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ignored? In answering this question, the book is not informed by archives only. Rather, long excerpts of interviews intersperse the narration; individual life stories intersect with the historical records; and much space is dedicated to the representation of emotions. For instance, recurrent reference is made to the sense of abandonment that Pacific families felt, and the healing that resulted from discovering that many fathers did not leave out of their own initiative, but rather were forced to do so by the military laws.

The index provides quantitative evidence of the prominence of the emotive theme. The most recurring words of the book are: children, fathers, marriage, women, and emotions. The reason for this insistence on emotions seems to be found, on the one hand, in the societal purpose of the research. Research participants have apparently gained in health as a consequence of “seeking and sometimes finding relatives” as well as from learning that “they were not the only ones with such wartime legacy” (xiii). On the other hand, emotions emerge from the historiographical salience of the theme of emotions. “Love,” Bennett writes, “is something historians rarely speak of” (23), presumably even less in the sub-field of military history. This book seeks to counter the tendency to portray intimate wartime relationships with indigenous women as essentially matters that involved no feelings. By representing the love of mothers, children, and fathers, this book succeeds in carving a space in the extant historiography for the forgotten subjects of the Pacific War.

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This is a book with many stories to tell. Geoffrey White charts a constellation of intertwined issues surrounding perhaps the most iconic historical landmark on US soil, the USS Arizona Memorial at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. After the 1941 Japanese attack which saw a massive explosion and fire send the Arizona to the shallow bottom along “Battleship Row,” the ship was left as a grave for most of the 1177 sailors and marines who died aboard, and the iconic white memorial astride the wreck was dedicated in 1962. The first visitor center and museum, opened in 1980 to accommodate growing numbers of visitors and managed by the National Park Service, was expanded in 2010 as the centerpiece of the new “World War II Valor in the Pacific National Monument” comprising a number of memorials and museums around Pearl Harbor.

White, emeritus professor of anthropology at University of Hawaii and longtime Honolulu resident with an abiding interest in Pacific history and
memory, began fieldwork at Pearl Harbor in the early 1990s. This research grew into “multiple projects and collaborations” spanning two and a half decades, and here he has given himself space to draw out the many ensuing threads, interweaving military commemoration, nationalist narratives, evolving historical praxis, and touristic consumption, with the Arizona and its environs an ideal touchstone for such globalizing themes.

An insightful introduction lays out the background and theoretical framework for the rest of the book. While the memorial itself remains a sacred space for remembrance of war dead “in perpetual service to the nation” (21), the visitor center and museum have continued to evolve over the years. White shows that ethnographic methods involving long-term engagement with people at such a site can produce deeper understandings of the complex politics and practices there, as diverse “cultures of commemoration” rub up against each other and against changing historical analyses and portrayals. The central focus of this busy site fittingly remains honoring the fallen US military personnel (as White takes pains to point out), but over time more diverse “communities of remembrance” have also found space there, significant among them Japanese and Japanese-American visitors.

White reminds us how war memories and their sites are crucial for the historical/political linkages that build and maintain national imaginaries, and this continues to be the case at Pearl Harbor. The original narratives attached to the site focused upon the military attack and aftermath, coinciding well with the commemorative spirit of the memorial, but as the visitor center grew its historical and educational breadth widened, offending some critics who do not find broader historical education appropriate alongside a war grave, or that ritual practices should extend from US military remembrance into acknowledging foreigners and/or civilians, nor into themes of peace and reconciliation.

The first chapter focuses upon a constant and popular presence at the visitor center in the 1990s and early 2000s, Pearl Harbor survivors serving as volunteer docents. These witnesses provided a visceral link to the national history on display, and a means of personal validation for visitors. Outfitted in floral shirts and veterans’ caps, these men presented varied and highly personal interpretations of the site, requiring a bit of monitoring by the Park Service. As the 2000s saw their numbers dwindle to be replaced by park rangers, the focus of the museum has shifted from direct memory to interpretive history.

Chapter Two draws out the “entangled history of commemorative practices” (78) at the memorial. White argues that memorial sites are “fundamentally social in nature,” and that the activities and performances, both official and informal, taking place there continuously construct and reconstruct meaning for diverse visitors. White witnesses in depth the connections made and meanings drawn out as visitors interact (or do not) with the visitor center and its personnel, the memorial, and each other. He
also points out some of the many disconnects at the site—foremost being the absence of local representation both in the history on display and sandals on the ground, as this former area of native fish ponds called Pu’uloa has become a national and international focal point while somehow losing its identity as a local Hawaiian place. While the Pearl Harbor memorial complex and visitor center is the most visited tourist site in Hawaii, it is one of the least visited places for local residents, a fact that highlights the gap between national historical narratives and local subjectivities, with (until recently) no Hawaiian perspectives on display and little illustration of the distinctly colonial Pacific island society (which included indigenous Hawaiians, and “Mainlanders” [or Europeans], Filipinos and Japanese Americans, among others) in place in the islands on the eve of WWII.

