



**The Jonathan Napela Center for  
Hawaiian and Pacific Islands Studies**

BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY HAWAII

Pacific Studies

Vol. 45, No. 2—Dec. 2022

# Pacific Studies



0275-3596 (202212) 45:2:1-D

Vol. 45, No. 2—Dec. 2022



# PACIFIC STUDIES

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A multidisciplinary journal devoted to the study  
of the peoples of the Pacific Islands

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DECEMBER 2022

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PUBLISHED BY  
THE JONATHAN NAPELA CENTER FOR HAWAIIAN AND  
PACIFIC ISLANDS STUDIES  
BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY HAWAI‘I  
IN ASSOCIATION WITH THE POLYNESIAN CULTURAL CENTER

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This publication is printed on acid-free paper and meets the guidelines for permanence and durability of the Council on Library Resources.

ISSN 0275-3596

ISBN 0-939154-77-3



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## THE BOOK OF REVELATION IN NAFE (KWAMERA): WILLIAM WATT'S TRANSLATIONS AND LOANWORDS

Lamont Lindstrom  
*University of Tulsa*

*Dedication: To John Lynch, iema asori sai nagkiariien me Ipare, who reveals the way to Tanna and its languages.*

William Watt, Presbyterian missionary on Tanna (1869–1910), published a Nafe (Kwamera) language translation of the KJV New Testament in 1890. He had earlier produced Kwamera versions of the Gospels as soon as linguistic skills permitted, but the full New Testament translation was not completed until the late 1880s and printed in Glasgow during a mission leave (1889–1890). Watt worked with island pundits, and he relied on his wife Agnes's linguistic expertise. Revelation's allusions and obscurities presented significant difficulties of translation. I offer a close reading of Watt's translated book of Revelation—*Nari Kenamsasani* (sasani means “display”)—tracking his grammatical choices, his translation decisions given structural divergences of source and target languages, transliterations and loanwords that he borrowed from Biblical English or nineteenth century Bislama, and finally how Revelation may have resonated with island culture. Tanna's celebrated John Frum Movement prophecies, like John of Patmos, also foretold a New Heaven and New Earth.

ROMAN CATHOLIC, LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY, and Presbyterian missionaries opened stations in the New Hebrides beginning in the early 1840s. The Protestants, in particular, embraced Bible translation, schooling, and literacy as key elements of Christian proselytization and conversion. They devised orthographies for island languages and published Vanuatu's first books on small hand presses, mostly translations of the New Testament and other



Christian and pedagogical material. Among these was Presbyterian missionary William Watt who, with his wife Agnes, sought souls on Tanna between 1869 and 1910. In 1890, Watt published a Kwamera (Nafe; nife “what”; International Organization for Standardization 639-3 code TNK) language translation of the KJV New Testament (*Nagkirien Ruvani Sumun Savi Savei Yerumanu Saketaha Ketir Ramavahi Umuru Ketaha: Kavahi Nagkirien Kris, Karaipen ya Nagkirien Kamani Kwamera, Tana Ipare, Nyu Hebrides*—a long title that translates as “New agreed words of our Lord, the person who brings life to us: Obtained in Greek language, written into [translated] the language one calls Kwamera, Tanna Ipare [a local name for the island], New Hebrides,” perhaps reflecting the King James Bible title page’s assertion, “Translated out of the Original tongues”).<sup>1</sup>

A close reading of Watt’s translation of Revelation (*Nari Kenamsasani*—*sasani* means “display, reveal”), the Christian Bible’s final and notorious book, provides evidence of Watt’s linguistic and translation skills, including the choices he made when faced with structural divergences between source and target languages (cf. Geraghty 2003 on inexact Fijian Bible translations). Watt’s code-mixings of loanwords borrowed from English, the Bible itself, and nineteenth century Bislama index cultural changes then underway on the island, reflecting several decades of intensifying contact with the outside world, including enthusiastic islander participation in Southwest Pacific labor recruiting. A close reading of Revelation also identifies resonances between the Apocalypse and subsequent social organization on Tanna. Revelation continues to echo through island projects.

### William and Agnes

John Williams, the London Missionary Society’s traveling missionary, on November 18, 1839, moored the mission ship *Camden* in Port Resolution, an east Tanna bay that James Cook had named after his second expedition’s flagship. Williams hobnobbed with local folk, exchanging gifts of cloth, mirrors, beads, and trinkets. Although no one onboard understood the local Nafe language, visitors from neighboring Futuna (where people speak a Polynesian language related to Samoan) were then common at Port Resolution. Williams understood islanders to welcome missionaries, and he left three Samoan teachers at Port Resolution. Two days later, he was clubbed to death at Dillon’s Bay, Erromango (the next island to the north of Tanna), and was apparently eaten, along with his secretary James Harris. This spurred the LMS to boost its efforts, and missionaries George Turner and Henry Nisbet sailed back to Port Resolution in 1842, holding out there for several months until hostile relations forced a retreat. They produced,

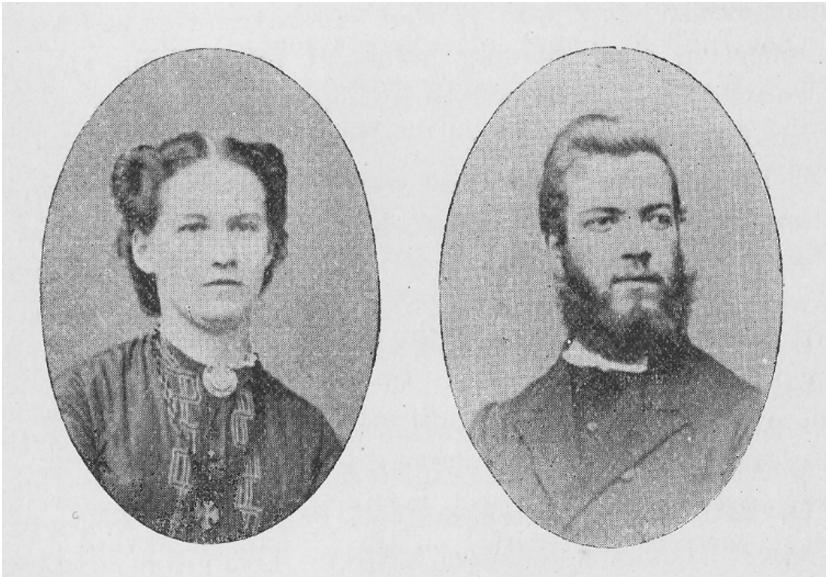


FIGURE 1. **William and Agnes Watt.**

during these months, catechisms and some pedagogical material, although these were muddled. Their accompanying teachers spoke Samoan and thus heard Nafe through that language's phonological and morphological systems (see Ferguson 1918: 17–24 and Lynch and Crowley 2001: 130–131 for records of early Kwamera/Nafe publication).

Presbyterian missionaries including John Paton followed in 1858. Paton, too, clashed with islanders, who blamed missionaries and other visiting Europeans, with good reason, for a series of epidemics that would kill perhaps half of the island's people. He evacuated to Australia in 1862 and, in 1869 in New Zealand, arranged for publication of a few translated chapters from the book of Mark (Murray 1888, 150). In 1868, the mission restaffed, sending Thomas Neilson and wife Lucy Geddie Neilson back to Port Resolution. A year later, William and Agnes Watt arrived to set up at Kwamera, twelve miles to the south, near Tanna's southern point (Fig. 1). Watt assumed supervision of the Presbyterian establishment at Port Resolution when the Neilsons left in 1882. The Watts eventually relocated from Kwamera to Port Resolution in 1891 (Miller 1986, 246). Agnes died there in 1894 and William, in 1900, married again, had two children, and retired with his family to Victoria, Australia, in 1910.

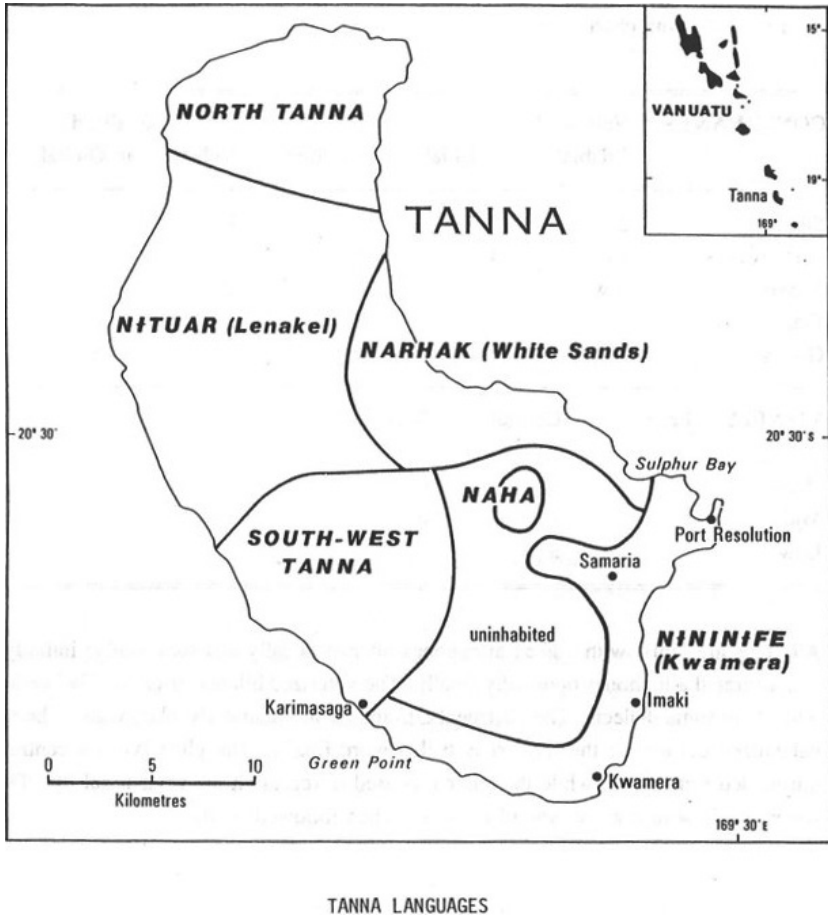


FIGURE 2. Tanna Languages.

Nafe (Nife or sometimes Nininife) language, with minor lexical differences, extends along the southeastern coast from the Port Resolution area down to Kwamera, and beyond to Green Point in the southwest (Lindstrom 1986; Lindstrom and Lynch 1994) (Fig. 2). The Watts used Nafe at both mission sites, although Presbyterians named the language Kwamera after Watt's first station. Watt translated, as soon as linguistic skills permitted, Kwamera versions of the Gospels, along with some Christian pedagogical material (Miller 1986, 270). The Eglinton Street branch of the Glasgow Foundry Boys Religious Society, a predecessor to the Boys Brigade that was founded in 1865 to support and uplift

boys working in Glasgow's iron foundries, adopted Watt's mission as a charity, and in 1873 the boys shipped a hand printing press to Tanna (Flexner 2016, 98). Watt used this in 1875 to print small books about Jesus's parables and miracles. In 1878, he more ambitiously printed the Gospel of Mathew, then the Acts of the Apostles (1881), Genesis (1883), and the first 19 chapters of Exodus (1884) in runs of 200 copies (Murray 1888, 150).

By the late 1880s, the Watts had persisted for two decades on Tanna and they had learned Nafe. Watt, in 1894, sent linguist Sidney Ray a Kwamera grammar that Ray relied on in his comparative study of Melanesian languages (1926). Mission colleagues particularly appreciated Agnes's linguistic expertise. Agnes herself bragged that she was a better linguist than was William, having picked up Nafe more quickly from local women (Watt 1896: 188, 218). She "possessed a wonderfully accurate knowledge of native customs and language" (1896, 42). Agnes (Watt 1890) translated stories of Biblical personages, and these were published in Scotland along with the New Testament (*Nakukua i ramavisau nakur kameni iraha ya Baibel*, "Book that explains people one mentions in the Bible"). She also translated numerous English hymns into Nafe, mostly based on Presbyterian standards (Watt 1896: 41–43, 287). These still feature in Tanna's hymnals (e.g., *Naresien em nupume ia nafkwakien ia nagkieren Kwamera*).

When Watt tackled translating the entire New Testament, alongside Agnes, he relied on local "pundits" for assistance. Agnes identified Naswai as one of Watt's "final pundits" (1896, 323; cf. Inglis 1887: 103–105). Naswai lived near Kwamera, as did most of his fellow pundits, prompting southern Nafe variants of several important words, including nakirien ("word") instead of nagkiarrien, the Port Resolution form, and -atoni ("see") rather than -ata, in the Kwamera New Testament. Watt drew on previous Bible translations that Thomas Neilson had prepared before he left the island in 1882, including Paul's letters to the Thessalonians, Hebrews, Timothy, and Revelation. Neilson perhaps chose to translate Revelation expecting that grim news of doomsday might advance his conversion efforts.

I have been unable to locate Watt's diary that might indicate when he tackled Revelation. Like Neilson, he may have begun translation in the 1870s after polishing his technique on the Gospels, or he may have worked through the New Testament sequentially, only preparing Revelation in the late 1880s before he brought the completed manuscript to Scotland. We do not know the extent to which Watt based his final translation of Revelation on Neilson's earlier work. Watt noted, however, that Neilson's were "first translations, and will require much revision before they will be ready for the press" (Murray 1888, 151). Watt finalized a New Testament draft by 1889, Agnes writing that August: "revision of the New Testament is complete" (1896, 318).

The National Bible Society of Scotland, “with the consent of the British and Foreign Bible Society” (Murray 1888, 150), used a legacy it had received to fund the publication of Watt’s New Testament translation (Watt 1896: 30–31) (Fig. 3). The Bible Societies required translators to use the Authorized English (King James) version of the New Testament (Gardner 2006: 300–301), which Watt clearly did. To arrange publication of the Kwamera New Testament, the Watts returned to Scotland in late 1889 where “for months life seemed to consist in revising and correcting proofs” (Watt 1896, 31). Despite strenuous proofing, several glitches crept into Revelation. The translation combines verses 14:2 and 14:3, with 14:3 omitted. Opening words of verse 22:2 (*ya kurukwai swatuk iken*, “in the midst of the street”) are included at the end of verse 22:1. The first phrase of verse 13:1 has moved to end Watt’s preceding verse 12:17 (in rarer *ya ruki nepaker*, “And I stood upon the sand of the sea”). Watt’s translation here reads “he stands on the beach.” Verse 7:9 begins “After this I beheld, and, lo, a great multitude . . .” Watt’s translation instead substitutes *hoihi* (“3PPL-small. little”) for what probably should have been *asori* (“big/many”):

*Kenapiraka narimnarime ine iau yak-atipen, mata nermama hoihi anan . . .*

“After these things I looked out, and saw a very few/little people . . .”

Verse 5:14 leaves out the concluding phrase “that liveth for ever and ever.” Watt also omitted “dogs” from 22:15 (“For without are dogs, and sorcerers . . .”), perhaps because he concluded *Nafe kuri* (“dog”) isn’t scurrilous enough. Apart from these few slips, Watt’s translation sticks faithfully to the original King James text.

The Bible Society’s grant paid for publication and permitted the Watts, when back on Tanna in 1891, to distribute copies freely. Agnes claimed that most recipients showed “joy at getting them” and “ever since have plodded diligently to be able to read them,” apart from some suspicious youth who refused to accept a book from abroad, fearing that it might make them sick (1896, 323). Earlier, on Aneityum, the mission had required converts to pay for both Bible translation and publication with donations of arrowroot (Murray 1886, 151). Aneityumese converts’ production for export of arrowroot, a missionary introduced cash crop, provided the Bible Society £1200, which it used to support publication of the translated Bible, and also to provide stipends to missionary translators John Inglis and John Geddie, and lesser stipends to their wives. The mission then charged again, when it sold copies of the book to Aneityumese Christians (Inglis 1887: 110–111). On Tanna, aware that Christian publications often caused suspicion, the Watts decided not to charge for *Nagkirian Ruvani Sumun Savi*, although

NAGKIRIEN RUVANI SUMUN SAVI

SAVRI

YERU ANU SAKETAHA

KETIR RAMAVAHU UMURU KETAHA.

Alhyo

ak

ak

Jon

Narimnari AHI NAGKIRIEN KRIS, KARAIPEN YA NAGKIRIEN

KAMANI KWAMARA, TANA IPARE, NYU HEBRIDES.

ku

Glasgow :

PRINTED FOR THE NATIONAL BIBLE SOCIETY OF SCOTLAND BY  
R. E. ROBERTSON, LTD., 198 BUCHANAN STREET.

1923.

FIGURE 3. The New Testament in Kwamera.

they did establish a chapter of the Bible Society and convened meetings where they collected cash donations that they remitted to London, alongside other gifts of cash sent to the Glasgow Foundry Boys (Watt 1896: 266, 306). R. E. Robertson of Glasgow reprinted the Nafe New Testament in 1923.

### **Revelation**

Revelation, or Apocalypse, along with Genesis, bookends the Christian Bible. The book offers a number of enduring puzzles. It may or may not have been written by John on the island of Patmos. John may or may not have been an Anatolian Jew and convert to Christianity. And he may or may not have been exiled to Patmos, having somehow come to the attention of Roman authority. Revelation, some scholars believe, has an underlying structure of seven parts. John first asserts that his revealed knowledge came from Jesus. While “in the spirit” he heard behind him “a great voice, as of a trumpet” (1:10); but also that an angel “sent and signified” his revelations (1:1). Next come messages to seven Anatolian Christian churches. Then a scroll with seven seals which, when opened, release horsemen, earthquakes, angels, and seven trumpets which devastate the earth. Several spiritual figures, good and bad, then appear: a woman with a male child, a dragon, a beast with seven heads, another beast with lamb-like horns, and a lamb on Mt. Zion surrounded by 144,000 redeemed believers. Then angels pour seven bowls on land and sea, which eradicate much of creation. A great whore on a scarlet beast makes trouble. A final judgment casts one beast and a false prophet into a lake of fire, the dragon imprisoned for 1,000 years in a bottomless pit. Christ and resurrected martyrs rule on earth during those 1,000 years until the dragon emerges, deceives and gathers followers for a final battle, and is defeated. A last judgment finishes off troublemakers, who also are cast into the lake of fire, this their second death. Finally, a new heaven and new earth, with a new Jerusalem, replace the old, ravaged world, and surviving believers no longer suffer or die.

Revelation’s allusions and obscurities, and John’s quirky Greek, have presented significant difficulties of translation since the book squeezed into the canon in the fourth century. The Prophet favored figures and numbers (seven cities, seals, candlesticks, trumpets, plagues, mountains, heads; twelve foundations, gates, angels; 666; 144,000), strange beasts, a dragon, and a whore, jewels and gems, fiery pits and golden cities. Martin Luther, when translating the New Testament into German, was a critic, although later warmed to the book when Protestants found it useful to equate Rome with Babylon, and the Pope with the beast. John Calvin wrote commentary on every Bible book except Revelation, but his Scottish follower John Knox also liked to imagine the Bishop of Rome

TABLE 1. Watt's Orthography.

Nafe phone	Watt's Orthography
[i, ə]	a, e, u, i
[m, n]	ᵐm, ᵐn
[r]	ᵐr
[ŋ]	g

as the Anti-Christ. Most Scottish Presbyterians thus embraced Revelation as valued prophecy (Drinnon 2013).

### Translation

Watt's Revelation translation remains readable even given his orthographic choices. He stretched his hand press's five vowel types to cover Nafe's sixth mid-central vowel. He denoted devoiced nasals [m] and [n] and liquid [r] with a preceding backquote mark. He used [g] for the velar nasal (Table 1).

