out what it is. Apart from sometimes lacking the skill sets to do this, another problem our students face are the myriad competing demands on their time. Our students often have work, family, church, and/or sporting commitments. They often

don't have time to read and reread and wrestle with their reading, even if they were hypothetically willing to do so. And that is another very pressing challenge we face as educators, and continue to try and address.

TKT: I like your "happy" exercise. That's such a good way of addressing what really is an antiintellectual strain in both Pacific and broader New Zealand communities. I do an exercise in PASI 301 that I had initially developed when I taught at the University of the South Pacific, around the question of "what is an intellectual?" Our communities—and not surprisingly, our students—are so ambivalent about education. We want our children to be smart but not act smart. We want our youth to get an education but we don't want them to be changed by their education. There's some serious research begging to be done on that ambivalence!

AKH: I agree. Many of my students are keenly aware of how that ambivalence translates into their daily lived experience. Their parents want to be able to hang their children's degrees on a wall, highlight their educational success at church or the family reunion, but in their domestic context, they will read the type of behavior rewarded at university—such as arguing a differing opinion on a topic—as a sign of impertinence. So yes, there is a conundrum where some Pacific parents want their children to go through three or more years of education but emerge essentially unchanged.

TKT: I had an early experience at Vic that really seemed to go to the heart of this tension between humanities and communities. A student in PASI 301 did a research project on the infamous period of dawn raids on Pacific communities in New Zealand in the 1970s and 1980s. I had encouraged the student to get a handle on the secondary material on the period first and source as much "official" information as she could on the period—using newspaper and film resources from the National Library, Archives New Zealand, and the Film Archives. My worry was that there was a lot of "hype" about the dawn raids in New Zealand popular culture, and I wanted to make sure she grounded her research on the period with reliable sources. So, for example, rather than just referring to the racist anti-Pacific Islander animated television advertisement that Muldoon's national party put out in the 1970s (which she'd never seen because she wasn't born until the 1980s), the student sourced the actual clip from the Film Archives and played it as part of her final seminar presentation, and referenced it in her bibliography. She got official information on numbers of Pacific Islanders deported as a result of dawn raids, and referenced newspaper clippings from the period. I thought she had done very well. But when she presented her work to family members, they said she should have talked to "real people" to get a better understanding of the dawn raids. Now, there are some ethical constraints around us sending our undergraduate students off

into the world to interview "real people." I felt that I had done the responsible thing by encouraging the student to ground her research in texts. And yes, I do recognize the irony of texts being a humanist's first resort! But the student's community felt that they should have been her first resort. Now, normally I'd agree with the community on that point, but if a community doesn't make its own versions of historical events accessible to its youth, I don't think it's fair that they should dismiss what a student picks up from alternative—say, academic—sources. Of course, from a humanities point of view, a good researcher must eventually try to make connections between texts and communities. But given our ethics requirements at Victoria University, I wouldn't be inclined to send too many students out to do research with human subjects until they were postgraduate students. We provide our undergraduate students with other ways of making connections between their communities and the humanities-based learning we promote in Pacific studies.

AKH: You noted earlier our outreach to various communities and constituencies, and I think we should mention the work we've engaged in with artistic communities locally, nationally, and internationally. The fine arts and performing arts are also key contributors to what we think of as the humanities tradition and are very important to both of us in our work and teaching. At every level, our courses encourage students to consider the important contributions of creative work to Pacific studies and to Pacific societies. Further, we have explicitly engaged practicing artists at many points in our nine-year history at VUW. This includes bringing artists into classrooms, organizing guest seminars, facilitating a retreat for artists and academics to engage in dialogue about art and society, formulating panels of artists to contribute their insights at academic conferences, and, most dramatically, coorganizing (along with the Center for Pacific Islands Studies at the University of Hawai'i and the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa) an entire Pacific studies conference on dance in Oceania that brought together academics, choreographers, dancers, fine artists, filmmakers, documentarians, and many others on equal footing. The suspicions and resentments of the university and academics that circulate in Pacific communities at large certainly permeate Pacific artistic communities, so I think our consistent efforts over the years have been very important in demonstrating to artists that we value what they do, and in fostering among artists a greater understanding and sense of value for what we do.

TKT: We've covered a lot of territory in this conversation, and it's been good to be able to "take stock" of what we've been able to accomplish in Pacific studies, as well as what challenges lie ahead for us in our work at Victoria University. In a way, this dialogue has been an example of our own "press pause" moment! The conversation we've recorded here is a

reconstruction and renovation, so to speak, of a variety of reflections and exchanges we've had individually and together over a number of years. I'm really thankful for the collegiality we share, April, and I look forward to continuing this dialogue with you, perhaps in other forums. Over my years at Vic I've been intent on fostering a sense of intellectual community among students in our program and with our colleagues from across the university who are also engaged in teaching about or researching the Pacific. My emphasis on the "intellectual" comes from a belief that claiming our intellectual heritage and capacities is a means to empowerment in a culture of commodification, and a mode of resistance within dehumanizing economies. Especially in New Zealand, where sports and entertainment are the most likely fields for Pacific people to find acceptance and success, the Enlightenment dictum, "I think, therefore I am" becomes a radical statement. But the phrase you introduced earlier, April—"communities of sentiment"—is a necessary reminder that communities are made up of both ideas and feelings. A Pacific studies program that is framed as a humanities project can't help but engage at both those levels, too.

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PACIFIC ISLANDS STUDIES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAI'I: THE FIRST THREE DECADES

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THREE MEN BORN IN 1913 were instrumental in shaping the direction of Pacific Island research and education in the United States during World War II and well into the latter half of the twentieth century. Their involvement in war and postwar activities influenced the course of their careers in ways they could never have envisaged. Douglas Oliver and Leonard Mason were anthropologists, and Norman Meller was a political scientist. They came from quite different backgrounds and differed in personal style and many of their professional interests. All three shared a common concern with the practical application of their work. This article is primarily historical in nature. The first part provides biographical sketches of the three men. The second focuses on their careers and institution building at the University of Hawai'i (UH) during the formative years of an area studies program now known as the Center for Pacific Islands Studies (CPIS). Area studies were new to the academic scene, and their origins came from outside the academy. In the late 1940s and early 1950s, there was a growing concern about the nation's ability to respond effectively to perceived external threats from the Soviet Union and the emerging Cold War. Very few American universities of the time taught or conducted research on the non-Western world. Several private foundations stepped into the void and joined together to promote an ambitious initiative in support of area studies training in the United States. Federal support followed the initiatives from the private sector. My own career was intertwined with the three men central to this article.

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Biographical Profiles[1]

Douglas Oliver

Douglas Oliver was one of three men born in 1913 who were instrumental in shaping the direction of Pacific studies in the United States. The eldest and longest lived of the three, Oliver was born on February 10, 1913, and died on October 30, 2009. Leonard Mason was born June 26, 1913, and died on October 8, 2005. Born on July 30, 1913, Meller was both the youngest and the first to die, on July 19, 2000.

Oliver was born in Ruston, Louisiana. His father was an instructor at Louisiana Technological University, but he knew little about the man. According to Oliver's own account, his father "Did not return from World War I."[2] His mother remarried, and Oliver was raised under modest circumstances by his widowed paternal grandmother in Atlanta, Georgia. His primary and secondary education was in Atlanta. Georgia's schools were segregated at the time. Two of Atlanta's high schools were preparatory for tertiary education, one for boys and the other for girls. A third focused on vocational education. Oliver attended the Boys High School.

Oliver was an obviously gifted and highly motivated youngster. By 1928, he had completed high school in three years and had earned the rank of Eagle Scout well before his sixteenth birthday. Two remarkable achievements were soon to follow. In a national competition involving hundreds of applicants, Oliver and two other Eagle Scouts were selected to go on safari in East Africa.[3] The young men began their journey in New York City, where they were the guests of President Theodore Roosevelt's widow and son. On their voyage across the Atlantic on the luxurious *Ile de France*, they were treated as special guests and met Bill Tilden, the world-famous tennis star. In Paris, they were welcomed by America's ambassador to France, stayed at the Hotel Astoria, toured the city, and met Gene Tunney, the world's heavyweight boxing champion. A voyage through the Suez Cannel was followed by a five-week safari in Tanganyika. The boys were required to keep diaries that were later turned into a book. Oliver and his follow scouts were credited as the coauthors, and *Three Boy Scouts in Africa* was Oliver's first publication.[4]

Oliver assumed that he would attend his hometown institution, the Georgia Institute of Technology, commonly known as Georgia Tech. However, when a recruiter from Harvard visited Atlanta, Oliver recalled that he thought that it "sounded like an interesting place." A high school adviser helped Oliver secure a scholarship for his undergraduate studies, and on his arrival at Harvard, he discovered anthropology by accident.

Oliver expressed an interest in Egyptology, only to learn that the university's sole Egyptologist was on leave. As an alternative, he was advised to go to the anthropology department, which was nearby and described as close enough in subject matter. Oliver finished his BA degree in three years in 1934 and completed the DPhil in Ethnology at the University of Vienna one year later. Written in English, Oliver's dissertation was based on library research and titled *Some Aspects of Tribal History in Africa (Banyankole, Bagana, Shilluk, Azande)*.[5] Both degrees were officially awarded in 1935 when Oliver was twenty-two years old.

Oliver expressed an interest in earning a PhD at Harvard but was informed it would be redundant because of his DPhil from Vienna. However, when he inquired about a faculty position, he was caught in a catch-22. The Harvard faculty did not believe that the doctorate at Vienna was equivalent to that of Harvard. Oliver then joined the staff of Harvard's Peabody Museum of Ethnology and Archaeology, where he served as a research associate from 1936 to 1941.

Early in his appointment at the museum, Oliver's first excursion to Melanesia came about by chance. He was asked to accompany the heir to a large manufacturing fortune on an expedition to collect exotic artifacts in New Guinea. Once in the islands, their interests quickly diverged, and they went their separate ways. The Australian government anthropologist E. W. P. Chinnery took Oliver under his wing and advised that research opportunities on Bougainville would be more affordable than the New Guinea mainland.[6] Oliver took the advice, and his mentors at Harvard arranged modest financial support. Oliver's groundbreaking research with the Siuai[7] people was conducted on Bougainville between early 1938 and late 1939.

With the outbreak of World War II, Oliver's experience in Melanesia made him an invaluable resource to the U.S. government, and he was engaged by the U.S. Navy as a civilian consultant. Oliver was attached to the U.S. Western Pacific Command in Noumea, New Caledonia, popularly known as "Pentagon West." Immediately after the war, the navy sponsored several projects. The U.S. Commercial Company was among the first, and it conducted an economic survey of Micronesia in 1946 with Oliver as project director. Mason conducted the survey in the Marshalls (Mason 1946), and Oliver wrote the summary report for the entire project (Oliver 1951). In response to continued requests for assistance by the navy, the Pacific Science Board (PSB) was established as a committee of the National Research Council in late 1946. The PSB promoted research, advised government, and encouraged international cooperation on Pacific science. George Peter Murdock, chairman, Department of Anthropology, Yale University, was a member of the board, and Oliver served as a consultant.

Oliver was also a cofounder of the Society for Applied Anthropology in 1941 and a member of its executive committee. Both he and Mason published in the early issues of the society's journal.[8]

The involvement of American anthropologists in applied work during the war reflected a change in the discipline that had begun a decade earlier. During the early part of the twentieth century, most anthropologists had conducted research on Indian reservations. Their agenda was largely one of salvage ethnography. With the use of aged informants, they attempted to reconstruct and describe traditional cultures and societies before their disruption by European contact. By the 1930s, the results were ever diminishing. At the same time, social problems accompanying the Depression years heightened the social consciousness of many researchers and demanded a more relevant anthropology. The discipline shifted away from memory ethnography and toward an interest in culture change, acculturation, and the practical application of research (Kiste and Marshall 1999).

In early 1947, the PSB became the administering agency for the Coordinated Investigation of Micronesian Anthropology (CIMA), with Murdock as project director and Mason in charge of its office in Honolulu. The design for CIMA drew heavily on a plan drafted by Oliver for a research initiative that would be of scientific value and practical use for the administration and development of Micronesia. Between July 1947 and January 1949, forty-one CIMA researchers were divided into teams to conduct research in different parts of Micronesia. Of the lot, twenty-five were cultural anthropologists and four were physical anthropologists from twenty universities and museums. Others were linguists, geographers, sociologists, physicians, and a botanist. Funding from the Office of Naval Research continued after CIMA to launch the Scientific Investigation of Micronesia, a program of studies in the physical, biological, and life sciences. From 1949 to 1951, thirty-one researchers were engaged in the project, including seven anthropologists (Kiste and Marshall 1999). Another CIMA offshoot was the appointment of applied anthropologists at the district and territorial levels of the U.S. Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (USTTPI).[9]

Of the navy-sponsored anthropological initiatives in Micronesia, CIMA had the greatest impact. Only a dozen and a half American cultural anthropologists had worked in the Pacific prior to World War II. A number of the CIMA researchers went on to have productive university careers, and they taught many of the next generation of American anthropologists.

After his work with the PSB and the projects in Micronesia, Oliver served in advisory capacities with the U.S. Department of State, the South Pacific Commission, and the United Nations between 1948 and 1951. In 1948, he finally achieved the faculty position that he had long desired when

he was appointed as a lecturer in Harvard's anthropology department, where he eventually became professor of anthropology and curator of oceanic ethnology.

In the two decades following Oliver's appointment, he organized or played a major role in three projects that placed a sizable number of doctoral students in the field. The first was a joint effort with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology from late 1952 through 1954. Inspired by Raymond Firth's study of Malaysian peasantry, it focused on peasant societies in Java, and about a dozen researchers were involved.[10] The second project was conducted in the Society Islands in the 1950s. Four pairs of communities were researched to compare varying degrees of acculturation in the archipelago. Oliver and three of his students each studied a pair, and a fourth examined the influence of the Chinese in French Polynesia (Oliver 1981).[11]

The third initiative was the Harvard Solomon Islands Project, which linked physical anthropology and epidemiology with ethnography and studies of social change. Research was conducted in eight communities in the Solomons between 1966 and 1972. In each instance, an anthropologist conducted extensive research in advance of and in preparation for the work of the biomedical team. Follow-up visits to seven of the same communities occurred during 1978–1980, and the work was summarized in Friedlaender's (1987) *The Solomon Islands Project.*

In 1969, Oliver made a major career change. In an arrangement with Harvard, he accepted a half-time appointment in the UH Department of Anthropology on the condition that he be allowed to divide his time with fall semesters at Harvard and the spring of each academic year at Hawai'i. In 1973, Oliver left Harvard and became full time at Hawai'i until he retired in 1978. In the following year, he was elected to the National Academy of Sciences.

In the early 1970s, Oliver was also a consultant for Bougainville Copper, Ltd, and it provided research funds to evaluate the impact of the mining operation on the people and environment of Bougainville. Oliver designed and headed a second research project on the island. Titled "Anthropology, Demography, and Geography of Bougainville," it involved about half a dozen researchers.[12] In the three projects at Harvard and the one in Hawai'i, the majority of the anthropologists involved were Oliver's graduate or postgraduate students. By his own estimate, Oliver produced over forty PhD students in his career.

Oliver was also a remarkably productive scholar. His first professional publication was the previously cited 1942 article in the journal *Applied Anthropology*. Between 1942 and 1969, he published six journal articles,

four chapters in books, six museum papers, and seven other articles in a variety of places. After 1969, his record is solely one of books. Oliver never penned a single book review and was known to comment that "I don't do that kind of work."

The first six of Oliver's fourteen books were published while he was at Harvard. Three of the six focused on Bougainville. *Studies in the Anthropology of Bougainville, Solomon Islands* was published in 1949. Oliver's second book was the previously cited 1951 edited volume, *Planning Micronesia's Future*, an account of the economic survey he directed in postwar Micronesia. His next two books established Oliver as a major figure in Pacific scholarship and had a greater impact than the rest of his books combined. One of the most widely read books ever written on the Pacific, *The Pacific Islands*, first appeared in 1951.[13] It was reprinted several times and read by several generations of students and general readers. Published in 1955, *A Solomon Island Society* had a profound impact on anthropology as a discipline. Based on his Siuai research on Bougainville, Oliver provided the first detailed analysis of "big-man" leadership in Melanesia, and it continues to generate theoretical attention and debate. *An Invitation to Anthropology*, an introductory text, appeared in 1964 and enjoyed only modest success. *Bougainville: A Personal History* appeared in 1973 and is a firsthand account of the Bougainville copper mine, one of the largest mining operations in the world, and its impact on the island's people and environment. It was the last book Oliver published as a member of the Harvard faculty. His remaining eight books would be published during his tenure at UH and after his retirement in Hawai'i.

Oliver and his two colleagues evidenced little interest in the theoretical issues of their disciplines. Oliver thought that theories have a limited shelf-life and that they come and go with time, and both in print and conversation he emphasized the importance of solid description. He valued straightforward language and had little or no tolerance for the use of jargon, and he abhorred postmodern analysis. Such preferences became most evident in his publications after his move to Hawai'i. In that same period, his interests also came to focus on Polynesia with the most attention on Tahiti. The first three of his Hawai'i books were focused on Tahiti, and the first two of these were descriptive works of encyclopedic dimensions. *Ancient Tahitian Society* appeared in 1974 as a massive three-volume work of just over 1,400 pages. Published in 1981, *Two Tahitian Villages* was based on his field work in Tahiti. In the preface to that volume, Oliver wrote, "I expect that the descriptive portions of my monographs . . . will prove to be the most useful." (Oliver 1981, xiii). *Two Tahitian Villages* is a hefty tome of 557 pages. Published in 1988, *Return to Tahiti* is an account of Captain William Bligh's second voyage to Tahiti.

Oliver's next three books moved away from a focus on Polynesia. Published in 1989, *Oceania: The Native Cultures of Australia and the Pacific Islands* is a survey of the pre-European cultures of the entire region. Its two volumes total 1,275 pages. *Native Cultures of the Pacific Islands* is a radically abridged (172 pages) version of the two-volume work of the same year. In many respects, *Black Islanders: A Personal Perspective of Bougainville 1937–1991*, published in 1991, is a continuation of Oliver's 1973 book on the same island. It is the only book on Melanesia that Oliver published during his Hawai'i years. Oliver's last two books were published in 2002 and represented a return to Polynesia. *Polynesia in Early Historic Times* is a nontechnical account of Polynesian cultures shortly after European contact. It is aimed at a general readership and has been well received. Oliver's last book, *On Becoming Old in Early Tahiti and Early Hawaii: A Comparison*, draws on description of the islands written by Europeans shortly after contact and examines the status of the elderly in both places. Oliver (2002) commented that writing as an octogenarian, he was qualified to write about old age.

Leonard Mason[14]

Leonard Mason was born in Seattle and was the eldest of four brothers. They were the tenth generation that could trace descent from English settlers who arrived in Virginia in the early 1600s. Their paternal grandparents were farmers in Wisconsin. Roy Mason, the boys' father, was born in 1881. In 1888, the family moved to Kansas, where they acquired a homestead and built a sod house. The Kansas farm was not viable, and in 1896 the Masons moved, partly by covered wagon, to Washington State and eventually took up residence in Spokane in 1903. After a variety of jobs, in 1911 Roy moved to Seattle, married, and began his lifelong career as a detective for the famed Pinkerton Detective Agency. Roy's work took the family to Portland, Oregon, during 1918–1919. Promotions in the Pinkerton Agency took the family back to Spokane in 1920 and then to St. Paul, Minnesota, in 1925. Mason was twelve years old at the time. He remembered his father as a strict authoritarian, but his work meant frequent absences from home, and the brothers were raised largely by their mother.

