

General Editor's Introduction

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There has never been a more appropriate time for a comprehensive history of the Pacific Ocean as we attempt in this collection. The dramatic rise of East Asian economies in the decades after World War II has given rise to one of the most rapid realignments of global economic and political influences in world history. Energy resources and raw materials flow into East Asia from Australia, South America, Central Asia, Southeast Asia, and the Indian Ocean world to fuel the new workshop of the world in the People's Republic of China. China has become the fulcrum point of the global economy in what has been deemed to be the Pacific Century.¹ The massive flow of trade goods across the Pacific Ocean between the United States and China lies at the heart of this Pacific-centred realignment, accompanied by increasing tensions over rival spheres of influence in the Pacific between these two superpowers. Recent maritime confrontations in the Pacific have largely been analysed by international relations experts and legal scholars with limited reference to the rich but fragmented history of cultural exchanges across and within the Pacific Ocean.

Momentum towards conceptualizing the Pacific Ocean in its entirety as a zone of interaction has mounted since the 1980s. The classic work on Pacific Ocean history remains O.H.K. Spate's visionary three-volume *The Pacific since Magellan* written in the 1970s and 1980s.² Books on Pacific Island navigation and cultural encounters with European explorers in the Pacific, especially those involving Captain Cook, continue to sell well since emerging

¹ See for example R. Elegant, *Pacific Destiny: The Rise of the East* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1990) and the masterful overview of academic literature on this concept by Akira Iriye, 'A Pacific century?', in D. Armitage and A. Bashford (eds.), *Pacific Histories: Ocean, Land, People* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 97–118.

² O.H.K. Spate, *The Pacific since Magellan*, 3 vols. (Canberra: ANU Press, 1979–88).

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as a genre in the 1960s.³ These works target university and general public audiences. The 1990s produced Simon Winchester's popular histories of the rise of the Pacific to global prominence, Walter McDougall's history of the North Pacific, *Let the Sea Make a Noise*, Arif Dirlik's article-length attempt to conceptualize the Pacific as a zone of interaction in the early 1990s, and John McNeill's astute environmental perspectives on the interaction between technology, transport, and trade in the history of resource use in the Pacific.⁴ Ron Crocombe's 2007 *Asia in the Pacific Islands*, Matt Matsuda's *Pacific Worlds* in 2012, and a host of other special issues and edited collections have closely explored the increasing interactions between the societies of the Pacific's western rim and the rest of the Pacific. There has also been a growing number of studies of the maritime dimension of many Asian societies.⁵

The few Pacific-wide histories that have been attempted focus on the region's integration into a wider global economy which is seen as beginning when Europeans began to move into the Pacific. The modern concept of a Pacific community is essentially based on the modern economic relationship between East Asia and North America. It is a relationship with little legacy of pre-existing cultural or historical ties, and one that has only been made possible by communications and transport revolutions in the last two centuries. Prior to this phase the Pacific is generally viewed as a prohibitive void rather than an avenue for movement. Pre-European Pacific peoples are

³ There are too many books written on Cook to cite all. Among the more notable are J.C. Beaglehole (ed.), *The Journals of Captain James Cook on his Voyages of Discovery*, 4 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955, 1961, 1967), and N. Thomas, *Cook: The Extraordinary Voyages of Captain James Cook* (New York: Walker, 2003).

⁴ See S. Winchester, *The Pacific* (London: Hutchinson, 1991) and his updated version *Pacific: Ocean of the Future* (London: William Collins, 2015); W.A. McDougall, *Let the Sea Make a Noise: Four Hundred Years of Cataclysm, Conquest, War and Folly in the North Pacific* (New York: Avon Books, 1993); A. Dirlik, 'The Asia-Pacific idea: reality and representation in the invention of a regional structure', *Journal of World History* 3:1 (1992), 55–79. For an overview of the concept, see J. McNeill, 'Of rats and men: a synoptic environmental history of the island Pacific', *Journal of World History* 5:3 (1994), 299–349.