Readers should have also followed Watt's treatment of some adjunct morphemes as postclitics (tagged onto a verb root) rather than as separate words, as in verse 1:18:

raka (completion), yakuva'maraka, yak-uva'ma-raka  
("1PS-die-completion")

eme [me, PL4+], nukeme, nuk-eme ("yam.year-PL4+")

umi [mwi, "again"], yakumuruumi, yak-umuru-umi (1PS-live-again)

Watt also juggled hyphenation, often inserting a hyphen between the verb root and the second component of the nominalizing circumfix (n. . ien) morpheme (-ien), as in Revelation 2:9 *namisa-ien* (n-amisa-ien, -amisa "ache, hurt"); and between some (but not all) tense and person markers and verb roots, as in 2:8 *tik-apa* (t-ik-apa, "FUT-2PS-apa," -apa NEG). Despite these complications, readers (and hearers) can parse out at least the surface meaning of Revelation's message.

Watt clearly worked to produce a locally coherent Nafe reading rather than a literal translation of sacred text, antedating sophisticated twentieth century Bible translation theory (e.g., Nida and Taber 1974; Buber and Rosenzweig 1994). He translated the book's title as *Nari Kenamsasani John Remarai* ("Things one started to show John writes"). Here is opening verse 1:1 as an example (ES is an echo subject marker):



Watt: Nari kenamsasani savei Yesu Kresto,  
 Thing 3PS(one)-INCHOATIVE-reveal POSS Jesus Christ,

KJV: “The Revelation of Jesus Christ

Atua ravahipen min menwa  
 God 3PS-gave-DIRaway ES-3ps ES-PERF-say  
 which God gave unto him,

in te-ravisau em kankwanfagame  
 he FUT-3PS-advise to 3PSPOSS-crewman-PL  
 to shew unto his servants

narimnarime teini no tu-uvehe;  
 thing-CONJ-thing-PL those PERF-do FUT-3PS-come  
 things which must shortly come to pass;

in ra'ripen agelo savani menwa in  
 he 3PS-send-DIRaway angel his ES-PERF-say he  
 and he sent and signified it

te-ravisau em kankwanfaga Jon;  
 FUT-3PS-advise to 3PSPOSS-crewman John;  
 by his angel unto his servant John.”

### *Watt's Nafe Grammar*

Spoken Nafe today has not much diverged from Watt's nineteenth century literary translation. Watt had grasped the language's essential grammatical features, as Revelation reveals.

1. Verbal morphemes: Watt's verbs feature appropriate person/number morphemes along with tense/aspect markers.
  - a. These include the continuant -(a)m-: pa nabien r-am-ara (1:4), “let pity/love 3PS-CONT-exist”;
  - b. Both perfective allomorphs -(e)n- and -v-: kuvani (22:6), “3PS-PERF-say”; yakenaregi (22:8), “1PS-PERF-hear”;
  - c. The conditional -p-: ipapa (2:5), “2PS-COND-not\_do” (as in ik ipapa nararegien ya reram, “except thou repent”);
  - d. The inchoative -enam-: kenamsasani (1:1), “3PS-INCHO-show,” Watt's translation for “Revelation” itself: “one began to show/reveal”;

- e. The sequential -pk-: *ik ipuk-ata nari* (3:18), “you 2PS-SEQ-see thing,” for “that thou mayest see.”
2. Person morphemes: Nafe, like many Vanuatu languages, features 15 person morphemes: first inclusive, first exclusive, second, and third in the singular, dual, trial, and plural as independent morphemes and verbal prefixes, along with an impersonal verbal prefix *k-* (see Lynch 2001, 124). Watt juggled all these correctly. Missionary translation elsewhere occasionally went awry with first person inclusive/exclusive. If one addresses God with the inclusive “we are sinners” one thus implies that God is too (Gardner 2006, 310). The Christian triune God also complicated translation. How far should translations lean on Austronesian trial person markers? Inglis, on Aneityum, was happy to do so, where Genesis 1:26 became “Let *us three* make man in the image of *us three*” (1887, 99). Watt avoided one potential pitfall in 5:10, changing source “and we shall reign of the earth” to *iraha tu-amerumanu ya tuprana* (“they will be ruling on earth”), and correctly addressed Atua sakemaha “our-exclusive God” in 7:3.
  3. Echo-subjects: As Lynch (1983) has described, echo-subject prefixes replace same-subject person prefixes on subsequent verbs. A singular echoed subject takes *m-* as in *sin resekai marer ya nanimen?* (6:17), “who 3PS-strong ES-stand at face.eyes-3PSPOSS?” (“who shall be able to stand?”) Watt also used the trial person echo-subject *-mhar-* although orthographically he did not note the devoiced plural *-mh-* or the dual *-(m)rou-*: *maraven, marata nerumanume ya pam tuprena, marasusasumun iraha* (16:14), “ES3P-go ES3P-see people-PL from all lands, ES3P-gather them,” for “they three [unclean spirits] . . . which go forth unto the kings of the earth and of the whole world, to gather them. . . .”
  4. Negation: Nafe negates verbs in two main ways: The first with a verbal suffix *-mha* along with prefix *-pk-*, and the second with the negative verb *apwah* followed by a nominalized form of the verb being negated (Lindstrom and Lynch 1994, 28). Watt used both these constructions: *puk-ata'ma ik* (3:17), “NEG-see-NEG you”; *ik enapa nokeikeien Kresto kupan seim* (2:4), “you PERF-NEG NOM-love-NOM Christ your,” or “thou hast left thy first love.”
  5. Directionals: Nafe possesses several directional suffixes, including *-pehe* (“towards speaker or hearer”), *-pen* (“away from speaker or hearer”), and *-uta* (“upwards”) (Lindstrom and Lynch 1994, 13; Lynch 2001: 159–160). Watt incorporated these in his Nafe verbs: *ravahipen* (1:1), “3PS-give-AWAY”; *iau tapuk-avei-pehe kraun* (2:10), “I FUT-SEQ-give-TOWARDS crown”; *rausauta regen matuk* (10:5), “3PS-effect-UPWARDS arm-3PS-POSS right,” or “lifted up his hand.”

6. Number morphemes: Watt also figured out Nafe’s number markers *mi* (dual), *mirahar* (trial), and *me* (plural): *yemami* (11:3), “men-DUAL”; *irahar nari mirahar* (9:18), “they-three thing of-TRIAL,” or “By these three”; *nagkirien parhieneme savai Atua* (19:9), “words truth-PL of God” as in “true sayings of God”).

And Watt drew on Nafe’s rich system of possession morphemes, including *sanmwu-* (“drinkable possession”): *ik enavahipenumi neta sanumunraha miraha* (16:6), “you PERF-give-AWAY-also blood POSS.DRINKABLE-3PPL to-3PPL,” or “thou hast given them blood to drink.”

### Watt’s Lexical Translations

Watts relied on an effective grammatical system, but he still had to deal with Revelation’s words and concepts. Lexically, with the help of Agnes and local pundits, he sometimes found suitable Nafe synonyms for English terms; sometimes invented Nafe paraphrases for Christian concepts, or drew on pedagogical neologisms dating back to the establishment of the mission; and sometimes resorted to English or early Bislama loanwords (Gardner 2006: 306–307; Inglis 1887, 97). Most of Watt’s Nafe paraphrases replace English nouns or adjectives. Subsequent studies of code-mixing in oral discourse also have noted that noun mixes are most frequent, followed by adjectives, adverbs, verbs, and then miscellaneous grammatical items (Sridhar and Sridhar 1980, 409). Nafe’s inventory of verbs (and also pronouns, occasional adverbs, and prepositions) mostly afforded satisfactory synonyms for direct translation, although mission schooling had already stretched the meaning of some terms: *-rai* (“mark” had come also to mean “write”), and *-uvsini* (“count” also “read”). Watt, for Revelation, found it necessary to invent Nafe paraphrases for just a few key Christian verbs, including “repent,” “redeem,” “prophesize,” and “judge” (Table 2, noting verse of first appearance).

Notably, missionary choices to rename their supernaturals could cause confusion, not to mention theological error. By 1890, standardized Nafe terms had emerged: *Atua* (“God,” which dated back to John William’s Samoan teachers at

TABLE 2. Christian verbs and Nafe paraphrases.

Christian verb	Nafe paraphrase
repent (2:16)	<i>arareg ya reram</i> (“return to your innards/heart”)
redeem (5:9)	<i>arai em atua</i> (“write/mark to god”)
prophesy (10:11)	<i>esematuk mavisau nagkirien</i> (“straighten and advise talk”)
judge (16:6)	<i>aruku atukwatuk</i> (“correctly reciprocate”)

**TABLE 3. Watt's Biblical Paraphrases and Synonyms.**

Biblical lexeme	Nafe paraphrase or synonym
revelation (1:1)	nari kenamsasani ("thing one has begun to reveal")
servant (1:1)	kwanfaga ("crewman, helper")
witness (n) (1:5)	ketir ramavisau ("person advises")
sin (1:5)	tafaga reraha ("bad behavior")
priests (1:6)	nema samamre nari ya nefata em atua ("men who put things on the bed/platform of atua")
almighty (1:8)	esekai-abba ("unusually strong")
kingdom (1:9)	entata ("canoe, social group")
patience (1:9)	natareg-meruien te nari ("thinking slowly about things")
hell (1:18, 20:13)	imei nakur huva'ma hamara ("place where dead people live"); imei ne'meiien ("place of sickness/death")
mystery (1:20)	nari kamerkwafa ("thing one is hiding")
rich (adj.) (2:9)	amameri nari ("putting thing(s)")
riches (n.) (5:2)	nubasion ("possessions")
poverty (2:9)	niwanien ya nari ("absence of thing(s)")
blasphemy (2:9)	nagkieren reraha se rupinari ("biggest bad talk")
fornication (2:14)	nepirinari ("piece of a thing, any trouble or bad behavior")
charity (2:19)	nokeikeiien kresto ("christ(like) love")
tribulation (2:22)	namisaien usabba ("extraordinary pain")
holy (3:7, 11:2)	amasan ("good"); ikinan ("tabu")
worship (3:9)	arpasuk ("bend down")
heaven (4:1)	neai ("sky")
beast (4:6, 6:8)	nari umuru ("live thing"); nari apirumun ("bush thing")
honor (n.) (4:11, 7:12)	navahiuta-ien ("lifting up"); nesaiien ("respect, fear, obedience")
seal (5:1)	nari kamasisag i ("thing one closes with")
tribe (5:5)	numipi ("grandchildren of")
blessing (5:12)	nakwein-amasanien ("call goodness")

pale horse (6:8)	hors akweas (“yellow horse”)
bondsmen (6:15)	nakur kam’ri iraha (“people one has placed”)
freemen (6:15)	nakur kapuka’ri’ma iraha (“people one hasn’t placed”)
salvation (7:10)	navahi-umuruien (“giving life”)
torment (v.) (9:5)	o meta (“make trouble”)
army (9:16)	nemafiame (“fierce men”)
devil (9:20, 16:14)	ere’ma (“ancestral spirit”); agelo eraha (“bad angel”)
prophesy (n.) (22:18)	nagkieren kamenipui narimnarime ira (“talk one revealed things with”)
gentiles (11:2)	nakur ya taname (“people of the lands”)
plagues (11:6)	neraha-ieneme pam (“all badness”)
enemies (11:12)	nermepa me (“other people”)
saints 11(18)	nakur amasan (“good people”)
virgins 14(4)	nakur amasan (“good people”)
faith in Jesus (14:12)	ahatata ya Yesu (“lean on Jesus”)
whore (17:1)	pran ramo asori nepirinari (“woman who does big bad things”)
martyrs (17:6)	nakur kenausiapone (“people one kills dead”)
marvel (v.) (17:6)	asak asori tukwe (“cry loudly from”)
merchants (18:3)	nakur hameriari (“people who distribute”)
queen (18:7)	abreinap (“unmarried woman, a boy’s initial sex partner”)
slaves (18:13)	nuprai nermamame (“bodies of people”)
marriage (supper) (19:9)	narerien (“standing”)
faithful (n.) (19:11)	ketir tuk-ategitei ira (“one who will rely on it”)
souls (20:4)	nanumi nermama (“spirits of people”)
resurrection (20:5)	natuienumi (“waking again”)
curse (n.) (22:3)	nari kamauraha yermama ira (“thing one spoils people with”)
reward (n.) (22:12)	nari tuk-araku nermama ira (“thing one will pay people with”)

Port Resolution in 1839), Yesu Kristo (“Jesus Christ”), Nanumun Amasan (“the Holy Spirit,” “good spirit”), Yerumanu (“the Lord,” “leader, chief”), diabololo (“the Devil”), Setan (“Satan”), agelo (“angel”), and nakalasia (“the church”). Watt created paraphrases for “hell” (imei nakur huva‘ma hamara, “place where dead people live,” or imei ne‘meien, “place of sickness/death”) instead of using Ipwai, the Nafe word for “land of spirits.” He did use Nafe neai (“sky”) for “heaven,” and he translated “devils” (9:20) and “idols” (2:14) with nare‘mame [iaremha, “dead man, ancestral spirit”], as had Nisbett, Turner, and Paton, his predecessors at Port Resolution (Adams 1984: 61–64, 112–113; Lindstrom 2007, 219). Ancestral ghosts are the principal impinging spirit figures on the island. The Watts, Paton, and other missionaries condemned traditional post-kava prayers to the neremha, first fruit offerings, and other ancestral supplications, and they aimed to substitute God and Jesus in their place. As Ron Adams has noted, these lexical proxies “would have strengthened the natural tendency on the part of the Tannese to evaluate Christianity in terms of their customary magico-religious framework” (1984, 62).

Watt’s synonym choices and paraphrases of core Christian concepts may have been similarly perplexing, at least initially, although he built on twenty years of Christian teaching on the island (Table 3, noting verse of first appearance).

Many of these Nafe paraphrases come close to a word’s English connotation, and readers/hearers should have understood them, although they may not have followed the text’s larger meanings. Watt also devised Nafe paraphrases for unfamiliar objects, a few mathematical categories, and one cardinal direction (Table 4). To address perplexity, Watt and his teachers presumably would have explained muddled concepts during weekly church services, and in the dozen or so schools the Watts established across the southeast region, where scholars learned to read using mostly Christian material.

Watt sometimes stretched a Nafe term to evoke an English source: a “great furnace” (9:2) is yasur (“volcano”); “brimstone” (9:17) is nerkwias (“volcanic clay; sulfurous fumerole”); “hour” (14:7) is kwopi napen (“piece of day”), and “gave her space” (2:21) is avahipen nepen min (“gave day/time to her”). He also chose among various Nafe terms for “carry” that hinge on where and how something is carried, choosing avrani (“carry on one’s shoulder”) to translate “I will put upon you none other burden” (2:24). Watt’s paraphrase for “plagues” (15:1, neraha-ieneme, “badnesses”) is also notable given mission reluctance to accept blame for causing a series of massive epidemics on the island.

Watt’s use of abreinap for “Queen” (18:7) is certainly peculiar. Preinhap (also pran vi) can mean “unmarried woman,” but is also the term for a woman once brought to a traditional men’s house on a village’s kava clearing who was sexually available (to unmarried men, men today claim) and who served as a youth’s initial sexual partner. Missionaries much deplored the practice (see Watt 1896, 350). Humphreys, a visiting anthropologist and guest of Thomas Macmillan, the Presbyterian missionary

**TABLE 4. Paraphrases of Foreign Objects/Concepts.**

Foreign term	Nafe translation
trumpet (1:10)	kisup (“triton shell”)
sword (1:16)	nauitoga (“foreign knife”)
prison (2:10)	nimwa akneken (“strong house”)
pillar (3:12)	besagi ya nimwa (“house’s nose”)
eyesalve (3:18)	nari kamahakwi namri yerama ira (“thing one washes people’s eyes with”)
balance (n.) (6:5)	nari kamo nemtation ira (“thing one makes a mark with”)
sackcloth (6:12)	tenari ya nu’mri nari (“cloth for putting things”)
east (7:2)	kwopeni meri ra-uta iken (“place where the sun rises”)
censer (8:3)	narime nepekenien ramasan rebuk (“things the smell is really good”)
third part (of the earth) (8:7)	kwopeni reti ya tuprana kapa kwopenemi karu (“one place of the earth not including two places”)
wormwood (8:11)	nari afia (“bitter thing”)
great furnace (9:2)	yasur (“volcano”)
three days and a half (11:9)	napen kahar, mene ya nekar napen se ro kefa (“three days, and half of the fourth day”)
hail (11:19)	nesan se rarupu asori (“rain that dances/boils a lot”)
lamb (13:11)	puti ship (“small sheep”)
winepress (14:19)	nari kamvyiaterini vain ira (“thing one presses wine with”)
double (v.) (18:6)	arupun em karu min (“repay twice to it”)
oil (18:13)	nese olev (“juice of olive”)
millstone (18:22)	kampir kamarari flaur ira (“stone one grinds flour with”)
pipers (18:22)	nakur hauwaswasi kwanau (“people they blow panpipes”)
bridegroom (18:23)	ketir repuk-amera te kansuaru (“person who is to marry with his spouse”)

at White Sands, labeled these women “prostitutes” (1926, 115). Watt might have instead used *abreina* to translate “whore” (17:1), but here he relied on a paraphrase (*bran afwe ramo asori nepirinari*, “the woman who does big bad things”), perhaps rightly concerned with creating cross-cultural confusion.

“Work,” a key concept that missionaries hoped to inculcate in the converted but one that had no direct Nafe equivalent, also presented a problem. Watt sometimes merely borrowed English “work” (2:26, 3:2), sometimes used Nafe *tafaga* (2:23) (“behavior”), sometimes an invented paraphrase *narinamrime ik amo* (2:2) (“things you do”), and he once omitted the word from the verse (2:9). Island time concepts more closely paralleled the early Christian. Time, if not static, is more cyclical than linear (Lindstrom 2011a). Watt had no problem bending Nafe to convey John’s temporal warnings of a perpetual beast, *nari apirumun afwe* (“bush thing there” (17:8)), although how people took this is questionable. Feral pigs are the island’s only wild beasts, though it might have been an easy jump to an omnipresent, dangerous, and savage spirit.

TABLE 5. **Biblical and Mission Loans.**

Biblical and Mission Loans
agelo (“angel”)
Atua (“god,” Samoan)
Kresto (“Christ”)
nakalasia (“church,” ecclesia, Greek)
apostelo (“apostle”)
profeta (“prophet”)
Setan (“satan”)
Elder (“elder”)
Diabolo (“devil”)
Yesu (“Jesus”)
haleluya (“halleluia”)
Alfa, Omeka (“Alpha,” “Omega”)
paradais (“paradise”)
Isreel (“Israel”)
Jerusalem (“Jerusalem”)
Babelon (“Babylon”)
Kok, Mekok (“Gog,” “Magog”)
mana (“manna”)
Hibru (“Hebrew”)
Kris (“Greece”)
frankensens (“frankincense”)

Watt:      in renamara                      tui,                      mamiwan                      ipetmene,  
                  He 3PS-INCHOATIVE-live ago      ES-CONT-none      today-and  
                  “the beast that was, and is not

                 mata    te-r-upuk-ara-mi  
                  but    FUT-3PS-SEQ-live-again  
                  and yet is” KJV (17:8).

Watt also found Nafe wordings for “which was, and is, and is to come” (4:8), and “which art, and wast, and shalt be” (16:5).



### Borrowings and Transliterations

Alongside finding Nafe synonyms and creating Nafe paraphrases for English terms, Watt also sometimes just transliterated lexemes from Biblical English or, in a few cases, early Bislama. As with his Nafe paraphrases, Watt mainly borrowed nouns (Table 5). He maintained, although transliterated, Revelation's place names (e.g., Esyia (Asia), Efesas, Feladelfia, Esreel, Kris), and also Hibru, Yufretes, and of course Alfa and Omeka. He code-mixed a range of other Biblical terms into the translation, either because he decided that no Nafe synonym existed or, if there was a Nafe word with similar meaning, this would distort people's comprehension of source meaning.