Mason attended intermediate and high school in St. Paul. In high school, his favorite pastimes were amateur radio, hiking, art, and scouting. Mason graduated in 1930. He was valedictorian of his senior class, and his outstanding work in the arts won special recognition.[15] Mason and his three brothers all achieved the rank of Eagle Scout, and their accomplishment was recognized in an article in *Boy's Life*, scouting's national magazine.[16]

Mason entered the University of Minnesota in the fall of 1930. He tried majors in chemistry and journalism and worked for the university newspaper for a short time. Midway in his sophomore year, Mason left the university to become an apprentice with a small commercial art company. He returned to the university in 1932.

Browsing through the university's catalog, Mason discovered anthropology. He had always had a desire to travel, and when he learned that anthropology dealt with people in other countries, he began to explore it as a major. Mason sought the advice of Albert E. Jenks, a well-known anthropologist and the chair of the anthropology department. Ironically, Jenks had been the director of the Philippine Ethnological Survey (PES) created by the U.S. Department of Interior. Having acquired the Philippines after the Spanish-American War, the United States needed basic information about the land and the people now under its administration. The PES was remarkably similar to the CIMA project with which Mason would later work (Kiste and Marshall 1999).

Mason completed his BA in anthropology in 1935. His father died immediately afterward, and the family was in need of income. Mason's background in anthropology and artistic talents proved useful, and he found employment with the St. Paul Science Museum, where he developed an interest in photography that lasted for the rest of his life. Mason began work on his MA degree in 1939 at the University of Minnesota while continuing work at the museum. In the summer of 1940, he conducted fieldwork among the Swampy Cree Indians in western Canada. His thesis, *The Swampy Cree: A Study in Transition*, focused on acculturation and culture change, interests that he would sustain throughout his entire career. His MA degree was awarded in 1941. At the time, Minnesota did not offer the PhD, and Mason chose Yale University for his doctoral studies. He intended to conduct research among the Algonquin Cree in eastern Canada, but World War II intervened.

At Yale, Mason was employed as a graduate research assistant with the Human Relations Area Files (HRAF), an offshoot of the Cross-Cultural Survey, Institute of Human Relations. George Peter Murdock was the founder and director of the survey as well as chairman of Yale's anthropology department. Using the extant literature, the HRAF developed an index for the purpose of large-scale cross-cultural comparative analyses. Mason's assignment was an analysis of the ethnographic literature on the Menominee Indians of Wisconsin. However, on Monday, December 8, 1941, the day after Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor, Murdock informed the HRAF researchers that they would immediately begin assembling information for the U.S. Navy on the Micronesian islands under Japanese control. The

HRAF index provided the guideline for handbooks on the several island groups. Translators were employed to translate Japanese and German literature. Mason was assigned to work on the Marshalls, and his handbook on the Marshall Islands was the first to appear (Mason 1943). Three others were published the following year.[17] Collectively and beginning with the HRAF project, the navy-funded work in Micronesia was the largest research initiative in the history of American anthropology and a major program in applied anthropology. It also gave a boost to the Society for Applied Anthropology that had been launched only a few months prior to the attack on Pearl Harbor.

After his work with HRAF, Mason was involved with training programs for military personnel slated to serve in the Pacific. He then moved to Washington, D.C., in 1944–1945 as a researcher preparing country reports for the Office of Strategic Services (the forerunner of the Central Intelligence Agency). At the end of the war, the operation was moved to the Department of State. As noted, in 1946, Mason conducted the economic survey of the Marshall Islands. In 1947, he joined the UH faculty. In the following year, he was commissioned by the navy to investigate the troubled resettlement of the people of Bikini Atoll who had been moved to make way for the U.S. nuclear testing program at their home atoll. The people of Bikini and their relocation was the subject of Mason's doctoral dissertation, *Relocation of the Bikini Marshallese: A Study in Group Migration*, completed at Yale in 1954.

Throughout his entire career, Mason was involved primarily with Micronesia. He made over two dozen research trips to the region, and he was commonly thought of as the dean of Micronesian anthropology. Beginning with his research on the Marshalls for the U.S. Navy, Mason had particularly close ties with the Marshall Islands, and he had a very special relationship with the people of Bikini Atoll. His own interests were applied anthropology, social and culture change, ecological anthropology, and Micronesian art.

Norman Meller[18]

Norman Meller was born in San Francisco, the son of a successful businessman, the proprietor of a hotel and tobacco company. Meller's paternal grandparents had emigrated from Europe, but the details are not recalled today. It is known that they were residents and survivors of the great San Francisco earthquake of 1906. Meller's mother died when he was fifteen years old. His father remarried, and his second marriage produced three daughters. After elementary education, Meller attended Lowell High

School, the oldest high school west of the Mississippi River. Lowell was also among the most prestigious and highly ranked high schools in the nation. Admission was highly competitive, and Lowell was a feeder school for the University of California (UC), particularly Berkeley. Meller graduated from Lowell in 1930. He attended UC Berkeley between 1930 and 1933. Before completing his undergraduate studies, Meller enrolled at the UC's law school at Hastings in 1933. He completed his LLB in 1936 and was admitted to the California bar in the same year. Meller's BA, with Phi Beta Kappa honors, in political science at Berkeley was delayed until 1942. Late in the same year, Meller enlisted in the U.S. Navy and was commissioned as an officer. He spent over a year at the navy's Japanese Language School in Colorado. A short stint at the Advanced Naval Intelligence School in New York came before an assignment to the Joint Intelligence Center Pacific Ocean Areas (JICPOA) at Pearl Harbor. Meller's work at JICPOA involved the translation of captured Japanese documents. In early 1945, he received his first introduction to the Pacific beyond Hawai'i when he was assigned to serve as the interpreter for the navy officer in charge of the Japanese civilians interned at Camp Susupe on Saipan in the Northern Marianas.

Saipan had been secured by the American forces in July 1944. Japanese military personnel were repatriated to Japan, and all civilians were interned at Camp Susupe, which was divided by ethnicity into three separate areas. The 13,000 Japanese, mainly of Okinawan ancestry, were originally imported to work Saipan's sugar plantations. Korean laborers for the Japanese military numbered 1,350. About 3,000 Micronesians were divided between 2,200 Chamorros, the indigenous people of the Marianas, and 800 Carolinians. Approximately one-half of the over 17,000 civilians were children under the age of sixteen. Shortly after Meller's arrival on Saipan, he replaced the officer in charge of Susupe's Japanese population. He had no experience whatsoever with naval civilian administration. Nonetheless, Meller served in this administrative capacity until the end of 1945. Late in life, he published a collection of his remembrances of his experiences on Saipan (Meller 1999).

Meller was discharged from the navy in February 1946 and began graduate studies in public administration at the University of Chicago, completing his MA degree the same year. Like Mason, Meller joined the UH faculty in 1947. His initial appointment was that of director, Legislative Reference Bureau, a university position that primarily served the government of the territory of Hawai'i. Meller completed his PhD in political science at Chicago and became a professor in the Department of Government (later Political Science) in 1955. His dissertation, *Hawaii: A Study of*

Centralization, was concerned with the centralization of political power in the islands.

Meller's work as head of the Legislative Bureau was focused on local matters. He created and maintained the bureau, and his research and counsel were major forces in the territorial and, later, state of Hawai'i legislature. He mentored many of Hawai'i's political leaders and helped draft the state of Hawai'i's first constitution in 1959 and was much involved when it was amended in later years. He and his wife, Terza, were among the founders of the League of Women's Voters in Hawai'i in the late 1940s.

Pacific Islands Studies at the University of Hawai'i

The Early Years

In the early years of the university, area studies were an unknown quantity and not a high priority. The official position was that any such initiative would require external funding. The first step in that direction occurred in 1932 with the creation of the School of Pacific and Asian Studies with financial support from the Carnegie Corporation. However, the interest in the Pacific was only nominal. The major focus of the new school was on the large nations of Asia. Some change occurred in 1934 when Felix Keesing was recruited to found a department of anthropology. A native of New Zealand, Keesing was an anthropologist with two decades of experience in the Pacific and who had conducted research with the Maori of New Zealand, Samoans in what was then Western Samoa, and peoples of Northern Luzon in the Philippines. Keesing's groundbreaking book, *The South Seas in the Modern World*, appeared in 1941.

World War II soon intervened. Keesing left in early 1942 for wartime service, and by 1943, all anthropologists and geographers at the university were gone and involved in war-related projects. Keesing never returned and moved on to Stanford University, where he chaired the Department of Anthropology for many years. Immediately following the war, Katherine Luamola joined the department at Hawai'i in 1946 and would become a prominent scholar on Pacific folklore and mythology. Luamola and Mason formed the core or the department, but it remained small with only three or four members for a number of years.

The Mason and Meller Era

When Mason and Meller joined the university in 1947, Hawai'i was still a U.S. territory, and the university was a fledgling institution only four

decades old. Founded in 1907 as the small College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, it became a university in 1920 with a student body of slightly less than 400. By 1947, student numbers had grown to nearly 3,000 (Kamins and Potter 1998, 52). Located in Manoa, a mountain valley inland from Waikiki, the campus of the time was modest in scale. Five permanent buildings constructed between 1912 and 1938 formed a quadrangle and the core of the campus. Built during the war for military use, a hodgepodge of temporary wooden structures had been converted to offices, classrooms, dormitories, and a snack bar. Small prefab wooden plantation-style cottages provided faculty housing adjacent to the College of Agriculture and its farm. Faculty children learned to coexist with chickens and other livestock.

In the era prior to air-conditioning, male faculty members were expected to wear coats and ties in university classrooms and offices. However, a few demurred and formed a group known as the Faculty Wearers of Aloha Shirts. The university's president expressed his disapproval, and letters to the editors of Honolulu's two leading newspapers complained about the casualness of faculty attire. The faculty prevailed, however, and it was observed that "Manoa soon became a campus on which aloha shirts were conservative attire" (Kamins and Potter 1998, 54). Mason and Meller were involved.

Also in 1950 and almost two decades after the initial Carnegie grant to the university, the Pacific Islands Studies Program (referred to at different times as PIP or PISP) was approved, utilizing courses and instructors already available in several departments. Mason was appointed as chair of an advisory faculty committee to oversee the organization and administration of the new initiative. From the outset, PIP was a multidisciplinary graduate program authorized to offer the MA degree. An affiliate faculty of two dozen Pacific specialists distributed over a number of disciplines offered courses and served on program committees.

While no formal definition was advanced at the time, the general assumption underlying area studies posited that any world area can best be understood through the lenses of several academic disciplines and interdisciplinary cooperation and research. The MA degree required thirty hours of course work (ten three-credit courses that included a three-credit graduate seminar and nine other courses selected from several disciplines) and a thesis. A language requirement was added at a later date. The first graduate was Marion Kelly in 1956, and she went on to have a distinguished research and teaching career at the Bishop Museum and the university. In 1951, Mason accepted an appointment to chair the small anthropology

department, and he thereby assumed the burden of developing two academic programs.

In 1953, a second grant from the Carnegie Foundation was provided solely for Pacific research. The Tri-Institutional Pacific Program was a collaborative effort involving the university, the Bishop Museum, and Yale University. In the course of a decade, the grant supported the fieldwork of well over twenty researchers. Mason, Meller, and Oliver were involved, and the list of participants included many of the most distinguished figures in Pacific anthropology and linguistics. The program increased the visibility of the Pacific for a short time, but it had no tangible consequences for long-term program development.

One of the earliest initiatives of PIP's advisory committee was library development. While the university's library holdings in Pacific materials had strength in some areas, many essential books, journals, and other periodicals and resources were lacking. The Pacific Islands Library Committee was created by the president's office with Mason and Meller as members, and a proposal was submitted to the Rockefeller Foundation. A grant was awarded in the amount of $30,000 to be expended over a period of five years, 1957–1962. In 1959, the university became a state institution when Hawai'i became the fiftieth state of the union.

Mason developed the PhD program in anthropology, which was authorized in 1963. Two years later he stepped down as chair of both anthropology and the PIP advisory committee. A health scare was instrumental in his early retirement from the university in 1969. Afterward, Mason remained much involved with the Marshalls in consulting capacities pertaining to chiefly titles and land rights, claims for nuclear damages, and compensation for use of Kwajalein Atoll by the U.S. missile defense program. Over the years he was also an occasional visitor to the University of the South Pacific (USP). Between 1982 and 1984, he spent months at a time in Suva and Tarawa as the director of the Kiribati Culture Project sponsored by USP's Institute of Pacific Studies. In 1986, he returned to Suva as a Fulbright scholar and editor working with young Kiribati authors on the project's publication program. Other postretirement involvements were consultancies concerning secondary education and problems of the aged in American Samoa, Guam, and Hawai'i.

Mason's publications included three edited books, twenty-one journal articles, eight chapters in books, seven conference proceedings, twelve book reviews, and over thirty other items such as encyclopedia entries, newspaper articles, and miscellaneous publications. His initial book, *The Laura Report*, appeared in 1967 and was an account of a training program on anthropological field methods that Mason conducted for Marshallese

and American students. Mason's work with the Kiribati Project resulted in *Kiribati: A Changing Atoll Culture*, which appeared in 1985 and focused on recent changes in life in Kiribati. Published in 1987 and coedited with Pat Hereniko, *In Search of a Home* was concerned with the flow of people into urban areas, the movement of laborers from one country to another and the resettlement of people following natural disasters, which had similarities with his Bikini research.

In 1965, Meller succeeded Mason at the helm of the Pacific program, and he served for a half dozen years before his services were needed in Micronesia in 1975. Like Mason, Meller had also served as a departmental chair. He first chaired political science from 1956 to 1958 and then again for the academic years 1964–1967. Both men were also members of an uncounted number of university committees, including the faculty senate, which Meller chaired for a time.

Two initiatives that were launched in 1968 represented major breakthroughs for the development of PIP. After years of lobbying, the university library made a position available for the recruitment of a curator of the Pacific Collection. Meller and Janet Bell, curator of the Hawaiian Collection, launched the search. The leading applicant was Ms. Renée Heyum, a bibliographer who had worked with Father Patrick O'Reilly, one of the world's foremost Pacific specialists and secrétaire général de la Société des Océanistes, Paris, France. Heyum was highly recommended by O'Reilly; Bengt Danielsson of the Ethnografiska Museem, Stockholm; and other leading Pacific scholars in London and Europe as well as Margaret Titcomb, librarian, Bishop Museum (Quigg 1987, 59). Heyum began her long and distinguished career at the university in early 1969, and she set the agenda for the Pacific Collection, Hamilton Library, until her retirement in 1987. The combination of the Rockefeller grant and Heyum's dynamic leadership provided the catalyst that led to the development of the Pacific Collection as one of the foremost collections of its kind in the world today. Heyum groomed Dr. Karen Peacock as her successor, and Peacock has been a credit to Heyum's legacy.

The other breakthrough that occurred in 1968 was internal to PIP. From the very beginning of PIP in 1950, the university had provided no funding, office space, or positions for the program. Again after years of lobbying, in 1968 Meller succeeded in obtaining a half-time position for the director of PIP, and early in that year, he became the first appointee while continuing half time in the Department of Political Science.

Meller was no stranger to the nation's capital, and in the search for external support, he visited the offices of potential funding sources in Washington, D.C., "just to keep the Pacific Program alive in Washington's

eyes" (Quigg 1987, 95). At the time, Dr. Robert Suggs, an archaeologist well known for his pioneering research in the Marquesas Islands in the 1950s, was a program officer for area studies in the then U.S. Office of Education, and funding had recently become available in support of area and language studies programs. That funding was a by-product of the Cold War era of the time.

The Soviet launch of *Sputnik*, the world's first man-made satellite, in 1957 brought a quick response by the United States. There was concern that satellites could be used for military purposes and that the United States had fallen seriously behind the Soviet Union in scientific research. The U.S. Congress passed the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) of 1958. The NDEA was broad in scope and included the social sciences as well as the natural and physical sciences. The National Resource Centers (NRC) Program was included as Title VI of the NDEA in support of language and area studies programs. From their very beginnings, NRCs have conducted a broad range of activities that include instruction, outreach, scholarly research, development of library resources, conferences, and travel related to program activities.

Suggs supported funding for the program at Hawai'i, but he encountered opposition in the U.S. Department of Education bureaucracy. He was accused of having a vested interest in arranging a future sinecure for himself in Hawai'i. Furthermore, a congressman from an eastern state known for his provincialism was generally opposed to anything with which he was unfamiliar. He was also a member of the appropriations committee for Title VI, had no knowledge of the island world, and was opposed to funding for Pacific Studies. Nonetheless, Suggs prevailed, and Meller applied for NRC support.[19] In 1973, PIP received its first three-year grant. The award for the first year was in the amount of $73,500. The total sum for the grant period was nearly a quarter of a million dollars, an enormous sum for the time. For the first time since its founding a quarter of a century earlier, PIP had the financial resources needed for substantive program development. NRC funding has been continuous ever since.

Meller's research interests included the larger Pacific and were broader than either of his two colleagues.[20] He was a pioneer at the front of comparative studies of legislatures and their development in the newly emerging island nations. He was among the first political scientists to conduct serious research in the Pacific, and his work demonstrated the importance of the region for comparative political analyses.

Meller published four books, ten chapters in books, over two dozen journal articles, and a single book review. His first book resulted from three summers of research in Fiji. *Fiji Goes to the Polls* was coauthored with

James Anthony, a citizen of Fiji, and published in 1968. Three years later, Meller's second book, *With an Understanding Heart: Constitution Making in Hawaii*, appeared in 1971 and was only one of Meller's many publications on Hawai'i.

Meller was also well known for his work in Micronesia. In an advisory capacity, he helped organize what became the Congress of Micronesia and served as a consultant and draftsman of the Constitution of the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM) as well as the constitutions of Pohnpei and Kosrae, two of the states within the FSM. The Micronesia work resulted in two major books, both of which were written with the assistance of his wife. *The Congress of Micronesia* appeared in 1969. After thirty-one years of service, Meller retired from the university in 1978, but there was little if any pause in his research. Meller was a resident scholar at the Rockefeller Foundation's Bellagio Center at Lake Como, Italy, in 1981, and *Constitutionalism in Micronesia* appeared in 1985.

Mason and Meller were in demand as visiting professors, and over the years they had numerous visiting appointments at over a dozen universities, many at some of the nation's most distinguished institutions.[21]

A Time of Transition and New Beginnings

As adviser to the Micronesian Constitutional Convention, Meller spent most of 1975 in Micronesia after he resigned as director of PIP. Carl Daeufer, a faculty member in the UH College of Education, was appointed as acting director in July 1975. He had a doctorate in education administration and before joining the university, he had worked in American-occupied Okinawa, American Samoa, and Saipan, headquarters of the USTTPI. However, he was not a Pacific specialist and was not familiar with the larger Pacific region. Nonetheless, he made an all-out effort on behalf of the program. He was responsible for the renewal of the NDEA grant in 1976 and struggled to sustain and improve the program while maintaining his half-time duties in the College of Education. At about the same time, the Western Association of Schools and Colleges (WASC), the national accrediting institution for schools and colleges in the western United States, reviewed PIP, and its report was quite critical. The program was judged as weak and without adequate support from the university. The WASC report recommended that the PIP be either improved or terminated.