⁵ R. Crocombe, *Asia in the Pacific Islands: Replacing the West* (Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, 2007) and M.K. Matsuda, *Pacific Worlds: A History of Seas, Peoples, and Cultures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012). On maritime Southeast Asia see especially Chapters 9 (Cynthia Neri Zayas and Paul D'Arcy), 17 (Hsiao-chun Hung), 25 (Leonard Y. Andaya), 30 (Xing Hang), 31 (Jennifer L. Gaynor) and 50 (Ricardo Roque). See also J. Warren, *The Sulu Zone: The World Capitalist Economy and the Historical Imagination* (Amsterdam: VU Press, 1998). For East Asia see Chapters 17 (Hsiao-chun Hung), 23 (Kent Deng), 24 (Ronald C. Po), 29 (Dahpon Ho), 30 (Xing Hang), 35 (Greg Dvorak), and 58 (Fei Sheng and Paul D'Arcy). For the Americas see Chapters 16 (Jon M. Erlandson), 21 (José Miguel Ramirez-Aliaga), 26 (Madonna L. Moss), 27 (Andrea Ballesteros Danel and Antonio Jaramillo Arango), 28 (Rainer F. Buschmann and David Monzano Cosano), 53 (Edward Melillo), and 54 (David Hanlon).

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usually considered to have conducted localized interactions only, with a resultant consciousness that was at best regional rather than pan-Pacific.⁶ Such pan-Pacific passages were dominated by European vessels. European encounters with the South Pacific began in 1567 when Magellan sailed westward across Oceania from South America. Other Spanish voyages of discovery followed in his wake. A series of violent encounters and the decimation of colonies in Melanesia from malaria soon ended Spain's South Pacific engagement. Henceforth, the Spanish focused on Micronesia and the trans-Pacific galleon trade carrying goods between the colonial ports of Manila and Acapulco. Their route bypassed most inhabited islands in the Pacific, while former links between Guam and the Caroline Islands diminished with the violent establishment of Spanish rule in the Marianas and the subsequent loss of seafaring capacity within the island chain.⁷ European contact with the Pacific became more sustained from the late 1760s onwards as voyages of exploration by a number of European nations gradually mapped Australasia and Oceania, most famously and comprehensively through the three expeditions of Captain James Cook from 1768 to 1779. Focusing solely on the flow of traffic between the Pacific's terrestrial margins overlooks numerous more localized seafaring interactions and as well as interactions with the sea that were part of daily life for many Pacific inhabitants.

Most Pacific Island history has focused on inter-cultural relations between Pacific Islanders and Europeans over the last two and a half centuries.⁸ Pacific historians have largely focused on the impact of Western products, peoples, and ideas on Pacific Islanders, with increasing emphasis placed on presenting Pacific Islanders as rational, active agents in this process. The majority of Pacific Islanders' millennia of history was recorded and conveyed orally, which has meant that much Pacific history has become multidisciplinary to

⁶ Dirlik, 'The Asia-Pacific idea', 64. Dirlik grossly underestimated the degree of Indigenous interactions in the pre-European Pacific. Subsequent studies since 1992 continue to expand the extent of Indigenous navigational knowledge and seaborne exchanges among Pacific peoples as is detailed in Volume I's Part iv: The Initial Colonization of the Pacific and Part V: The Evolution of Pacific Communities.

⁷ See O.H.K. Spate, *The Pacific since Magellan*, vol. 1, *The Spanish Lake* (Canberra: ANU Press, 1979). Pan-Pacific exchanges in this collection are discussed in Chapters 2 (David Christian), 16 (Jon M. Erlandson), 33 (Lewis Mayo), 36 (Jane Samson), 47 (David Igler), 52 (Frances Steel), and 57 (Peter Rimmer and Howard Dick).

⁸ See D. Munro and B. Lal (eds.), *Texts and Contexts: Reflections in Pacific Islands Historiography* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006). The terms Pacific Islander and Islander are used here interchangeably to refer to Pacific Islanders in general, while the terms European and Western are used interchangeably to refer to influences and people emanating from Europe and the Americas after European colonization.