Watt likewise resorted to English loanwords, instead of seeking Nafe synonyms or even paraphrasing, for various items unknown on the island. These include terms for old world animals, real and imaginary (Table 6); various alien concepts (Table 7); and Revelation's miscellaneous fancy goods that adorn heaven and the New Jerusalem

TABLE 6. **Animals.**

Animals
laion ("lion")
lepard ("leopard")
ikel ("eagle")
frok ("frog")
drakon ("dragon")
lam ("lamb")
skorpion ("scorpion")
ber ("bear")
hors ("horse")
sip ("sheep")

TABLE 7. **Objects, Concepts.**

Objects, Concepts
thron ("throne")
lamp ("lamp")
harp ("harp")
flaur ("flour")
whit ("wheat")
barle ("barley")
olev ("olive")
pam ("palm")
sno ("snow")
selk ("silk")
kraun ("crown")
hone ("honey")
wain ("wine")
vain ("vine")
braidel ("bridel")
jariot ("chariot")
work ("work")
mone ("money")
ki ("key")
peper ("scroll")
thank yu ("thank you")
aur ("hour"); nekare aur ("half an hour")

(Table 8). His inconsistent hors was sometimes “horse.” He borrowed *ikel* (“eagle”) instead of the familiar Nafe *kweria* (“swamp harrier, hawk”), and likewise *pam* (“palm”) instead of a Nafe word for the various palm species on the island. He also missed an obscure Nafe term for “scorpion,” *iamnikeiap*. Thank *yu* (4:9, 7:12, 11:17) confirms missionary wife Mary Matheson’s 1860 complaint (she preceded the Watts at Kwamera) that her island neighbors “do not seem to have any word for compassion, and there seems to be no such emotion within them. There is no word expressive of gratitude” (Patterson 1864, 466). (Recently Nafe *tanak* has emerged as a “thank you” *calque*.)

Watt relied on English loans for directions, measures of distance and weight (Table 9), as well as for many numbers (Table 10).

Although Watt had paraphrased “east” in 7:2 as “place where the sun rises,” in 21:3 he borrowed English terms for the four cardinal directions. He also borrowed *kubet* (“cubit”) but converted Revelation’s “a thousand and six hundred furlongs” (14:20) to *mail tu handred* (“two hundred miles”), and “talent” (16:21) to *won handred paundeme* (“100 hundred pounds”). Watt dealt variously with the Prophet’s fondness for numbers. He mixed, without apparent design, both Nafe and English terms. Island scholars had learned roman numerals in mission schools since the 1840s, and Watt followed his source text in numbering Revelation’s chapters (*kwopi nagkirien asori*, “piece of important words”) and verses. Within the text, he alternated between English loans

TABLE 8. **Fancy Goods.**

Gems, Metals, Flowers
<i>kold</i> (“gold”)
<i>selper</i> (“silver”)
<i>aivore</i> (“ivory”)
<i>marbel</i> (“marble”)
<i>bras</i> (“brass”)
<i>airon</i> (“iron”)
<i>jasper</i> (“jasper”)
<i>sardias</i> (“sardine”)
<i>sardeas</i> (“sardius”)
<i>kresolait</i> (“chrysolite”)
<i>berl</i> (“beryl”)
<i>topas</i> (“topaz”)
<i>kraisoprasas</i> (“chrysoprasus”)
<i>jasenth</i> (“jacinth”)
<i>amethest</i> (“amethyst”)
<i>emerald</i> (“emerald”)
<i>safair</i> (“safir”)
<i>kalsedone</i> (“chalcedony”)
<i>sardoneks</i> (“sardonyx”)
<i>perl</i> (“pearl”)
<i>klas</i> (“glass”)
<i>krestel</i> (“crystal”)
<i>haiasenth</i> (“hyacinth”)

TABLE 9. **Directions, Distance, Weights.**

Directions, Distance, Weights
ist (“east”)
north (“north”)
sauth (“south”)
west (“west”)
mail (“mile”) (“furlong”)
won handred paundeme (“talent”)
kubet (“cubit”)

TABLE 10. **Numbers.**

Numbers
numera (“number”)
won (“1”)
for (“4”)
faiv (“5”)
seks (“6”)
seven (“7”)
nain (“9”)
ten (“10”)
twelv (“12”)
twente for (“24”)
forte tu (“42”)
tu handred (“200”)
seks handred me sekste seks (“666”)
won thousand, thausand (“1000”)
feftin handred (“1500”)
twelv handred em sekste (“1260”)
seven thousand (“7000”)
won handred em forte for thausand (“144,000”)
tu handred melyan (“200,000,000”)

TABLE 11. **Bislama Loans.**

Early Bislama?
kurimatau (“calf”)
lamp (“lamp”)
mone (“penny”)
kapten (“captain”)
selor (“sailor”)

and Nafe terms. Nafe, as is typical of southern Vanuatu languages, has a quinary base-5 system which Watt often employed (21:20). But he also borrowed from English. “Twelve” is twelv in 21:21 but kariram kariram karu (“five five two, or 12”) in the verse (21:20), just preceding. He resorted to English for numbers greater than 12, although incorporated Nafe me or em (“and”) to construct several of these, e.g., 13:18’s seks handred me sekste seks (666).

Many on Tanna would have understood rudimentary Bislama when Watt began his translation efforts in the 1870s, having encountered the Pidgin in Christian school, on ships or local plantations, or when traveling abroad (Crowley 1990: 97–98). Since the 1860s, Tannese men and some women had worked on island plantations or signed up to work in Queensland, Fiji, New Caledonia, and Samoa. Bislama, however, is little apparent in Watt’s Revelation, although some English loanwords are also Bislama terms, e.g., hors(e) and ship (“sheep”) (Table 11). Only one word, kurimatau (4:7 “calf,” and then 18:13 “beasts”), obviously derives

from Bislama—this is the Tanna and Aneityum version of old Bislama *bulamakao*, “cattle” (Camden 1977, 15), *kuri* the Nafe word for “dog.” Also, *lamp* (from hurricane lamp), which Watt used to translate “candle” (18:23, 22:5) and “candlestick” (1:12–13, 1:20, 2:1, 2:5, 11:4), may have come from nineteenth century Bislama, as might *mone* (6:6, *kwopi mone reti*, “piece of money” or “penny”) and nautical terms *kapten* (6:15) and *selor* (18:17).

In oral discourse today, Nafe possesses a nativization device that readily incorporates single Bislama words and phrases alike. Almost any Bislama verb, adjective, or noun can be grafted into a Nafe sentence simply by introducing the word with *-o* (“do, make”) with appropriate person, number, and aspect prefixes. Examples recorded in the 1980s (Lindstrom 2007: 223–224) include *iako agens* (“I am against”), *o ro aksen riti* (“[you should] make some action”), *in ro ting* (“he thinks”), and *iko trabol* (“you make trouble”), among many others. Within Nafe, *-o + verb* is a common structure, with the secondary verb taking echo-subject prefixes. One finds several examples of *-o* in Watt’s translation, e.g., *tu-o meta iraha* (9:5, “one will torment them,” *-o meta* “cause trouble/blood”), and also *-o* in Nafe ordinals (*Agela se ro kariram*, “the fifth angel”), but he did not use *-o + loan* to insert English/Bislama borrowings. The 2013 Kwamera New Testament, translated by SIL volunteer Erik Stapleton and his own crew of pundits, includes various examples of *-o + Bislama loan*, as in 19:18, *ko slef ia niraha* (“one makes slaves of them”) (Wycliffe Bible Translators 2013, 638). In 1890, Watt may have avoided mixing available Bislama forms aiming at scriptural formality or because nativization devices such as *-o + loan* had not yet developed.

### John of Patmos, John Frum of Tanna

John’s Apocalypse certainly has “inspired artists and rebels alike” for nearly 2000 years in its urgent articulation that “the world is facing a catastrophe” and its “convincing picture of the glorious future that awaits mankind after the last, decisive conflict” (Quispel 1979, 3), and we can suppose that, despite its baffling translated allegories, it made waves on Tanna, too. The Bible offered powerful knowledge, and likely was the only book around. As Pacific religions scholar Forman concluded, “in those areas where a full translation of the scriptures had long been available, biblical knowledge was phenomenal. Every tortuous detail and obscure point in the entire book seemed to be common knowledge” (1982, 94). Islanders, Forman noted, always localized Christian narratives, and leaders of new religious movements also appropriated Bible stories. Noah built his ark, many claim, on Iankahi ridge just east of Port Resolution.

Fifty years after Watt returned to Tanna with the published Nafe New Testament, the island was in the midst of an active social movement. On 11 May

1941, followers of the shadowy John Frum abruptly quit the mission, leaving churches nearly empty (Lindstrom 1993). In late 1940, Tanna's British District Agent sent news to his superiors in Port Vila of suspicious nocturnal affairs near Green Point. People had gathered there for the previous year or so to listen to a mysterious figure, apparently human but with spiritual powers, who called himself John Frum and spoke Nafe. John encouraged people to return to their proper family lands and to island customs including kava drinking and dancing, to discard their dollars and francs as he would provide a new money along with the sort of cargo and supplies islanders had enjoyed during the American occupation of the archipelago during the Pacific War (Guiart 1956). John prophesized various world reversals, including disappearing mountains, rising seas, and the departure of meddling Europeans (Fig. 4).

There are notable parallels between the prophesies and subsequent outcomes of John of Patmos and John Frum of Tanna, although it is difficult to ascertain Revelation's exact effects on the island's ongoing political agitation. Agnes, as noted, reported that people received the Nafe New Testament in 1891 with joy and that they diligently read this (1896, 323). Accounts of the effects of new Bible translations in contemporary Melanesian communities indicate that these can be consequential (e.g., McDougall 2012; Handman 2017). Many John Frum luminaries were educated and literate, including Tom(my) Nampas and Nakomaha, who led the Movement when its focus moved in 1941 from Green Point to Sulphur Bay (Ipikel) on East Tanna. Nampas and Nakomaha were trained Presbyterian teachers; Nakomaha had attended the Presbyterian mission's Teachers Training Institute on Tangoa near Santo before he left to join the rival Seventh-day Adventist mission (MacClancy 2007, 205).

Aside from the two John namesakes, island readers of Revelation would certainly appreciate revelation itself. Inspiration remains the main method of knowledge production on Tanna, new knowledge received in dreams or divinations originating from ancestral spirits and other powerfully wise beings (Lindstrom 1990: 68–69). Just as angels appeared to John to reveal the future, so do island prophets acquire knowledge, as might well missionaries themselves when in tune with God (Gardner 2006: 303–304). Revelation's island readers/hearers would also appreciate aspects of the book's narrative structure. Patmos John's revelation mixed several songs or chants into prophesy (Krause 2009), e.g., 5:9 *Iraha hani nupu evi reti, mameni menwa, Ik amasan* ("They sang a new song, saying, You are good," or "And they sung a new song, saying, Thou art worthy . . ."). Tanna narrators and storytellers, prophets or not, likewise commonly combine song and story (Lindstrom 1990: 107–109).

Island readers certainly puzzled over Revelation's exotic and alien features, as indicated by Watt's numerous paraphrases and loanwords. They would have recognized, however, several key familiar elements including *nanumu-* ("spirits");



FIGURE 4. John Frum Supporters Raising an American Flag, February 15, 1979.

the concept of witnessing (1:5, *ketir ramavisau parhien*, “person who advises truthfully”); the benefits of virginity, or at least ritual abstinence from sex that men practice before important tasks (14:4, *Iraha i hapuk-auraha’ma irahame ya nebran*; *iraha nakur amasan*, “they here haven’t spoiled themselves with women; they are good people”); *kisup* (“trumpets”); *numeuien* (“plagues; earthquakes” 6:12); and *nakwategen afwe nap mene nerkwias krau-ara ira* (“lakes of fire and brimstone,” “the lake where fire and fumeroles/sulfur are in it” 20:10). Tanna’s Iasur volcano features pits, though not lakes, of fire. Many scholars believe the eruption of Mt. Vesuvius in 79 CE (Papandrea 2011, 54) influenced John of Patmos’s revelation. Island readers would also have shared Revelation’s condemnation of *navruhuien* (“sorcery” 18:23) and sorcerers. Leaders of new Melanesian religions, like John Frum on Tanna, always worried about sorcery, and sex, and their potential to disturb newly established social unities (Lindstrom 2011b; Forman 1982, 96).

Revelation spoke originally to Jewish Christian opponents and critics of the Roman empire. Jesus would soon return to exterminate evildoers, providing sweet revenge: “The apocalyptic tradition was addressed to an audience of men and women who regarded themselves as outsiders and victims even if they were not actually suffering oppression or persecution at any given time and place” (Kirsch 2006, 46; see also Witherington 2003: 160–161). Revelation has informed and sometimes sparked oppositional social movements in many times and places, which is why church authorities through the years typically restricted access to the text, attempting to control its interpretation. As Quispel and others have observed, “The Western church seemingly did everything in its power to ensure that nobody would understand the Apocalypse” (1979, 121).

The Tannese turned increasingly to resistance and opposition, particularly after Condominium authority set up on the island in 1912, and they likewise would have embraced Revelation’s message. John of Patmos urged his readers in several of the seven churches to “remember therefore from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the first works” (2:5) (*Ataregra te nari teinu ik enaraka ira, mamareregumi ya reram, mamomi narimnaimine ine ik enakupan mo*, “Remember those things you have abandoned, and return to/recall again your innards/heart, to do those things you have done before”). John Frum likewise commanded that people return to traditional island *kastom*. John of Patmos evinced “fear and loathing of Roman coinage” (Kirsch 2006, 61; Metzger 1993, 76; Pagels 2012, 52), and he condemned traders and coinage that carried the mark of semi-divine Roman rulers: *Nermama hameriaru ya tuprana tu-abi mameau tuke in, te nari ine menwa yermama reti repuk-avahi’mami namri nari teniraha* (18:11, “Those who trade on earth will cry and wail over her, because a man won’t purchase anymore things from them,” or “And the merchants of the

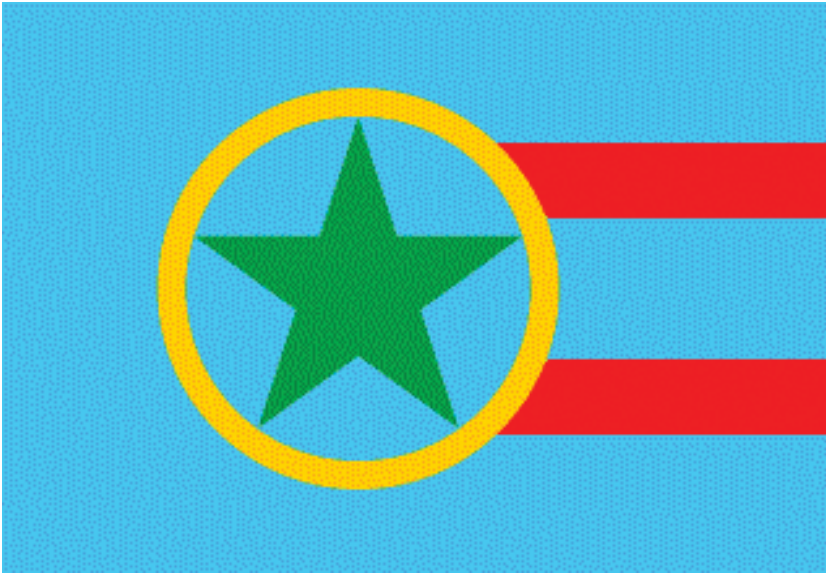


FIGURE 5. **The Morning Star Flag.**

earth shall weep and mourn over her, for no man buyeth their merchandise any more”). John Frum, too, instructed followers to toss foreign money into the sea, or to liquidate all savings with trade store purchases so to drive European copra buyers and traders off Tanna.

John Frum’s early prophecies of miscellaneous catastrophes and world reversals echoed Revelation’s more lethal Armageddon: “The island of Tanna would become flat, the mountains fill up the valleys, Tanna be joined to Aneityum and Erromanga, a new youthfulness and perfect health come to all” (Guiart 1952, 167). Only those who heeded his message, however, would benefit from foretold benefits, cargo or otherwise, nonbelievers to be left behind. The John Frum movement from the 1940s, like Revelation, would also boast the Tanna Army (9:16, *nemafiamē*; 19:19, *nakuoreme*, which means “fullness-PL”). Island dissidents should have also appreciated Revelation’s evocations of the four corners of the earth (7:1, *nukurui tuprana* for, “four corners of earth”) and the morning star (2:28, 22:16, *kofatatea*) (see Papandrea 2011, 144; Metzger 1993, 37). The Four Corners Movement, an offshoot of John Frum, sparked briefly in the 1970s (Guiart 1974). Although this fizzled for various reasons, supporters raised flags emblazoned with the morning stars on north, east, south, and west Tanna (Fig. 5). The morning star also featured



in the Prophet Fred Nase's Unity Movement, which in the early 2000s drew on John Frum roots (Tabani 2008, 180). Fred led several thousand followers up arid Iankahi ridge (between Port Resolution and Sulphur Bay) where they established a village that Fred named New Jerusalem, while waiting for world transformation (2008, 184).

Fred's New Jerusalem was an island incarnation of John of Patmos's Jerusalem evi (3:12, 21:2), shining capital of the foretold New Heaven and New Earth (Metzger 1993, 98): *Iau yak-ata neai evi mene tuprana evi* (21:1, "I saw a new heaven and a new earth"). When Jesus returns, and when John Frum returns, "there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain: for the former things are passed away" (21:4), *ne'meijen te-repuk-ara'mami, nabien, mene neauien, mene namisa-ien, tu-apuk-ara'mami; narimnarime kupan huvaven* ("there will no longer be sickness, sorrow, and wailing, and pain, they will no longer be; former things are dead"). Fred, along with Tanna's many other prophets over the years, may not have been diligent readers of Revelation (in Nafe, Bislama, English, or French), but Christianity and its myths, since 1842, have become integral constituents of island culture, available for inspired manipulation.

Vanuatu's nineteenth century Bible translations today are perhaps old news, but a close reading of these can repay with information about language history, the development of Bislama, changing language ideology, and the weight of Christianity and its sacred texts on island cultures and societies. As the Prophet invites, *Ketir nakwaregen ramara, in te-raregi narimnarime ine Nanumun Amasan renipen . . .* (2:7), "He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith . . ."

### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

For useful comment, I thank participants at the 2018 Vanuatu Languages Conference (Port Vila) that celebrated the work of linguist John Lynch, along with the journal's reviewers.

### NOTES

1. Nafe is the language's island name, although linguists have followed missionaries in calling it Kwamera, the site of the Watt's first mission. I use both linguonyms in this article—Kwamera when referring to published or early texts. A comprehensive Nafe grammar is yet to be written, but Lindstrom and Lynch (1994) provide basic information on phonology, morphology, and syntax.

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## THE KING'S FINAL JOURNEY: AMERICAN PRESS COVERAGE OF KING KALĀKAUA'S LAST VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES, 1890–1891

Douglas V. Askman  
*Hawai'i Pacific University*

King Kalākaua of Hawai'i undertook several overseas trips during his reign. The last was to California in 1890. It was there that the king died in January 1891. This article explores American press coverage of Kalākaua's last journey. It examines the enormous amount of attention that California newspapers paid to the king's travels in the state with much of the reporting being extremely positive. This was similar to coverage of Kalākaua's previous trips to the United States. Following the monarch's death, papers across America reflected on his reign. This analysis, although not entirely complimentary, reflects the great success that Kalākaua had in creating a positive impression of both the Hawaiian monarchy and the Hawaiian kingdom during his rule.