At this juncture, a somewhat surprising appointment was made. In July 1977, Douglas Oliver was made director of PIP. Shortly after he joined the university in 1969, Oliver had made his views well known. He was opposed to interdisciplinary programs as a matter of principle, and he was not alone

in his opinion in the anthropology department. Oliver believed that such programs had no place in the university and never wavered in his opinion. He recommended that the program be terminated and resigned as director of PIP in late October 1977. His tenure as director had lasted slightly less than four months.

Dr. Ruth Finney was appointed as interim director in the fall of 1977. She had earned her PhD in social anthropology at Harvard; was an assistant professor in the UH Department of Human Development, School of Tropical Agriculture; and had conducted research in Papua New Guinea. She prepared a review document of PIP's checkered history and coordinated the national search for a new director. The position was advertised at the associate professor level, half-time, one year, and perhaps renewable. Having lost the battle to end the program, Oliver nonetheless remained very much involved when he managed to have himself appointed as chair of the search committee.

At this point in the history of the program, my own connections with Oliver, Mason, and Meller become relevant. After completing my BA in anthropology at Indiana University in 1961, I selected the University of Oregon for graduate studies. Oregon had two attractions. I was interested in Homer G. Barnett. He was the first civilian staff anthropologist hired by the Office of the High Commissioner USTTPI. He had also conducted research in Palau as a CIMA participant, and as staff anthropologist he oversaw the work of the several district anthropologists. The anthropology department at Oregon had also recently received NDEA fellowships that provided full support for three years of doctoral studies. I was among the first four recipients. Barnett knew Mason and Oliver through his involvement with CIMA.

During my first year at Oregon, Barnett received a grant from the National Science Foundation (NSF) to study ten communities in the Pacific that had been relocated for one reason or another. It was the largest grant ever awarded for anthropological research by the NSF. After two years of graduate study, Barnett offered me the opportunity to conduct research with the people of Bikini Atoll. According to Barnett's research design, each graduate student was accompanied to the field by a researcher with experience in the area. Mason introduced my wife, Valerie, and me to the Bikini community on Kili Island in summer 1963.

The work in the Marshalls was followed by library research at the UH Pacific Collection. At a social occasion at Mason's home in Honolulu, I met E. Adamson Hoebel, a major figure in American anthropology and the chairman of the Department of Anthropology, University of Minnesota. Hoebel had arrived at Minnesota long after Mason's student days there,

but they knew each other professionally and had other connections in Minnesota. Hoebel was on leave at the time and a research fellow at the East-West Center (EWC) located adjacent to the UH campus.[22] As leading figures in American anthropology, Hoebel and Oliver were also well acquainted. The chance meeting with Hoebel had major consequences for our lives. While I was completing my dissertation at Oregon, I received a call from Hoebel. The Minnesota department wanted to add a Pacific specialist, and Hoebel asked if I would be interested. I joined his faculty in January 1967. As it turned out, Minnesota decided to hire a second Pacific specialist, and Eugene Ogan, a Melanesian specialist, a student of Oliver's, and a participant in Harvard's Bougainville project, arrived at Minnesota in the fall semester of the same year. Ogan and I have been friends and colleagues ever since. I first met Oliver when he visited Minnesota in early 1968.

The twelve years at Minnesota were productive and personally rewarding. In the summer of 1969, I returned to the Marshalls for more fieldwork with the Bikinians (Kiste 1974), but keeping in touch with developments in the Pacific was not easy in the northern climes of the American Midwest. The 1972–1973 academic year was spent on sabbatical leave as a visiting professor in the UH Department of Anthropology, where I met Norman Meller for the first time. A second stint as a visiting professor at Hawai'i occurred in the fall semester of 1976.

In the following year, the search for a new PIS director was launched, and several colleagues in Hawai'i encouraged me to apply. My initial response was that the position as advertised was not attractive and far too tenuous at best. I was tenured at Minnesota and had only recently been promoted to full professor. Oliver urged me to reconsider and used his influence to arrange a full-time appointment and a more attractive offer. He kept me informed of conversations in Hawai'i, explained what might be negotiated, and gave assurance of strong faculty support. Also on the positive side, the number and quality of the faculty with expertise in the Pacific at UH, the Pacific Collection, and Hawai'i's very location could not be matched by any other university in the world. Additionally, the Pacific program at Hawai'i was—and remains—the only one of its kind in the nation. In the last analysis, the chance to develop the program was a challenge worth taking. I joined the UH faculty in July 1978.

Fortuitously, the timing could not have been better. After World War II, America's interest in the Pacific was narrowly focused on the islands directly under its control, the newly acquired islands in Micronesia and the long-held territories of American Samoa, Guam, and Hawai'i. However, the larger Pacific did not have a high priority, and the United States was content to leave the rest of the islands to the region's other colonial powers.

Things began to change quickly in 1976 when the Soviet Union approached Tonga to establish an embassy in the country, develop a fishing base in its northern islands, and upgrade Tonga's primary harbor and international airport. The Soviets also explored the possibility of arranging fishing agreements with other countries. While the Soviet overture was unsuccessful, Cold War tensions and distrust were high, and official Washington viewed the Soviet initiative with considerable alarm and as a move to gain a strategic foothold in the region. The response was relatively quick.[23] In 1978, the U.S. Department of State created the Office for Pacific Island Affairs. Diplomatic missions in Fiji and Papua New Guinea were upgraded to embassies, and a small embassy was created in the Solomon Islands. A career diplomat was appointed as the first director of the new office. In mid-1978, he made the first of his many visits to Honolulu to consult with faculty, the local military establishment, state officials, and some segments of the private sector. Another first, the U.S. Agency for International Development launched a modest aid program for the region. The American response to the Soviet initiatives caused some longtime Washington observers to joke: "One would have suspected that there was a communist behind every coconut tree in the islands."

In the following two years, three new Pacific regional organizations were launched with headquarters in Honolulu. In 1979, the first Pacific Telecommunications Conference (PTC), a private-sector initiative, was held in Honolulu. The conference became an annual event, and in the following year, it established the Pacific Telecommunications Council (also PTC) to promote the advancement and commercial use of information and communication technologies, services, policies, and knowledge to benefit the nations and people of the Asia Pacific region. The conference and the council have enjoyed enormous success, and over sixty Asian and Pacific counties are now members. Also in 1980, the U.S. Department of Commerce provided funding to establish the Pacific Basin Development Council (PBDC) composed of the governors of American Samoa, the Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas, Guam, and Hawai'i to promote economic development and cooperation among the four island entities. George Ariyoshi, governor of Hawai'i, was named as PBDC's first chairman.

In early 1980, the EWC sponsored the Pacific Islands Conference: Development the Pacific Way. Fiji's prime minister, Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, a member of the EWC Board of Governors, chaired the event. Twenty island nations, including twelve heads of government, participated. It was determined that the conference would meet every five years (later changed to every three). With the strong support of Ratu Mara; Sir Michael Somare, the prime minister of Papua New Guinea; and Governor Ariyoshi,

the 1980 conference created the Pacific Islands Development Program (PIDP) in the same year. Ratu Mara also chaired a standing committee of a half dozen leaders who met and oversaw PIDP's operation in the off years.

Such an assemblage of Pacific leaders was without precedence in the history of Hawai'i. Ratu Mara was the most prominent of all Pacific leaders of the time, and Somare was not far behind. Mara and Governor Ariyoshi became good friends and golfing partners, and Mara became a frequent visitor to Honolulu. The surge in Pacific-related activity did not go unnoticed in the local press, and there was a significant increase in the coverage of Pacific news in both of Honolulu's daily newspapers. Such reporting increased the Pacific's visibility within the EWC, UH, and the larger community.

In late 1980, the university created the Center for Asian and Pacific Studies (CAPS), which brought together all of its area studies programs (several Asian programs and Hawaiian studies as well as Pacific Islands studies). CAPS was to coordinate and strengthen areas studies across the board. In the same year and for the first time in its history, PIP was provided with permanent office space in Moore Hall, where it remains today. CAPS would later undergo other transformations, and PIP would be rechristened as the Center for Pacific Islands Studies.

In the early 1980s, CPIS was identified by the university as a program with the potential for development as an area of selected excellence. At about the same time, the U.S. Information Agency, the Fulbright Program, and the Asia Foundation offered funding in support of three programs to be administered by CPIS: faculty and student exchange programs with the University of the South Pacific and the University of Papua New Guinea, a training program for young Pacific Island diplomats, and another for the development of midcareer professionals in government service in the islands. In the mid-1980s, changes in the university's administration resulted in a major breakthrough when the program was allotted two new faculty positions and a secretarial position. A momentum had been achieved that allowed CPIS to develop into a program that Mason and Meller had always hoped and labored for.

In Retrospect

The struggle to develop the Pacific Islands as a subject matter worthy of study was not unique to UH. At least in earlier years, area study programs were problematic for many American universities. In contrast with traditional disciplines, they are multidisciplinary enterprises, and their very

legitimacy was often challenged. The programs were also newcomers on the academic scene and were viewed as unwanted interlopers in the endless competition over scarce resources. The connection between area studies and issues of national defense also increased the concern and distrust of the programs.

National security and strategic interests have indeed played a major role in determining American policies and initiatives in the region. Those interests came to the fore in the late nineteenth century when American Samoa and Guam were acquired as navy coaling stations in the southern and far northwestern Pacific. While economic concerns were also involved, the strategic value of Pearl Harbor was a strong motivation for America's annexation of Hawai'i in the northeastern Pacific. Together the three island entities formed a strategic triangle prized by the U.S. Navy.

The next major change occurred with the onset of World War II. With their involvement in navy-sponsored projects, Oliver and Murdock became important figures in shaping American policies at the national level regarding research and other initiatives. The dozens of anthropologists and other researchers who worked in Micronesia produced an enormous body of literature ranging from government reports to scholarly publications. Mason and Meller were recruited by the university because of their firsthand experience in Micronesia.

In the years after World War II and with the beginning of the Cold War, there was considerable anxiety that the United States was ill prepared to deal with threats from the Soviet Union. At the time, American universities paid scant attention to the non-Western world. The first response came from the private sector in the early 1950s. The Ford and Rockefeller foundations and the Carnegie Corporation joined together, and with Ford leading the way, generous funding was provided in support of area studies. The goal was to gather basic information about potential adversaries.

As discussed, the Soviet launch of *Sputnik* in 1957 served to heighten suspicion of the Soviets, and the U.S. Congress quickly responded when it authorized the NDEA to provide funding in support of the NRCs and fellowships for graduate studies and language training. An enormous milestone in the history of area studies had been achieved. As also noted, the next crisis occurred when the Soviet Union approached Tonga and the larger region in the late 1970s. However, that threat was short lived. With the collapse of the Berlin Wall and the end of the Cold War, the Soviet threat soon disappeared, and American interest in the region was also quick to decline. The only recently upgraded diplomatic missions to the region were downsized, and the aid program was gradually all but eliminated.

Critics of area studies today sometimes suggest that such programs are remnants of the Cold War and are politically suspect. Further, it is also charged that area studies are concerned primarily with description as opposed to "nomothetic" or theory building and that their main rationale is only to provide comprehensive knowledge of world areas. Advocates of area studies counter that their fundamental role is to deparochialize Western-centric visions of the world in the social sciences and humanities among policymakers and the public at large. In their view, the multidisciplinary lens is essential because no single academic discipline is capable of capturing and conveying a full understand of other societies and cultures. The debate over the nature and value of area studies is a healthy exercise in its own right and is certain to continue well into the foreseeable future.[24]

It is significant that Mason and Meller were fresh from their initial engagements in Micronesia when they joined the university in 1947. They were among the first American civilians who worked in the immediate postwar era in the small islands. They demonstrated a sincere interest in the people, their lifestyles, and their hopes for a recovery from the devastation of war. They gained the trust and respect of many Islanders at all levels of society and developed many close personal relationships and lifelong friendships. Micronesian visitors to Honolulu were frequent guests and common at the dinner tables in the Mason and Meller households. Both men were mentors to the first generation of Islanders who managed to get to Honolulu for secondary education and eventually UH. Mason and Meller also had generally good relations and in some instances developed lasting friendships with American administrators in the islands.

Mason and Meller devoted their entire professional lives to UH. In their early years in Hawai'i, the university was a new and struggling institution, and they labored under adverse conditions with little or no financial or physical resources and no support staff. Nonetheless, both were dedicated institution builders within their respective departments, the Pacific program, and the larger university. They were approachable and known for their availability to students and mentoring of younger faculty. Their ties and commitment to Micronesia and the university were deep and spanned more than half a century.

Douglas Oliver was cut from a different cloth, and his contributions to Pacific studies were of a different order. Of the three men, Oliver came from the humblest background, but his persona projected an entirely different image. He thrived in his role as an Ivy League professor, was somewhat aloof, and never lacked in self-confidence, and many who met him

for the first time assumed that he had been born to privilege. Oliver always followed his own agenda, was often unpredictable, and had little patience for those who fell short of his likes and expectations. Many students, even faculty colleagues, found him intimidating.

Nonetheless, Oliver's contributions to Pacific Studies were enormous and threefold. First, his wartime involvement with the U.S. Navy and post-war work contributed to the war effort and helped set the national agenda for the region. Second, his teaching at Harvard and UH, including the research initiatives in Java, Bougainville, and French Polynesia, produced cohorts of students, many of whom went on to have productive careers and produce a substantial body of island studies. Finally, Oliver's record of publication can be matched by few others. During his final productive years, he spent endless hours immersed in research in the Pacific Collection. Oliver never altered his opinion about the interdisciplinary nature of CPIS, but he was quick to praise things that he could relate to and valued. A case in point was CPIS's publication program, anchored by the Pacific Islands Monograph Series and *Contemporary Pacific: A Journal of Island Affairs.*

I was fortunate that my own tenure as director of CPIS began at a time when many forces on the national and international scene created a heightened awareness and concern with the Pacific Islands. The climate could not have been more conducive to the development of Pacific studies, and I had the advantage of being the first full-time director. Importantly, I always had the support of the UH faculty affiliated with the Pacific program, including that of my three predecessors. They were all pioneers in a struggling field of study, and those of us who have followed in their footsteps are indebted to them. It was a genuine privilege and pleasure to have known and worked with them.[25]

NOTES

I wish to thank several individuals who read this article in manuscript form: Michael Hamnett, David Hanlon, Terza Meller, Doug Munro, Eugene Ogan, Karen Peacock, and Terence Wesley-Smith. Their comments and suggestions have been appreciated.

Quigg's (1987) work was an invaluable resource in the preparation of this article. Originally submitted as her MA thesis in UH Pacific Islands studies, it was published in the Center for Pacific Islands Studies Working Paper Series in 1987. At the time, Quigg was a librarian in the serials division, Hamilton Library, Univ. of Hawai'i.

1. For the biographical profiles of Oliver, Mason, and Meller, I have drawn heavily on the curriculum vitae of the three men. Mason and Meller provided extensive accounts of their careers. While Oliver was meticulous in his scholarship, he was less interested in keeping a record of his publications and professional life.

2. Oliver's statement about his father's failure to return home is ambiguous. According to a source close to Oliver, his father survived the war but abandoned his family.

3. The competition was noteworthy enough to warrant coverage by the *New York Times*. The article was in error, however, as it reported that two and not three young men were selected. "Two Boy Scouts are to go on an African Expedition," *New York Times*, May 6, 1928.

4. Douglas, Martin, and Oliver (1928).

5. E-mail from Erika Neuber, librarian, Social and Cultural Anthropology Library, Univ. of Vienna, December 13, 2007.

6. In the "Acknowledgment" note, Oliver (1955) mentions Chinnery's assistance and reports that Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson were also helpful on that occasion in Papua New Guinea.

7. While later authors have used the spelling "Siwai," I prefer to remain with Oliver's usage of "Siuai."

8. Douglas L. Oliver, "A Case of Change in Food Habits in Bougainville, British Solomon Islands," *Applied Anthropology* 1 (2, 1942): 34–36; Leonard Mason, "The Bikinians: A Transplanted Population," *Human Organization* 9 (1, 1950): 5–15. (When it first appeared in 1942, the journal for the Society for Applied Anthropology was titled *Applied Anthropology*. The title was changed to *Human Organization* beginning with volume 8 in 1949.)

9. Homer G. Barnett was the first civilian appointed as the staff anthropologist attached to the Office of the High Commissioner, U.S. Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. His *Anthropology in Administration* (1956) is a general discussion of the application of anthropological research, but the majority of examples are drawn from his own experience in Micronesia.

10. Alice Dewey, UH Department of Anthropology, pers. comm., April 29, 2008. Dewey was Douglas Oliver's first PhD student at Harvard and was a participant in the Java project.

11. Ben Finney, UH Department of Anthropology, pers. comm., February 25, 2008. Finney was a participant in the Society Islands project and one of Oliver's PhD students at Harvard.

12. Michael Hamnett, UH Research Corporation, pers. comm., May 29, 2008. Hamnett was a PhD student of Oliver's at Hawai'i and a participant in his second Bougainville project.

13. Doug Munro, in Munro and Lal (2006), 29–50. Munro noted that Oliver's book had a significant impact on generations of students and general readers and commented, "It was a young man's book, oozing youthful vitality but disciplined in the sense of being well paced, carefully proportioned, and adequately researched" (30).

14. In addition to his curriculum vita, two other documents were useful in preparing an account of Leonard Mason's life. Late in life, Leonard recorded his own life history, and a transcript (no date) was prepared by his daughter, Jackie Norman. Leonard's father kept extensive diaries. They served as the basis for a manuscript, "The Autobiography of Roy E. Mason," prepared by Bill Mason, Leonard's son, in 1995.

15. "16-Year Old Honor Students at Humboldt High to Earn Way at 'U,'" *St. Paul Dispatch*, April 1, 1930.

16. "Four Eagle Brothers," *Boys Life*, June 1939.

17. The authors of the Military Government Handbooks were not identified in the publications. It is known that Leonard Mason was responsible for compiling and/or drafting *Marshall Islands, Military Government Handbook* (Mason 1943). There were three other handbooks: *Civil Affairs Handbook, East Caroline Islands* (OPNAV 50E-5), February 21, 1944; *Civil Affairs Handbook, West Caroline Islands* (OPNAV 50E-7), April 1, 1944; and *Civil Affairs Handbook, Mandated Marianas Islands* (OPNAV 50E-8), April 15, 1944. The three volumes were also published in Washington, D.C.

18. At the time of this writing, Terza Meller is the only surviving spouse of the three men. She too was born in 1913. Mrs. Meller was involved with her husband's research and assisted with the writing of his two major works on Micronesia.

