

encourage and guide the process of reconciliation between Fijian and Indian leaders. In his final report on the performance of his interim government, Mara asserted, "We have helped guide the country through the most trying period in its history, a period which began with fear, suffering, and uncertainty, and ended in a spirit of hope and renewal." If such a claim was premature in 1992, Mara and Rabuka can rightly make it now. Unfortunately the memoir ends with that report, so there is no account of the events leading to the remarkable rapprochement. The viability of that achievement remains to be tested in elections and government, against the ever-present potential for militant Fijian ethno-nationalism.

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Double Ghosts: Oceanian Voyagers on Euroamerican Ships, by David A Chappell. Armonk, NY and London: M E Sharpe, 1997. ISBN 1-56324-998-7, xix + 231 pages, illustrations, photographs, notes, bibliography, index. US\$60.95.

In 1522, right after Magellan's death in the Philippines, one of his remaining ships, the *Trinidad*, sailed east in an ill-fated attempt to reach Panama. On the way, the Spanish stopped at Guam, where they kidnapped a Chamorro to provide needed information for the voyage. So began a trend of Oceanians joining the crews of Euroamerican ships, a movement that peaked in the nineteenth century. Although at first

recruitment was forced, as in the case of the unfortunate Chamorro, from the late eighteenth century most Oceanians signed on "voluntarily," enticed by gifts, promises of wealth, or just the opportunity to see foreign lands. Although some of these travelers were elites like the Tahitian priest Tupaia, Belau's Prince Lee Boo, and the Hawaiian chief Ka'iana, most were anonymous young men—*kanakas* as they came to be called in shipboard Pidgin after the Hawaiian word for person—taken on board to haul lines, pump the bilges, scrub the deck, and carry out other unskilled duties. Visiting captains quickly grasped how useful they could be. By 1830 American vessels trading for furs along the northwest coast were crewed mostly by Hawaiians, and by mid-century fully twenty percent of the sailors in the American whaling fleet were Oceanians. So many were signing on that authorities in Hawai'i, Rotuma, and Rarotonga sought to restrict and regulate recruitment during this era of acute population decline.

So widespread was this movement that historian David Chappell considers that it constituted one of the three great Oceanian diasporas, occurring well after the original settlement of the region by canoe and just before the current exodus to the rim by means of jet aircraft. However, getting a handle on this movement is not easy. Although its echoes are evident in the niche contemporary Rotuman and I-Kiribati seamen have found in international shipping, the diaspora of the European days of sail has long been over, leaving only fragmentary traces. Chappell labels those Oceanians who

sailed away on Euroamerican sailing ships as “double ghosts”—beings lost to their communities for years and in many cases permanently, whose experiences were either never chronicled, or, typically, can only be partly reconstructed from the pages of Euroamerican ships’ logbooks, journals, and memoirs.

One of the best known of these voyagers was the learned priest Tupaia. In 1769 Cook selected him from among the many Tahitians applying to join the crew of the *Endeavour*, in hopes that his great knowledge of island geography would be of help in sailing across the Pacific. By guiding *Endeavour* to a series of safe anchorages in his native leeward Societies and negotiating warm welcomes for the British ashore, Tupaia more than earned his keep. When the expedition reached Aotearoa, Tupaia conversed easily with the Māori and served the British ably as interpreter and negotiator.

Furthermore, his knowledge of languages, island geography, navigation, and meteorology provided Cook and Joseph Banks with clues that allowed them to develop remarkably prescient ideas about the spread of the “South Sea Islanders” across the Pacific from the “East Indias.” Yet, we can never really be sure why Tupaia wanted to sail to England and what he thought of his encounter with alien seafarers from another ocean. All we know about him comes from the journals of Cook, Banks, and others who sailed on the *Endeavour*, for the native savant died at Batavia, before he could learn enough English to fully tell his tale, and before he had a chance to inform

other Tahitians who might have orally preserved his thoughts.

In piloting through the shoals of fragmentary and typically one-sided bits of information about an amazing number of Oceanian travelers, Chappell has chosen to focus on the unique liminality of these voyagers. As in the case of Tupaia, they did not just meet intruding strangers on Dening’s “beach,” but themselves crossed that threshold to gain firsthand experience of the outside world. Typically that meant harsh shipboard life, with visits to other islands and perhaps other “beaches” along the American coast or Asia’s shores, all too often cut short by early death from diseases exotic to Oceanian immune systems. Some, however, were luckier than Tupaia and even made it to the “heart of the beast”—to London, Paris, Boston, or Saint Petersburg—and a few of these returned to their home islands to tell about life outside their ocean.