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incorporate non-literate sources such as oral traditions, linguistic patterns, and material remains. For this reason, Pacific history cannot be viewed in isolation, but must be seen as part of a larger body of work produced by their Pacific-focused colleagues in anthropology, archaeology, linguistics, and geography. This has enhanced rather than diluted the nature of Pacific history. The coastal peoples of the Pacific Rim were also orientated towards the sea, and shared many of the experiences Pacific Islanders encountered as well as made distinct by local context.

There has recently been mounting academic interest in ocean history, as demonstrated by the above-cited ocean history forum in the world's top-ranked history journal, the *American Historical Review* in 2006, and new ocean history series launched by Cambridge University Press.⁹ The Pacific as a region is also experiencing renewed academic interest, with Palgrave launching a new Pacific History series edited by Matt Matsuda and Bronwen Douglas. Matsuda's book *Pacific Worlds* received critical acclaim and in 2014 Atlantic World specialist, Harvard's David Armitage co-edited *Pacific Histories: Ocean, Land, People* with Alison Bashford. Anthropologist Nicholas Thomas was jointly awarded the Wolfson History Prize for his 2010 general history of Pacific peoples in the era of European contact and colonial rule, *Islanders: The Pacific in the Age of Empire*.¹⁰

The Pacific's maritime histories of and by its coastal inhabitants are particularly relevant to historians of other ocean spaces seeking to conceptualize their field in terms more of histories of the sea than of histories across the sea. Calls have mounted recently to balance essentially continental, Eurocentric outlooks emphasizing the flow of goods and people across the sea as measures of cultural and regional coherence with more oceanic ones, where the sea is not merely a time passage for people between terrestrial stages of historical actions but also one rich in spaces of historical enactment, and cultural meaning and memory. As Stanford University geographer Kären Wigen noted in her introduction to the *American Historical Review* forum on oceans in history, 'No longer outside time, the sea is being given a history, even as the history of the world is being retold from the perspective of the sea.'¹¹

⁹ A discussion of the 2006 *American Historical Review* Ocean Forum follows. See note 11. This two-volume work is part of the Cambridge Ocean History Series edited by D. Armitage, A. Bashford, and S. Sivasundaram, see www.cambridge.org/core/series/cambridge-oceanic-histories.

¹⁰ Armitage and Bashford (eds.), *Pacific Histories*. N. Thomas, *Islanders: The Pacific in the Age of Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).

¹¹ K. Wigen, 'Introduction', *Oceans of History Forum*, *American Historical Review* 111:3 (2006), 717–21, para. 1, and A. Games, 'Atlantic history: definitions, challenges, and opportunities', *American Historical Review* 111:3 (2006), 741–57, paras. 10, 17–19.

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Many Pacific coastal peoples remain more closely linked to local maritime environments for their subsistence and identity than peoples in most other parts of the globe who have grown less dependent on local seas because of their central place in the global economy their overseas expansion helped create. These features combine to produce populated seas that are, even today, used intensively, culturally mapped in intimate detail, and imbued with history.¹² This redefining of the sea as sea peoples in the region define it – as a series of differentiated and distinct sea spaces – has major implications for other environmental histories of the sea where sea spaces still largely remain voids occasionally punctuated by islands between continental margins and largely conceptualized as a passage of time. Others have begun to argue for the need to incorporate the sea into our vision in ways that go beyond merely tracing the highways of sea travel between islands. Archaeologist and accomplished sailor Geoff Irwin notes that: 'Most prehistorians have concentrated on the evidence for intervals of time between islands but it could help our explanations to give more consideration to the intervening space – which is ocean – and the changing social and environmental circumstances of the islands and people in it.'¹³

The actions and policies of national governments and international organizations are also reflecting mounting environmental concerns about the Pacific Ocean. This trend is also feeding back into tertiary education with the rising popularity of programmes focused on sustainable development and environmental issues. The World Bank mobilized these concerns in 2012 and announced a massive programme specifically focused on sustainable ocean policies for the Pacific Ocean to be supported by a number of partners from the Global Partnership for Oceans (GPO). The GPO is a coalition of more than 120 countries and organizations, including the World Bank.¹⁴ *National Geographic* has focused on Pacific Islander reef and lagoon rehabilitation and the massive floating garbage vortices in the northern Pacific from East Asia and North America.¹⁵ Blue economies have become the focus of much future

¹² P. D'Arcy (ed.), *Peoples of the Pacific: The History of Oceania to 1870* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), xix–xlv.