19. E-mail from Robert Suggs, November 28, 2007.

20. The breadth of Meller's research interests were reflected in two lengthy papers that followed research in Papua New Guinea and Japan. Meller was a research fellow at Australian National University's New Guinea Research Unit in 1968, and *Papers on the Papua-New Guinea House of Assembly, New Guinea Research Bulletin, no.* 22 (Canberra: Australian National Univ.) appeared in the same year. A visiting professorship at Waseda University in Tokyo in 1969–1970 was followed by "Institutional Adaptability: Legislative Preference in Japan and the United States in 1974." The paper was published by Waseda University, but Meller's curriculum vita provides only partial information, and attempts to obtain more complete data from the university have not been successful.

21. In addition to Waseda University, Meller had visiting appointments at Australian National University, Claremont College, the University of California Berkeley, and Victoria University, British Columbia. Mason's visiting positions were at Harvard University, Hawai'i Loa College, New York University at Brockport, the University of California campuses at Riverside and Los Angeles, the University of Minnesota, and the University of Washington at Seattle.

22. The East-West Center was established by an act of Congress in 1960 to strengthen understanding among the peoples and nations of Asia, the Pacific, and the United States. It is an independent institution located adjacent to the UH campus. It sponsors research, education, training programs, and conferences concerning such issues as economic development, environment, energy, health, population trends, and peace and security.

23. Dorrance (1992, 128). For an extended discussion of the Soviet initiatives in the region, see Robert C. Kiste and Richard R. A. Herr, "The Potential for Soviet Penetration

of the South Pacific Islands: An Assessment," *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars, the Anti-Nuclear Movement in the South Pacific, Number Two, 1986.*

24. David L. Szanton's *The Origin, Nature, and Challenges of Area Studies in the United States* (2003) was particularly useful in preparing these remarks about the debate pertaining to area studies programs in the United States.

25. I retired from the university in 2002 and was succeeded by David Hanlon, distinguished Pacific historian, who moved from the Department of History to assume the directorship of the program. At the beginning of the fall semester of 2008, Hanlon returned to the Department of History. He was instrumental in shaping new directions for CPIS, and his tenure as director was one of marked accomplishment. Hanlon has been succeeded by Dr. Vilsoni Hereniko, award-winning playwright, filmmaker, and author. Hereniko joined CPIS in 1991 on completion of his PhD at the University of the South Pacific. Recent hires have allowed CPIS to expand to a staff of eight: five teaching faculty, a manager of publications, an outreach coordinator, and a program secretary. The affiliate faculty now number almost forty members distributed over fifteen academic departments and several other units within the university and other institutions in Honolulu, such as the Bishop Museum. Approximately thirty students are enrolled in the MA course of study each semester. A graduate certificate (essentially an academic minor) is available for students in traditional disciplines and other courses of study. An undergraduate major is being developed. Other new program initiatives are in process, and a new chapter in the history of Pacific Islands studies at the university is unfolding. The CPIS Web site is a rich source of information on the program today (http://www.hawaii.edu/cpis/).

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HAWAI'I AND THE AMERICAN WEST: A REASSESSMENT

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EVERY SO OFTEN, one happens upon stories that place one on the borders of widely shared and generally accepted academic boundaries. Occasionally, these stories force a rethinking of the fundamental assumptions of academic disciplines and collective understandings. More commonly, these stories and experiences simply beg a more nuanced understanding of the ways that communities, both historical and contemporary, are connected in the modern world. For the past five years, my own research has focused on Iosepa, a small religious community established in the desert of northwestern Utah in 1889 and abandoned twenty-eight years later, in 1917. Transient, short-lived communities in rural nineteenth-century North America are hardly uncommon, but this community, comprised of Native Hawaiian converts to Mormonism, possessed some (obviously) unique and interesting qualities. As I sought to understand this community and to try to place it into a larger historical and cultural framework, I came upon an interesting problem. Was Iosepa part of the larger history of the U.S. West, where it was located? Certainly it was. The development of Mormonism as a uniquely American religious tradition, defined by the "frontier experience," was an undeniable and important part of Iosepa's history. However, this was also a community of indigenous Hawaiians. Their conversion to Mormonism took place in Hawai'i, in a context radically different from the one they found after their arrival in Utah, and their experience with nineteenth-century racism in the western United States surely only served to solidify their identity as Hawaiians. In addition, Iosepa bridged the

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earliest communities of Native Hawaiians who settled in the Pacific Northwest and the significant migration of Pacific Islanders who began to settle in the western United States in the post–World War II era and in that sense becomes an integral part of the larger narrative of the modern Pacific diaspora to the United States. As a historian of the western United States with an interest in U.S. expansion and imperialism in Oceania, studying Iosepa placed me on academic borders and caused me to reflect on the ways that Oceania is integrated into both world and regional history. In this article, I assess some of the ways that Hawai'i has been integrated into the history of the western United States, identify some potential pitfalls in past approaches to writing Hawai'i into the larger narrative of U.S. history, and make a few suggestions as to how historians and scholars might proceed in the future. My focus is on the historiography of the western United States, not only because that is my own area of expertise but also because recently, it is scholars of this "American West" who have endeavored to include Hawai'i into the larger narrative of U.S. history. Despite this narrow historiographical focus, I hope that the ideas and observations I express here will resonate with those who care deeply about the regional integrity of Oceania[1], and the ways that history can, intentionally and unintentionally, colonize the past in ways that have a profound impact on the present.

For the majority of Western history's existence as a discipline, Hawai'i was not considered a part of the U.S. West. This began to change, albeit slowly, in the early 1990s, when Western history underwent a period of intense revision and self-reflection. In 1992, John Whitehead responded to a prevailing sentiment among many Western historians that Hawai'i lacks a "commonly shared history" with the West. His article "Hawai'i: the First and Last Far West?" makes a detailed and convincing argument for Hawai'i's inclusion as part of the U.S. West.[2] In 1997, Whitehead retraced the history of the forces that brought both Alaska and Hawai'i under the political influence of the United States in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and offered some thoughts on how both places might influence the Western region in the future.[3] The *Oxford History of the American West*, published in 1994, includes a chapter by Victoria Wyatt that highlights themes in the history of both Hawai'i and Alaska that resonate throughout the U.S. West.[4] A sentence from Wyatt's introduction lists the general arguments among some scholars for including Hawai'i in the history of the U.S. West: "the convergence of indigenous peoples, European newcomers, and non-European immigrants; dispossession of native peoples, economic enterprises based on eastern U.S. or foreign capital; dependence on natural resources for both industry and tourism; and tensions generated by a substantial federal presence in regions far from the center of federal

government." Wyatt argues, and rightly so, that all these themes certainly apply to both nineteenth- and twentieth-century Hawaiian history as well as the history of the U.S. West. Walter Nugent's 1999 synthesis *Into the West: The Story of Its People* specifically includes Hawai'i, at least in the twentieth century, and addresses thematic elements of Hawai'i's history throughout. However, Nugent's survey of Western historians, writers, and journalists the same year revealed that Hawai'i was not considered part of the West by a majority of those surveyed, if they acknowledged it at all.[5] Elliott Barkan, Paul Spickard, and other scholars of American immigration have long recognized Hawai'i's role as an entry point and, for many, a final destination for East Asian immigrants and settlers. Barkan's look at the West from the perspective of immigration almost makes Hawai'i *more* Western than places like Montana, Utah, and Idaho; he locates Hawai'i as part of the "Primary West," one of the many places that people from other places first encountered the dizzying complexity of race, ethnicity, class, and gender that shaped the experiences of migrant populations in the West. Hawai'i's emergence in many synthetic accounts of Western history as an important part of the U.S. West has, in the minds of many scholars of the U.S. West, solidified its position as politically, economically, and even culturally part of the U.S. West. Interestingly enough, including Hawai'i into the larger narrative of the American West allows Western historians to revisit some of the debates that breathed new life into Western history in the 1980s and 1990s, a fact certainly not lost on scholars interested in the U.S. West.

There are some potential problems with this approach, however, and scholars of the U.S. West must be aware of the pitfalls inherent in simply including Hawai'i (and, by extension, other parts of Oceania that currently fall under U.S. influence) as a part of the U.S. West based on a set of defining principles according to scholars in that field, whatever those may be. In a recent essay, Chris Friday advocates a "fundamentally different task than simply extending the West into the Pacific." He advocates using concepts such as space, place, and regionalism in thinking about the Pacific and the U.S. West, a useful model for recognizing that the so-called Pacific region (a designation that usually all but ignores Oceania) is a historical invention that relies on colonial relationships to sustain itself as a region.[6] Generally speaking, I agree with this approach for several reasons. As a historian with interests in the West, I am sympathetic toward the efforts of many scholars to include Hawai'i in the regional story of the U.S. West in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The history of the western United States certainly has much to gain by including Hawai'i in its story.[7] As a historian with an interest in the history of Oceania, however, I feel it

important to acknowledge two things: first, that Hawai'i has historically been part of Oceania for much longer than it has been a part of western North America (in many ways, Hawai'i is culturally tied not to the U.S. West but to Oceania and East Asia), and, second, that the history of U.S. military and political influence in Hawai'i differs substantially from much of the present-day U.S. West. Because of this, the implications for including Hawai'i in the dominant narratives of the U.S. West leaves us in a situation not unlike being caught between Scylla and Charybdis. Leaving Hawai'i out of the story of U.S. expansion obscures the story of U.S. imperialism in Hawai'i as well as the role of Hawai'i in the economic, political, and social world of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century U.S. West. However, narrating Hawai'i into the larger story of the West bears the danger of naturalizing or even tacitly justifying its place under American influence and unmooring it from its cultural and historical affiliation with Oceania and the Pacific. For example, few scholars question California's current political status, although many criticize the racist justifications and aggressive means by which it was ultimately acquired from Mexico by the United States. Few scholars of the U.S. West applaud the methods by which indigenous peoples were removed from their lands to make way for White settlement, but very few advocate restoring or even revisiting questions of political boundaries in New Mexico, Colorado, or Montana, for instance. Native Hawaiians are currently engaged in a struggle for recognition as the indigenous people in their homelands and to restore, in some form, their sovereign nation. Unlike many First Nation peoples in the continental United States and Alaska, in 1893 Native Hawaiians were a single indigenous population unified politically under a representative constitutional monarchy. The Kingdom of Hawai'i was recognized by Western nations with a commercial, political, or military presence in Oceania. The overthrow of the Hawaiian government was perpetrated by U.S. citizens with the aid of a U.S. official and the U.S. military. The overthrow was acknowledged by the U.S. government to have been an illegal act under international law. Native Hawaiian citizens actively resisted the overthrow of their government by petition and by attempting to influence public discourse on the issue, and the U.S. government issued a formal apology for the 1893 overthrow in 1993.[8] Native Hawaiians continue to resist the political presence of the United States in various ways. If Hawai'i becomes an uncritically accepted part of the history of the U.S. West, do we risk the same uncritical acceptance of its current political status as well? So the question becomes, how do we responsibly include Hawai'i's story into the larger regional history of the U.S. West without perpetuating a discourse that invokes a sort of retroactive Manifest Destiny on a people and place actively engaged in resisting more than a century of U.S. imperialism?[9]

I believe that a possible answer to how we might navigate this historical problem lies in shifting our regional perspective. In the pages that follow, I would like to suggest several ways to narrate Hawai'i into the larger story of the western United States. These models shift the perspective on Hawai'i's relationship with the America West based on its inclusion in other regions to which it is culturally and historically much more closely affiliated. In addition, shifting our regional perspective regarding the historical relationship between Hawai'i and the United States, as well as other nations of Oceania, offers a new perspective on U.S. history, especially the history of the western United States, and challenges the east–west paradigm that has long held sway on our collective historical and geographical imagination.[10] I would humbly suggest that as scholars of the U.S. West we acknowledge that Hawai'i lies not at the margins of North America (a regional perspective perpetuated, at the most banal level, through the common practice in Hawai'i of referring to the continental United States as the "mainland") but as central to the larger "Pacific world" that emerged at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Viewing Hawai'i as a central location in the Pacific in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries emphasizes both its ties with the West as well as its much deeper historical and cultural ties with the nations and peoples of Oceania. In arguing for Hawai'i's central position, I do not offer it as the most important, strategic, or profitable location in the Pacific maritime trade. My goal in placing Hawai'i at the center in this model is to demonstrate the importance of perspective in writing history and to correct a pattern in *world* history that places Oceania on various historically constructed peripheries, on both the eastern and the western edges of the Pacific Ocean.

The Transpacific Trade

Hawai'i's role in the transpacific trade, both early on as a supplier of trade goods and later as a supplier of provisions for foreign ships and services for foreign seamen, is well documented.[11] The Pacific maritime trade emerged in the last decade of the eighteenth century and was dominated commercially by England and the United States after roughly 1830. Early efforts by French, Russian, and Spanish entrepreneurs were ambitious but less successful; those traders ultimately failed to link goods and markets between eastern, western, and central Pacific ports. Hawai'i entered this trade network as a supplier of agricultural products as well as a market for manufactured and luxury goods from Europe and China. The United States and Britain struggled to dominate emerging markets in Canton, California, Mexico, South America, and Hawai'i. The British-owned Hudson Bay

Company (HBC) purchased American John Jacob Astor's failed Pacific Fur Company in 1813. The HBC dominated the interior Columbia River fur trade of the Northwest coast and under the direction of George Simpson expanded into exporting salmon and lumber from the region in addition to furs. HBC trappers worked the Columbia and Snake rivers east to the Rocky Mountains through a network of forts and agents and eventually ranged as far south as northern California and north into present-day British Columbia. Fort George, Fort Victoria, and Fort Vancouver all emerged as HBC's regional outposts and major settlements, and the HBC managed transactions through local agents in Honolulu and Yerba Buena (San Francisco). American traders took a different approach, working the coastal fur trade from Vancouver Island north to the Russian Fur Company outpost at Sitka, while they diversified their commercial activities with whaling and sandalwood operations in Hawai'i and the southern Pacific and maintained relationships in China. The HBC's weak presence in East Asian ports opened the way for American domination of the trade between the Northwest coast, Honolulu, and China. HBC activities in Canton were discouraged by the provincial nature of the East India Company and their jealous protection of the London market for East Asia's regional commodities. California emerged after Mexican independence in1821 as a market for American and British foodstuffs and manufactured goods and as a source of hides and tallow; the hide and tallow trade remained the mainstay of California's export economy until 1846. Spanish ports in San Blas, Acapulco, Lima, and Valparaiso were also common stops for ships heading back and forth from Cape Horn.[12]

The hub of all these commercial ventures in the Pacific became Hawai'i. Beginning in the late eighteenth century, Hawai'i emerged as a central location for refitting and resupplying foreign vessels in the burgeoning transpacific trade. The American North Pacific whaling fleet wintered there annually, and visiting ships could easily obtain provisions year-round. Following a period of warfare in the islands between about 1782 and 1794, the Hawaiian government emerged as a stable and hospitable polity that spanned all the major islands except Kauai. Under the leadership of Kamehameha I, Hawai'i eagerly participated in foreign trade and exported raw materials like sandalwood and sold provisions to foreign ships.[13]

By 1830, the transpacific trade connected such geographically dispersed Pacific ports as Honolulu, Canton, Fort George and Fort Vancouver, Valparaiso, and Manila. American hide and tallow vessels visiting the California coast long before San Francisco's emergence as a commercial and financial center after 1850 routinely used Hawai'i as a place to obtain both supplies and crew members. Native Hawaiians left Hawai'i in

substantial numbers as sailors on whaling ships or as laborers in the fur trade in Washington and Vancouver.[14] Others went to California to work in the gold diggings and came here to Utah as Mormon émigrés.[15] And some left Hawai'i as Christian missionaries to other parts of Oceania.[16]

Transpacific Labor and Immigration

From an immigration perspective, we can easily recognize Hawai'i's central position in the transpacific labor movement of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as Hawai'i became a destination for East Asian laborers, some who eventually made their way to locations throughout the American West and others who came to Hawai'i from places like California. The rise in East Asian labor recruitment in Hawai'i corresponded with the rise of sugar production in Hawai'i following the onset of the American Civil War. The vast majority of East Asian sojourners and settlers in Hawai'i between the early 1860s and World War II labored on Hawaiian sugar plantations. Even after the decline of the Hawaiian sugar industry, Hawai'i remained a "portal" for immigration to the western United States from East Asia until the early 1980s.[17] Consider the stories of just one of the groups of East Asian migrants to Hawai'i, the Chinese, in the century between 1850 and 1950. Their story demonstrates the profound regional ties that connect Hawai'i with both the western United States and the western Pacific.

The Chinese were the first large group of East Asian migrants to Hawai'i in the nineteenth century. Chinese immigration to Hawai'i began as a result of the burgeoning transpacific trade that linked Canton, Honolulu, and West Coast ports in North and South America. Despite the Chinese government's emigration ban, Chinese residents composed approximately 12 percent of the foreign population in Honolulu in 1828. Chinese settlers continued to migrate to Hawai'i throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, marrying Hawaiian women and going into business for themselves, often in sugar cultivation and other commercial endeavors. However, the Chinese population in Hawai'i exploded after 1852 with the consolidation of agricultural interests firmly placed in the hands of the Haole elite in Hawai'i after the Māhele, a set of laws passed between 1846 and 1854 that divided Hawaiian lands among chiefs, commoners, and the state and privatized large tracts of Hawaiian land for sale to non–Native Hawaiians. The recruitment of East Asian laborers to work on Hawaiian sugar plantations began when the first Chinese contract laborers came to Hawai'i in 1852 to work on sugar plantations in Kauai. The slow trickle of Chinese laborers who came to Hawai'i (from both China and the western United States)

expanded exponentially in 1876 after Hawai'i signed the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States, allowing for Hawai'i sugar to enter the U.S. duty free. In 1882, when the United States enacted racist laws restricting Chinese immigration, many Chinese left the western United States for Hawai'i as well. Chinese immigration to Hawai'i continued to expand until Hawai'i's annexation to the United States in 1898 extended the provisions of the 1882 Exclusion Act to the Hawaiian Islands. Many Chinese in Hawai'i between 1876 and 1898 also increased their personal landholdings and grew rice commercially, which, like sugar, could be imported to the United States duty free. After annexation, Chinese in Hawai'i resisted exclusionary laws, consolidated business networks and relationships, and negotiated the early twentieth century Americanization campaigns through various shared organizations and institutions. My intent is not to argue that the experience of the Chinese in Hawai'i should represent the experience of East Asian labor in Oceania but simply to demonstrate that Hawai'i has been a central location for people moving through the Pacific throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and that its people have been part of the story of western North America from the early nineteenth century on.

Looking at the West from the perspective of immigration also shifts Hawai'i from the periphery of the continental United States to the center of the Pacific region. In a 2002 article, Elliot Barkan suggested a redefinition of the American West from the perspective of immigration. That redefinition includes a spatial reconceptualization of the West. Barkan argued that "'the West' consists of a primary arc of immigrant entry ports and destinations extending to Texas, across New Mexico and Arizona, to California, Oregon, Washington, and Alaska, out to Hawai'i."[18] Recognizing immigration's role in creating the West's ethnic diversity, Donald Worster stated that "the West has . . . been a place where white Americans ran smack into the broader world." With a spotlight on immigration, Worster and Barkan evoked a similar kind of spatial repositioning: a sort of "exterior West," which includes Honolulu as a regional borderland where a global and multiethnic population erases any notion of a clearly demarcated frontier. In both of these observations, however, Hawai'i remains a Far Western outpost, an entry point for immigration like Houston, Seattle, or Los Angeles. Popular discourses also depict Hawai'i as an outlying part of the West where, presumably, tourists from the continental United States can safely engage specters of exotic Otherness.[19] A new conceptual map that places Hawai'i not as peripheral to North America but as central to the Pacific and part of the global region of Oceania reveals Hawai'i's role as a way station for immigrants who continue on eastward to enter the American West or who remain in Hawai'i as both settlers and sojourners.