### Introduction

King Kalākaua of Hawai'i took four trips to the United States. The first was in 1860 prior to his accession to the throne. The last three were during his reign as king: a state visit in 1874 and 1875, two visits made during his world tour in 1881, and a final trip in 1890. Indeed, it was on this last journey that Kalākaua died in San Francisco, California, in January 1891. This article focuses on American press coverage of the third and final of the overseas trips taken by Kalākaua as king. Stories about the monarch were most frequently found in California newspapers as Kalākaua traveled there after departing Hawai'i near the end of 1890. Following his death, there was more expansive

press coverage of the sovereign throughout the United States, including assessments of his entire reign. Although these newspaper accounts of his travels were almost always written without a byline, as was customary at the time, they provide insights into American press and popular perceptions of the king and his trip.

Kalākaua was not the first Hawaiian monarch to travel abroad. In 1823, Kamehameha II left for Great Britain on a diplomatic mission to meet with the British sovereign George IV. There, the Hawaiian king and his entourage were treated well. Kamanamaikalani Beamer explains in his 2014 study *No Mākou ka Mana* that “though the alii were in a European country thousands of miles away from their tropical home, their royalty was recognized by the British king.”<sup>1</sup> The British government assigned the son of a viscount working in the Foreign Office to attend to the king and his retinue. Although this official complained in racist language in his correspondence about serving the Hawaiian royal party, he did his duty. Kamehameha II was treated royally, and Beamer notes that “in this particular instance, class had trumped race.”<sup>2</sup>

A bit more than half a century after Kamehameha II left for Britain, Kalākaua embarked on the first of three overseas trips as monarch. These journeys, all of which included the United States, spanned the entirety of the king’s reign with the first taking place only months after his accession to the throne and the last beginning just weeks before his death. Concerning his 1881 world tour, Beamer points out that “Kalākaua was welcomed and entertained by the rulers and highest government officials of all of the countries and colonies he visited.”<sup>3</sup> Indeed, several themes in the press coverage of the king’s travels are consistent throughout his reign.<sup>4</sup> The first is the enormous amount of attention Kalākaua received in American newspapers during his trips. On his final journey, which was of a private nature, reporting prior to the king’s sudden decline in health tended to focus on newspapers in California, where Kalākaua was visiting. Nevertheless, papers across the United States reported extensively on the monarch’s death and funeral in San Francisco.

A second theme that pervades reporting on the sovereign’s travels is the strongly positive nature of the attention Kalākaua often received in the press. Although this praise was not universal, especially in light of the racism that was pervasive in newspapers of the time, the admiration shown to the king was often effusive. On Kalākaua’s last trip, this was especially impressive, as the sovereign’s domestic political fortunes had eroded in his final years. While this was at times noted by the media, the luster of the king’s personality and his popularity remained high on his last journey. In Tiffany Lani Ing’s recent book on perceptions of Kalākaua, she observes that as “they had on all previous visits, the people of California honored and entertained him. Indeed, their affection remained constant throughout his reign, even as his

opponents in Hawai'i increasingly attacked or mocked him."<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, despite the assaults made by the king's enemies at home, Ing writes that "Hawai'i's newspapers did, however, report on his every move in California and recorded the people's fondness for him there at his arrival, during his activities, and through to his final illness and funeral services at Trinity Church in San Francisco."<sup>6</sup>

One area of press coverage that the king's 1890 trip afforded was a final assessment. Many newspapers across the United States gave such an appraisal after Kalākaua's death. Despite the strongly complimentary reporting that followed the king's travels through California beginning with his arrival in San Francisco in December and continuing until his death and funeral in January 1891, the overall media estimation of Kalākaua's reign was more mixed.

### San Francisco

On November 29, 1890, American papers announced that Kalākaua was on his way to the United States. It was reported that the king had departed Honolulu on November 25 on an American naval ship, the USS *Charleston* (Fig. 1). The purpose of the trip was not stated, although it was pointed out that the king would be traveling only to California.<sup>7</sup> The following day, American papers revealed that Kalākaua was visiting in order to improve his health and would be arriving in San Francisco on December 5.<sup>8</sup> However, by the evening of December 3, the *Charleston* was already sighted off San Francisco. Nevertheless, due to windy conditions, the ship did not enter the port until the following day.<sup>9</sup>

On Kalākaua's previous trips to the United States as king, information about the monarch and his kingdom was published in the American press sometime before his arrival. However, in 1890, newspapers were not aware of the visit until the king had already departed Hawai'i. This was not unexpected since the trip was private in nature. On the day of Kalākaua's arrival, the *Morning Call* of San Francisco wrote that the sovereign "simply comes to this country for rest and recreation. His visit has nothing whatever of a political complexion."<sup>10</sup>

Similarly to his previous journeys, the American press gave its readers background about the king and Hawai'i when he arrived. For example, the *Call* discussed the monarch's lineage and mentioned his wife, Queen Kapi'olani. The San Francisco paper then pointed out the sovereign's previous visits to the United States and also included an image of the king. The *Arizona Republican* of Phoenix wrote that Kalākaua was "Received With All Royal Honors" on reaching California. The king, who was accompanied by his chamberlain, George W. Macfarlane, and his aide-de-camp, Robert Hoapili Baker, departed





**FIGURE 1. Kalākaua, Seated, on Board the USS *Charleston* Bound for San Francisco. To the Left is His Chamberlain, George W. Macfarlane. To the Right is Robert Hoapili Baker, His Aide-de-Camp. 1890. Source: AH.**

the *Charleston* on a barge and on landing was greeted with a cannon salute from the ship, having already received several salutes when he entered San Francisco Harbor.<sup>11</sup>

As with his earlier visits to the United States, Kalākaua received an enormously positive welcome. At the wharf, the monarch was met by David Allison McKinley, the Hawaiian consul general in San Francisco and brother of future American president William McKinley, then a member of the House of Representatives from Ohio.<sup>12</sup> An army general and a battalion of cavalry were also present to honor the king. In addition, Kalākaua was greeted by an enormous crowd of cheering spectators on landing. He acknowledged the onlookers by bowing to both sides as he exited the barge. The royal party went by carriage to their accommodations at the luxurious Palace Hotel on New Montgomery Street. There a reception was held for the king. Although the visit was not an official one, the reception was, nevertheless, attended by California governor Robert Waterman and San Francisco mayor Edward B. Pond. Reflecting the enthusiasm of the press for the monarch, the *Sacramento Daily Record-Union* published a brief comment on Kalākaua's arrival titled "Long Live the King." The paper noted that although the king was in San Francisco, it was hoped that he would also travel to the state capital of Sacramento, which he had visited in 1881.<sup>13</sup>

The *Record-Union's* interest in the monarch was echoed by the *Call* in San Francisco, which began a story about Kalākaua's arrival with "A King is here!" After Kalākaua reached the Palace Hotel, a reporter from the *Call* interviewed him. The king explained the purpose of his trip. "I am visiting California simply for the benefit of my health, which has been rather poor of late. My being here has no political or business significance. I shall remain here probably some two months, and will visit the main points of interest all along the Coast." Kalākaua was optimistic about his health and concluded, "Since I left Honolulu I am feeling very much better, and think I shall return home in perfect health."<sup>14</sup>

Since the king's last visit to the United States in 1881, not only had his health declined, but so too had his political fortunes. In 1887, a small white elite had forced Kalākaua to sign a new constitution that greatly reduced the power of the monarchy and the Hawaiian people. The *Call* discussed the new constitution in its coverage of the king's arrival. Although it acknowledged that Kalākaua's powers had been significantly diminished, it nevertheless portrayed the sovereign positively. "He is an intelligent, fair-minded man, who tries to do right in the difficult situation which it has been his lot to fill." Although political conflicts had weakened the king, the *Call* concluded that "no act has ever been laid to his charge which has told against his character, or impaired the loyal affection which his people have borne him during the sixteen years that he has filled the throne."<sup>15</sup>

Although Kalākaua's visit to California was of a private nature, the king's itinerary received a considerable amount of press and popular attention,

just as it had during his previous journeys to the United States. The *San Francisco Chronicle* reported that while in that city, “every movement of the King was an object of public interest.”<sup>16</sup> Three days after landing in California, the *Call* published an article titled “A Busy Day for the King.” Describing the events of December 6, the paper wrote that the San Francisco climate had “improved wonderfully” Kalākaua’s health. The monarch spent much of the day receiving prominent visitors at the Palace Hotel. During the morning and afternoon, the steady stream of guests included a former governor, a general, and a congressional delegation visiting San Francisco, including a senator and two representatives. In the evening, a military delegation in full dress uniforms visited the king and invited him to review a brigade of the California National Guard. Kalākaua accepted the invitation. The *Call* also noted that on the day after the king’s arrival, he had awarded the Royal Order of Kalākaua to Admiral George Brown, the commander of the *Charleston*, along with two of his subordinates. On Sunday, December 7, Kalākaua attended Episcopal services at Trinity Church, where a large crowd gathered to see the king. Later in the day, the royal party visited the famed Cliff House restaurant.<sup>17</sup>

While Kalākaua announced publicly that his visit to California was for health reasons, soon after his arrival, the American press reported that the king had a hidden purpose to sell Hawai‘i to the United States. The rumor attracted enough attention that the kingdom’s diplomatic representative to the United States, H. A. P. Carter, who was in the American capital, told the *Evening Star* of Washington, DC, that the rumor was preposterous. Carter explained to the paper that “Hawaii is a constitutional monarchy, and the king could no more sell it than the governor of Massachusetts could barter off that state.”<sup>18</sup> Although the assertion that Kalākaua planned to sell his country was ridiculous, Chamberlain Macfarlane claimed after the monarch’s death that the trip to America was undertaken for the purpose of making adjustments to the Reciprocity Treaty between Hawai‘i and the United States.<sup>19</sup>

On December 9, Kalākaua received a delegation at the Palace Hotel representing San Francisco’s African American residents, including various clergymen, one of whom gave a speech welcoming the king. The following evening, Kalākaua was the guest of honor at a banquet at the prestigious Pacific Union Club. However, a planned tour of the campus of what is today the University of California, Berkeley, on December 11 did not take place as scheduled.<sup>20</sup>

On December 12, the king attended two large events, the military review to which he had been invited followed by a charity ball. The military review included almost 1,000 soldiers of the California National Guard. After the parade, the military commanders were presented to Kalākaua. As he prepared to leave, an enormous group of spectators gathered. In fact, the *Call* reported

that as he left, "the King and suite could hardly move through the throng, so densely did it crowd upon them to obtain a view of him."<sup>21</sup>

The charity event was held at the hall of the Society of California Pioneers to benefit the Woman's Exchange Movement, an organization that helped "needy gentlewomen in earning a livelihood." At the ball, an elaborate chair was reserved for the monarch with the Hawaiian and American flags placed above. Over them was the word "Aloha" spelled out in yellow and white chrysanthemums. At approximately 10:00 Kalākaua arrived to the music of the Hawaiian national anthem and was escorted to his seat. Following a reception, the king was treated to dinner and dancing.<sup>22</sup>

On Sunday, December 14, the royal suite attended services at Grace Episcopal Cathedral followed by a yacht ride on San Francisco Bay. Although a private event, the *Call* wrote that several hundred people gathered at Fisherman's Wharf to get a glimpse of the king heading out onto the water. During the cruise, the winds became so calm that the boat became stationary, and a tug was required to bring the royal party back to shore.<sup>23</sup>

Reflecting Kalākaua's interest in military technology, later in the week, the king made a lengthy visit to the Union Iron Works, where he inspected various stages of naval ship production.<sup>24</sup> On December 20, the monarch attended two sporting events: a football game and a baseball game. The football match, the proceeds of which were given to charity, was between the officers of the *Charleston*, which had carried the king to California, and the San Francisco football club. The *Call* described Kalākaua as a fan of sports and wrote that the competition was "the first instance on record of royalty being present at an American athletic game."<sup>25</sup> The baseball game on December 20 was also a charity event with the earnings going to benefit orphaned children. Due to the king's presence, "curiosity brought out hundreds of people who take no interest in the national game." Kalākaua was present for several innings and was seated in a box that was draped with the Hawaiian and American flags.<sup>26</sup>

On Christmas Day, the *Call* ran a detailed and extremely positive story about the king focusing on his life and reign. Despite the loss of much of his power in 1887, the paper praised Kalākaua's political motives and skills. "As a ruler King Kalakaua has always shown a wise tendency toward liberal views on all subjects relating to the government of his kingdom." The author continued by highlighting the monarch's popularity at home. "His Majesty is idolized by his native subjects, and is very popular with the foreigners residing in his dominions. His departure was marked by the expression of much loyalty and devotion on the part of the Hawaiian inhabitants." The *Call* dismissed the rumors that Kalākaua had traveled to the United States in order to sell his kingdom. Rather, the daily concluded that he was "very loyal to his country, rejoices in her prosperity and loves her independence."<sup>27</sup>



FIGURE 2. The Hotel del Coronado, Where Kalākaua Stayed While in San Diego. ca. 1892. Source: LOC.

As to the king’s personal qualities, the San Francisco paper was equally complimentary. Kalākaua was described as “a tall, robust man, having a splendid physique, and appearing to be in perfect health.” The monarch’s intellectual skills were also noted with the *Call* pointing out that he not only knew English but was familiar with French, German, and Spanish as well. Kalākaua’s creative achievements were highlighted. “He composed the beautiful Hawaiian national anthem, and is the author of ‘The Legends of Hawaii,’ a book which has a large sale, and has elicited much praise from the critics.” In addition, the king’s reputation as an athlete, musician, and gracious host was described by the paper.<sup>28</sup>

### Southern California and the Return to San Francisco

Two days after Christmas, the royal party left San Francisco for Southern California by train, arriving at Los Angeles on December 28. However, the king’s presence in the city was very brief, as the group was headed to San Diego. On reaching Los Angeles, Kalākaua was greeted by a delegation including the mayor. The mayor presented the monarch to a crowd of 500 spectators at the rail station after a large number of those present rushed to the train to get a glimpse of the king. Those who were unable to get close urged the mayor to encourage Kalākaua to make an appearance, and the king emerged, announcing that he



**FIGURE 3. The Raymond Hotel Where Kalākaua Stayed While in South Pasadena. ca. 1890. Source: Security Pacific National Bank Collection, Los Angeles Public Library.**

would stop back in Los Angeles on his return to San Francisco. As the monarch left the station, the crowd cheered him.<sup>29</sup>

On the day before New Year's Eve, the king was the guest of honor at a Masonic dinner in San Diego. As a high-ranking Freemason himself, Kalākaua also participated in a Masonic ceremony after the meal. The following day, the royal party visited the Sweetwater Dam east of San Diego and made stops along the border between California and Mexico. While in the San Diego area, the king stayed at the luxurious Hotel del Coronado, a resort that had opened in 1888 and was owned by a son of Claus Spreckels (Fig. 2). The elder Spreckels, whose relationship with the monarch was at times turbulent, was a German-born American industrialist who was deeply involved in the Hawaiian sugar industry and Hawaiian politics.<sup>30</sup>

From San Diego, Kalākaua returned to Los Angeles, stopping for one night at the grand Raymond Hotel in South Pasadena in the San Gabriel Valley (Fig. 3). On the way back to Los Angeles, the king also made a stop in Riverside, where he heard a performance by the Austrian-born American soprano Emma Juch. On January 2, 1891, Kalākaua heard Juch sing again in Los Angeles. This performance of Georges Bizet's *Carmen* was given especially for the king, and at the end of the first act, Juch approached the monarch and was given a bouquet

of flowers “in the center of which [was] nestled a diamond brooch of beautiful design.”<sup>31</sup>

On the day of the king’s arrival back in Los Angeles, he was greeted at the train station by the mayor of the city and various military officials. From the station, the royal suite was taken to the Hollenbeck Hotel in downtown Los Angeles, where the king had lunch before being driven around the city for a tour. In the evening, a reception for Kalākaua was held at the city hall. According to the *Los Angeles Herald*, the event drew an enormous crowd, and “for two hours [the king] shook hands with the passing throng. He was greeted by between five and six thousand persons.” This was more than 10 percent of the entire population of the city of Los Angeles. Following the reception, the royal party traveled to the exclusive California Club for a banquet. In attendance were the mayor, many military officials, and other prominent citizens. The mayor gave a speech welcoming the king, emphasizing Kalākaua’s hospitality. Another speaker, James J. Ayers, who had resided in Hawai‘i, noted the similarity in the climates of Hawai‘i and Southern California. Ayers, a newspaperman and delegate to the 1878–1879 California constitutional convention, attested to the hospitality of the Hawaiian people and ended his speech with a phrase in Hawaiian. Kalākaua translated the phrase, taken from the Bible, as “If your friend have thirst, give him drink.” A general representing the U.S. Army also spoke and “dwelt upon the respect and esteem in which King Kalākaua was held by every one who deserved the name of American citizen.” Two members of the royal party, George W. MacFarlane and Robert Hoapili Baker, also gave comments with Baker speaking in Hawaiian.<sup>32</sup> Before leaving Los Angeles, the *Herald* reported that the royal party also visited an optician where they were fitted for glasses.<sup>33</sup>

On January 4, the *Herald* reflected on Kalākaua’s time in Los Angeles, giving a complimentary view of the king. The paper concluded that the monarch had been well received in the city, writing that he “has been treated with distinguished courtesy, has been shown the sights, has been banqueted and bidden God-speed. All this is as it should be.” The *Herald* added that the “King of Hawaii has always been the friend of Americans, and the citizens of the United States have ever found a hospitable welcome in his domains. He has left an agreeable impression amongst our people.”<sup>34</sup>

The same day, the royal suite arrived in Santa Barbara as they made their way back north. Kalākaua was met at the Carpinteria train station east of Santa Barbara by a committee named by the Santa Barbara city council. The group escorted the king to the Santa Barbara station, where several thousand spectators were gathered. Kalākaua was brought to the landmark Arlington Hotel, where a reception was held for him and the mayor gave words of welcome. A copy of the mayor’s speech was also presented to the king. Various events in the

Santa Barbara area were planned for the royal party, and it was anticipated that they would stay for three nights in the city. Kalākaua also had plans to visit the state capital, Sacramento, and attend the governor's inaugural ball. However, it was in Santa Barbara that Kalākaua's health took a turn for the worse.<sup>35</sup>

The *Record-Union* published a note from the king's chamberlain dated January 6 indicating that Kalākaua still intended to travel to Sacramento and attend the ball "if health permits." However, MacFarlane also suggested that other scheduled royal activities in the capital would be canceled for health reasons. By January 8, Kalākaua had reached San Francisco. The *Herald* wrote that the "king caught cold at Santa Barbara, and is now in poor health."<sup>36</sup> Nevertheless, the monarch was well enough to discuss his trip to Southern California. He told a reporter concerning his experiences in Los Angeles and San Diego, "I was much impressed with the spirit of enterprise displayed by the people there. I predict a great future for both places, particularly San Diego." Kalākaua also suggested establishing commercial relationships between Hawai'i and both Southern California cities.<sup>37</sup>

### Final Days

The king never made it to Sacramento. On January 10, the *Herald* reported that the royal party had not taken the special train prepared to bring them to Sacramento the previous day "on account of indisposition."<sup>38</sup> However, three days later, the *Call* wrote that the king was to be installed as a Shriner the following evening in San Francisco. Indeed, the Shriners prepared a special souvenir notice for Kalākaua's induction. Seven by ten inches in size, the front depicted an image of the Kilauea Volcano, a plantation, the USS *Charleston*, and the strait entering San Francisco Bay. The reverse included the Hawaiian coat of arms.<sup>39</sup>