¹³ G. Irwin, *The Prehistoric Exploration and Colonisation of the Pacific* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 136.

¹⁴ World Bank, 'World Bank announces proposed package of support for World's largest ocean', 31 August 2012, www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2012/08/31/world-bank-announces-proposed-package-of-support-for-worlds-largest-ocean0.

¹⁵ T. Eichenseher, 'Bridging Western science and Polynesian tradition', *National Geographic News*, 25 February 2011, <http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2011/02/110223-biodiversity-cultural-tradition-moorea-indigenous-knowledge/>, and M. Simon, 'Trash islands', *Earth Times*, 15 December 2012, www.earthtimes.org/pollution/trash-islands/2253/.

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planning for Pacific Island and Pacific Rim nations since 2010. The blue economy refers to the rapid development of sustainable marine economies, generally in conjunction with sustainable terrestrial, low-carbon green economies. This has become a global research priority in recent years as the threat of climate change accelerates – prompting, for example, an extended Economist Intelligence Unit discussion section in *The Economist* in 2015 for the World Ocean Summit, and becoming a research priority for Pacific regional institutions and most Pacific governments.¹⁶ In May 2015, the Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat Secretary-General, Dame Meg Taylor, became the world's first politically endorsed ocean advocate as Commissioner of the Pacific Ocean Alliance. This history collection arose within this context of long and deep cultural connections to the Pacific Ocean and mounting academic and political interest.

This history of the Pacific Ocean brings together for the first time the extensive corpus of studies on the interaction of Pacific Island and Pacific Rim societies with the ocean and with each other from humankind's initial maritime explorations until the present day. It offers a unified perspective on three great phases of Pacific Ocean history. The first is the colonization of the Pacific Rim and islands by land and sea and the establishment of diverse civilizations that interacted with the neighbours to varying degrees according to fluid internal dynamics and external influences. The diverse maritime cultures that resulted demonstrated much greater resilience and continuity than is generally acknowledged in most world history texts during the next phase when European explorers and conquerors transformed the Pacific into their desired vision, albeit restricted by the limits of their resources at these most distant of their imperial endeavours. The last phase since the dropping of atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki has seen the decolonization and increasing assertiveness of Pacific communities in regional forums and on the world stage. Hidden and neglected histories are being discovered and created to legitimize and frame these societies' preferred role on the world stage.

The need to address the Pacific lacuna in world history has now become vital as the economies of the Asian Pacific Rim rapidly expand and become the main engine of increasingly inter-related world trade networks and harmful industrial pollutants driving climate change. Many of the world's

¹⁶ The Economist Intelligence Unit, 'The Blue Economy: growth, opportunity and a sustainable ocean economy', An Economist Intelligence Unit briefing paper for the World Ocean Summit, 2015, https://eiperspectives.economist.com/sites/default/files/images/Blue%20Economy_briefing%20paper_WOS2015.pdf.

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worst polluters and the first nations to perhaps disappear under the sea because of climate-change induced sea level rises are located in the Pacific. The *Cambridge History of the Pacific Ocean* anticipates the shifting tectonics of global economics, demography, and political ecology, and provides a *longue durée* viewpoint to understand the mounting tensions and emerging environmental and political conflicts over Pacific Ocean spaces, and their resources and freedom of passage. The Pacific Century cannot be understood without the deep history of interactions on and across the Pacific which this study provides. In reflecting the neglected diversity and dynamism of the societies of this blue hemisphere, it acts as a major corrective to world histories too long framed in terms of Western triumphalism.