In addition (and equally important in my mind), this opens up a discussion of immigration to the western United States that includes Pacific Islanders as well.

Hawai'i's role in the transnational Pacific Islander diaspora underscores its central position in the Pacific as well as its position as part of the cultural and geographic region of Oceania. Hawai'i has emerged in the twentieth century as a destination for transnational populations of Pacific Islanders who have migrated to urban centers in Australia, Aotearoa/New Zealand, and the United States.[20] Honolulu has the largest population of Pacific Islanders of any U.S. city, and the majority of Pacific Islanders in the United States reside in seven western states.[21] Samoans, Tongans, Native Hawaiians, Chamorros, and Marshall Islanders are all well represented in cities throughout the western United States, including Los Angeles, Las Vegas, Seattle, Salt Lake City, and San Francisco, and many of them either come through Hawai'i or rely on extended family networks located in Hawai'i. Many diasporic Pacific Islanders boast family networks that span the Pacific and connect the urban West to cities like Auckland and Sydney. Within the larger group of diasporic Pacific Islanders that experience the West as East, Native Hawaiians, despite their current political status, retain strong cultural attachments to Oceania and Asia. This is not to say that the political influence of the United States over the past century has had a negligible effect on Hawai'i and its peoples culturally. Quite the opposite. The emigration of Filipinos to Hawai'i as laborers on sugar plantations beginning in 1906 is an example of the role of U.S. foreign and domestic policy shaping Hawai'i's cultural landscape. The emigration of Samoans and Marshallese to and through Hawai'i based on their home nations' political relationship with the United States is another example. But these demographic changes in Hawai'i have only served to strengthen the cultural ties of its people with global regions other than the U.S. West.

Indigenous scholarship on this trans-Oceanian diaspora also reflects a shift away from economic determinist models that assume a core–periphery relationship between Oceania and surrounding regions toward models that emphasize indigenous ways of understanding the diasporic experience. This theoretical trajectory was set in motion by Epeli Hau'ofa's 1994 article "Our Sea of Islands," which criticized the dominant discourses regarding economic development and migration as "belittling" and charted a new course for understanding Oceania both past and present. Since then, indigenous scholars have advanced indigenous methodologies to address indigenous peoples, places, and issues. Linda Tuhiwai-Smith's 1999 book *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* both critiques colonial ways of knowing and representing indigenous peoples, their

cultures, and their histories and charts a course for how indigenous researchers might best approach their subjects from their own perspectives and cultural frameworks. Although her work is intended for indigenous scholars generally, her critiques of colonial methodologies and the problems inherent in representing indigenous people come from her position as a *tangata whenua* woman. Her critiques originated in the postcolonial world of Oceania. Tevita Ka'ili and Sa'iliemanu Lilomaiava-Doktor, two scholars who work specifically on Tongan and Samoan diasporic communities, respectively, have advanced theoretical frameworks for understanding both sociospatial relationships as well as "population movement" (as opposed to the more ideologically laden term "migration") using concepts (*Vā*, *Tauhi vā*, and *Malaga*) but from Oceania.[22] By using indigenous concepts to describe indigenous communities, these scholars avoid the assumptions that continue to pervade U.S. scholarly literature on migration and migrant communities. Ka'ili also advocates jettisoning the use of the words "Pacific" and "Oceania" in favor of "Moana," which is not shared in all regional linguistic traditions but is at least a term from the region that better reflects regional sensibilities. Reading the work of these scholars (both of whom work with communities in both Hawai'i and the western United States), it seems impossible to continue thinking in terms of the political boundaries and economic influence of the United States pushing ever westward into and over the people of Oceania. For these communities, they are pushing the boundaries of their region and not the other way around.

Relocating Hawai'i away from the periphery of the U.S. West does not diminish its role in the region's history. In this model, Hawai'i's ties to the twentieth-century West can in fact become more apparent. However, its ties within Oceania become more visible, as do its ties to the region that it has been attached to culturally and historically for a much longer time: Oceania. (If we were to shift our historical perspective to the sixteenth, seventeenth, and early eighteenth centuries and before, it would perhaps be more accurate to see Hawai'i not as central to a burgeoning Pacific trade between North America and East Asia but as a remote outlier of Oceania.) Contemporary evidence of these strong cultural ties can be found in the recent voyage of the *Hokulea*, Hawai'i's voyaging canoe, to Satawal to present navigator Mau Pialug with a traditional Oceanian voyaging canoe as a gesture of thanks for the sharing of cultural knowledge over the past forty years that has made possible the resurgence of traditional long-distance voyaging in Hawai'i and throughout Oceania. The *Hokulea*, from its inception to its earliest voyages to Tahiti in the late 1970s, validated the cultural ties between Hawai'i and other nations in Oceania even as it inspired younger generations if indigenous Hawaiians to rediscover a

cultural heritage obscured by the experience of American rule in the twentieth century.[23] The diaspora of indigenous Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders to urban areas in the western United States has been interpreted by Pacific Islander scholars as a continuation of the voyaging and settlement tradition of Pacific peoples.[24] From this perspective, the strong ties that Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders have fostered with the American West are an extension of their deeply rooted cultural and historical ties to Oceania. In an essay surveying different approaches to Western history, Martin Ridge referred to the psychological fault line that separates and defines regions in the United States. He suggests an organizing principle for studying the U.S. West based on the region as a "cultural phenomenon." This West is defined by "all the things that a group of people inhabiting a common geographical area do, the way they see things . . . and their values and symbols." In Ridge's model, I think, we can readily see some of the difficulties of uncritically including Hawai'i as part of the U.S. West. Cultural ties to the West in Hawai'i are slippery and will presumably ebb and flow based on the forces that expand or constrain the movement of Pacific Islander people in and out of the West. And Hawai'i 's cultural and historical ties to Oceania and East Asia will continue to foster a set of values and symbols that will remain largely unintelligible to many (non–Pacific Islander) residents of the western United States.[25]

In light of these issues, what are some of the practical ways historians and scholars can include Hawai'i into the broader story of the U.S. West in a way that recognizes Hawai'i's unique position both politically and geographically?

First, Hawai'i opens the door for an expanded conversation about how the West as a region has interacted with other global regions economically, politically, and culturally. John Whitehead observed that "diplomatic rather than Western historians have claimed Hawai'i as their own" in the sense that diplomatic historians are almost by definition interested in the global reach of national affairs.[26] This is due to Hawai'i's central role in the redefinition of the United States as a self-acknowledged imperial power in the late nineteenth century as well the goal of U.S. military leaders to create "an American lake" in the Pacific.[27] In the case of Hawai'i, Western historians have an opportunity to think comparatively about themes that are already familiar: conquest, territorial versus state government, and the political status of indigenous people. Whitehead argues that "some native Hawaiians might well feel that the inclusion of their islands in the American West is yet one more act of dispossession" and that "Hawai'i provides the opportunity to come to grips with its western frontier."[28] However (and depending upon the historical time period in question), recognizing Hawai'i

as part of Oceania allows historians to see the way that regions both interact and shift their boundaries historically. Hawai'i can become part of the Pacific world both past and present in much the same way that scholars have argued for an "Atlantic world," with a sea that acts as a conduit, not a barrier, for commerce, ideologies, and people.[29] Studying the West as an integral part of the Pacific world creates new regional histories that change our understanding of its economic and cultural development. In addition, we can follow the lead of scholars like Gary Okihiro, whose recent pathbreaking book *Island World: A History of Hawai'i and the United States* focuses on the ways that Hawaiians' push eastward has influenced the cultural and historical landscape of the United States in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[30] Hawai'i should, as has been advocated, place scholars of the U.S. West on "academic borders," but they should be the borders of other regional narratives, not merely of different subfields of U.S. history.[31]

Second, scholars of the U.S. West can play closer attention to the histories of Hawai'i being produced by Native Hawaiian scholars. Many of these new histories focus on Native Hawaiian resistance to U.S. imperialism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Scholars like Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa, Jonathan Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio, Noenoe Silva, Isaiah Helekunihi Walker, Davianna Pomaika'i MacGregor, and others all focus their work on the protracted resistance of Native Hawaiians to U.S. colonialism in Hawai'i in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Jonathan Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio's work on the political transformation of the Hawaiian Kingdom in the nineteenth century reveals the slow but steady "dismemberment" of the Hawaiian nation by political transformation that replaced an indigenous-led constitutional monarchy with a U.S.-dominated republic that took advantage of a decimated indigenous population outnumbered by increasing waves of foreign settlers.[32] Noenoe Silva's work focuses on the resistance of all classes of Native Hawaiians to the same processes Osorio describes through popular media such as Hawaiian-language newspapers and grassroots political organization throughout all the islands.[33] Davianna Pomaika'i McGregor and Isaiah Helekunihi Walker focus their attention on continuity and change in Hawaiian culture post–World War II Hawai'i, respectively.[34] All these scholars' work underscores the many ways Native Hawaiian leaders looked to the colonial experiences of other Pacific Islanders to develop strategies of resistance and accommodation to imperial powers most beneficial to their people and nation. Many of these same Native Hawaiian scholars, as well as community activists and leaders, continue to build and maintain relationships with other indigenous peoples in the U.S. West in order to assess potential models for asserting sovereignty, even as

they reassert cultural and historic ties throughout Oceania. From the perspective of this scholarship, the relationship between the United States and Hawai'i is quite simply the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized, a familiar theme in the Pacific especially. These perspectives cannot be ignored, and I would argue that they should take a center stage in any discussion of Hawai'i and the American West.

Third, scholars of the U.S. West need to recognize Hawai'i's place in regional histories of Oceania and the Pacific. The historical trajectory of Hawai'i after the arrival of Europeans in 1778 parallels that of many Pacific Islands nations, whether the colonizing nation in question was Britain, France, Germany, New Zealand, or the United States. Viewed from this perspective, Hawai'i's history has far more in common with a place like Aotearoa/New Zealand than it does with the American West or the rest of the United States. While former colonized nations like Fiji, Samoa, Vanuatu, or the Marshall Islands negotiated their independence after World War II, the United States and Britain have solidified and naturalized their control over Hawai'i and New Zealand, respectively. Yet, while the Maori in New Zealand have successfully petitioned the government for redress based on the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi, Native Hawaiians have not yet achieved recognition by the U.S. government as the indigenous people of their lands despite the 1993 Apology Bill acknowledging U.S. complicity in the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian government in 1893. Comparisons between Hawaiian and New Zealand history also reveal the obsessively geographical component of U.S. history that produces the "east-to-west gaze": few other imperial powers in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have included such a profoundly geographical component in their early formulations of empire. This geographical imagining of an expanding frontier that extends its reach into the Pacific differs substantially from the way that Australian and New Zealand scholars have written about the Pacific, if only because the latter seem to more fully accept the colonial and imperial implications of their political and economic hegemony in Oceania.

Scholars of Oceania recognize the cultural, linguistic, and historical ties between Hawai'i and the rest of Oceania. Synthetic treatments of the history of the Oceania and the Pacific Islands include Hawai'i in comparative discussions on indigenous rights, issues of land tenure, and discussions on the development of economies based on agribusiness and tourism, common themes throughout the history of Oceania.[35] The University of Hawai'i Press remains one of the preeminent academic publishers of works on Oceania and the Pacific. Native Hawaiian scholars and artists remain at the forefront of issues of cultural authenticity and representation in the Pacific.[36] Hawai'i is and will remain an important part of regional scholarship on

Oceania and the Pacific. While its century-and-a-half history of dealing with the United States remains an integral part of Hawaiian history, scholars of Oceania will rightly continue to emphasize Native Hawaiians' deep and abiding cultural and historical connections with other indigenous peoples throughout Oceania. For U.S. scholars as well as scholars of the western United States, these regional ties are instructive. Scholars of the West should look comparatively at Hawai'i versus other places in Oceania like Samoa, which sends a nonvoting delegate to the U.S. Congress (like Hawai'i did in the territorial period from 1900 to 1959); Guam; the former Trust Territories of the Pacific Islands, including the Marshall Islands; and the Federated States of Micronesia.[37] Studying Hawai'i in the context of U.S. imperialism in the late nineteenth century also opens possibilities for discussing comparative empires within Oceania, something that Walter Nugent has explored for the rest of the American West.[38]

In conclusion, Hawai'i is best integrated into the history of the western United States when it forces scholars to face the colonial and imperial presence of the United States in Oceania and the West's relationship with the Oceania and the larger Pacific world. While scholars of the U.S. West can no longer afford to ignore Hawai'i in synthetic accounts of Western history, Hawai'i (and the rest of Oceania) can hardly be thought of as a frontier, or as the Far West, when we take into account the perspectives of those who are indigenous to its soil or who have established it as a node in the global movement of people from Oceania to the lands on its borders.

NOTES

1. My intent here is not to stake a claim in the robust debate regarding Oceania as a cohesive cultural region. While the issues with the anthropological designations of Micronesia, Melanesia, and Polynesia have been laid bare in recent years (and are now being revisited and debated anew), my treatment of Oceania as a recognizable cultural region, both past and present, is in relation to its neighbors to the east and west. While we can ably debate the similarities between the cultures of "Micronesia" and "Polynesia," for example, I feel comfortable asserting that whatever differences one might reasonably find, they would pale in comparison to the differences between the cultures of either East Asia or Euro-America, for instance.

2. John Whitehead, "Hawaii: The First and Last Far West?," *The Western Historical Quarterly* 23 (May 1992): 153–77.

3. John Whitehead, "Noncontiguous Wests: Alaska and Hawaii," in *Many Wests: Place, Culture, and Regional Identity*, ed. David M. Wroebel and Michael C. Steiner (Lawrence, KS: Univ. Press of Kansas, 1997), 315–41.

4. Victoria Wyatt, "Alaska and Hawai'i," in *The Oxford History of the American West*, ed. Clyde Milner II, Carol A. O'Connor, and Martha A. Sandweiss (New York: Oxford

Univ. Press, 1994), 565–602. Hawai'i is often considered alongside of Alaska by virtue of their "noncontiguity." It is my feeling that both Hawai'i and Alaska—and the means by which they came under the political sphere of the United States—deserve to be considered independent of one another.

5. Walter Nugent, *Into the West: The Story of Its People* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992); Walter Nugent, "Where Is the American West: A Report on a Survey," in *The American West: A Reader*, ed. Walter Nugent and Martin Ridge (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1999), 11–23.

6. Chris Friday, "The Pacific, Place, and the U.S. West," in *A Companion to the American West*, ed. Bill Deverell (Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell, 2004), 271–85.

7. For instance, it is difficult to understand the U.S. maritime presence in the nineteenth-century Pacific without including Hawai'i. The story of the California gold rush and of transpacific labor in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is also obscured when Hawaii is ignored. John Whitehead makes this case convincingly. See Whitehead, "Noncontiguous Wests," 316–24; See also Dorothy Fujita-Rony, *American Workers, Colonial Power: Philippine Seattle and the Transpacific West* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 2003).

8. U.S. Public Law 103-150, Joint Resolution to Acknowledge the 100th Anniversary of the January 17, 1893, Overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai'i, and to Offer an Apology to Native Hawaiians on Behalf of the United States for the Overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii. See also Noenoe K. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to U.S. Colonialism* (Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press, 2004); Merze Tate, *The United States and the Hawaiian Kingdom: A Political History* (New Haven, 1965); Liliuokalani, *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen* (Tokyo: Tuttle, 1964); Tom Coffman, *Nation Within: The Story of America's Annexation of the Nation of Hawai'i* (Honolulu: Univ. of Hawai'i Press, 1998).

9. The issue of federal recognition for Native Hawaiians as well the issue of Hawaiian sovereignty are complex and multilayered. There is no consensus, even among Native Hawaiians, as to what that sovereignty should look like. The vision for Hawaiian sovereignty falls somewhere along a continuum from federal recognition as indigenous peoples to an outright end of what is considered an overtly military occupation of the Hawaiian Islands by the United States.

10. There are many scholars who argue that a shift away from an east-looking west perspective challenges the predominant view of Western history. See Pekka Hamalainen, "The Rise and Fall of Plains Indian Horse Culture," *Journal of American History* 90, no. 3 (December 2003), 833–62; Dorothy Fujita-Rony, *American Workers, Colonial Power: Philippine Seattle and the Transpacific West* (Berkeley, 2003), and "Water and Land: Asian Americans and the U.S. West," *Pacific Historical Review* 76, no. 4 (2007): 563–74; Elliot R. Barkan, "Turning Turner on His Head: The Significance of Immigration in the 20th Century American Western History," *New Mexico Historical Review* 77 (Winter 2002): 68; Laurie Maffly-Kipp, "'Eastward Ho!' American Religious History from the Perspective of the Pacific Rim," in *Retelling American Religious History*, ed. Thomas A. Tweed (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1996), 128–47; Paul Spickard, Joanne L.

Rondilla, and Debbie Hippolite-Wright, eds., *Pacific Diaspora: Island Peoples in the United States and Across the Pacific* (Honolulu: Univ. of Hawai'i Press, 2002).

11. Richard Mackie, *Trading beyond the Mountains: The British Fur Trade on the Pacific, 1793–1843*, (Vancouver: Univ. of British Columbia Press, 1997); Ralph Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, vol. 1 (Honolulu: Univ. of Hawai'i Press, 1965); John Meares, *Voyages Made in the Years 1788 and 1789 from China to the North-West Coast of America*, (New York: De Capo Press, 1967); Richard Henry Dana, *Two Years before the Mast: A Personal Narrative of Life at Sea* (Los Angeles: Lane Book Company, 1964); Samuel Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawai'i* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1992); Ralph Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom* (Honolulu: Univ. of Hawai'i Press, 1957).

12. Mackie, *Trading beyond the Mountains*.

13. See Mackie, *Trading beyond the Mountains*; Arthur Power Dudden, *The American Pacific: From the China Trade to the Present* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1992); Walter McDougall, *Let the Sea Make a Noise* (New York: HarperCollins, 1993); Ralph Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, Volume 1: Foundation and Transformation, 1778–1854* (Honolulu: Univ. of Hawai'i Press 1938).

14. Jean Barman and Bruce McIntyre, *Leaving Paradise: indigenous Hawaiians in the Pacific Northwest, 1787–1898*, (Honolulu: Univ. of Hawai'i Press, 2006).

15. Dennis Atkins, "A History of Iosepa: The Utah Polynesian Colony," MA thesis, Brigham Young Univ., 1958.

16. Nancy J. Morris, "Hawaiian Missionaries in the Marquesas," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 13 (1979): 46–58.

17. Elliot R. Barkan, "The Forgotten Port of Entry: Honolulu: America's Western Portal to the East" (paper presented at the Pacific Coast Branch meeting of the American Historical Association, Honolulu, Hawai'i, 1986).