On January 12, while the king was resting at the Palace Hotel, a phonograph was brought into the king's room. Chamberlain MacFarlane explained the device to Kalākaua and asked him to speak into the machine. At the time, it was not thought that the monarch's condition was that serious, and the recording was suggested as a way to preserve his voice for future generations. From his bed, Kalākaua spoke in Hawaiian into the phonograph for almost an hour. After making the recording, the king was exhausted and indicated that he would finish the project when he was feeling better. The recording was never completed. However, the day after Kalākaua's death, a wax cylinder containing the king's voice that had not yet been played was presented to Robert H. Baker to bring back to Hawai'i. The *Chronicle* reported that the recording might be utilized for the royal funeral ceremonies in Honolulu.<sup>40</sup>

Although the king was still unwell, he felt able to attend a dinner with friends at a hotel on January 13, and the following evening, he participated in the



Shriners installation ceremony as planned against the advice of his doctors. By January 17, it was reported that Kalākaua was seriously ill. MacFarlane gave an interview to the press to address the king's condition. The chamberlain revealed that the monarch had been sick since leaving Santa Barbara and was suffering from a relapse of a kidney condition from which he had suffered before he left Hawai'i. As a result, MacFarlane said that Kalākaua had temporarily canceled all of his commitments. Nevertheless, the king's doctors believed that he would soon recover. The chamberlain concluded his press interview by maintaining that Kalākaua would return to Honolulu on the *Charleston* around the end of January when his health improved.<sup>41</sup>

Very quickly, the monarch's condition deteriorated, and on January 19, the *Call* ran a story titled "The Hawaiian King's Condition Said to Be Serious." The paper reported that Kalākaua was very sick and was bedridden at the Palace Hotel under constant doctor's care. According to the author, the king might not survive. An Associated Press story from the same day included information provided by Chamberlain MacFarlane. The chamberlain reported that Kalākaua's health had taken a dramatic turn for the worse on the morning of January 19 and that he was in and out of consciousness. Kalākaua was unable to eat solids, and his doctors met several times that day to discuss his declining condition, consulting with several well-known San Francisco physicians. On the evening of January 19, Admiral Brown, the commander of the *Charleston*, contacted the Navy Department in Washington to update the American government on the king's situation. Around midnight, Consul General McKinley, the Hawaiian diplomatic representative in San Francisco, announced to the press that Kalākaua would not survive. The king being an Episcopalian, an Episcopal priest was called to the Palace Hotel to administer last rites.<sup>42</sup>

The *Call* reported on January 20 that Kalākaua had exhausted himself in Southern California and that a doctor who accompanied him back to San Francisco had urged the king to rest and not attend any public events. The monarch took the doctor's advice for a few days but then seemed to recover strongly. As a result, Kalākaua attended the Shriners' induction ceremony but became suddenly ill while there.<sup>43</sup>

While American press coverage of most of the king's last trip to the United States received limited attention outside of California, especially as the journey was private in nature, news of his death was reported widely across the country. On January 21, the first headline on the front page of the *Republican* read "Death of Kalakaua." The paper wrote that the king had died at 2:30 p.m. on January 20 of Bright's disease, a term then used for a certain type of kidney malady. In attendance during his final hours were Kalākaua's doctors, Chamberlain MacFarlane, Aide-de-Camp Baker, Consul General McKinley,

Admiral Brown, Claus Spreckels, Charles Reed Bishop (who was the widower of Princess Bernice Pauahi Bishop), and several others. These included two servants, a Hawaiian male youth named Kahikina, and a girl named Kalua from the present-day nation of Kiribati. An hour before he died, MacFarlane asked the king if he recognized him, but there was no response. Bible passages were read for almost an hour, and those present were grief stricken. The monarch's bed was turned so that his feet faced in the direction of Hawai'i. At 2:30, a doctor announced to those present that Kalākaua had died. Flowers were placed on his chest, and a white covering was positioned over his body. Following the king's death, flags on public buildings in San Francisco were ordered to half-staff, and the Hawaiian royal standard flying over the Palace Hotel was taken down. The *Record-Union* noted that Kalākaua was the first monarch to die in the United States.<sup>44</sup>

### Assessment of the King in the American Press Following His Death

The day after Kalākaua's death, H. A. P. Carter, the diplomatic representative of Hawai'i to the United States, spoke to the *Star* in Washington, DC, about the kingdom's future. Carter explained that there would be no unrest in Hawai'i following the monarch's death and that his sister and heir, Princess Lili'uokalani, who was serving as regent during her brother's absence, would succeed to the throne as the new ruler. On the same day, the *Star* also published various informational vignettes on the king's illness, his reign, the royal succession, and the geography, economy, demographics, and government of Hawai'i.<sup>45</sup>

The *Record-Union* also published a synopsis of Kalākaua's reign after the king's death. Its analysis was complimentary but did mention that the monarch faced political opposition and that his powers were eventually curtailed. "Kalākaua began his reign with high purpose, and inaugurated his rule by many wise and beneficent acts. His aim was to elevate the people by education, strengthen their relations with foreign nations, build up local industries, and induce desirable immigration. To a great extent he succeeded." The paper also referenced the king's international journeys. "By travel in many lands he expanded his views of government, and showed a sincere desire to introduce reforms." The article ended by noting Kalākaua's friendly relations with the United States.<sup>46</sup>

The *Herald* echoed the positive assessment presented by the *Record-Union* with an article titled "Death of a Good King." "The dead king was a man of culture and wide observation. He was liberal in his views, and pursued a steadfast policy in the interest and prosperity of his people." The writer concluded that Kalākaua "leaves the islands in incomparably better condition than they were when he ascended the throne." Indeed, the paper surmised that the Hawaiian

monarch far outranked the intelligence of the average ruler in Europe. “Measured by the mental calibre of the average European sovereign, the dead king of the Hawaiian Islands was a Hyperion to a satyr.”<sup>47</sup>

The *Morning Appeal* of Carson City, Nevada, focused on Kalākaua’s exceptional qualities in its brief assessment of the king. “With the death of Kalākaua passes away one of the most unconventional Monarchs that ever lived.” The paper asserted that the king was without pretense and “loved most of all to lay aside the baubles of royalty and mingle in full concourse with his people.” The *Appeal* added that it was his unassuming nature that made him popular during his time in San Francisco and drew organizations to request his presence to promote charity. The author maintained that it was these acts of generosity that “best showed the kindly side of his nature and will ever be gratefully remembered by Americans. He went to his long home followed by more sorrow at his death than many a King of more pretentious titles and larger territory.”<sup>48</sup>

The *Deseret Evening News* of Salt Lake City, Utah, provided a Mormon perspective on Kalākaua’s reign following his death. “A number of our [Mormon] Elders made his acquaintance while engaged in missionary work in his kingdom. They describe him as a genial, kind hearted and liberal minded man.” The paper added that he “contended for the widest religious toleration, and in conformity with that view insisted that all should have the same privileges.” Although the *Evening News* acknowledged the political turbulence of the monarch’s last years, it concluded that “quite a number of residents of Utah will cherish a kindly remembrance of King Kalākaua in whom there was nothing of the nature of the tyrant, he being kindly and sympathetic to an unusual degree.”<sup>49</sup>

Not all American papers, however, presented as flattering a view of the king. For example, the *Evening Bulletin* of Marysville, Kentucky, wrote after Kalākaua’s death that he was a “hard drinker and a slave to other appetites.” The *Bulletin* also disparaged the size of the Hawaiian kingdom’s population, writing that the monarch was “little more than the mayor of a little city so far as the number of his subjects is concerned.” The journal also noted that there were counties in Texas twice the size of Hawai‘i.<sup>50</sup> The same day, the *Evening World* of New York City claimed that Kalākaua was “an easy-going, pleasure-loving monarch, who was accustomed to live in excess of his income.”<sup>51</sup> From the same city, the *Sun* claimed that the king was a spendthrift who expended large sums on a royal palace and coronation and whose government borrowed heavily to cover costs.<sup>52</sup> Reflecting the racism in the United States during this period, the *Times* of Richmond, Virginia, acknowledged that the king had been the object of ridicule due to his “general democratic bearing, the smallness of his kingdom, and the color of his skin.”<sup>53</sup>

Several journals presented a mixed view of the monarch. For example, the *New-York Daily Tribune* wrote that Kalākaua was popular in California and that he “seemed like an old friend to many Californians.”<sup>54</sup> The *Tribune* went on, however, to claim that the ruler was not strong in character and was often unduly under the influence of others. The *Pittsburg Daily Dispatch* included in its coverage of the king's death an interview conducted with John H. Kimball, a Maine resident who had lived in the islands for a number of years and had been a Hawaiian government doctor. Kimball stated, in response to negative assessments of Kalākaua, that he was in fact “a well-educated, polished, and worthy gentleman, worthy of every consideration at the hands of the best American people.”<sup>55</sup> Nevertheless, Kimball accused the king of financial mismanagement and of being a heavy drinker.

The wide variety of American press appraisals of Kalākaua and his reign was even appreciated in the media. At the end of January, the *Anaconda Standard* of Anaconda, Montana, wrote that “estimates of the character of the late King Kalakaua differ so much that historians are liable to get confused.”<sup>56</sup> A little more than a week later, based on information from the *San Francisco Examiner*, the Montana paper ran a lengthy story on the monarch with the heading “Was He Jekyll Or Hyde?” The analysis, which contained spurious information, focused almost entirely on Kalākaua's efforts to revive traditional Hawaiian culture. While these were presented by the paper in a negative light, the title of the article reflected the considerably varying and at times contradictory evaluations of the king in American newspapers following his death.<sup>57</sup>

### The King's Funeral

The day after Kalākaua's death, Minister H. A. P. Carter in Washington informed the American government that the king had died. President Benjamin Harrison sent his condolences to Carter through Secretary of State James G. Blaine. President Harrison also ordered that both the American army and navy would give full military honors to the Hawaiian monarch and participate in his funeral in San Francisco. In addition, the president commanded that the *Charleston* would return Kalākaua's remains to Honolulu.<sup>58</sup>

The same day, the mayor of San Francisco and the board of supervisors met to discuss the details of the king's funeral, which would take place the following day, January 22. Admiral Brown of the *Charleston* had overall supervision of the event, and General John Gibbon, Commander of the Military Division of the Pacific, was designated as grand marshal for the procession. The funeral was scheduled to be conducted at Trinity Episcopal Church, where the king had attended services several times after his arrival in California. Many dignitaries

were invited to the funeral, including political officials, envoys of thirty different countries, judges, representatives of the Masons, and business leaders. Two dozen individuals were named as pallbearers, half of them honorary, including two former governors of California, a former mayor of San Francisco, a former US senator from California, two justices of the California Supreme Court, and Masonic representatives. The day after Kalākaua's death, the Superior Court in San Francisco and the California Senate in Sacramento also adjourned out of respect for the king. At 4:00 p.m. that day, the general public was allowed to pay their respects at Kalākaua's coffin in Trinity Church. The *Call* reported that "a vast concourse of people were in attendance."<sup>59</sup>

All federal, state, and city offices in San Francisco were to be closed for the king's funeral on January 22. Well before the service began, thousands of members of the public had assembled around the streets in the vicinity of Trinity Church. In the church itself, the area around the altar was decorated with Hawaiian and American flags. Gas jets were placed in front of the flags, forming the shape of a crown. Floral memorials from various individuals and organizations also filled the church. The funeral began with a procession that was accompanied by the ringing of the church bells and the playing of a funeral march by Beethoven on the church organ. Included in the procession were clergy followed by a military honor guard in front of Kalākaua's coffin. Masonic representatives were also among the dignitaries. The coffin was covered in the Hawaiian flag and flowers. At the foot of the bier was a floral arrangement of the word "Aloha." During the service, selections from the Bible were read, and a sermon was given. Various music was also played, including the popular eighteenth-century hymn "Rock of Ages."<sup>60</sup>

From the church, the funeral procession, which encompassed some 1,600 participants, proceeded to the harbor. The monarch's coffin was placed in a hearse behind an enormous contingent of hundreds of soldiers from the US military, including cavalry, artillery, and the National Guard of California. The king's suite and officials from the federal, state, and city governments also participated along with representatives of various private organizations. Reportedly, an astounding 100,000 members of the public came to view the procession. This number was approximately one-third of the entire population at the time of San Francisco, then the largest city in California. All commercial enterprises along the procession route were closed "as a spontaneous expression of respect on the part of the business community." When the king's casket reached the waterfront, it was received by Admiral Brown and loaded onto a tender that brought the remains to the *Charleston* anchored several hundred yards away. As the *Charleston* sailed toward the Pacific Ocean, minute guns were discharged from the military installations at Fort Alcatraz and the San Francisco Presidio.<sup>61</sup>

The *Call* wrote of the significance of the funeral. "It is safe to say, in fact, that no funeral in San Francisco ever attracted more universal attention or was conducted with more pomp and splendor." The paper wrote that more people gathered at the waterfront to view the king's coffin depart for the *Charleston* than had gathered there for the visit of former president Ulysses S. Grant in 1879 or President Rutherford B. Hayes's arrival in 1880, when he became the first sitting American president to travel to the West Coast. The *Call* concluded that "the people of Hawaii may well feel proud of the splendid tribute paid to their dead monarch."<sup>62</sup> The *Tribune* added that nothing "was left undone by Federal, State, or city authorities to show respect for the dead monarch, and a stranger arriving in the city, and noticing the hundreds of flags at half-mast and the closed stores along the line of the procession, would have imagined that the city was burying one of its leading citizens."<sup>63</sup> The *Examiner* printed twenty columns on the funeral, which the *Morning Appeal* claimed was "the heaviest obsequies work ever printed in a daily paper."<sup>64</sup>

### Aftermath

Many American papers noted that no regular ship service to Hawai'i would leave San Francisco until January 27, five days after the departure of the *Charleston*. As a result, residents of Hawai'i would not learn of the death of the king until the *Charleston* reached Honolulu. It was also reported that the day after Kalākaua's death, a ship from Hawai'i had arrived in San Francisco. From the ship came news that Honolulu was preparing itself for the monarch's return, decorating the city and making plans for a parade.<sup>65</sup>

Interest in Kalākaua continued in the American press for some time after his death. For example, almost three weeks after the monarch's demise, the *Morning Journal and Courier* of New Haven, Connecticut, reported that "they are still telling stories in San Francisco of King Kalakaua, and the last one credits him with being an accomplished linguist." The paper wrote that the Hawaiian ruler had some knowledge of Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and several other languages.<sup>66</sup> On February 9, the *Standard* observed that the king "was a very notable man. A great deal has been written and published about him since and before his death."<sup>67</sup> The following day, the *Call* informed its readers that a committee of the San Francisco board of supervisors that had been tasked by the mayor to compose resolutions in Kalākaua's honor had finished its work. These resolutions were ordered to be entered into the official record and to be sent to the Hawaiian government.<sup>68</sup>

The day after the king's funeral on February 15 in Honolulu, the *Morning Journal* published news from Hawai'i that had just reached San Francisco. The paper reported the *Charleston* had sailed into Honolulu on January 29,



FIGURE 4. Kalākaua's Remains Being Brought Ashore from the *Charleston* in Honolulu Harbor. 1891. Source: AH.

a week after departing California. Unaware of the king's death until the ship's arrival, the decorations erected in the city welcoming Kalākaua home were torn down. Crowds gathered at the harbor (Fig. 4). Queen Kapi'olani and the king's sister Lili'uokalani were grief stricken when the monarch's coffin reached 'Iolani Palace. Several days later, a large group gathered at Kaumakapili Church in Honolulu, and "a series of resolutions were adopted expressing the gratitude of the Hawaiians to the United States and to Admiral Brown . . . for the 'unbounded courtesy and kind attentions' offered to the king, both before and after his death."<sup>69</sup>

On the same day, the *Herald* carried on its front page the headline "Hawaii in Tears." From Associated Press reports, the Los Angeles paper wrote of the arrival of the king's remains. "Never since the death of Queen Emma [widow of Kamehameha IV] has such a national display of sorrow been manifest as was shown from the firing of the first gun [of the ships in Honolulu harbor and the shore batteries], until the remains of the late monarch were laid in state in the throne room of the palace."<sup>70</sup> News of the *Charleston's* arrival into Honolulu was also carried on the front page of the *Record-Union*.<sup>71</sup> The *Call* gave extensive and

detailed coverage as well on its opening page to the reaction in Hawai'i to the sovereign's return. The San Francisco daily declared that the "announcement of the death of the King fell upon the populace like a clap of thunder from the skies."<sup>72</sup>

Almost two months after his death, occasional stories about Kalākaua continued to appear in the American press, indicating a persistence of interest in the king's life. On March 14, the *Waterbury Evening Democrat* in Waterbury, Connecticut, ran a story titled "Kalakaua's Love of Sport," based on reporting from the *San Francisco Post* and focusing on the monarch's interest in boating. A few days later, the *Herald* via the Associated Press gave an account of the king's will that was also circulated in other papers.<sup>73</sup> Further articles published in March included a comparison between Kalākaua and Kamehameha II, who also died abroad, not in the United States but Great Britain, and the disclosure that Kalākaua had a life insurance policy with Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York.<sup>74</sup>

Even the assessment of the king by the American press continued well into March. On March 15, the *Indianapolis Journal* included an article that contained excerpts written by Reverend J. Sanders Reed that were printed in the *New York Post*. Reed was a former resident of Indianapolis who had moved to San Francisco and "ministered to his Majesty in his last hours." Reed reacted strongly to coverage in the American papers that painted Kalākaua as of questionable reputation. While the *Journal* surmised that the king was a carouser who gambled to excess, the paper gave details of Reed's defense of the monarch. Reed asserted that "Kalākaua was a man of many Christian graces and great nobility of soul." The reverend concluded that "To say that he had virtue and graces, was cultured, refined, charitable, generous, sympathetic, a believer in prayer and the sacraments, is to say that he knew something of the struggles and the victories of heroic spirits."<sup>75</sup>

### Conclusion

American press coverage of Kalākaua's final trip was consistent with the other overseas journeys he made as king both to the United States and to other nations around the world. Newspapers were interested in reporting about the Hawaiian monarch. They followed his movements carefully and described them often in detail. The attention he received from journalists was matched by the interest shown by the public. This is most evidently demonstrated by the enormous turnout for Kalākaua's funeral in San Francisco. While it might be argued that the funeral of a head of state, even from a foreign country, would have drawn a large crowd, the presence of approximately one-third of the population of California's largest city at the royal obsequies speaks to Kalākaua's popularity and charisma.



Not only was media interest in the king's last trip extensive, it was often but not entirely very positive. This widespread complimentary reporting clearly reflects Kalākaua's skill in promoting not only the Hawaiian monarchy but the Hawaiian kingdom as well on the international stage. This ability spanned the monarch's entire reign and is demonstrated by press coverage of all of his overseas trips as king. On Kalākaua's last journey, his personal appeal remained largely intact despite the political turmoil in Hawai'i during the closing years of his rule. Based on a description given in a California newspaper, Tiffany Lani Ing remarks in *Reclaiming Kalākaua*, "Even in his last few days, this is how Kalākaua struck his contemporaries—as an inquisitive and observant man, always learning from the successes of other nations, kingdoms, and principalities and always looking to benefit his country."<sup>76</sup>

Following his death, however, the overall American media assessment of the monarch's time on the throne was more mixed than coverage of the king's visit, death, and funeral. While some appraisals were strongly complimentary, others were largely negative. Nevertheless, the continuity, consistency, and prevalence of praise for Kalākaua in newspapers across the United States from his first visit as a new sovereign in 1874 to his death in San Francisco some sixteen years later is significant. Indeed, as a person of color who represented a small nation in the Pacific to have such an enduring and often positive presence in the American press is a testament to Kalākaua's success as a diplomat and spokesman for the Hawaiian kingdom.

## NOTES

1. Kamanamaikalani Beamer, *No Mākou ka Mana: Liberating the nation* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Publishing, 2014), 91.

