

on the Indian diaspora. Lal's reputation also rests on his membership in the committee that reviewed the 1990 constitution. That the 1997 draft, with its commitment to multi-ethnic government, racial harmony, and national unity ultimately fell foul of vested interests in Fiji's parliament cannot be laid at the committee's door. Lal's other career-long activities that this book celebrates are his robust commentary on Fiji's political life through the years, and his creative writing as a historian who believes some greater historical truths lie in imaginative storytelling. The former ultimately ended in a vindictive government banning Lal, along with his blameless wife, Padma, from entering Fiji. His "faction" writing attests to Lal's essential restlessness as a historian of and in the Pacific, for whom creative writing is a release from the "gut-wrenching" (54) experience of tracing Fiji's history as citizen-historian over the twentieth century.

Lal's writings have sometimes been criticized as too empiricist, lacking theorized frameworks. But he himself rejects that, highlighting a lightly applied set of beliefs and values that impregnate his analyses. He writes what Kaplan and Kelly dub "deliberately modernist works," his *Broken Waves* a "textured and reliable history" (156) of the Fiji Islands on an epic scale that will stand the test of historiographical time. This Festschrift bears witness to a personality whose gravitas and stubborn adherence to principled political values are balanced by emotional attachments and his "bad habit" (280) of obsession with cricket. This celebration of his professional life is well produced, though some errors in spelling of names and imprecise book titles occur. It is occasionally sentimental in tone, but its intentions are admirable and its subject equally so.

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**UNDER THE VOLCANO: The People of Kalapana, 1823 to 2010.** By Charles Langlas and Kūpuna. Hilo, HI: Pili Productions, 2016. x, 242 pp. (Illustrations, maps.) US\$12.00, paper. ISBN 978-1535550345.

Kalapana is a significant place in Hawaiian imaginaries. It was one of the few Hawaiian communities to survive as such into the twentieth century. It also lies in the shadow of Kīlauea, the most active of the Hawaiian volcanoes and home of the goddess Pele. *Under the Volcano*, authored by Langlas and kūpuna (elders), is divided into three parts. In part 1 (chapters 1–2), Langlas describes the abandonment in 1819 of the priest-led religion of *heiau* (temples), the subsequent conversion to Christianity, and the multi-layers of property-making enmeshing Kalapana: for instance, the overlapping land stewardship regimes associated with the different strata of pre-contact Hawaiian social organization—*ahupua'a*, *moku*, and *kuleana*; the mid-1800s *Māhele* (land division); and the impact of the subsequent splitting of land into government lands, crown lands, private property, and homesteads. While

this history of land reform played out throughout the Hawaiian archipelago, certain distinctive features set Kalapana apart. For instance, while no commoners received *kuleana* awards in Kalapana, the sale of government land in combination with the Hawaiian practices of joint family inheritances as well as of sharing land, meant that “a class distinction between owners and non-owners” (27) did not develop. This emphasis on egalitarianism is a key characteristic of Kalapana, as is the vibrant hybrid culture that emerged as a result of absorbing the changes in land ownership and beliefs.

Part II (chapters 3–9) forms the bulk of the book and details life in Kalapana in the twentieth century, particularly during the 1920s and 1930s. It is organized topically around the following: a subsistence fishing and farming economy, family life, growing up, community relations, healing and religion, relations with the outside, and the 1986 lava flow and subsequent community renewal. Methodologically, the section is based on oral history interviews conducted by Langlas and some of his Hawaiian students from the University of Hawaii, Hilo, between 1986 and 1990—just prior to the 1990 lava flow that covered the area and forced mass evacuation. While he acknowledges that in anthropology the emphasis is on participant observation field-research as a means to uncover the reality of social life and the “obvious difficulties” (29) in relying on interviews for this purpose, the book is emphatically ethnographic. This is a consequence of his sensitivity to the subject, the engaging narrative structure of the chapters that are peppered with excerpts from the interviews, and importantly, his obvious long and deep immersion in Hawaiian culture and language.

A recurring theme is the tension between Hawaiian tradition and the social change wrought by missionization, a cash economy, formal education, and other markers of westernization. Similar to other ethnographies of Hawaiian communities, though scholarly works are limited, Langlas identifies the persistence of distinctive Hawaiian values and culture irrespective of the intrusion of a powerful American political economy and individualist value system. This tenacity is expressed, for example, in cooperative work, the sharing of food and wealth, the existence of extended family households, and their self-sufficiency. It is also apparent in the persistence of *hānai* (adoptive) and kin relations, gender roles, common ownership of resources, health and healing rituals, and the syncretization of Christianity with pre-contact beliefs. Langlas describes, for example, how Kalapana residents variously employ *Ho’oponopono* healing services and beliefs in ancestral spirits alongside Christian services. Hawaiian culture is also expressed in the relationships between people and the environment, which in Kalapana takes on the immediacy of an active volcano and the presence of Pele. Langlas writes of the 1986 lava flow, “I heard talk about the flow from the *kūpuna* and I was struck by two repeated themes, that the flow was a punishment sent by God or Pele, and that the land belongs to the deity, so we should let him/her take it” (105).

The 1986 and 1990 lava flows forced the dispersal of most of the Kalapana community. Even dispersed, however, groups arose to preserve the culture, protect fishing rights and *mālama* (care for) the marine resources. And, when possible, people returned to the area. Langlas states “as of 2014, four lot holders were living in newly-built houses...a fifth was finishing his house, and a few others were clearing their lots to build and putting in cesspools” (106). Leroy Kikito, a returnee, speaking of his hope that other families might follow, remarks “when they come again, eh, we make noise again. And walk to each other house. All that kind of stuff” (108).

This monograph is a very rich account of a Hawaiian community. Langlas is an expert at foregrounding the voices of his participants. Their experiences of a hybrid Hawaiian culture, as lived in the environment of an active volcano, are meticulously detailed. This commitment to a grounded ethnography is masterfully balanced with an anthropological sensibility. While Langlas allows his anthropology to conceptually shape the material, it never forces a rigid theoretical construct on the ways of life recounted, nor does it direct a particular analysis of the data. Indeed, in part III, the final section of the book, the life histories of five *kūpuna* are retold in their own, very expressive, words.

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**KANAKA HAWAI‘I CARTOGRAPHY: Hula, Navigation, and Oratory. First Peoples: New Directions in Indigenous Studies. By Renee Pualani Louis with Aunty Moana Kahele. Corvallis, OR: Oregon State University Press, 2017. xxxviii, 218 pp. (Illustrations.) US\$22.95, paper. ISBN 978-0-87071-889-2.**

While we typically think of cartography as the study and practice of making maps, its practice combines science, aesthetics, and technique to communicate spatial information. Such a practice may, or may not be, contained upon a sheet of paper or in a digital format. Tacking between “Nā Kahua Hawai‘i” (Hawai‘i foundations) (i.e., theoretical sources, knowledge perspectives, and knowledge classifications) and “Nā Hana Hawai‘i” (Hawai‘i practices) (navigation, composing, and dance), Renee Pualani Louis with Moana Kahele lead readers through Hawaiian cartography—as experiential, embodied, sensory connections linking people, elemental forces, plants, animals, places, space, time, and genealogy. This is, as Louis states, a journey into the basics of Kanaka Hawai‘i cartographic philosophy and knowledge. Even so, the basics are filled with details and the astute reader will quickly perceive the layers upon layers of knowledge necessary to gain the knowledge shared within the stories or examples.

The “Nā Kahua Hawai‘i” section is essential, because it sketches a Kanaka Hawai‘i ontology and epistemology different from, although not contrary