Colonial history and historiography divided sea worlds into worlds perceived to be discrete, restricted, and controlled spaces unified by the language of the colonizer. Such perceived spaces impose colonial order on maritime environments that have always resisted attempts to control and master them by human communities, and upon independent seafaring peoples who have always dwelt beyond the power of the state, or existed at its margins. They represent seascapes of desire by the powerful rather than reflections of reality. It follows that attempts to map and narrate the range and vision of maritime peoples before their domination and marginalization by land-based, numerically or militarily superior peoples offer a way of decolonizing their history. Part of this decolonizing involves a form of subaltern history whereby the centrality of sea, forever present in the worldview of maritime peoples, is restored to its former central place. A number of chapters demonstrate that Pacific Islanders, Amerindian and Inuit peoples, Malay peoples of Southeast Asia, Japanese, Korean, and Chinese all have long and enduring associations with the sea. Many of these associations have been marginalized or understated in world history, much to their detriment in current global forums on ocean governance. The definition and use of the Pacific's ocean spaces has always been contested between cultures. These long and diverse histories are all the more relevant today as the Asia-Pacific region rises to dominate the world economy and the Pacific Ocean becomes the next battleground for overfishing, industrial pollution, and climatic degradation from industrial pollution. The fact that the Pacific Ocean contains almost 50 per cent of the Earth's water surfaces also makes it a vital carbon sink in the battle to contain global warming, warming generated, in part, by the booming economies of its Asian and American shores.

The contributors represent diverse perspectives as one would expect from a work encompassing an ocean that makes up so much of the Earth's surface.

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This collection has seventy-seven contributors drawn from twenty-three nations and four Pacific territories seeking greater self-government, spread across multiple disciplines and non-academic reservoirs of knowledge. This work differs in focus and composition from its predecessor *The Cambridge History of the Pacific Islanders* edited by Donald Denoon with Stewart Firth, Jocelyn Linnekin, and Malama Meleisea in 1997. That work was the first general edited history of the entire Pacific Islands region. It was a major advance in Pacific Studies and captured the diversity of our sub-discipline with great coherence. It was a much smaller work than this current collection, consisting of twenty contributors and focused solely on the Pacific Islands, including Aotearoa New Zealand.¹⁷ Australia and the Pacific Rim were only covered as colonial powers or when elements of various Pacific diasporas touched upon their shores.

Much has changed in the intervening twenty-six years. Chinese influence has increased dramatically across the Pacific, while academic research has revealed far greater historical links between the Pacific Rim and island Pacific than previously acknowledged in East Asia, Southeast Asia, and South America. At the same time, Pacific Island nations and scholars have demonstrated an increasing confidence and assertiveness on the global stage to write their own histories on their own terms and to advocate Pacific Islander solutions for both their own and global problems, most notably climate-change mitigation and ocean conservation. The global advocacy of prominent Pacific Island women such as Dame Meg Taylor, President Hilda Heine of the Republic of the Marshall Islands, and her daughter Kathy Jetñil-Kijiner has been notable in this regard. Lastly, this work is a history of the Pacific Ocean and not just the Pacific Islands in the previous Cambridge collection. This adjusted focus represents another decolonizing methodology for peoples not bounded by shorelines as continental peoples tend to conceive oceans, but rather connected by oceans as the iconic Pacific Island scholar Epeli Hau'ofa reminded us with his reconceptualization of the Pacific as a 'Sea of Islands'.¹⁸

The sheer size of the Pacific and centrality of the many diverse nations, cultures, and regions discussed in these two volumes to world history means

¹⁷ Aotearoa New Zealand is the current (2022) preferred government name acknowledging the long Indigenous past. Chapters in both volumes generally refer to periods before European colonization as either Aotearoa or Aotearoa New Zealand, and after European colonization as New Zealand or Aotearoa New Zealand. The exception is the use of New Zealand in volume I as both a geographical and a cultural entity. We have also sought to accommodate author preferences as much as possible.

¹⁸ E. Hau'ofa, 'Our Sea of Islands', *Contemporary Pacific* 6:1 (1994), 147–61. First published in V. Naidu, E. Waddell, and E. Hau'ofa (eds.), *A New Oceania: Rediscovering Our Sea of Islands* (Suva: School of Social and Economic Development, The University of the South Pacific, 1993).