2. Beamer, 93.

3. Beamer, 176.

4. For analyses of American press coverage of Kalākaua's previous overseas trips, see Douglas V. Askman, A royal traveler: American press coverage of King Kalākaua's 1881 trip around the world, *Hawaiian Journal of History* 51 (2017), and Douglas V. Askman, Our royal guest: American press coverage of King Kalākaua's visit to the United States, 1874–1875," in *Hawaiian Journal of History* 54 (2020).

5. Tiffany Lani Ing, *Reclaiming Kalākaua: Nineteenth-century perspectives on a Hawaiian sovereign* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2019), 186.

6. Ing, 186.

7. *Arizona Republican* (Phoenix, AZ), November 29, 1890, 1, and *Los Angeles Herald* (Los Angeles, CA), November 29, 1890, 2.

8. *Republican*, November 30, 1890, 1. The purpose of the king's visit was also confirmed on his arrival by his chamberlain and traveling companion, George W. Macfarlane. See *Sacramento Daily Record-Union* (Sacramento, CA), December 5, 1890, 1.

9. *Republican*, December 4, 1890, 1.

10. *Morning Call* (San Francisco, CA), December 4, 1890, 2.

11. *Republican*, December 5, 1890, 1, and *Record-Union*, December 5, 1890, 1.

12. David Allison McKinley was the oldest brother of William McKinley. Before he became president, William McKinley authored the Tariff Act of 1890, known as the McKinley Tariff, while a member of Congress. This legislation had a devastating effect on the Hawaiian sugar industry. David McKinley was an American diplomatic representative to Hawai'i for several years until 1885. He was then appointed by Kalākaua as the Hawaiian kingdom consul general at San Francisco, a position he held until his death in 1892. Ironically, like the king, David McKinley died at the Palace Hotel in San Francisco (*San Francisco Chronicle* [San Francisco, CA], September 19, 1892, 10).

13. *Republican*, December 5, 1890, 1, and *Record-Union*, December 5, 1890, 3.

14. *Call*, December 5, 1890, 2.

15. *Call*, December 5, 1890, 4.

16. *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 21, 1891, 10.

17. *Call*, December 7, 1890, 2, and December 8, 1890, 4.

18. *Evening Star* (Washington, DC), December 8, 1890, 5. For an article detailing the rumor, see, for example, the *Evening Journal* (Wilmington, DE), December 8, 1890, 1.

19. *Dalles Daily Chronicle* (The Dalles, OR), January 27, 1891, 1.

20. *Call*, December 10, 1890, 1; December 11, 1890, 2; December 12, 1890, 7; and December 13, 1890, 7.

21. *Call*, December 13, 1890, 8.

22. *Call*, December 13, 1890, 2.

23. *Call*, December 15, 1890, 4.

24. *Call*, December 16, 1890, 7.

25. *Call*, December 20, 1890, 2.

26. *Record-Union*, December 21, 1890, 4.

27. *Call*, December 25, 1890, 13.

28. *Call*, December 25, 1890, 13.

29. *Journal*, December 27, 1890, 4; *Republican*, December 29, 1890, 1; and *Herald*, December 29, 1890, 5.

30. *Call*, December 31, 1890, 8, and *Record-Union*, January 1, 1891, 4. Claus Spreckels began his involvement in the Hawaiian sugar industry in the 1870s and was for a number of years closely associated financially and politically with Kalākaua. By 1886, the relationship between Spreckels and the king had soured, and the two men became opponents.

31. *Call*, January 3, 1891, 8.

32. *Herald*, January 4, 1891, 7.

33. *Herald*, January 4, 1891, 10.

34. *Herald*, January 4, 1891, 4.

35. *Republican*, January 5, 1891, 4, and *Record-Union*, January 6, 1891, 3.

36. *Record-Union*, January 8, 1891, 3.

37. *Herald*, January 9, 1891, 1.

38. *Herald*, January 10, 1891, 1.

39. *Call*, January 13, 1891, 3.

40. *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* (Seattle, WA), January 24, 1891, 2 (from the *Chronicle*).

41. *Call*, January 15, 1891, 7, and *Record-Union (Sunday Union)*, January 18, 1891, 1.

42. *Call*, January 19, 1891, 8; *Republican*, January 20, 1891, 1; and *Record-Union*, January 20, 1891, 1.

43. *Call*, January 20, 1891, 2, and January 21, 1891, 1.

44. *Republican*, January 21, 1891, 1; *Waterbury Evening Democrat* (Waterbury, CT), January 21, 1891, 1; *Star*, January 21, 1891, 6; *Record-Union*, January 22, 1891, 1; and *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 21, 1891, 10. For a detailed analysis of the king's sickness and death, taking into account his specific medical condition, see John F. Mcdermott, Zita Cup Choy, and Anthony P. S. Guerrero, "The last illness and death of Hawai'i's King Kalākaua: A new historical/clinical perspective," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 49 (2015).

45. *Star*, January 21, 1891, 5–6.

46. *Record-Union*, January 21, 1891, 2.

47. *Herald*, January 21, 1891, 4.

48. *Morning Appeal* (Carson City, NV), January 22, 1891, 2.
49. *Deseret Evening News* (Salt Lake City, UT), January 21, 1891, 4.
50. *Evening Bulletin* (Marysville, KY), January 21, 1891, 1.
51. *Evening World* (New York, NY), January 21, 1891, 2.
52. *Sun* (New York, NY), January 21, 1891, 1.
53. *Times* (Richmond, VA), January 22, 1891, 2.
54. *New-York Tribune* (New York, NY), January 25, 1891, 24.
55. *Pittsburg Daily Dispatch* (Pittsburgh, PA), January 25, 1891, 9.
56. *Anaconda Standard* (Anaconda, MT), January 30, 1891, 2.
57. *Standard*, February 9, 1891, 9.
58. *Morning Journal and Courier* (New Haven, CT), January 22, 1891, 3.
59. *Record-Union*, January 22, 1891, 1, 5; *Call*, January 22, 1891, 1, 7; *Star*, January 23, 1891, 6; and *Post-Intelligencer*, January 23, 1891, 3.
60. *Call*, January 22, 1891, 1, and January 23, 1891, 1; *Star*, January 23, 1891, 6; and *Courier*, January 23, 1891, 3.
61. *Star*, January 23, 1891, 6.
62. *Call*, January 23, 1891, 1.
63. *Tribune*, January 25, 1891, 24.
64. *Appeal*, February 19, 1891, 2.
65. *Post-Intelligencer*, January 21, 1891, 8, and *Wichita Daily Eagle* (Wichita, KS), January 21, 1891, 1, and January 22, 1891, 1.
66. *Courier*, February 6, 1891, 1.
67. *Standard*, February 9, 1891, 1.
68. *Call*, February 10, 1891, 2.
69. *Courier*, February 16, 1891, 3.
70. *Herald*, February 16, 1891, 1.
71. *Record-Union*, February 16, 1891, 1.

72. *Call*, February 16, 1891, 1.

73. *Democrat*, March 14, 1891, 1; *World*, March 5, 1891, 3; and *Herald*, March 18, 1891, 2. See also *Dispatch*, March 18, 1891, 4, and *Post-Intelligencer*, March 18, 1891, 2.

74. *Madison Daily Leader* (Madison, SD), March 5, 1891, 2, and *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican* (Santa Fe, NM), March 24, 1891, 4.

75. *Indianapolis Journal* (Indianapolis, IN), March 15, 1891, 12.

76. Ing, *Kalākaua*, 187.

## “CHINESE PACIFICISM?” EXPLORING CHINESE NEWS MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS OF PACIFIC ISLAND COUNTRIES

Shuo Luan

*Beijing Foreign Studies University*

China has ramped up its engagement with Pacific Island countries and established itself as a major cooperative partner and assistance provider. However, the Pacific Islands remain a blind spot for many Chinese people, whose perceptions of island countries are inevitably shaped by dominant discourses at home. Although island countries are aware of China's growing presence, they are largely uninformed about their images circulated in China. This article seeks to fill this gap by exploring Chinese news media representations of Pacific Island countries. It argues that Chinese news media paint a broad and superficial portrait of island countries because of the great caution exercised in political news and the intention of promoting China's image and contributions. The representations have not brought “Chinese Pacificism” into being. Instead, from the perspectives of China, geopolitics, or the Pacific, they pivot around the ideas of development and progress and mainly manifest as the projection of Chinese values and interests onto foreign and insular places.

### Introduction

Although China and the Pacific Islands have had a long history of interactions, the first China–Pacific Island Countries Economic Development and Cooperation Forum in Fiji in 2006 marked the beginning of China establishing itself as a major player in the region (Wesley-Smith and Smith 2021, 1). The launch of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) in 2013 and the inclusion of Pacific Island countries in the twenty-first century Maritime Silk Road (MSR) in 2017

were the catalysts for China's all-dimensional engagement in the Pacific. China is now the second-largest trading partner and the second-largest aid donor in the region, as well as an increasingly important source market for Pacific tourism.<sup>1</sup> In 2019, the Solomon Islands established and Kiribati resumed diplomatic relations with China. Ten Pacific Island countries now have diplomatic relations with Beijing, underscoring the value and influence of China for Pacific Islanders. Nonetheless, although Pacific Island countries are aware of China's rising profile and the opportunities that offers, they have little awareness of how China represents Pacific Island nations due to language differences and the prevalence of Western representations of China. How Pacific Island nations are perceived and represented by Chinese authoritative groups like the central news media deserves detailed scrutiny.

Since the sixteenth century, Western powers have imagined, mapped, and represented Oceania in various ways, including as colonial territories that need to be claimed, governed, civilized, modernized, and Christianized (Thomas 1990, 141, quoted in Ballard 2014, 99). They have constantly propagated the belittling view that Pacific Island countries are small, poor, and isolated (Hau'ofa 1994, 150). Consequently, Pacific peoples are some of the world's most misrepresented groups (Teaiwa 2017, 266). For example, the problematic tripartite division of the region into Polynesia, Melanesia, and Micronesia denies the fundamental connections between Pacific peoples. The paradise trope is often used to romanticize and feminize the Pacific and its peoples or represent them as "noble savages" (Alexeyaff and Siobhan 2018, 274). Ideas of progress and civilization brought in by early missionaries presumed the unworthiness of long-established and successful cultures. Deficit discourse that assumes a certain idea of progress and highlights any other developments as defective remains prevalent in the international community. Concepts like "new doomsdayism" (Fry 1997, 305) and "failed states" (Jolly 2007, 528) imposed on the Pacific by Western media and academia are reminiscent of the "ignoble savages" (Kabutaulaka 2015, 111) trope that emphasizes disorder and instability. These representations distract from what the Pacific means for its peoples and focus on what it means to outsiders. Essentially, representations from the West characteristically mirror Western desires and fears (Farbotko 2010, 52) rather than the Pacific Islands per se.

"China's rise to prominence in Oceania is among the most important regional developments since the end of the Cold War" (Wesley-Smith 2013, 352). This significant change has become one of the focal points in geopolitical discussions. In the past decade, an increasing number of scholars have examined the geopolitical competition sparked by this change.<sup>2</sup> Most existing literature is positioned from the outside to look in at China's engagement in the Pacific rather than taking a direct look at the entanglements from inside. Scholars that contribute insider views usually discuss the topic through a traditional lens at

the macro level. This research takes a different path of looking out at China by gauging the internal public sphere of news media.

Despite the long presence of overseas Chinese in Oceania, there is little scholarly examination of how China imagines and represents the Pacific Islands. This article seeks to fill this gap by discussing Chinese representations of Pacific Island countries, with a focus on the news media. Using critical discourse analysis (CDA), this paper analyses Chinese media reports to outline the nature and dynamics of Chinese representations of Pacific Island countries. Although this research and analysis are limited to the news media, they provide insight into how China views and represents the Pacific Islands. This is important because these representations influence diplomatic relations, politics, business, and other engagements between China and Pacific Island countries. They could also provide Pacific Islanders with insight into how China and the Chinese people imagine and represent their nations. This could help in their framing and administration of their relationships with China.

This article argues that Chinese central news media are cautious and strategic in their language, tone, and sources for news covering China's diplomatic and economic engagement with Pacific Island countries. Negative messages have been censored to avoid damaging China's image, offending Pacific states, or harming relations. Ideas of harmony, equality, common development, and mutual benefits have been stressed. As a result, representations of Pacific Island countries are generally broad. When the news involves global powers like China and Western countries or touches on elements of geopolitics, Pacific Island countries are assigned a marginal role and fade into the background. When the news is solely about island nations, description becomes superficial. If the reports address the challenges and problems faced by island countries, words from Pacific leaders, officials, or citizens are preferential sources. Ideas of development and progress consistently frame the narratives on difficulties and challenges faced by Pacific Island countries. In short, Chinese news media promote China's image and contributions as a responsible developer of the region, offering only general representations of Pacific Island countries themselves. I propose that instead of forming "Chinese Pacificism" as a derivative of Orientalism, most Chinese representations of Pacific Island countries manifest as the projection of Chinese values and interests upon foreign and insular places on China's great periphery.

### **Representations in Chinese News Media**

#### *Chinese News Media: Background*

The media play an important role in producing and disseminating information that produces particular representations of events, places, and peoples.



The various types of media are important intermediaries in the process of shaping how people conceptualize the world (Shea, Painter, and Osaka 2020, 90) and key sites of misrepresentations (Johnson and Ensslin 2007, 14). Indeed, representation is a major focus of media discourse analysis (Johnson and Ensslin 2007, 16). The primary goal of media discourse analysis is the accounting of ideology in language or the problematizing of power relations in society (Cotter 2015, 797), which corresponds to the central notion of CDA. As a result, mass media and newspapers in particular have received the attention of many critical discourse analysts (Ahmadian and Farahani 2014, 2115) in several substantial works (O’Keeffe 2012, 442). Consequently, emerging works on representation in the media are greatly informed by such critical traditions (Cotter 2015, 799).

Unlike purported Western watchdog journalism, the nature of Chinese media or journalism is debatable. Luo (2015) points out that Chinese media are coaffected by various forces—the party, government, capital, professional, individuals, and cultures—whose competitive and sometimes collaborative relationships give rise to a self-balancing mechanism inside the media. He thus argues that the philosophy behind Chinese media is a combination of communism, authoritarianism, liberalism, professionalism, democratic-participant ideals, and Chinese culturalism (Luo 2015). Although Chinese central media such as the Xinhua News Agency are usually acknowledged to be government-sponsored and government-monitored vehicles whose role is to represent and disseminate the ideological agenda of Beijing (Zhao and Xiang 2019, 346), research into the financing and organizational structure of the Xinhua Shanghai Bureau has revealed considerable financial autonomy and decentralization of personnel and editorial control as a result of media market forces (Xin 2008).

Although there has not yet been a study on Chinese media coverage of Pacific Island countries, scholars have attempted to make sense of Chinese media representations of Africa compared with their Western counterparts.<sup>3</sup> According to their studies, media are major channels for China to increase its soft power and improve its international image (Madrid-Morales and Gorfinkel 2018, 2) amid the dominance of Western representations of the world. Adopting a non-Western approach, the Chinese government hopes to tell a more balanced story about Africa from a Chinese perspective (Zhang and Matingwina 2016, 93). Chinese journalism has been conceptualized as positive reporting that avoids politically controversial stories and focuses on narratives about friendship and partnership (Gagliardone 2013), constructive journalism that empowers and inspires people to find solutions to social problems (Zhang and Matingwina 2016), journalism that sits between positive reporting and constructive journalism promoted by outward-focused publicity and the political-economic

agenda of the Chinese government (Zhao and Xiang 2019, 359), and a mix of party journalism, watchdog journalism, and paid journalism (Xin 2008, 53). They serve as useful references because African countries and Pacific Island countries share some similarities in terms of colonial history and contemporary issues. Therefore, although Chinese media or journalism is almost indefinable with reference to established forms, scholars have generally agreed that it diverges from the journalistic paths of Western media. By comparison, neither positive reporting nor constructive journalism describes the coverage of the Pacific by Chinese central media. Instead, they publish general and broad news reports from the perspectives of China, geopolitics, or the Pacific.

In this context, Chinese central media<sup>4</sup> differ from other domestic news media in that their stories normally reflect the official stances and positions of the Chinese government, particularly on international relations. Since most Chinese people have little direct relationship with Pacific Island countries, their readings and interpretations of the authoritative news stories can easily lead to the formation of general impressions and understandings of far-flung foreign places. Thus, news articles from Chinese central media are a good research sample to investigate representations of the Pacific.

*Early Representation of the Pacific Islands: An Example from Chinese News*

The Pacific Islands attracted little interest from Chinese writers in ancient times (before the first opium war in 1840). It's even difficult to find representations of the islands before the founding of new China in 1949. However, one historical text contributes to understanding of China's early perceptions of the Pacific. It is excerpted from a news story (Yi 1942) that discussed the situation of the islands in the Southeast Pacific during World War II (WWII) in the *Anhui Daily*:

各岛上资源都很丰富，可称之为资源岛，地上资源和地下资源都占着优越的地位，故为世界所重视，列强所必争。

The islands are rich in resources and thus can be called "Islands of Resources." With advantageous ground and underground resources, they are valued by the world and competed by great powers (June 7, 1942).

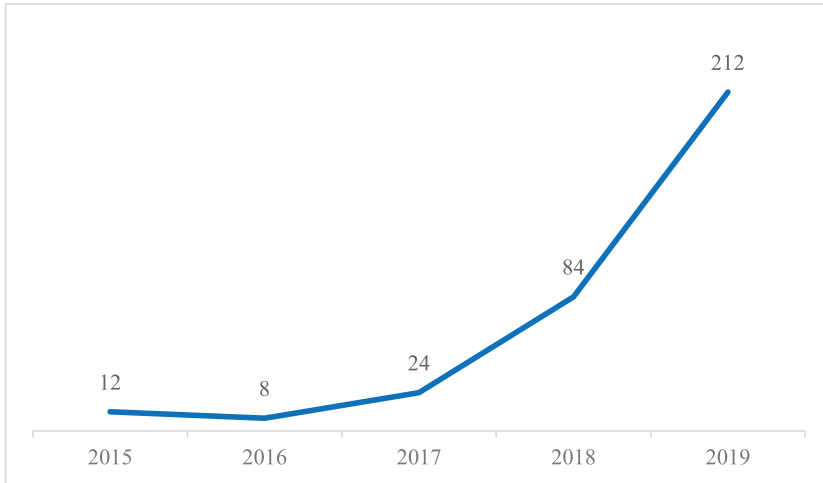
Here, resource richness was highlighted to explain why global powers were interested in and occupying the Pacific Islands. The Pacific Islands were recognized for their bountifulness but simultaneously relegated to a monolithic or generic identity, whereby other countries competed for benefits while island responses and agency went ignored. This example of early Chinese representations of the Pacific Islands is similar to Western views, emphasizing the desirable

resources of islands. However, China was not a colonial power, so discourses justifying invasions and occupations are largely unique to the West. Initially, the Pacific Islands were absent from Chinese media because China at large was unfamiliar with the islands and was not keen to report on them compared with other big powers in the world. Fundamentally, the scarcity of Chinese historical representations is based on a dichotomy between big continental civilization and groups of small distant islands. Do contemporary Chinese representations remain the same or break new ground?

*Overview, 2015–19*

Here, I surveyed online news articles published between 2015 and 2019 by searching on ChinaSo<sup>5</sup> using “Pacific Island countries,” “South Pacific,” and the names of fourteen independent states in the region as keywords. I chose this period because China elevated its relationship with Pacific Island countries in 2017 by including them in the twenty-first century MSR and the China–Oceania–South Pacific blue economic passage.<sup>6</sup> Examining the publications during the two years before 2017 and the two years after it can shed light on the change of representations. After examining the content, I removed irrelevant articles and duplicates, which left me with a total of 340 news pieces. The sources of the news articles included Xinhuanet (sponsored by the Xinhua News Agency), China News (sponsored by the China News Service), *China Daily* (sponsored by the International Communication Office of the Communist Party of China Central Committee), ChinaTaiwan (supervised by the Taiwan Affairs Office of the State Council), China Military Online (sponsored by *PLA Daily*), China Economic Net (sponsored by *Economic Daily*), CNR News (sponsored by China Media Group), CCTV News (sponsored by China Media Group), and *Economic Information Daily* (sponsored and supervised by the Xinhua News Agency). The preponderance of the articles was published on Xinhuanet, with 146 pieces of news.