18. Elliot R. Barkan, "Turning Turner on His Head: The Significance of Immigration in the 20th Century American Western History," *New Mexico Historical Review* 77 (Winter 2002): 68.

19. Haunani K. Trask, "Lovely Hula Hands: Corporate Tourism and the Prostitution of Hawaiian Culture," in *From a Native Daughter* (Honolulu: Univ. of Hawai'i Press, 1999); Jane C. Desmond, *Staging Tourism: Bodies on Display from Waikiki to Sea World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

20. Paul Spickard, Joanne Rondilla, and Debbie Hippolite-Wright, eds., *Pacific Diaspora: Island People in the United States and across the Pacific* (Honolulu: Univ. of Hawai'i Press, 2002); Cluny McPherson, Paul Spoonley, and Melanie Anae, eds., *Tangata O Te Moana Nui: The Evolving Identities of Pacific Peoples in Aotearoa/New Zealand* (Auckland: Dunmore Press, 2001).

21. Elizabeth M. Grieco, *The Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander Population: 2000* (Census 2000 Brief) (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Commerce, December 2001).

22. Tevita Kaili, "Tauhi va: Nurturing Tongan Sociospatial Ties in Maui and Beyond," *The Contemporary Pacific* 17, no. 1 (2005): 83–117; Sa'iliemanu Lilomaiava-Doktor, "Beyond "Migration": Samoan Population Movement (*Malaga*) and the Geography of Social Space (*Vā*)," *The Contemporary Pacific* 21, no. 1 (2009): 1–34.

23. Ben Finney, *Voyage of Rediscovery: A Cultural Odyssey through Polynesia* (Berkeley, 1994). The initial voyage of the Hokulea was a monumental event that has inspired Pacific Islander artists, musicians, and subsequent voyagers and cultural ambassadors.

24. Epeli Hau'ofa and Eric Waddell, eds., *A New Oceania: Rediscovering Our Sea of Islands* (Suva, 1993). Epeli Hau'ofa's essay "Our Sea of Islands" marks an unprecedented historiographical turning point in scholarship on Oceania and has inspired a generation of scholars to reconceptualize the study of anthropology, economics, history, and politics in the region. Most recently, Paul D'arcy's study of the relationship between cultural change and the oceanic environment the Pacific has borne out many of Hau'ofa's arguments. Paul D'Arcy, *The People of the Sea: Environment, Identity, and History in Oceania* (Honolulu: Univ. of Hawai'i Press, 2007).

25. Martin Ridge, "The American West: From Frontier to Region," in Nugent and Ridge, *The American West*, 24–38.

26. Whitehead, "Hawaii," 176. See also Friday, "The Pacific, Place, and the U.S. West," 276–78.

27. See especially Hal M. Friedman, *Creating an American Lake: United States Imperialism and Strategic Security in the Pacific Basin, 1945–1947* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2001).

28. Whitehead, "Hawaii," 176.

29. For a retrospective analysis of the concept of the Atlantic world, see John R. Gillis, *Islands of the Mind: How the Human Imagination Created the Atlantic World* (New York: Macmillan, 2004).

30. Gary Okihiro, *Island World: A History of Hawai'i and the United States* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 2008).

31. The idea of a Pacific world, or a "Pacific Rim," is not without its critics. Arif Dirlik and others have called the very idea of a Pacific region into question as a "Euro-American invention." See Arif Dirlik, ed., *What Is a Rim? Critical Perspectives on the Pacific Region Idea*, 2nd ed. (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998). However, the region of Oceania certainly pre-dated any Euro-American–conceived "Pacific Rim," and Hawaii was a part of it. The cultural region of Oceania shaped the actions of Europeans and Americans in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries and I would argue retains its coherence as a region today.

32. Jonathan Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887* (Honolulu: Univ. of Hawai'i Press, 2002).

33. Noenoe K. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Honolulu: Univ. of Hawai'i Press, 2004).

34. Isaiah Helekunihi Walker, "Terrorism or Native Protest?: The Hui o He'e Nalu and Hawaiian Resistance to Colonialism," *Pacific Historical Review* 74, no. 4 (2004): 575–601; Davianna Pomaika'i McGregor, *Na Kua'aina: Living Hawaiian Culture* (Honolulu: Univ. of Hawaii Press, 2007).

35. See Donald Denoon, *The Cambridge History of the Pacific Islanders* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1997); K. R. Howe, Robert C. Kiste, and Brij V. Lal, *Tides of History: The Pacific Islands in the Twentieth Century*; Paul D'Arcy, *The People of the Sea: Environment, Identity, and History in Oceania* (Honolulu: Univ. of Hawai'i Press, 2006); Steven R. Fischer, *A History of the Pacific Islands* (New York: Palgrave, 2002); I. C. Campbell, *A History of the Pacific Islands* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1989).

36. See especially J. Kehaulani Kauanui and Vicente M. Diaz, "Native Pacific Cultural Studies on the Edge," *The Contemporary Pacific* 13, no. 2 (Fall 2001, special issue): 315.

37. As noted by John Whitehead, U.S. diplomatic and military historians have proved much more adept at this, for obvious reasons. The key here, I think, is to strike a balance between recognizing the Pacific as a cultural region with a limited but important amount of cohesiveness and yet also emphasize the historical differences that have produced very different places culturally, economically and politically. Hawai'i, Samoa, the Marshall Islands, and other form Trust Territories of the Pacific share a historical relationship with the United States, but that relationship is unique to each place. In addition, these places each have unique histories within the regional history of Oceania. Dorothy Fujita-Rony has also advocated integrating studies of U.S. imperialism across the Pacific as a way of rethinking dominant narratives of the U.S. West. Dorothy Fujita-Rony, "Water and Land: Asian Americans and the U.S. West," *Pacific Historical Review* 76, no. 4 (2007): 568.

38. Walter Nugent, "Frontiers and Empires in the Late Nineteenth Century," in Nugent and Ridge, *The American West*, 39–55.

REVIEW ESSAY

A. T. Ngata and Hirini Moko Mead. *Nga Moteatea—The Songs, Part Four*. Auckland: Auckland Univ. Press, 2007. Pp. 398. ISBN 9781869403867. NZ$70.00.

Reviewed by Edwin Napia

Mokemoke (Longing): A story/ies about and beyond discovering *Nga Moteatea, Part Four*

I WAS TEN YEARS OLD when my family first got a TV. It was after we had moved to Auckland City, Aotearoa-New Zealand's largest city.[1] Prior to that it was not uncommon for us to be huddled around the wireless listening to 1XN or the national station (New Zealand's version of public radio). I seem to recall the national station would play music to milk by in the mornings to be enjoyed by both milker and milkee. However, I used to listen to the junior request session. Kids from the north could send in requests, and for fifteen minutes a day, the station would try its best to honor all requests. That is when I was first exposed to Maori cosmology. "How the Kiwi lost its wings" was one of my favorites. It told of the birds of the forest and the forest God, Tane.[2]

When I was twelve, I left home and the junior request session for boarding school, but my love for storytelling did not end. One of the greatest storytellers I have ever known was "Uncle Jim" (Elkington), my Maori language teacher. We loved it when we could sidetrack Uncle Jim into telling stories, but he really did have the last laugh because through his stories we discovered the Maori universe. Tane was joined by Tumatauenga,[3] Tawhirimatea,[4] Rongo,[5] Haumiatiketike,[6] Tangaroa,[7] and their primeval parents Rangi,[8] the Sky Father, and Papatuanuku,[9] the Earth mother. These

God-sons created from the earth of their mother Papa the first human being, who was Hine Ahuone.[10] And Tane breathed into her the breath of life, and she sneezed. Tane took her to wife, and to them was born Hine Titama,[11] the dawn maiden. Tane also took Hine Titama to wife, but when she discovered the nature of her parentage and her relationship to her husband, she was offended and left the world of the living to become Hine-nui-i-te-Po,[12] the Goddess of Death.

I have often been told that an important step to understanding a people is to go back to their origin stories. Even though in the ancient genealogies of the Maori, Rangi and Papa are not first, for me they represent the beginning. Nga Moteatea, Part Four *has evidence of the shared cosmology of the many* iwi[13] *of Aotearoa. There are songs that refer to Tane (306 and 350), Hine Titama (302 and 350), and Rarohenga,*[14] *the underworld where Hine Titama dwells and welcomes the spirits of the dead. Poroporoaki*[15] *are rife with* mihi[16] *to Hine-nui-i-te-Po and urges for the souls of deceased to join her. Now, in my midyears, with my mind less encumbered by Western ideologies, these are more than just stories. They are my epistemological foundation.*

That Hine Ahuone, a woman, was the first human being is a departure for the Christian version of creation. However, what rings close to the Christian version is that she was made formed from the earth, and Tane breathed life into her. This sounds very similar to the Garden of Eden story of Adam and Eve in the Holy Bible. I heard a different version from a person who was from the Tauranga[17] area. He said that in their stories, Hine Ahuone had always existed. She knew she was being pursued by the God-sons and hid herself in the bosom of the earth mother whenever they neared. On one such occasion, she sneezed, and that is how she was found and taken by Tane to wife. The circumstances of that taking were not told to me, but it creates quite a different picture and gives us new questions to consider. Have the stories of our people evolved through time and space to meet our changing spiritual needs? When our people settled in Aotearoa, a land so much larger than their most recent island homes, did Tangaroa, the God of the sea, lose the prominence he has in other Pacific Islands and Tane gain prominence? Did Hine Moana,[18] the Ocean Maid, Rangi's other wife, slip into semiobscurity in favor of Papatuanuku (Papa)?

And what of Hine Titama's separation from her mother and her husband-father? It has been suggested that a people's values are woven into their stories and that Hine Titama's choice to leave the world of the living suggests that incest is not acceptable to Maori society. I don't

know if or how the stories of Hine Ahuone and Hine Titama have changed through time, but I have observed that some Christian beliefs seem to have been indigenized into Maori practices. I believe that Maori, by nature, are a spiritual people and that the connections with their ancestors and their past are deeply rooted. I also believe that spiritual beliefs are created over centuries of experiences and should enhance, not diminish, the survivability of a people. Christianity is relatively new in Maori experiences, and it brings with it a new set of challenges, not the least of which is its marginalization of those who do not fit into the Christian mold. I believe also that Christianity has done some serious damage to human sexuality.

My parents never talked to me about sex. Perhaps that was because I left to go to boarding school at age twelve. As children, we "knew certain things," but the first full explanations came to me in third-form[19] PE class and fourth-form[20] math class at boarding school. My math teacher was also a science teacher. I think he detected that most of us were relatively uneducated in sexuality, and he brought in a science model of a human that he had nicknamed Fred. Apparently, as we saw, Fred had interchangeable parts and could easily become a Fredricka. My math teacher took a lot of the mystery out of procreation and portrayed it as a very natural thing. Frankly, I think I preferred hearing it from my math teacher than from my parents. I don't remember my parents ever being explicit about sex, but I seem to recall some of the adult conversations being somewhat colorful. It is confusing that our adult relatives could be so "puritan" and yet joked about sex.

It was also in the third form that I had my first instruction in Maori *kapa haka*[21] in Uncle Jim's Maori Culture classes. Kapa haka seemed to come easy for me, in part because of my increasing competency with Te Reo and in part because I had a good memory. The first real challenge was learning Ruaumoko,[22] an east coast haka (see song 329). I remember that one of the senior boys took it upon himself to give his explanation of the haka.[23] For some reason, he seemed to focus on the "*rakau tapu*"[24] and its accompanying action. Was it a good opportunity to talk about the male organ in a state of erection at a "good" church school? I don't know for sure, but thinking about it, this must have been the earliest days of my skepticism because I remember thinking, "Oh God, so what? Just get on with teaching us the damn haka!" (I am chuckling at this very moment thinking about the weaponry nature of the rakau tapu. Great metaphor I think!)

The metaphor in song 351 is explicit and beautiful and definitely not confusing. The Songs of Solomon in the Holy Bible are similarly explicit and definitely have their own sense of color.

How can it be that religious dogma founded in the Holy Bible can talk about sex and sexuality in such a disparaging way? Some religions that were born in this dogma believe that children are born in sin. My sense of logic screams to me how illogical this is and how it sets a dangerous precedent.

Sexuality and spirituality are, in my mind, inseparably connected, even in biblical dogma. God commanded Adam and Eve to "multiply and replenish the Earth," but at the same time he commanded them not to partake of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, which some Bible consumers claim would give them the knowledge to procreate. Some may call that a dilemma requiring critical thinking. I call it a setup. Either way, it leaves room for confusion and irrational thinking. Let me check my math: if sex = bad and marriage = good, does sex + marriage = good + bad? (Well, looking at the success rates and longevity of the institution of marriage in Christian countries, it could be argued that the math is correct.) Is that why "the children born in sin" syndrome persists? (This must be true in light of worldwide infant mortality rates.)

Frankly, I am more comfortable with how the woman lays claim on her husband's procreativity in song 351. I am comfortable with dalliances, love trysts, marital practices, and perceptions of the human body and procreativity suggested by Maori stories. Those I understand. I am also comfortable with a kinship structure in which children are born into family structure of many mothers and fathers. I also argue that there have been thriving polygamous and polyandrous societies.

I am not comfortable with a religious dogma that sets up the natural human as an enemy of God. This can lead to sexual confusion and behavioral dysfunctionality. I am also not comfortable with a religious dogma that espouses a "chosen people." If there is a chosen people, then there must be an "unchosen" people, and the chosen people have God, might, and right on their side, and the unchosen people do not. This notion can give rise to racism and has been responsible for multitudinous deaths through warfare, racial and religious purging, and colonization. And colonizer/conquerors have purged colonized populations of their "degenerate, inferior" lifeways, stories, and spirituality.

A people are diminished when their origin stories slip into obscurity or are relegated to "mythology." Before I see an offended woman becoming the powerful, possible "dreaded" Goddess of death, I see the mother of all with arms out open, waiting to embrace us all when we leave the world of the living. Yet it seems to be that we continue

to buy into the notion that native beliefs are shrouded in ignorance, idolatry, and darkness and that only the spirituality brought to us by people whose own origin stories are not even born of their own traditions can save us from darkness and destruction. I take my cue from my *whangai*[25] American Indian family and from my limited knowledge of American Indian values. Spirituality is a very personal thing; that is, only you can decide what works for you. When your spirituality helps you make better sense of your world, encourages you to become a better person, helps you to become more respectful of others (even if they have different beliefs), and helps you to connect with the spiritual powers of the universe, is that not a good thing?

I cannot move on from this portion without making a comment on how indigenous societies have been diminished when their lifeways have been painted by Western observers with a Western paintbrush. I admit that critiquing Margaret Mead and her *Coming of Age in Samoa*[26] is old news and that her work has been severely scrutinized, but Margaret Mead is just one example of colonial brainwashing, a brainwashing that comes not only from the condemnation of or paternalistic commentary of indigenous practices but also from the absence of deeper analysis of such practices. Western theorists often are short on considering that the inferior, savage, and seemingly irrational practices may have been based on deeply rational and empirically based thought. Take, for example, a scene for the movie *Hawaii*, where a Hawaiian father escorts his daughters to an arriving sailboat for the purposes of "entertaining" crew and passengers. I am not here to say that such things did not happen. Rather, I entertain the notion that Western sailors should not take total credit for inventing the "girl at every port" syndrome. (I recall my mother and aunts making comments about girls "going down to the boats" when there was a ship in our little port.) I believe that presenting your daughters to entertain visitors pre-dates contact between Pacific Islanders and westerners.

Could it not be possible that early Pacific Islanders had an awareness of the dangers of diminishing gene pools and understood how visitors could help diversify their gene pools? No, nonliterate people could not have been capable of such advanced thinking.

How comfortably I acknowledge that my home is on Te Hiku o te Ika, the tail of the fish of Maui.[27] Uncle Jim told me about how Maui captured the Sun and beat it until it promised to move more slowly through the heavens. (I watched a documentary recently reported on how astrophysicists claim that before the moon was created, an earth day lasted about five hours.) Maui is also famous for fishing the North Island of Aotearoa-New

Zealand from the ocean using a magic hook. Uncle Jim referred to Maui as the "mythological" discoverer.

He said the "legendary" discoverer was Kupe,[28] who made his discovery while chasing Te Wheke a Muturangi, the Octopus of Muturangi. Kupe was not only an explorer but also a fisherman. He and his friend Ngaue observed Muturangi's Octopus robbing their fish traps, and Kupe pursued the Octopus to kill it. The Octopus led Kupe to the far distant regions of the south to Aotearoa and a bay close to the bottom of the North Island, where it was killed.

Song 302 mentions Te Wheke a Muturangi. The explanation for song 333 mentions Kupe's Canoe Matahorua.

On one of my trips home to Aotearoa, my sister took my whangai brother and I walking up the Waipapa River. We waded up the shallows through some beautiful native forests typical of the far north. The river is not very far from Hokianga,[29] where, according to some Ngapuhi traditions, Kupe refitted his waka, Matawhaorua, and renamed it Ngatokimatawhaorua. Some stories say that Kupe lived in the Hokianga area for many years before sailing back to Hawaiki,[30] where he gave his waka to his grandson, Nukutawhiti. In later years, Nukutawhiti and some of his people sailed from Hawaiki, accompanied by the waka Mamari, and became forebears of Ngapuhi. The Waipapa River is close to where Kupe portaged his waka from the Hokianga Harbor to the Kerikeri inlet and the Bay of Island for the journey back to Hawaiki.

Ngatimaru[31] *and other tribes claim that Kupe's waka was Matahorua, and the circumstances by which the waka first came to Aotearoa and later returned differ from Ngapuhi*[32] *(see song 333). I have heard some people even claim that the Kupe of the Ngapuhi traditions was not Kupe, the discoverer. Regardless, Ngapuhi hold tightly to their Kupe traditions, naming one of their sacred* taonga,[33] *the great waka at Waitangi,*[34] *Ngatokimatawhaorua. I was there when they relaunched Ngatokimatawhaorua after many years of nonuse. The paddlers clumsily scrambled into the great waka and began paddling into the bay. They may have been inexperienced, but waka with its great* mana[35] *rode high above the waves anyway. Nowadays, the crews have risen close to matching the mana of the great waka.*

While I suspect that Te Popo may have been referring to the Matawhaorua of Ngapuhi traditions in song 322, I am not sure Waipapa is the Waipapa that I know, but Hauraki people were familiar with Ngapuhi places. However, this allows me to make a couple of important points. One of the difficulties Dr. Mead must have faced when translating some of these *waiata*[36] is that words such as Matawhaorua and Waipapa may be understood in the local context

and not generally understood beyond local tribal areas. Dr. Mead, in the footnotes after some songs, has had to resort to "This is not clear" or "TMR. No explanation." And yet there are some place-names that do transcend tribal boundaries, such as "Muriwhenua" and "Taiamai" from song 304 (from Taranaki) and "Rangaunu" in song 355 from Ngati Porou. These place-names I am familiar with, as they are places in the north.

Perhaps we forget that tribal alliances, shared genealogies, or intertribal gatherings cultivated shared knowledge and cosmologies.