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that contributors have been drawn from different parts of the world and academic lineages, legacies, and traditions to engage in a truly representative exchange in this work. The depth and breadth of this coverage requires that this project must involve experts from a variety of human and natural sciences, and Indigenous knowledge holders with much longer whakapapa (genealogy) drawn from beyond universities. The editors early on decided that the collection had to be truly multidisciplinary and multifaceted to be comprehensive. For this reason, thematic and methodological chapters sit alongside and engage with each other and more chronologically orientated chapters. These diverse traditions involve a number of means of expression such as oral traditions, poetry, navigational lore, and chants evoking elements of the natural world and ancestral spirits, as well as historical linguistics, archival studies, archaeology, genetics, geology, botany, marine science, art history, literary analysis, and visual media history. Prominent Pacific Indigenous voices on the global stage are to the fore – we open Volume I with a traditional mihi to Te Moana Nui a Kiwa from Māori writer and film maker Witi Ihimaera, while Volume II begins with a reflection on Pacific futures from President Hilda Heine and poet and environmental advocate Kathy Jetñil-Kijiner. Contributors are balanced between established authorities and young scholars and leaders of the future, including traditional Yapese navigators and Gumbaynggirr Aboriginal community ocean educators. Without this diversity of approaches, only a fraction of the history conveyed in these volumes would have been able to be presented.

The format of this collection facilitated the presentation of diverse approaches. Publishing a two-volume collection totalling 600,000 words both as a standard library reference work and in electronic format to enable specific chapter downloads means that chapters could cover overlapping material with different approaches. Chapters are grouped in related themes or distinct eras in the history of the Pacific Ocean. While each chapter is designed to be self-contained for online audiences, many also refer to relevant chapters and related illustrations elsewhere in the collection to alert readers wishing to pursue particular research interests and passions further. The online version provides a one-paragraph summary and key words for each chapter to aid in online thematic searches. Chapter groupings and chapters sharing related themes are outlined below, as well as in the table of contents, and in the volume editors' introductions that follow this general, thematic introduction. Our editorial policy has broadly favoured giving diverse voices and modes of expression as much leeway as possible rather than imposing uniform formatting on all chapters in keeping with the decolonizing nature of much Asia-Pacific scholarship and the Eurocentric

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nature of much maritime scholarship in particular. The region's diversity and the series' wider global audience persuaded us to opt for a standardized CE (Common Era) – BCE (Before the Common Era) dating format rather than the more culturally neutral BP (Before the Present) format because the latter is still largely restricted to scientific literature and almost totally absent from historical discourse. To refer to Captain Cook's death as occurring 241 BP rather than in 1779 or the settlement of Hawai'i occurring 1020 BP rather than 1000 CE still requires a mental conversion for most readers that also hinders a sense of comparative timelines with other events in world or Pacific history. We have also opted to standardize Asian, Pacific, and European name formatting for authors in footnotes and bibliography, but not in running text where we reflect the fluid preferences in referring to East Asian authors by either surname/family name first or last. Historical figures noted in text and footnotes are referred to by their most commonly used name form or names, as in Mao Zedong (last name, first name) for example. Forename and surname are clarified in the accompanying footnotes where the first initial of the forename is followed by the full surname. Finally, bibliography entries are presented surname first followed by a comma and the first initial of the forename. We have used authors' preferred vernacular language protocols and spelling, including phonetic symbols, at the time of going to press in 2022.

Chapters are divided into twelve parts, evenly split between Volumes I and II. The emphasis on the diverse cultural traditions of the sea in the Pacific means that European explorers only appear in Part VI of Volume I. Both volumes start with lead essays which seek to push the boundaries and challenge orthodoxies in Pacific history and its methodologies. Each contains another part on particular methodologies or sources that distinguished Pacific historical practice. Volume I also has parts discussing diverse concepts of the Pacific environment and its impact on human history, the early exploration and colonization of the Pacific, the evolution of Indigenous maritime cultures after colonization, and finally the disruptive arrival of Europeans. The last four parts of Volume II detail advances and emerging trends in the historiography of culture contact and the colonial era respectively, before outlining the main themes of the twentieth century when the idea of a Pacific-centred century emerged, before ending with a part on how history and the past inform preparations for the emerging challenges of the future policymakers and implementors.

All scholarship is a collective enterprise, and especially so for such a large project covering approximately 40 per cent of the globe when Pacific Rim nation land territory is also included. Little wonder then that this project took