As shown in Figure 1, the number of online news articles about Pacific Island countries in Chinese central media remained extremely low between 2015 and 2017, with only small fluctuations. However, the number jumped to 84 articles in 2018 and then skyrocketed to 212 articles in 2019, which is an obvious sign of growing attention to and interest in Pacific Island countries from Chinese media. The 2018 Asia–Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) meetings hosted by Papua New Guinea put island nations in the international spotlight. As a result, Pacific Island countries have attracted increasing news coverage from global media, including news agencies in China. Arguably, the APEC meetings mark a watershed in China’s concentration on the Pacific. As the chart shows, the growth momentum of news articles intensified in 2019.



**FIGURE 1. Increase in Online News Articles about Pacific Island Countries, 2015–19.**

I then read through all the articles, identified the perspective they were written from, and categorized them by topic (Table 1). Over the examined period, most news articles were China oriented, whereas others concentrated on geopolitics and critical issues for the Pacific. The topics of online news about Pacific Island countries from Chinese central media diversified, as well as increasing in number, which reflects an expansion of focus areas in Chinese news outlets. From 2015 to 2017, the limited number of news stories centered on China's engagement in the Pacific, including diplomacy, cooperation, rescue operations, and aid. Other news touched on natural disasters and regional and domestic issues. Papua New Guinea's successful hosting of APEC the following year drew international attention and gave rise to more media coverage, especially on diplomacy. APEC also contributed to China's deepening engagement in the Pacific, marked by frequent exchange of high-level visits, increased cooperation under the BRI framework, and development aid in the areas of healthcare and agriculture, all accompanied by corresponding news coverage. More importantly, the meetings set the stage for exponential growth and further diversification of Chinese news on Pacific Island countries the next year. As China established diplomatic relations with the Solomon Islands and resumed its ties with Kiribati in September 2019, the corresponding coverage hit the headlines and accounted for nearly half of the news reports about China's diplomacy in the Pacific. The rest of the articles under this topic were mainly

**TABLE 1. News Topics about Pacific Island Countries, 2015–19.**

Year	Perspective		
	China Oriented	Geopolitics	Pacific Oriented
2015	China's diplomacy (6) Cultural exchange (1)	Western engagement (2)	Natural disasters (1) Accidents (1) Health issues (1)
2016	China's diplomacy (1)	None	Natural disasters (2) Domestic politics (2) Refugee issues (2) Climate change (1) Natural disasters (7)
2017	China–Pacific cooperation (4) China's rescue operations (3) China's diplomacy (2) China's aid (1)	Taiwan's engagement (1)	US weapons testing (3) Domestic politics (1) Political figures (1) WWII legacy (1)
2018	China's diplomacy (27) China–Pacific cooperation (12) China's aid (10) China's rescue operations (9) Cultural exchange (4) Tourism (3) Overseas Chinese (1)	Taiwan's engagement (2) Western engagement (1)	Natural disasters (7) Introduction to countries (4) Climate change (1) Regional politics (1) Political figures (1) Crime (1)
2019	China's diplomacy (63) Cultural exchange (23) China's aid (17) China–Pacific cooperation (15) Tourism (10) Overseas Chinese (1)	Taiwan's engagement (4) US military deployment (1)	Natural disasters (40) Domestic politics (7) US weapons testing (6) Epidemics (6) Accidents (4) Introduction to countries (3) Regional politics (3) Political figures (3) Crime (2) Climate change (1) Refugee issues (1) Ocean life (1)
<p>Note: The number in parentheses after each topic signifies the number of articles under this topic.</p>			

about exchanging high-level visits and comments on China–Pacific relations. Subsequently China’s aid and cooperation projects continued to be major news coverage. Cultural exchanges in the fields of art, education, music, tourism, and sports also occupied an important place in the coverage. Friendship between China and Pacific Island countries became the key paradigm of the exchanges. In addition to current affairs, some historical and contemporary issues in the Pacific begin to emerge in the news, such as US weapons testing and refugee issues. Those news articles represent a positive change in Chinese news media, attempting to deepen the understanding of Pacific Island countries and publish Pacific-oriented news.

The limited media coverage of Pacific Island countries in the first three years of the period examined in this study does not mean there were few events to report. Indeed, the Pacific has never been the primary focus for Chinese news agencies. Stories of Pacific Island countries appeared less newsworthy compared with stories about the West and China’s periphery. Historically, Western countries have received extensive coverage from Chinese media and are established as major actors in China’s international news. Many countries on the periphery of China signed cooperation documents related to the BRI during those three years. Only later were Pacific Island countries included along the southern extension of the MSR in 2017. Second, the Pacific Islands are geographically distant from China, which adds to the difficulty and cost of assigning adequate resources to track news there. The surge of online news in 2018 and 2019 may be attributed to heightened connections between China and Pacific Island countries that signed cooperation agreements on jointly building the BRI.

Chinese central media are more susceptible to politics and embody political concerns from Beijing, so the rising numbers and increasingly diverse topics are direct results of China’s active engagement in the Pacific. Since China is likely to continue and even redouble its efforts to gain partners and allies in the region, Pacific Island countries may be expected to occupy more space in Chinese news.

### Analysis by News Topic

More than forty years ago, Edward Said suggested in his groundbreaking work *Orientalism* (1978) that representation is never a true presentation of the original but only an imitation that mostly serves the interest of the dominant group. Falling into this mindset, the United States alone has produced various colonial forms of representations that include exploratory, commercial, military, strategic, developmental, security-related, and tourism ones, which are termed “American Pacificism” by Paul Lyons (Hanlon 2009, 98). In a similar vein, Japan has framed Micronesia as a primordial chaos that needs to be

reclaimed and liberated (quoted in Levy 2015, 580) and produced shifting images of Micronesians as headhunters, primitive societies, noble savages, and hybrid subjects, which is called “Nanyo Orientalism” (Sudo 2010, 5). Now, the “oriental” power—China, although not the one Said referred to—is producing representations of “the others” in Oceania. Has China been affected by the idea of Orientalism and somehow created Chinese Pacificism in the representations of Pacific Island countries? If not, what can we learn from the representations?

To answer these questions, I focused on news articles published in 2019, because the year witnessed the important diplomatic achievement in the Pacific for China. In addition, the larger number of articles, partly as a result of the 2018 APEC meetings, makes it possible to analyze representations under diverse topics. In light of the flexibility (Fairclough 2012, 19) and interdisciplinarity (Wodak 2001:xxii; Fairclough 2012, 12) of CDA as a discourse analytical practice (van Dijk 2015, 466), I interpreted and contextualized news texts by considering both the linguistic and the political functions of words and phrases and then decoded their embedded messages and implications. Under each topic, I perused the headlines, leads, and main bodies of the articles to extract narratives related to Pacific Island countries, pieced them together and reconstructed the resulting images of island states. Sections below are presented in the descending order based on the number of news articles under each topic.

### *China's Diplomacy*

The sixty-three news articles under the diplomatic theme mainly focused on high-level exchanges and visits between China and Pacific Island countries, as well as comments and statements on China–Pacific relations from officials and political leaders. The Solomon Islands and Kiribati received the most coverage, with fifteen and fourteen news reports, respectively, as a result of their decisions to establish or resume diplomatic relations in 2019.

Because the theme is political, most of the news articles used diplomatic language with an informative tone and shied away from explicit negative comments and judgments on Pacific Island countries and relations. News about high-level exchanges and visits were generally concise, with highlights from the talks. The talks usually followed similar patterns of Chinese diplomatic narratives, for example, recognizing the primary concerns of each side, praising actions that enhanced relationships, and calling for closer exchanges and cooperation in the future. Therefore, representations of the Pacific became insignificant and largely absent. Many news articles cited words from Chinese political leaders like President Xi Jinping, who discussed China–Pacific relations during the exchanges. For instance, coverage of Xi's congratulations on

the launch ceremony of the 2019 China–Pacific Tourism Year included the following:

China and Pacific Island countries have a time-honored tradition of friendly exchanges. They are good friends who treat each other with sincerity and mutual respect, good partners who work together to pursue common development and win-win cooperation, and good brothers who understand and learn from each other. They set a model for all countries treating each other as equals regardless of their sizes (Qiu 2019).

This was a typical narrative of deep friendship and close partnership between China and Pacific Island countries based on the principles of equality and mutual benefit, which prevailed in news under this theme. It is a reflection of China’s will to maintain substantial and effective relations with other powers, particularly developing countries. Two other representations that emerged from the news came from a Chinese journalist and an editor, respectively:

1. Climate change. “Solomon Islands are known for its beautiful scenery, but again it’s island country, so one of the global challenges it faces like many other countries is global warming and climate change. How do you see China can help or how can the two countries cooperate to address such challenge?” (Li et al. 2019).
2. Development. “This decision was made based on national and peoples’ interests by the Solomon Islands. The country does not lack resources, but it is on the list of UN’s least developed countries. Development is the absolute principle to get over the difficulty” (Hao 2019c).

The first narrative recognized climate change as a threat to the Pacific Islands and preceded the discussion of actions by China. The second accounts for the decision to switch to Beijing by the Solomon Islands by referring to the United Nation’s (UN’s) criteria for development. Both statements identified existing or perceived challenges in the Solomon Islands and emphasized the benefits of allying with China.

Press agencies were well aware of the danger of only including official and authoritative voices from China, so they also cited the voices from Pacific leaders, who then became sources representing their countries:

1. Smallness. “Even though we are small, we are treated with [the] deep respect that you accord other [larger] countries” (Shi, Wang, and Xie 2019).<sup>7</sup>



2. Need of infrastructure. “The country is in badly need of important infrastructure” (Li et al. 2019).<sup>8</sup>
3. Agency. “Solomon Islands will not allow itself to be used as a tool to satisfy the narrow geopolitical interest of foreign political powers” (Hao 2019c).<sup>9</sup>

Selection of news content remains value laden even when it comes from Pacific leaders. Narratives of smallness become the proof of the principle of equality in China’s diplomacy. Need for infrastructure justifies China’s construction projects across the Pacific. Discourse on agency upholds the decision of Pacific Island countries to seek new allies and thus intensify relations with China. China’s diplomatic engagement in the Pacific is reminiscent of its longstanding engagement in Africa, which is an extension to the third world to build and enhance China’s relationship with other developing countries. Pacific Island countries are positioned as present and potential allies of China, so they are less likely to be represented negatively compared with Western countries that commit to containing China’s rise. In addition, such representations reflect some of the principles of the MSR, such as harmony, inclusiveness, and mutual benefit.<sup>10</sup> In total, news about China’s diplomacy in the Pacific exercises great caution and tends to present a picture of a harmonious relationship between China and Pacific Island countries, which pursue common interests in development and the benefits of close cooperation. On the positive side, an imagined Chinese Pacificism has not emerged. However, representations of the Pacific fail to get deeper but only discuss the primary concerns of island states.

#### *Natural Disasters and Epidemics*

Out of the forty news stories on natural disasters, thirty-seven articles related to earthquakes, whereas the rest concerned a volcanic eruption in Papua New Guinea and Tropical Cyclone Sarai that hit Fiji. Earthquake news was generally short and highlighted earthquake frequency in countries like the Solomon Islands, Tonga, Vanuatu, Papua New Guinea, and Fiji. After introducing basic information on earthquakes, the news would normally end with an additional note that “Earthquakes are common in the country, which sits on the Pacific’s ‘Ring of Fire,’ where continental plates collide producing frequent seismic activity” (Xu 2019). Earthquakes were presented as common in the Pacific but not necessarily destructive. The impacts of volcanic eruptions and cyclones appeared to be more disastrous. For example, more 5,000 people were forced to evacuate after the eruption in Papua New Guinea, and the potential risks of the volcano were mentioned. Tropical Cyclone Sarai swept

Fiji and caused one death, 1,969 people evacuated, and “fallen trees, landslides and damaged roads” (Zhang 2019i). Unlike short news on earthquakes, the more detailed news on cyclones and volcanoes was accompanied by photos of the disasters, which heightened the impression that Pacific Islands are vulnerable.

Given that China falls into the “medium chance of disasters” category, according to World Risk Index, and is regularly exposed to an array of natural disasters, it is reasonable that news media would be sensitive to natural disasters (Dynton 2015). The prevalence of earthquake news may result from large earthquakes that hit and still alert contemporary China, notably the Tangshan Earthquake in 1976 and the Wenchuan Earthquake in 2008. However, when natural disasters are perceived as common and having small-scale impacts in Pacific Island countries, they are more likely to be simplified and downplayed.

Six news articles tracked the measles outbreak in Samoa, and five of these were a series of news reports by Xinhua News Agency. The series began with coverage of the first twenty deaths in the country on November 23, 2019 and closed with the end of the state of emergency on December 28, 2019. The news articles also mentioned cases in neighboring countries like Tonga and Fiji. Like the coverage on natural disasters, Chinese central news agencies are sensitive to epidemics in any region of the world that can cause great losses, not only the Pacific. All news articles adopted an informative tone and provided general descriptions of infections, deaths, and government actions and a brief introduction about the disease, which successfully presented the urgent situation and timely responses from the governments. Therefore, the first step to form Chinese Pacificism has not even been taken, if this is going to happen.

### *Cultural Exchange*

Coverage of cultural exchange between China and Pacific Island countries involved a range of areas, such as art, education, music, tourism, and sports. Of the twenty-three news stories on this topic, sixteen concerned Fiji, which held a series of events initiated by China, including art exhibitions, a tourism symposium, a tourism cultural week and food festival, Chinese educational seminars, online classes, and competitions, as well as fashion events. Fiji’s pivotal role in the region and China’s concentration on the country were clearly in play here. Fijian and Chinese officials were reported as believing in the importance of cultural exchange for mutual understanding, respect, and learning. The news articles were imbued with narratives of warm welcome and great appreciation of Chinese culture on the part of Fijians, accompanied

by deepened mutual understanding and enhanced friendly ties between both sides. By the same token, friendship was consistently emphasized in other news, in which group visits from China met with hospitality from locals. Again, key terms like mutual understanding and friendship reflect the principles of the MSR. Adding weight to the harmonious exchange were representations of island states as clean and tranquil, with simple and happy daily life (Tao 2019b) and unique landscapes and cultures (Zhang 2019b). However, Chinese cultural influence eclipsed the culture of Pacific Island countries in most news stories. For example, news about scholarships offered to Fijian students and training given to Samoan athletes established China as the assistance provider and island countries as the receivers. The news highlighted the appeal of Chinese culture and its role in promoting friendship with Pacific peoples, which in effect indicates the successful implementation of the “Going Global Strategy” of Chinese culture that was first proposed in the early two thousands, but Pacific cultures did not receive the same level of attention. The news was therefore more China oriented than Pacific oriented, which has not led to the formation of Chinese Pacificism.

#### *China's Aid*

News stories about Chinese aid in the form of medical support, agricultural aid projects, infrastructure and construction projects, and loans included Samoa, Papua New Guinea, Cook Islands, Fiji, Niue, and Tonga, of which Samoa received the most coverage, with seven news articles. Preexisting challenges and issues in island societies and new issues identified during the process of providing aid were presented:

1. Reliance on imports. “Agriculture is the pillar industry of Samoa, but crops are limited to a few varieties like coconuts, taros and bananas, so dependency on food imports is high” (Zhang 2019a). “Agriculture is the pillar industry of Samoa, but the country is dependent on imported agricultural goods due to lack of arable land and technology” (Tao 2019a).
2. Backwardness. “Papua New Guinea’s healthcare system is relatively backward. There are only 500 doctors in the country, but they need to serve eight million people. The doctors have limited knowledge of advanced medical technologies like minimally invasive surgery and telehealth” (Hao 2019a). “Due to backward agricultural production and technology, Samoa still needs to import large quantities of agricultural goods” (Zheng, Zhang, and Tai 2019).
3. Health issues. “Samoans generally take breadfruits and taros as staple foods and eat less vegetables, which leads to prevalence of high blood pressure,

diabetes and obesity. This adds difficulty to surgeries performed by the medical team” (Tao 2019a).

Therefore, China’s medical support and agricultural aid were framed in terms of perceived challenges that island countries face. China’s willingness to address issues of development in island nations has been particularly recognized and backed by some Pacific leaders, whose comments were cited in the news to push back against accusations from the West. For instance, comments from Mark Brown, then deputy prime minister of the Cook Islands, in response to a US intelligence report accusing China of currying favor with Pacific island nations through bribery, infrastructure investments, and diplomatic engagement was cited (Zhou 2019):

Much of this development assistance has been the provision of critical economic and social infrastructure that could not be funded or provided by the more traditional development partners prevalent in the Pacific prior to China’s emergence in the early 2000s. Many of our fellow Pacific Island countries are facing rising population with large youth unemployment and few economic prospects and welcome a new development partner less insistent on policy reforms or social engineering as preconditions to aid.

Brown provided a rationale for China’s focus on infrastructure aid projects in the Pacific and referred to its no-strings-attached aid policy compared with traditional partners. In a similar vein, Tuilaepa Sailele Malielegaoi, the former prime minister of Samoa, justified the country’s need for infrastructure development, saying that “he would not allow geopolitical fears to stifle development of much-needed infrastructure, and Samoa would ‘follow our own line of thought,’ not that of the United States and its allies” (Wilson 2019). These two comments from Pacific leaders confirm China’s importance for development in some island nations, even though the idea may challenge the dominance of Western powers in the Pacific.

However, all identified challenges were merely presented to pave the way for discourse on the positive changes that island countries have seen with the help of Chinese healthcare workers, scientists, and engineers. One news article (Zhang 2019a) provided an overview of the China–Samoa Agricultural Technical Aid Project and the China–Fiji Juncao Technology Cooperation Project, stating that China’s aid brought real benefits to Pacific peoples and promoted economic and social development. The projects yielded fruitful results and were welcomed by local governments and people. These achievements were detailed by Chinese experts dispatched to the two countries and were supported by comments from

Samoan and Fijian political leaders, officials, coordinators, and project participants. Similarly, in Papua New Guinea a government official states that the China Juncao and Upland Rice Technology Project would contribute to economic growth, poverty alleviation, and protection of the environment (Hao 2019b). In Fiji, farmers and disabled people who received Juncao technology training from Chinese experts expressed appreciation for enriching their food and increasing their income (Zhang 2019f). Similarly, Samoan farmers thanked Chinese experts for providing seeds and facilities and teaching new technologies and farming skills, which made fresh vegetables and fruits more affordable and increases their income (Zheng, Zhang, and Tai 2019).

In addition, amicable interactions between Chinese and Pacific Islanders at the grassroots level were featured in the news. For example, to finish the construction of a comprehensive school in the Cook Islands as soon as possible, Chinese workers worked twenty-four-hour shifts every day during peak times. Neighboring residents were considerate and supportive and voluntarily sent food to the site (Hao 2019b). Likewise, Chinese staff at Samoa's airport upgrade project appreciated the kindness of locals who sometimes sent bananas to feed the company's employees (Tao 2019a).

Descriptions of tremendous changes and friendly interactions also dominated in the coverage of China's new Pacific allies. After China and the Solomon Islands established diplomatic ties, a news article (Yang and Guo 2019b) reported on a bridge project delivered by the China Harbour Engineering Company, whose infrastructure projects were described as having set the foundation for friendship since 2015. Locals were happy to see the great changes that the bridge brought to the community by making transport of produce easier and creating job opportunities. During construction, the company provided free road repairs, medical services, and promotion of education, and relatives and friends of local employees volunteered to take up positions in the company and send vegetables and fruits to the site. Ideas of change and friendship were consistently woven into the news.