Song 322, however, challenges the pan-Maori version of Kupe's discovery. Some stories say that Kupe's wife, Hine i te Aparangi, saw a cloud on the horizon that she interpreted as "land-sign." She is said to have uttered the words, "He Ao! He Ao!" (A Cloud! A Cloud!), from which Aotearoa (Land of the Long White Cloud) is derived. Song 322's explanations claim that Aotea[37] and Kupe's waka were made from the same tree trunk and that Aotea's full name was Aotearoa. This suggests that the word "Aotearoa" was already in use and possibly not attributed to Kupe's discovery. Ngapuhi translate Aotearoa as "long shining days" from an account that Ngatokimatawhaorua made its return journey to Aotearoa in four days, during which there was no darkness.

Just a couple of days ago, I googled my dad's name and discovered that I was registered on a site as Edwin Bryers Arena-Napia. Having a surname[38] starting with the letter "A" was not good in primary (elementary) school because that meant you were always close to first in line when vaccinations were given. Names can be so interesting, complex, and history laden. My name is no exception. Edwin and Bryers comes from my grandfather Eru Nehua. Some of his children (i.e., my aunties, uncles, and mother) took the surname Nehua-Bryers, some took Nehua, and some took Bryers. My grandfather was born to George and Mere Bryers but was whangai'ed by Eru and Tawaka Nehua. My Aunty Hinauri Tribole referred to the older Eru as Tupu Eru. He was the son of Kapiri, who was Hone Heke's mother's younger sister, and an American whose name was Edwards. Tawaka's grandfather was Eruera Patuone,[39] a Ngapuhi chief of renown. About the time I was hearing these stories from Aunty Hinauri, I was entering a new phase in my life. I discovered my interest in art and pursued a full-time career as a sculptor in clay. I regretted for just a moment that my mother had named me Edwin instead of Eruera, and I called my family to see how they felt about my taking on the name of Eruera. These days, I sign my art Eru "Ed" Napia.

My brother Sam told me that Patuone and Te Rauparaha[40] *were friends and allies. The introduction for song 327 refers to an alliance between Te Rauparaha, Ngapuhi, and Te Atiawa.*

Aunty Lou was Uncle Jim's sister, and she was quite a character with whom I had hours of conversation. One time, Aunty Lou and I were comparing *whakapapa*.[41] We were following our lines from Hoturoa.[42] I saw that I was a descendant of the Tainui brothers Whatihua and Turongo. Some stories say that through his shrewdness, Whatihua married Ruaputahanga, whom Turongo was courting, and the disconsolate Turongo left their home in Kawhia and headed to the east coast. It was here he met and fell in love with the high-born Heretaunga beauty, Mahinarangi. Their romance is one of the most beautiful in Maoridom. They named their son Raukawa after the *kawakawa* fragrance that brought them together. To Raukawa was born Rereahu. This is where Aunty Lou and I came to a stumbling block because I did not have the name Rereahu in my whakapapa. My whakapapa said "Ahurere," and the names changed from there on. It took but a second before I realized that Rereahu and Ahurere were the same person.

Nga Moteatea take on a different meaning when names in the song or explanations are familiar or part of your own family histories/stories. Song 372 sings of Ruaputahanga, Whatihua, and Mahinarangi. The explanation for song 329 mentions Te Wera, a Ngapuhi chief, and Te Whareumu, originally from Ngati Kahungunu, both of whom feature in our whanau[43] *histories. Even the derisive song 342 recalls names familiar to me: Ngai Tawake, a Ngapuhi Hapu into which my father's* hapu *Te Whiu was absorbed after being culturally genocided by the government for the sake of prime land in the Kerikeri area; Tautari, ancestor of the Tautaris of Taumarere, whom I remember from childhood; and Te Kapotai, another Ngapuhi hapu originally from Opua, which is just over the hill from where I grew up.*

Some songs speak of names, places, and items less familiar or, at least, older. Song 374 has a litany of names that look like they might pre-date the settlement of Aoteroa. Song 345 is one of several songs that refer to Hawaiki. Song 337 mentions Whiti (Fiji) and Tonga. Song 359 mentions uru *(breadfruit), and song 369 mentions* taro.

There can be a variety of reasons why these names find their way into Maori waiata. Some songs may have been written in post-European contact times so that knowledge of places such as Fiji and Tonga. However, it is also possible that they are just part of the remarkable remembered history of the Maori and their journeys through faraway places.

Such may be the case with Aromanga Tane and Aromanga Wahine from song 347, which, the explanation claims, are islands in the New Hebrides. Familiarity with taro comes as no surprise to me because taro grew in the north. Memories of breadfruit are a little more interesting because there is nothing is the pre-European contact diet that I can think of that would keep its image fresh.

White owls have showed up a couple of times in my life. One came in the form of a drawing done by my whangai brother and which my sister now has. It should be mentioned that my whangai brother is a Nuche,[44] a Ute Indian from the Uintah and Ouray Reservation in northeastern Utah. Indians generally steer shy of owls, especially white owls, because they bring messages of death. He can't quite explain why he did that drawing or why his mother loves the sound of owls hooting in the trees by their reservation home, but when we told him that our grandfather had a white owl that protected our family, he knew that drawing should go to our family. I thought the white owl was unique to my grandfather and his descendants, but was I wrong. Another time, a white owl showed up was in Aunty Hinauri's house. It didn't click at the start, but I soon discovered that Aunty's house was filled with owls, including a model of a white owl that now watches over me in my bedroom. Apparently, the white owl is a *kaitiaki*[45] for many Whakapara[46] families.

Uncle Jim said the kaitiaki, Pelorus Jack, referred to as Tuhirangi in song 349, was the kaitiaki for his family. Kaitiaki are prolific in Maori stories. In Ngapuhi traditions, many are taniwha, *such as the taniwha Niwa, Araiteuru, and Puhimoanaariki.*

I still have not come to terms with how the word *taniwha* is translated as "monster" and the negative connotations that come with the translation. It is one of those situations where you lose meaning when you translate from one language to another, in this case from Maori *reo*[47] to English, or where you know what the word means but can't explain it in English.

Speaking of English, there is one area where Uncle Jim and I had different opinions. Uncle Jim talked about how the Ngapuhi dialects early on cleverly adapted to new English words through transliteration. I was concerned that transliteration was dangerous because in a hundred years from now, a majority of Maori words could be transliterations.

There are several transliterations in Nga Moteatea, Part Four: paraikete *(blanket) and Kawana (governor) in song 354,* pitara *(pistol) in song 313,* tupeka *(tobacco) in song 309, and* rama *(rum) and* ruuma *(room) in song 312, to name a few.*

These are reminders that many of the songs in *Nga Moteatea, Part Four* are from post-European contact.

It is amazing how word of a death gets around even before it gets in the obituaries. It seems that even before my father's body had left the morgue, people came to our house in Port Chevalier to ask for his body. I remember Uncle Mahu Witchira coming over and insisting that the body lie in state at the Marae[48] in Mangere.[49] I was most annoyed, probably because I was young and ignorant, until my dad's older brother explained to us that this was the Maori way of paying respect to our father. In the context of the *tangi*,[50] I learned other things, including the art of debate. People would come to tangis and literally argue as to why they had the right to take the body of the deceased to their *marae*. Some of the mihi would appear to be quite heated, with the participants apparently expressing their extreme points of view. But the dialogue would evolve, and opposing parties would reach a point of congruency rather than compromise.

I am reminded of that through songs 309, 315, 322, 323, 324, 325, and 326. While there is no resolution or point of compromise, I find it very interesting that songs can be used as responses to accusations or for dialogical debate.

Of all the stories that Uncle Jim told me, the one that always remains foremost in my mind is the story of Ponaiti and the young woman of the Te Popoto Hapu[51] (one of the mother's main hapu) who saved her people from being slaughtered by Ngatiwhatua. *I have to connect Ponaiti with the Hine Titama stories as in song 350 and the theme of* tapu wahine *on line 5 of song 352.*

Maori women occupy different types of positions of prominence from tribe to tribe. On my father's marae, that includes mihi. Ngapuhi women arriving at our marae will mihi if there is no male speaker in their group, and I was quite used to the fact that the final decision maker and authority was my Aunty Rewa. Maori women, especially high-born women, were also trained in the art of warfare. Ponaiti was a woman warrior. Puhi Huia, a famed woman from Maungawhau (present-day Mount Eden on the Auckland Peninsula), was accomplished in *taiaha* and defeated each of her mother's women warriors.[52] Prominent women of the north were Reitu, Waimirirangi, and Hine Amaru, after whom the powerful Ngapuhi hapu, Ngati Hine, is named.

I had wondered why my Aunty Hinauri decorated her living room in her house in the hills about Bountiful, Utah, with a vibrant blue carpet, rich wood walls, and touches of *pohutukawa* red. It was at her tangi that I realized that they were the colors of Whangaruru,[53] where Aunty had grown

up. It was in that same living room that I met Dr. Mead and his wife, June. Their warm and encouraging manner caused me to forget that I was a person of little consequence in the presence of great people (so don't expect objectivity in this review; I don't think human beings are capable of that anyway).

I considered Dr. Mead a pioneer who, along with other Maori scholars such as Dr. Pat Hohepa and Dr. Mason Drury, had pioneered the way for the next generation of young Maori scholars such as Dr. Mead's own daughter, Linda, and her husband, Graeme Smith, in the same way that Sir Apirana Ngata, Te Rangihiroa/Sir Peter Buck, and Pei Te Hurinui Jones may have paved the way for them. These two living generations of Maori scholars have challenged the exclusivity of Western epistemologies in its own stronghold, the universities, and created a case for the existence of and antiquity of Maori epistemologies.

I believe that all four parts of *Nga Moteatea* are evidence of the antiquity of Maori epistemologies and are woven with memories that go back a thousand years and more. The rhythms, poetry, metaphor, and tonality of *Nga Moteatea*, not unlike the content of the rituals of encounter on the marae, are the heartbeat and flow of Maori knowledge. This is explicit in the explanatory note, which, I argue, is a discourse on Maori epistemologies.

When I was asked to write this review, I consented to do so very, very reluctantly. It is like being asked to do a review on the Bible. What do you review? The content? The selection and order of songs is explained in the second paragraph of the explanatory note, and I have no critique to offer. The translations? That would be like telling my aunties how to make steam pudding, and I assure you I would not emerge from either task unscathed. In fact, I felt like I had nothing of substance to offer. I left Aotearoa and moved to the United States in my late teens, and my reo and *tikanga*[54] are pretty much based on those early years. Similarly, my theoretical frameworks are not only heavily influenced by the academy but also locked in the 1990s.

But when I first received a copy of *Nga Moteatea* and opened its pages, I wept deeply for what I lost when I chose to become a Maori in the diaspora.[55] I recalled my discussion with my *teina*, Sam, on the knowledge flow at *hui*.[56] Sam said that the tidbits of knowledge that come out in the many mihi make you not want to miss a hui. Obviously, the waiata, especially lullabies (e.g., song 350), are also laden with knowledge.

It was because of that emotion and the fact I was asked do this *mahi*[57] by a person whom I hold in great esteem that I accepted the task. It has

not been a *hoha*[58] task but a difficult one nevertheless. I am no longer walking on an academic path. I am a clay-artist who expresses his emotions in clay, not in the written word or in the rhetoric of academia, but I am also a clay-artist who has a story for almost every piece of art that he has created. This, then, is three interwoven stories: one of my personal experiences, one of my experiences with the book, and one of the thoughts that emerged when the two crossed paths. All together, they are the story of how, through Sir Apirana Ngata and Dr. Hirini Mead, the waiata of *Nga Moteatea, Part Four* reached across the Great Ocean of Kiwa,[59] crossed mountains and deserts of the West, and fed my soul and how the early years of my life came flooding back.

I was going to write the following:

> The challenge that I faced in this mahi is nowhere near the challenge the new generation of Maori scholars faces. How does one maintain fidelity to one's people while operating in academia?

I believed that yesterday, but I don't believe that today. The challenge is to get through the academy with your humanity intact, to not be lifted up in pride born of beating the colonizer at his own game (although I think that's a great thing) but finding that space between heritage-born pride and heritage-born humility. The challenge is to find that space between the knowing that comes from being—where genetic memory or something kicks in and verification comes from some non-objective, unscientific feeling—and the analytical/empirical knowing that claims to be objective and scientific. (Jingoes! I have only just noticed the "empir[e]" in "empirical.") The challenge is to never forget that the reality of the world created in "thought halls" of the academy may not exist beyond the "hallowed halls of ivy," and analysis more than likely creates a world rather than defines it. (Don't fret. I have a feeling that culture and reality are being created and re-created all the time. I think that's called creating new paradigms or making paradigms shift because "By Jingoes! This other one doesn't work!") Analysis is not a bad thing. Analysis, along with imagination, exploration, and interrogation, keeps our brain synapses well lubricated. Analysis, however, can be bad when you marginalize others whose realities do not match your own.

The challenge to young Maori is to not take themselves too seriously and yet take themselves seriously, to understand themselves as cultural persons living, acting, and reacting in a series of cultural experiences. It is understanding that culture is a dynamic organism that changes through time down to the second and space down to the square inch.

It is acknowledging the probability that no two people perceive culture in the exact same way. It is understanding how reo and other cultural knowledge can provide a place on which to stand. It is acknowledging that cultural acquisition should be for the enlightenment of self and others and not for the intentional marginalization of others. It is understanding how and when intent trumps action and results.

When Sir Apirana Ngata wrote in his explanatory note:

> *The classic period of Maori Literature ended, where so many other elements of the ancient Maori culture revealed the widespread loss of support in the economic, social and religious life of the people, with the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi at the beginning of 1840.*

I don't think he could have imagined that same treaty would fuel the renaissance of reo and tikanga. I suspect, however, that Ngata believed that tikanga could never be the same because Maori lifeways had changed forever. Even the introduction of writing, a technology not previously utilized by Maori, has changed tikanga forever. Walter Ong, in *Orality and Literacy*,[60] discusses how writing is a solitary task where knowledge can be constructed and preserved by the individual. Orality, on the other hand, requires group involvement where knowledge construction and preservation takes place in groups of at least two people. This is certainly the case with the composition and preservation of *Nga Moteatea* as described by Ngata in the explanatory notes. Although there may have been one person whose passion and inspiration gave impetus to the artistic process, composition involved a group of several people who, together, remembered the rhythm and stanzas.

I was born into the lost generation. Like many parents of their time, my parents did not raise us with reo, but they did take us to many hui and tangis and unintentionally raised us with a Maori identity in a time when it was not popular to be Maori. We may have been lost to the reo, but we were Maori nevertheless. Now, today's *rangatahi* have the opportunity to be raised with reo, *kapahaka, mahi toi*,[61] *mahi rakau*,[62] and many other Maori taonga. Such activities enrich the lives of young Maori today and provide for them a *turangawaewae* on which to stand. However, it should not be forgotten that Maori tikanga, with its waiata, haka, mahi rakau, and mahi toi, live and breathe in a new context. Dancing a haka or learning and mastering rakau exercises is not the same as being a *taua* going to war with taiaha, *mere, patu*, or *tewhatewha*, knowing that defeat could mean death and being eaten.

A couple of Aprils ago, I traveled with a kapa haka group from Salt Lake City to a *whakataetae*[63] in Hawai'i. We had participated in that same whakataetae in August of the year before and accepted the challenge of creating and performing nine new and original waiata/haka for this one. To do so in eight or nine months was no small task, especially for a group in the diaspora. Adding to that the fact that we had decided that our waiata/haka should reflect our experiences as Maori living in the high mountain and desert valleys of Utah, the tasks took on a new difficulty. Then, when Maori from northern and southern California and Las Vegas, Nevada, joined our group, that created new challenges because of the distance. Nevertheless, we did our best to prepare for the whakataetae through video, through our *kaiako*[64] traveling to Las Vegas, and through using time after we arrived in Hawai'i for refinement. We designed *kakahu*[65] that would survive the dry climate in which we lived. We used designs that reflected our mountains and valley homes. We used materials that could be obtained locally. We used feathers given to us by people for the Ute Tribe, our way of acknowledging the *iwi-whenua*[66] on whose land we resided. Our whakaeke compared us to a twin-hulled waka, a metaphor for the two communities, Salt Lake City and Las Vegas, that most of us came from. Our *waiata tira*[67] described our understanding of our place in the universe. Our *powhiri*[68] named the U.S. communties in which we lived and the challenges we faced holding on to our Maori identities and teaching our children. Our chant recalled an old story from Ngapuhi of a mysterious sacred bird that appeared one day and was believed to have flown from the legendary homeland. We suggested that bird's nest was located somewhere in our Utah mountains, and we compared the migration of Maori to the United States to that bird gathering seeds to be planted here. Our *waiataringaringa*[69] saluted the *kanaka maoli*[70] and the community that hosted the event and offered our spiritual support to their sovereignty activities. Our *haka poi*[71] described Iosepa, a lonely desert location west of Salt Lake City where a Polynesian colony existed from about 1898 to 1915. Our haka identified the challenges of living in a modern society in the United States, and our *whakawatea*[72] recalled the Hawaiian story of the Naupaka blossom, an unusual plant where half of the flower is found growing by the ocean and the other half is found in the mountains. Aunty Lovey Apana from Kauai told me that two lovers were not allowed to wed because of their difference in rank and were separated, one to the ocean and the other to the mountains, which each became half of the Naupaka blossom. We compared ourselves to the mountain half of the flower and the people in Hawai'i to the ocean portion.

When we arrived in the islands, we insisted that we pay our respects to the kanaka maoli before being powhiri'ed[73] by the Maori living in Hawai'i. We were disappointed that none of the officials organizing the whakataetae or the judges who came up from Aotearoa participated in that event, which we thought was appropriate protocol. In Utah, we and other Pacific Islanders understand the importance of recognizing the people of the land. We were further disappointed to discover that the rules of the whakataetae had be changed without our knowledge and that we would not be getting extra credit for each of our original compositions. That was our only competitive edge. We were even more disappointed when we discovered that one of the judges gave us zero points for leadership because we had different people leading each song and she couldn't tell who the leaders were. She never got the explanation that we are made up of Maori from many waka and that leadership was not encapsulated in any one individual. I think some of the judges did understand where we were coming from, but I am not sure if all of them understood the stories that we were trying to tell in what we thought was a very Maori way.

And what of we in the diaspora? Certainly, *Nga Moteatea* can speak to us and become part of the fabric of our cultural identities. We too must remember the dynamic nature of culture. Our identities are not being woven in the exact same way as those of our people back in Aotearoa-New Zealand or even in Hawai'i, where island people represent a large part of the population. What we think it means to "be" Maori may be different because of the different contexts. The memories that drive our efforts to "stay" Maori are separated from our present by time and distance, whereas for our people at home, being Maori just "is." At home, it is not something you have to work on or seek to discover. It is all around you. It is the land you walk on, the sea you swim in, and the air that you breathe. In the diaspora, we walk on someone else's land, swim in someone else's seas, and breathe someone else's land. We have become hyphens: Maori-Americans.