As a rare example of an Oceanian traveler’s tale that comes down through local oral tradition instead of Euroamerican writings, Chappell quotes a story he himself gathered from a Marshallese oral historian. When a strange ship appeared off the atoll of Ebon, a youth named Lojeik paddled out, only to be kidnapped by the evil strangers. Years later, after Lojeik’s family had given him up for dead, another ship anchored off Ebon and some of its sailors came ashore. As the vengeful Islanders were openly discussing who would kill which sailor, one of the latter surprised them by speaking in their own language, warning them not to attack as the white men had powerful weapons. When

they scoffed at this threat, the sailor had his mates fire their weapons at a coconut tree, shooting off fronds and nuts in a cloud of smoke. Then the sailor stepped forward and opened his shirt to reveal his warrior tattoo and identity as the missing Lojeik!

If you want to know what happened next to this liminal voyager, and about the surprising adventures of thousands of other Oceanians who roamed the world during this era, I highly recommend that you read this fascinating book.

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Tokelau: A Historical Ethnography, by Judith Huntsman and Antony Hooper. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996; ISBN 0-8248-1912-8. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1996; ISBN 1-86940-153-0. xii + 355 pages, maps, photos, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, US\$39.00, NZ\$69.95.

Tokelau is a Polynesian archipelago consisting of three isolated atolls in the central Pacific. The island group is several hundred kilometers north of Sāmoa, west of the Northern Cook Islands, and east of Tuvalu. This volume represents three decades of research by two prominent anthropologists, both independently and in collaboration. The authors bring together a wealth of ethnographic and historical material, organized around a set of themes reflecting both anthropological and indigenous Tokelauan concerns.

The book comprises two main

sections. The first three chapters focus on contemporary ethnographic issues, while the last six are essentially historical. Chapter 1 describes the physical setting, including both the natural environment and village layout. Chapters 2 and 3 focus on the fundamental units of social organization: the village and the kinship system, respectively. The historical chapters (4 through 9) loosely alternate between presenting a Tokelauan perspective as gleaned from oral traditions and a European view as reconstructed from the journals of sailors, missionaries, traders, and colonial administrators. Chapter 4 describes the relationships among the three atolls from the mythic past until well into the period of European contact. Chapter 5 lays out indigenous views of the three communities, emphasizing what makes each unique and how, despite their distinctive personalities, they came to be united into a single polity. Chapter 6 explores the transformations produced by European contact, the establishment of Christianity, and the decimation of the atolls by slave traders during the nineteenth century. Chapter 7 outlines the politics of religious affiliation. It is followed by two chapters detailing Tokelau's colonial history—a history that has involved political attachments at various times to Western Samoa, the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, and eventually New Zealand. A substantial postscript outlines the relationship between Tokelau and New Zealand through approximately 1970, and a brief theoretical conclusion rounds out the work.

In many ways, this reads like an old-fashioned ethnography, with all of

Double Ghosts: Oceania by David A. Chappell. Other editions. Want to Read savingâ€¦!â€” Chappell explains the significance of "shipping out" as a world history phenomenon and demonstrates that European expansion was a two-sided process involving a variety of participants. ...more. Get A Copy. Amazon. Stores â€”4.â€” Start your review of Double Ghosts: Oceanian Voyagers on Euroamerican Ships. Write a review. Double Ghosts: Oceanian Voyagers on Euroamerican Ships: Oceanian Voyagers on Euroamerican Ships (Sources and Studies in World History). by. David A. Chappell (Author). â€”9 Visit Amazon's David A. Chappell Page. Find all the books, read about the author, and more. See search results for this author. Are you an author? Learn about Author Central.â€” Even more interesting, what began as the indentureship of indigenous peoples shifted as Polynesians began to volunteer to go on voyages and eventually began using the ships and captains for their own purposes. Dr. Chappell's book lends a rare and valuable insight into present day relationships between Polynesians and the world beyond. Jack Kelly, Author, "Kamehameha and Vancouver, Rendezvous in Paradise." Read more.