Chinese news coverage of the country's aid in the Pacific mainly focused on development assistance in healthcare, agriculture, and infrastructure. The aid was claimed to fit the development need that China perceived through engagement with island nations, where some political leaders found that Chinese aid projects were in line with national development goals or plans. Project achievements, benefits for local communities, and deep bonds formed between Chinese and Pacific peoples were detailed at the forefront of the news, whereas China's possible benefits from providing aid were not mentioned. The news was intended to inform people at home and overseas of less-known interactions between Chinese aid providers and Pacific aid recipients to establish China as a responsible ally for other developing countries that sticks to the principle

of not interfering in the domestic affairs of other nations. Consequently, news consumers in China may have acquired a clearer knowledge of Chinese contributions to the Pacific in catering to needs of other countries but could hardly have learned anything specific about the Pacific Island countries, whose image remained vague except for the various developmental challenges with which they grappled. Here, the idea of development has emerged as a key word to guide the news story, whereas ideas of Orientalism have not come into play.

### *China–Pacific Cooperation*

China's major cooperation partners in the news included Fiji, the Solomon Islands, Papua New Guinea, the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM), and the South Pacific at large, focusing on trade cooperation under the BRI framework. Officials from both sides present the economies of China and Pacific Island countries as complementary. According to interviews with officials, Pacific Island countries boast abundant marine, forest, mineral, and tourist resources (Zhang 2019g) as well as advantageous locations, whereas China has the advantages of capital, technology, and market (Zhang 2019d), so their cooperation enjoys broad prospects.

Fisheries in particular is an important area of trade cooperation. Two news articles reported on the huge market potential of tuna from island states at the China International Import Expo. According to the head of the South Pacific Islands Union Pavilion, Pacific Island countries are endowed by tuna resources, and Chinese consumers appreciate the nutritional values of the fish, which leads to future cooperation (He and Cheng 2019). Other fresh produce from the Pacific caters to Chinese consumers' love of pure, natural, and organic products and pursuit of quality. Therefore, the Pacific, which is represented as one of the purest and greenest regions in the world, was presented as appealing to curious Chinese consumers. In addition, the article touched on other areas of cooperation, like tourism and fashion design, which provide access for Chinese consumers to learn about Pacific products. Apart from trade cooperation, other news articles involved China's financial cooperation with Papua New Guinea and possible cooperation in marine geology with FSM.

The news promoted the benefits of joining the BRI and cooperating with China under its frameworks for Pacific societies and peoples by presenting interviews with Pacific officials and scholars. Fiji's Minister for Industry, Trade and Tourism Premila Kumar believed that "Fiji can learn from the Chinese government in areas such as setting special industrial/economic zone policies and establishing zones that attract foreign direct investments in specialized areas" and pointed out that "Fiji needed to capitalize on this initiative for the benefit of Fijians, as Fiji plans to attract foreign direct investment from China. This

would in return create employment opportunities and improve the livelihood of all Fijians” (Zhang 2019c). Keshmeer Makun, a lecturer at the University of the South Pacific, acknowledged China’s contribution to Pacific Island countries and other developing countries by providing funds, markets, knowledge, and technology. As for China’s new allies in the Pacific, Bradley Tovosia, the Solomon minister of mines, energy, and rural electrification, spoke with *Xinhua* during an interview (Yang and Guo 2019a) identifying important challenges and opportunities for economic and social development:

1. Economic stagnation. “Solomon Islands is situated central to a lot of other countries in the region but our economy is really not growing...so having bilateral relations with China, it will really boost the economy.”
2. Backwardness. “By attracting big businesses to the country, Tovosia hopes to improve the lives of roughly 85% of the population who live in rural areas, where most people have no access to adequate electricity, water, sanitation and healthcare.”
3. Scatteredness and diversity. “I think the biggest thing we want is for our rural people. We are scattered everywhere on Solomon Islands. We have 11 provinces and people scattered everywhere with different cultures and different ways of doing things.”
4. Resource richness. “The Solomon Islands is abundant in natural resources, with fishery, forestry and mining as its pillar industries, which Tovosia believes present ample opportunities for those willing to invest in the country.”

He then referred to the country’s need for help from reliable partners and regarded cooperation under the BRI as a promising way to achieve growth: “So we are sort of in a way that we need someone that can come and help us in a true way that will really help the Solomons to grow. The Solomon Islands is encouraged to see the great improvements in economic development and people’s livelihood that neighboring countries, including Fiji, Vanuatu, and Papua New Guinea, have achieved through cooperation with China, especially through common projects under the Belt and Road Initiative” (Yang and Guo 2019a). As we can see, the article avoided judgmental comments on the Solomon Islands but represented the country’s development needs through the words of a local government official. At the same time, comprehensive cooperation with China was presented as beneficial based on his remarks, which appeared to be the prime goal of the article.

To summarize, representations of Pacific Island countries under the theme of cooperation frame Chinese and Pacific economies as mutually complementary by presenting the different strengths of both sides as the foundation for

reciprocal cooperation. Although pillar industries and competitive advantages of Pacific nations have been introduced to Chinese readers, the news articles focus on promoting the benefits of China–Pacific cooperation, particularly through projects under the BRI, by including Pacific voices, which ultimately contributes to positive interpretations of China’s image. Representations also echoed with the cooperation priorities in the MSR, such as facilities connectivity and unimpeded trade.

### *Tourism*

Large groups of Chinese tourists visit popular places in the Pacific like Fiji, and their emergent visits to new destinations like the Solomon Islands have been featured in the news. The beauty of the Pacific Islands was briefly mentioned. For example, “Fiji boasts beautiful beaches, pleasant climate and world-class diving activities, and it is attracting increasingly Chinese tourists for sightseeing and holiday” (Wei 2019), and “Like many other South Pacific Island countries, the Solomon Islands enjoys fascinating beaches and magnificent natural scenery” (Guo and Murray 2019). Such narratives did not distinguish the Pacific Islands from other tourist attractions that have similar characteristics, so the uniqueness and diversity of the Pacific were perceived and presented as exclusive appeals for Chinese visitors. For instance, “We welcome Chinese tourists to come to the South Pacific and experience unique tropical glamour and diverse cultures” (Zhang 2019e), and “In addition to clear water and dreamy coral reefs, the Solomon Islands have vast old-growth forest and historic World War II relics. The country consists of nine provinces, with more than 80 dialects and unique folk cultures and traditions” (Guo and Murray 2019). Furthermore, according to the interview with a local resident in the Solomon Islands, people’s unfamiliarity with the country added weight to its appeal: “Solomon Island is still an unexplored place, if you put it with Vanuatu and Fiji, there’s a lot of tourists going to those places” (Guo and Murray 2019).

Chinese tourists were believed to play a vital role in tourism development of the Pacific Islands by department heads of tourism organizations. Chris Cocker, chief executive officer (CEO) of the Suva-based South Pacific Tourism Organization, said in an interview with *Xinhua* that “China now is not only the fastest growing tourism source market for the world, but also for the South Pacific region. We warmly welcome more Chinese tourists and hope they can help us maintain the sustainable development of our region’s tourism industry” (Zhang 2019e). Similarly, Nanise Masau, director of Fiji’s Department of Tourism, told *Xinhua* that “As Pacific Island countries like Fiji, we warmly welcome Chinese tourists as they are contributing to the development of our tourism” (Zhang 2019h). Tourism Solomons CEO Josefa Tuamoto added that the



arrival of Chinese tourists will hopefully “help grow Solomon Islands tourism industry by raising the country’s profile and stirring foreign investment” (Guo and Murray 2019). According to the interviewees, Chinese tourist visits to the Pacific Islands will also further understanding and friendship between peoples through real cultural experiences.

News about tourism cooperation between China and Pacific Island countries touches on popular paradisiacal images of the region that prevail in Western discourse but highlights the unique and diverse cultures as selling points to Chinese tourists, who are welcomed to explore the untapped destinations. Their arrival to the Pacific Islands has been presented as key to sustainable development of local tourism industries. The tourists, according to Chinese and Pacific officials, also play an instrumental role in promoting friendship and mutual understanding between peoples. However, the benefits to Pacific Island countries brought by Chinese visitors are central in the news, although coverage of tourism exchanges should ideally give equal space to both parties. In this sense, the intention of tourism news was similar to the news about other forms of Chinese economic engagement in the Pacific. Therefore, although news articles envisage successful formation of people-to-people bonds through tourism, one of the cooperation priorities in the BRI, the articles also betray a sense of superiority. Narratives around tourism have great potential to lead to Orientalism for an Oceanian context (Lyons 2005), but this has not happened in Chinese news media due to the consistent emphasis of people-to-people bond.

### *Others*

News stories about Western powers in the Pacific mainly uncovered and condemned their historical and contemporary atrocities. The coverage of US nuclear testing in the Marshall Islands presented the island nation as a powerless victim grappling with enduring disasters. Reports on US weapons testing and military deployment directed readers’ attention to the militarization of the Pacific. The article about the refugee issue revealed Australia’s sway and hegemony in the western Pacific. News about regional politics critically presented successes, as well as setbacks, of Pacific Island countries in asserting primary concerns and pushing their agendas. Australia’s arrogance and self-centeredness have been slammed compared with Pacific leaders’ commitments and actions.

News stories solely about the Pacific revealed many important issues in the region and added more elements to the diverse profiles of Pacific Island countries. News about domestic politics demonstrated the opportunities and challenges island states face through a critical lens. News about political figures provided information on these leaders, who remain largely unknown beyond

their constituencies. The visual introductions to island countries drew attention to the uniqueness and vibrancy of Oceania.

Other news topics did not present the multifaceted reality of Pacific Island countries to readers. News about Taiwan's engagement concentrated on Taiwan's diplomatic actions and marginalized the island nations involved. Coverage of a fishing ship accident said little about the island country. News about crimes against Chinese businesspeople focused on social instability and anti-Chinese sentiments in some Pacific societies. The news story of an overseas Chinese business family emphasized the importance and advantages of official ties with the Solomon Islands for Chinese and local communities. It also promoted traditional Chinese virtues and values and a positive profile of overseas Chinese. The story revealed long-lasting social and economic instabilities in the country and conveyed optimistic messages that opportunities and development are anticipated alongside improved diplomatic relations. News about climate change, conveying a sense of the urgency of the threat to the survival of Pacific peoples, successfully presented China as a responsible power, in contrast to Western powers like Australia, on the issue.

### *Summary*

Over the examined five-year time frame, news articles about Pacific Island countries did not have a noticeable presence until 2018, when the amount of coverage ballooned, and further soared in 2019. Similarly, news topics greatly diversified over the five years. Although the subject of China's engagement in the Pacific remained the chief focus, numerous news reports focused on the island states themselves. The expanded coverage was partly born from the successful and influential APEC meetings hosted by Papua New Guinea in 2018 and China's diplomatic achievements in establishing relations with the Solomon Islands and resuming ties with Kiribati in 2019. However, even without these major events to further stir up China's interest in the Pacific, China had already stepped up its interactions with the Blue Continent and an increasing diversity of reports about Pacific Island countries are thus to be expected.

Chinese culture discourages explicit expressions that may cause tensions, particularly on formal occasions. News about China's diplomacy in the Pacific is highly political and formal, so most articles use diplomatic language and an informative tone and exercise great caution to exclude negative comments about Pacific Island countries and their relations with China. Narratives normally revolve around deep friendship and close partnership. This, in turn, makes representations of island nations unnecessary, and such representations are largely absent. Articles identify existing challenges like climate change and underdevelopment in island countries to imply the benefits of engaging with

China, which can work to address these issues. News agencies are strategic and tactical in the way they cite Pacific voices that represent their countries, including discourses on smallness, need for infrastructure, and agency. The selectivity of these discourses contributes to the promotion of the MSR in the Pacific. In short, representations of Pacific Island countries tend to be broad because the articles aim to stress the ideas of harmony, common development, and mutual benefits.

News about China's aid in the Pacific focuses on medical support, agricultural aid, and infrastructure projects, which are justified by preexisting or newly discovered challenges in island societies like reliance on imports, backwardness, and health issues. China's development aid has been acknowledged by Pacific leaders, whose words are cited to refute ill-founded accusations from the West. Beneficial changes brought by Chinese healthcare workers, scientists, and engineers are at the heart of the news, buttressed by comments from locals. Friendly interaction at the grassroots level is highlighted. In brief, project achievements of, benefits for local communities, and deep bonds between Chinese and Pacific peoples are depicted in great details in the news. Because the articles seek to inform the audience about these unknown interactions at the local level and establish China as a responsible power, images of Pacific Island countries are reduced to aid recipients faced with development challenges.

News about China–Pacific cooperation centers on projects under the BRI framework and frames the economies of China and Pacific Island countries as mutually complementary. Although pillar industries like fisheries and the competitive advantages of island states are introduced, most articles intend to publicize the promises and benefits of joining cooperation projects under the BRI. The perceived gains are backed by some Pacific officials and scholars, who have identified hindrances like economic stagnation, backwardness, scatteredness, and diversity, as well as facilitators like resource richness in island nations. Therefore, the articles present certain characteristics of island countries but ultimately contribute mainly to building China's image as a desirable cooperation partner.

By the same token, the influence and role of China and the Chinese people overshadow the role of Pacific Island countries in news about cultural exchange and tourism, which are important forms of engagement. In reports on cultural exchanges, the appeal of Chinese culture and its role in promoting friendship are underscored. Articles about tourism are more empowering, emphasizing the uniqueness and diversity of the Pacific, which is attractive for Chinese tourists. Like Chinese culture, the tourists are regarded as contributors to mutual understanding between peoples while bringing tangible benefits to local tourism industries. The news articles are generally fashioned to emphasize people-to-people bonds prioritized under the BRI. They transcend the popular and

problematic images of the Pacific and touch on the cultural aspects of island countries.

Chinese central news media employ a range of tactics to protect China's image, China–Pacific relations, and images of Pacific Island countries in political and diplomatic news, which emphasize friendship and partnership. News about China's economic engagement, cooperation, aid, and tourism and the opportunities and challenges faced by island nations often includes Pacific voices. News coverage of current affairs in the Pacific tends to be broad and condensed. Chinese news media representations of Pacific Island countries convey considerably less patronizing and disempowering messages compared with Western media. On the flip side, the news does not attempt to present a multidimensional and comprehensive image of island countries but rather centers on particular profiles and singles out the stories it wants to tell.

As a huge continental civilization with a burgeoning economy, China has been striving for material prosperity, so Chinese people are sensitive to the issue of underdevelopment faced by developing countries. China's perception of the challenges faced by island nations is compounded by their supposed insular characteristics, like smallness and remoteness. Although Chinese journalists have projected certain Chinese values and interests onto Pacific Island countries, they have not approached the idea of Orientalism and created Chinese Pacificism that twists the image of Oceania for China's interests. Instead, they are distinguished from Western counterparts by showing more empathy and concern for island states as fellow developing countries with a colonial history.

### Conclusions

China's growing presence and increasing influence in the Pacific are continuations of its historical interactions with the islands and a natural extension of its global engagement with developing countries. Accompanied by China's rising profile in the realms of diplomacy, trade, and aid is its active representation of Pacific Island countries. Historically and contemporarily, island states grapple with misunderstanding and underrepresentation from Western colonial and metropolitan powers, with numerous disastrous consequences. In this sense, Chinese representations have ramifications for island states, which are witnessing and dealing with an influx of Chinese officials, businesspeople, and tourists. Even though the connection between China and the Pacific Islands dates back centuries, the islands were once largely ignored by China. As a result, the Pacific region remains a blind spot for ordinary Chinese people, whose knowledge of the islands and islanders is inevitably shaped by dominant discourses from authoritative sources, including direct effects produced by news media.

Chinese central news agencies are cautious and strategic in the selection of the wording and tone adopted in the coverage of China's diplomatic and economic engagement with Pacific Island countries. The overarching principle is to exclude negativity that may damage China's image, offend Pacific states, or harm bilateral relations and stress the ideas of harmony, equality, common development, and mutual benefits. Specific representations of Pacific Island countries are generally broad, if not absent. When the news involves China and Western countries, Pacific Island countries tend to be marginalized and fade into the background. When the news is only about island nations, descriptions barely scratch the surface. When the reports go beyond the emphasis of friendship or partnership to discuss challenges and problems faced by island countries, Chinese news stories prefer to present them by citing Pacific leaders, officials, or citizens. Perceived challenges include climate change, exposure to natural disasters, and a range of development issues in economy and society. Although climate change is the biggest threat to Pacific communities and the impacts of natural disasters are real, narratives of development challenges are premised on ideas of development and progress that do not necessarily match the values, pursuits, and aspirations of Pacific Islanders. Apart from such challenges, news articles touch on the agency of Pacific leaders in international relations, the leadership of island countries in certain global issues, and the unique and diverse cultures. In addition, critical issues in the Pacific, like US weapons testing, militarization, and the refugee crisis, have been introduced to Chinese readers.

Fundamentally, news media representations of Pacific Island countries promote China's positive image and contributions as a responsible member of the developing countries, whereas stories about the Pacific tend to be nonspecific and only enable readers to have a general sense of island countries. The imagined Chinese Pacificism that derived from Orientalism has not come into being. Instead, Chinese representations of Pacific Island countries manifest as the projection of Chinese values and interests onto foreign and insular places on China's great periphery based on Chinese evaluation criteria.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author would like to thank Terence Wesley-Smith, Tarcisius Kabutaulaka, and Alexander Mawyer for their helpful reviews on the early drafts of the article. Also, thank you to the anonymous reviewers for their insightful comments.

## NOTES

1. The China–Pacific Tourism Year launched in 2019 in Samoa was seen as a milestone achievement in China.
2. See *The China alternative: Changing regional order in the Pacific Islands*, edited by Graeme Smith and Terence Wesley-Smith, for relevant research.
3. Domestic Chinese media coverage of Africa is underexplored in the research on Africa–China media and communication engagement, which largely focuses on English-language coverage of Africa by Chinese media, African media responses, and Western perspectives. The research lacuna for domestic Chinese media perspectives should be noted (Wekesa 2017).
4. Central media in China include eighteen key news outlets at the central level. The news sample in this article were published on central news websites, which are online platforms of the outlets or their subsidiaries.
5. The search engine, launched in 2014, covers news from various sources, including those from central media.
6. See *Vision for maritime cooperation under the Belt and Road Initiative*, the official document issued in 2017.
7. Cited from David W. Panuelo, the incumbent president of the FSM.
8. Cited from Manasseh Sogavare, the incumbent prime minister of the Solomon Islands.
9. Cited from Manasseh Sogavare, the incumbent prime minister of the Solomon Islands.
10. See *Vision and actions on jointly building Silk Road Economic Belt and 21st century Maritime Silk Road*, the official document issued in 2015.

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## BOOKS NOTED

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### RECENT PACIFIC ISLANDS PUBLICATIONS: SELECTED ACQUISITIONS, JANUARY 2022–JUNE 2022

THIS LIST of significant publications relating to the Pacific Islands was selected from new acquisitions lists recovered from Brigham Young University Hawaii, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, University of Auckland, and Macmillan Brown Library at University of Canterbury. Other libraries are invited to send contributions to the Books Noted editor for future issues. Listings reflect the extent of information provided by each institution.

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## CONTRIBUTORS

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**Lamont Lindstrom**, University of Tulsa. Email: lamont-lindstrom@utulsa.edu.

**Douglas V. Askman**, Hawai'i Pacific University. Email: daskman@hpu.edu.

**Shuo Luan**, Beijing Foreign Studies University. Email: luanshuo@bfsu.edu.cn.