Chapter Three takes on filmic representations of Pearl Harbor, especially the “mythopraxis,” or “complex of mythic narrative plus the [racialized] politics of image-making” (141), involved in producing and re-editing the orientation film nearly all visitors to the memorial view. Chapter Four takes up the thorny issue of tourism and the hazards of a “commodification and trivialization of memory” (161) at a site of remembrance which has become de rigueur for any and all holidaymakers displaying (or disregarding) varying levels of solemnity. Chapter Five recounts the complexities of designing and building the new visitors center opened in 2010, involving not just bricks and mortar but the architecture of historical representation.

Chapter Six dissects the sometimes-fraught politics surrounding pedagogy and historical interpretation, especially in contact with “patriotic” military commemorative practices, with Fox News kindly providing a touchstone when Sean Hannity attacked a teachers’ program White himself organized in 2010 as “a perceived insult to national values in national spaces” (247). White reminds us that even when in the minority, strident voices often drown out the chorus. Does inclusion in exhibits and educational programs of Hawaiian colonial history or Japanese American internment during WWII insult the memory of the war dead? Many (including Pearl Harbor veterans) say no, but others shout, YES!

Far from a static shrine to the fallen, White shows how the memorial complex has been in continuous transition from its inception. Even the memorial itself has seen changing practices, with such rituals as a tea ceremony taking place on board more recently. The fellowship of those entombed in the wreck changes as well, as some survivors have chosen to have their remains added to the memorial upon their passing. Returning to the now mostly departed veteran survivors manning the visitors center, White sees this disappearance as the foremost transition presently occurring, and characterizes the entire book as studying a period in the lifecycle of the memorial which is coming to an end—“a period characterized by personal witnessing” (266), being replaced by a period of transition from memory to history.

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White’s writing is masterful; demonstrating a rare gift for rendering complex themes and complicating received categories in flowing, accessible prose. There’s a surfeit of riches here difficult to do justice to, with nearly every page holding some nugget worthy of quotation or comment. Students of history and memory, museology, World War II, film and race, tourism and other themes too numerous to list will find exploring this book time well spent.

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Andrew J. Connelly


As befits an archaeological memoir, Unearthing the Polynesian Past includes a wealth of revealing “artifacts.” One of these is a neatly penciled map of an exposed midden deposit in the Hālawa Valley of Moloka‘i that appears on the cover of the book, the work of a precocious 14-year-old intern at the Bishop Museum in Hawai‘i engaged in his first independent dig in 1964. Over the succeeding half century, Patrick Vinton Kirch has authored scores of site reports, academic publications and, most recently, books geared towards more general audiences detailing the evolving scholarly consensus on the pre-contact history of Oceania. Indeed, no living scholar has done more to shape that consensus.

The book is organized into 24 chapters, beginning with Kirch’s childhood on Oahu and ending with reflections as a recently retired professor at the University of California, Berkeley. Most of the chapters focus on specific archaeological projects, highlighting Kirch’s experiences as a field archaeologist. It is impossible not to be impressed by the sheer number of projects and places Kirch has worked. These range from tiny remote islands such as Tikopia and Mangareva to sites located on most of the Hawaiian Islands, from northern Papua New Guinea in the west all the way to Rapa Nui (Easter Island) in the east. The accounts are enlivened with copious anecdotes of interactions with islanders, long-term foreign residents, and fellow archaeologists as well as accounts of Kirch’s adventures roaming across rough landscapes in search of telling signs of previous occupation. Kirch’s accounts of his collaborative work with Marshall Sahlins in the Anahulu Valley of Oahu and his digs on the Mussau Islands in Papua New Guinea as part of the International Lapita Homeland Project, both in the 1980s, will be of particular interest to those familiar with Kirch’s scholarly contributions. I suspect that more casual readers will especially enjoy the chapters dealing with his earlier mostly solo work on Polynesian outliers and Futuna, which
Memorializing Pearl Harbor examines the challenge of representing history at the site of the attack that brought America into World War II. As an ethnographer and historian, Geoffrey M. White is both a participant in the changing memory practices at Pearl Harbor and a keen analyst of them. Memorializing Pearl Harbor examines the challenge of representing history at the site of the attack that brought America into World War II. Analyzing moments in which history is re-presented—in commemorative events, documentary films, museum design, and educational programming—Geoffrey M. White shows that the memorial to the Pearl Harbor bombing is not a fixed or singular institution. Rather, it has become a site in which many histories are performed, validated, and challenged. In addition to valorizing military service and sacrifice, the memorial has become a place where Japanese veterans hav...