My name is Eruera "Edwin" Bryers Napia. I am of the Te Popoto, Te Honihoni, and Te Whiu Hapu of the Ngapuhi Iwi. I am a clay-artist. In the days following 9/11, I created three sculptured pots. One, which I named "Kotuku Rerenga Tahi—Flight of the White Herons," depicts five herons flying upwards. It was the centerpiece for the Utah Lieutenant Governor's Art Show in 2002 and is now part of the collection of Art Access Gallery in Salt Lake City. It is not my most elaborately carved pot. Another I named "Wairua—Spirit Rising." Its carved design has a feeling of agitation and captures the angst I felt on those memorable days following that tragic event. It is about four feet tall and is finished in a white *raku*[74] with

uncanny uniformed cracks. It was difficult to fire because of its size, and the bottom blew out during the raku firing. That supposed flaw is what makes it attractive to buyers. When it was on show in our gallery, I was explaining its significance to a young man, and he wept. It now sits in my house. I don't believe I will ever sell it. The other I named "E Tu noa nei—Lonely and Alone," the title of which comes from Tuini Ngawai's classic, "E Te Hokowhitu."[75]

Nga marae e tu noa nei	The marae stand lonely and alone
Nga maunga e tu noa nei	The hills stand lonely and alone
Aue ra e Tama	Alas young men
Te mamae te pouri nui	Deep and dark is the pain
E patu nei i ahau.	That smites me within.
Kia kotahi ra	Be united!

The pot depicts eleven women of different heritages holding hands and facing inwards looking at exploding bombs and nine children sitting and standing. When it was showing in our gallery, a couple of women were interested in hearing about it. I explained its significance, including the song from which its name came and how, when menfolk go to war, the women are left "lonely and alone" to look after the children and keep the culture alive. They wept.

How does art work? Do the pieces capture the emotions the artist was feeling at the time of making? Does the artist impart some of his or her *wairua*[76] into the piece? Does this spirit reach out and touch the spirit of others? Was the emotion in the telling of the story? I think all of these things may happen. As an artist, I know that there are pieces of art that reach out and touch my core. As an artist, I also believe that when you create a piece and display it, whether it be in a gallery, an art show, or the privacy of your own home, you put it into the public domain for public consumption, and other people are entitled to interpret it in their own way.

I have engaged that same entitlement with *Nga Moteatea, Part Four*. Similarly, I am putting this review in the public domain for you to interpret it and react to it in any way you please. (I should have added in the "challenge section" that the real challenge might be trying to make sense of what I am saying.)

And what is the future of *Nga Moteatea, Part Four*? If only, for just a moment, we could be the composers of the waiata, to see what they saw, to hear what they heard, to feel what they felt. Unfortunately, the written word can accomplish only so much. *Nga Moteatea* may end

up collecting dust on some library shelf, or they may become part of the curriculum of some zealous reo teacher or insightful literature professor. I would hope that young New Zealanders might read them as we read Browning or Wordsworth and that their language and thinking might be enriched. And I hope that *Nga Moteatea* will inspire living Maori to sing them and new waiata, whether that be in a new place or home.

NOTES

1. I use "Aotearoa, New Zealand," and "Aotearoa-New Zealand" interchangeably. Aotearoa was the name given to my home country by its first Maori settlers. New Zealand, of course, was the name given by Able Tasman, cited by Western historians as its discoverer.

2. Maori God of forest and man.

3. Maori God of war.

4. Maori God of wind.

5. Maori God of cultivated food.

6. Maori God of uncultivated food.

7. Maori God of cultivated food.

8. Maori Sky Father-God and father of all things.

9. Maori Earth Mother and mother of all things.

10. The first human in the Maori creation story.

11. The daughter of Tane and Hine Ahuone.

12. The Great Lady of the Night, Maori Goddess of Death.

13. Tribes.

14. The Maori underworld.

15. Eulogistic speech of farewell to deceased.

16. Speeches, especially those paying tribute to someone.

17. A community on the east coast of the North Island of Aotearoa-New Zealand.

18. The Ocean Maid and wife of Rangi.

19. First year of high school (most third formers are thirteen years old).

20. Second year of high school.

21. Literally Maori dance group, I use it to refer to all Maori song and dance.

22. Ruaumoko, in some Maori traditions, is the unborn son of Papatuanuku and is responsible for tectonic movement, after whom a well-known east coast haka is named.

23. Haka refers to types of traditional Maori dance but most commonly is associated with war dances.

24. Literally translated as "sacred stick," he said that the accompanying action meant that it referred to male genitalia.

25. Adopted.

26. See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Coming_of_Age_in_Samoa.

27. In Maori stories, the North Island of Aotearoa-New Zealand is a fish that was fished out of the ocean by the Polynesia explorer Maui. The peninsula north of Auckland City called Tai Tokerau is also known as the "tail of the fish."

28. According to Maori history, Kupe is the traditional discoverer of Aotearoa-New Zealand.

29. Hokianga is a harbor located on the west coast in the northern part of the North Island of Aotearoa-New Zealand. It is said the Kupe sailed his waka, Matawhaorua, up the Hokianga Harbor. It was here that he saw the great Kauri Trees, and he used this opportunity to refit his waka. Some Ngapuhi stories say that the Kupe stayed in the Hokianga for several decades before returning to Hawaiki.

30. Hawaiki is the name given to the traditional homeland of the Maori. Hawaiki may have been located somewhere in Central Polynesia but also may refer to other places where Maori ancestors lived.

31. In my experience, Ngati Maru refers to Tainui tribes located in the Thames area of the Hauraki Plains and also in Tauranga. However, the *Nga Moteatea, Part Four*, text states that song 333 comes from Ngati Maru and iwi (tribe) from the Taranaki area.

32. An iwi located in the Tai Tokerau District, which is the peninsula north of Auckland City.

33. Valuable possession.

34. Located in the Bay of Islands.

35. Spiritual power.

36. Song/s.

37. One of the many waka that brought migrants from central Polynesia to Aotearoa-New Zealand between about AD 1000 and 1400.

38. Family name.

39. Eruera Patuone and his brother Tamati Wakanene both played key roles in convincing many Maori Ariki (paramount chiefs) and Rangitira (chief, noble) to sign the Treaty of Waitangi.

40. Historic Ngati Toa figure.

41. Genealogy.

42. Captain of the Tainui, one of the migratory waka.

43. Family, extended family.

44. Literally translated as "people," Nuche is one of the names members of the Ute (Northern Ute) Tribe of Utah call themselves.

45. Protector.

46. Small community in the center of Ngapuhi where my grandfather was raised.

47. Spoken language.

48. Ceremonial plaza.

49. One of the many cities making up Auckland.

50. Funeral.

51. Subtribe.

52. I first read about Puhi Huia in *Treasury of Maori Folklore* written by A. W. Reed and published by A. H. and A. W. Reed of Wellington and Auckland in 1963.

53. Coastal community on the east coast of Tai Tokerau.

54. Cultural practices.

55. I use this term for Maori who have left Aotearoa for permanent residence in another country.

56. Gathering.

57. Task.

58. Bothersome.

59. Pacific Ocean.

60. Walter Ong's *Orality and Literacy* was first published in 1982 by Methuen & Co. Ltd of London.

61. Art.

62. Training in self-defense.

63. Maori kapa haka competition.

64. Teacher or instructor.

65. Dance attire.

66. People of the land.

67. Choral number.

68. Song/dance of welcome.

69. Action song.

70. Hawaiian people.

71. Poi dance.

72. Exiting song/dance.

73. Ceremonially welcomed.

74. Crackle low-fire glaze.

75. I learned "E Te Hokowhitu" when I was in high school, and I understood that it was written by Tuini Ngawai during the World War II era. It lamented that absence of Maori men, including my father, who were fighting in Europe and Africa.

76. Spirit, soul.

REVIEW ESSAY

Elizabeth Wood-Ellem, ed. *Songs and Poems of Queen Sālote* (translated by Melenaite Taumoefolau and foreword by HRH Crown Prince Tupouto'a). Tonga: Vava'u Press, 2004. Pp. xxvi + 422, essays, songs and poems, illustrations, genealogies and notations, glossary and indices, and bibliography. ISBN 982-213-008-2. NZ$100 hardback.

Reviewed by Hūfanga 'Ōkusitino Māhina, Vava'u Academy for Critical Inquiry and Applied Research

THIS VOLUME IS probably by far the most comprehensive work on the combined history of the life of Queen Sālote and her artistic and literary works. However, there have been some wide-ranging scholarly works on her social and political life (e.g., Hixon 2000; Wood-Ellem 1999) and her artistic and literary creations (e.g., Kaeppler 1993; Māhina 1992, 1999, 2003, 2005; Māhina and 'Alatini 2007; Māhina, Ka'ili, and Ka'ili 2006; Moyle 1987). Apart from the helpful lists of illustrations, genealogies and notations, and glossary and indices, the volume is by and large centered on four essays and a collection of some 114 songs and poems of Queen Sālote. Unequivocally, the lists of illustrations, genealogies and notations, and glossary and indices provide the readers with efficient means for a better comprehension and appreciation of the essays, songs, and poems, specifically the extended discussions by the essayists of the cultural and historical conditions in which they were produced as works of art and literature.

Written in Tongan and English, this book is edited by Elizabeth Wood-Ellem, translated by Melenaite Taumoefolau, with essays by HRH Princess Nanasipau'u Tuku'aho, Adrienne Kaeppler, Elizabeth Wood-Ellem, and Melenaite Taumoefolau. Melenaite translated the song texts, including her

own essay, from Tongan into English, while Helen and Siupeli Taliai and Lata ʻAkauʻola Langi translated the other three essays from English into Tongan. The compilation of the extensive and detailed glossary by Melenaite is to be commended. There is a tendency to regard the book as having been written in both Tongan and English. However, the title, dedication, foreword, and preface have eluded translation from English into Tongan. Given the division of functions with respect to editing, compiling, and translating as well as the equal weight thought to be given to both Tongan and English, requiring parallel formal expertise in both languages, it therefore raises the intellectual and political questions of merit and fairness as to its editorship. Should Elizabeth and Melenaite, then, have been coeditors of the book?

The songs and poems are broadly classified into seven Tongan poetic genres, ranging from *hiva* (songs) and *ʻūpē* (lullabies) through *laulau* (recitals) and *tutulu* (laments) to *maʻuluʻulu* (ecology-centered poetry [my translation]), *lakalaka* (sociopolitical poetry [my translation]), and *faiva fakatātā* (drama). Such generic classifications seems to preclude a number of popular literary forms such as *taʻanga hiva kakala* (love poetry), which featured with some prominence in the poetic activities of Queen Sālote. What is termed as faiva fakatātā is better regarded as *taʻanga fakanatula* (nature poetry). I find the title of the book, *Songs and Poems of Queen Sālote*, translated into *Ngaahi Hiva mo e Ngaahi Maau ʻa Kuini Sālote* (my translation), somehow incomplete, especially when many, if not all, of her poems were put to both songs and dances. I would suggest that *ngaahi haka* (dances) should have been included in the title.

While the title of the book, *Songs and Poems of Queen Sālote*, firmly points to the songs and poems as works of art and literature, the overall orientation of the essays is geared largely toward the social and political life of the Queen, characterizing the cultural and historical contexts in which her poetic works were executed. On another level, we are also dealing with art history and artwork, that is, what art does and what art is, where the former is external to her songs and poems as works of art and literature, while the latter is internal to the artistic and literary productions themselves. In other words, art history deals with the social organization of art and literature as a form of human activity, and artwork is concerned with the aesthetic process of art and literature as a form of disciplinary practice. While the concerns with the historical and cultural realities in which art and literature are conceptualized and practiced in the productive and creative process are important, they nevertheless tell us very little or nothing about their aesthetic qualities, connected with the rhythmic production of symmetry, harmony, and beauty. If we are to take the artistic and literary

merit of the aesthetic works of Queen Sālote seriously, then our preoccupation with the aesthetic process of art and literature must take the lead over that of their human organization.

Collectively, all the essayists reflect on differences and commonalities in both the life of Queen Sālote and her works of art and literature. By reflecting on the life of Queen Sālote, the authors delved deeply and broadly, in different modes and lengths, into the social, cultural, historical, and political milieu in which she produces her works of art and literature. As an interest of some common bearing, the essay writers pay attention on the superficial level to the Tongan artistic and literary device *heliaki*, which is effectively albeit creatively deployed by Queen Sālote in the creation of her poetry. Herein, heliaki is variously defined as saying something in an indirect way, a mode of saying one thing and meaning another, a puzzle, and a symbolism. In addition to symbolism, Melenaite also classifies heliaki into two types, universal and culture-specific heliaki, where the former is eagerly understood by a general audience and the latter strictly confined to the successive speakers and members of Tongan language and culture.

Of all the definitions, the one offered by Melenaite is akin to the abstract dimension of heliaki, which literally means the interlacing, in this case, of two closely related objects, events, or states of affairs. There exist two kinds of heliaki: the qualitative, epiphoric heliaki and the associative, metaphoric heliaki (see, e.g., Māhina 2004a, 2004b, 2008a, 2008b), which run parallel to what Melenaite calls the universal and culture-specific heliaki. Whereas the qualitative, epiphoric heliaki refers to the exchange of qualities of two directly related objects, such as the freely blowing winds for freedom and the naturally occurring cycle of day and night for the inevitability of death, the associative, metaphoric heliaki highlights the culturally and historically intertwining association of two situations of some social, economic, and political significance, as in the case of the "chiefly," sweet-scented kulukona trees of Tavakefai'ana for the acclaimed aristocrat 'Ulukalala of the village of Tu'anuku on Vava'u and the renowned mound of Sia-ko-Veiongo on Tongatapu for the ruling Tu'i Kanokupolu dynasty.

On the philosophical level, however, heliaki can be commonly portrayed as an artistic and literary device for the intersection of two strictly connected yet opposed things, conditions, or occurrences. Quite simply, heliaki is symbolically saying one thing and actually meaning another. For example, *la'ā* (sun) for *tu'i* (monarch), *la'ātō* (sunset) for *mate* (death), and *Taulanga-Tuku-Mo-Failā* (City-of-Sails) for Auckland. The *tā-vā* (time-space), *fuo-uho* (form-content), and utility-led frictions at the interface of these objects, events, or states of affairs are mediated by means of *tatau* (symmetry) and *potupotutatau* (harmony), transforming the ordinary language from a

situation of crisis to a state of stasis, that is, *mālie* (beauty). The internal aesthetic qualities symmetry, harmony, and beauty impact on performers and audience alike in terms of the external emotional states *māfana* (warmth), *vela* ("fieriness"), and *tauēlangi* (climaxed elation). Heliaki is central to poetry in the same way that *tu'akautā* and *hola* (literally, "escape"), respectively, lie at the heart of music and dance. In the case of music and dance, the intersecting tools tu'akautā and hola, like the poetic apparatus heliaki, involve time-space, form-content subdivisions within coordinated tempo-marking sets of *vaa'itā* (tones) and *vaa'ihaka* (bodily movements) successively. The term hola is often interchanged with the words *kaiha'asi* or *haka-funga-haka*, both of which refer to the act of inserting an extra dance move in between two defined line-producing bodily movements.

Poetry can be generally defined as a special language within a language, which can normally be understood, as in the case of Tonga, by a select few, such as poets, orators, and traditionalists. The possession of skills in effectively decoding the intricacies, nuances, and imagery profoundly entrenched in Tongan poetry requires a critical knowledge of the modus operandi of heliaki, where objects, events, or situations are mutually exchanged qualitatively transculturally and associatively monoculturally. These pragmatic and epistemic requirements are demonstrated extensively in the essays, as are obvious in the intrinsic, aesthetic qualities of Queen Sālote's poetry. She is regarded as one of the few great contemporary poets that Tonga has ever produced. Her artistic and literary forte is underlined by a unique sense of capability, sensibility, and originality in the treatment of her subject matters, transforming tensions within them into a unified form, content, and function through sustained symmetry, harmony, and, above all, beauty.

While Melenaite's translation of the works of Queen Sālote is highly regarded, her effort nevertheless shows that translation strictly remains a real struggle, both intellectually and practically. As a way out of this impasse, the new general tā-vā theory of reality (see, e.g., Ka'ili 2005, 2007; Māhina 2002, 2007, 2008a, 2008b; Māhina, Ka'ili, and Ka'ili 2006) can be used to inform translation specifically, not to mention art and literature generally. Based on the pan-Pacific concepts and practices tā and vā, which, as previously mentioned, can be transliterated into English as time and space, the theory has a number of tenets. Some tenets, inter alia, include that ontologically, time and space are the common medium in which all things are, in a single level of reality; that epistemologically, time and space are differently arranged socially across cultures; that time and space on the abstract level and form and content on the concrete level are inseparable in mind as in reality; that all things stand in eternal relations of exchange

across nature, mind, and society, transforming to either order or conflict; and that order and conflict are of the same logical status in that order is itself a form of conflict.

Tongan art and literature can be broadly divided into *faiva*, *tufunga*, and *ngāue fakamea'a* (i.e., performance, material, and fine arts). Both terms, faiva and tufunga, literally mean doing-time-in-space. They exhibit an expression of tempo marking of space, where faiva is body centered and tufunga non–body centered. However, *tufunga liliulea* (transliterated as the art of translation; more broadly, translated as the material art of changing language) and *faiva fakatonulea* (which is literally translated as the performance art of correcting language) are more enigmatic. The former is applied to the written and the latter to the spoken. The Tongan terms *ta'anga* (poetry) and *maau* (poem), like faiva and tufunga, are a temporal, lineal, or formal demarcation of space. In a Tongan context, poetry is taken to be a collection of poems. The words ta'anga and maau (which indicate "place-of-beating" and orderly fashion, respectively) can serve as a basis for the development of a general time-space theory of poetry, where language is a medium for delineating space temporally, rhythmically transforming it in a systematic way from the hectic to the static.

Generally speaking, language is as much a collective tool of human communication as it is an art form. As such, language, like poetry, engrosses the rhythmic patterning of sound into symbols, which are then commonly assigned shared meanings for social communicative purposes. But poetry is an art form of a temporally and spatially intensified character. In practical terms, there cannot be a perfect translation; rather, there can be only a proximate translation. Translation can, thus, be loosely defined as a relation between the translator and the translated. By the same token, translation engages a conversion of one language to another, where a mediation of their spatiotemporal, substantial-formal, and functional conflicts are altered symmetrically, harmoniously, and beautifully. Sound is the common medium of both language and poetry, with symbolized human meanings as their collective content, formally and substantially defined by intertwining lineal and spatial tendencies. Similarly, sound is the medium of music, with its content characterized lineally and spatially in terms of tones. Music, unlike language and poetry, is devoid of human meanings.

Like all social entities the world over, language is arranged differently across human cultures. By implication, the form, content, and function of languages vary accordingly. For example, in Tongan culture, both utility and quality of art and literature coexist, like those in all forms of social activity. Not only are art forms made to be useful, they are also produced

to be beautiful. As far as the linguistic variations are concerned, spatiotemporal, substantial-formal, and functional oppositions exist at the crossing point of languages, where translation is concerned primarily with their mediation. The less that time-space, form-content, and utilitarian strains mediate this event, the better it is as a translation. Conversely, the more that spatiotemporal, substantial-formal, and functional tensions function as an intermediary in the process, the poorer the translation. Therefore, the success of this book as a work of translation can be measured by the degree to which both the complementary and opposed time-space, form-content, and pragmatic relationships between Tongan and English are rigidly negotiated in the process.

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