

respects representative of many Third World nations struggling to integrate themselves in an ever more global economy, trying to optimize the use of their intellectual, cultural, and biological resources without sacrificing control. The contributions to the volume represent a variety of disciplines and in that respect show the subject of intellectual property rights to be widespread in its implications. A downside to the volume's multidisciplinary approach is that contributions are at times too specific and not all that informative, but as I said earlier much of this falls into place against the general overview provided by the appendix. I would have liked to have perhaps read more on the implications of all this for local culture, but that is more dictated by my specific interests and background than by any lack in the way the volume is organized. This volume is certainly a worthwhile contribution to the growing literature on the subject.

SJOERD R JAARMA
*Papua Heritage Foundation,
 Hilversum, The Netherlands*

* * *

*Hawai'i's Russian Adventure:
 A New Look at Old History*, by
 Peter R Mills. Honolulu: University
 of Hawai'i Press, 2002. ISBN
 0-8248-2404-0; xi + 295 pages,
 tables, figures, maps, photographs,
 notes, bibliography, index. Cloth,
 US\$39.00.

Is Fort Elisabeth merely a Russian fort, as western narratives portray, or is it also a structure sharing similarities to Hawaiian heiau, as the author of this book suggests? Certainly, the

Russians did construct a fort near the mouth of the Waimea River on the west side of Kaua'i in 1816. Equally undeniably, Native Hawaiians participated in its construction during the period when paramount chief Kaumuali'i asserted sovereignty and independence from Kamehameha. The historical narratives pertaining to Fort Elisabeth detail the agendas, activities, and perspectives of the Russians and other westerners, but they ignore earlier Native Hawaiian historical associations with this place. Peter Mills believes the lack of Native Hawaiian perspectives in these historical narratives must be redressed if we are to develop a more balanced narrative of the history of this structure and its environs and a better understanding of our collective past.

The author argues three points. First, by focusing extensively on the few years of Russian association with the fort, historical narratives fail to portray the more than thirty year history of Native Hawaiian association with this structure. Second, an integration of Native Hawaiian narratives is essential if we wish to obtain a more accurate and collective narrative of the history of this structure, its environs, and its historical roots. Fort Elisabeth sits on a sacred landscape on the east bank of the Waimea River. Descriptions of this sacred landscape in early western narratives indicate that Native Hawaiian chiefly residential complexes and heiau (religious structures or places) were present; that it was used as a pu'uhonua (place of refuge); and that it was a battleground for contending rulers of Kaua'i. Third, recent archaeological studies of the structural remains, features, and artifacts, both inside the fort ruins and

nearby, provide another source of primary data valuable for producing a more complete narrative.

Mills briefly reviews each of the significant western historical narratives and selects excerpts to illustrate particular Russian agendas, perspectives, and events. He presents them in chronological order, including narratives written by (1) individuals with direct associations with the Russian-American Company or the fort, (2) individuals writing several years after the departure of the Russian-American Company, and (3) historians writing decades later. Based on his review, the author derives three important conclusions. First, the narratives portray the construction of Fort Elisabeth as a Russian event, and the history of the fort essentially ends with its abandonment by the Russian-American Company. Second, they portray Hawaiian culture as static, rather than dynamic and fluid. This contradicts extensive historical and archaeological evidence of culture change within and among island communities from prewestern times. Third, they marginalize Native Hawaiians, including their history, culture, and active participation in all aspects of cultural exchange with foreigners.

Mills argues that constructing a more balanced and complete narrative of Fort Elisabeth, one that portrays it as more than a Russian fort, requires examining this structure within the broader cultural milieu in which it was built and used. To this end, he devotes over half of the book to providing a historical overview that characterizes Native Hawaiians as active participants in their interactions with foreigners. This overview spans more than a hundred years of Hawai'i's

history, beginning before the arrival of westerners (Captain Cook) in 1778 and ending with a description of a government survey of the fort ruins in 1885. By then, Fort Elisabeth had been abandoned by the Russians for almost seventy years.

Mills creates a descriptive narrative of specific social, political, and religious aspects of Hawaiian culture. He provides details about important Hawaiian leaders, their battles, conquests, and struggles for sovereignty or dominance, and he argues that Kaumuali'i formed an alliance with the Russian-American Company to bolster his efforts to maintain sovereignty. Kaumuali'i is portrayed as an active participant who incorporated new symbolic elements into his chiefly authority that commanded the respect of his followers and foreigners alike. These symbolic elements included the construction of both a luakini (sacrificial) heiau and a fort on the sacred east bank landscape.

The author constructs his historical overview from information derived from more than one hundred published English-language accounts. Many of these accounts, he notes, were recorded by westerners who were unaware of the Hawaiian meaning or significance of what they saw or heard. Nonetheless, the author notes, they provide observations useful in constructing a Hawaiian history.

Mills begins his narrative by replacing two western referents to Fort Elisabeth with two that acknowledge Native Hawaiian cultural associations. First, he reverses the phrase "Russia's Hawaiian adventure" to "Hawai'i's Russian adventure." Second, he renames Fort Elisabeth, "Pā'ula'ula o Hipo" (red enclosure of Hipo), a

name he identifies as similar to the names of two ancient heiau in the Waimea district of Kaua'i, both called Kapā'ula (the red enclosure). He constructs the name Pā'ula'ula o Hipo from several Hawaiian historical sources. Pā'ula'ula appears to be a name for the fort, while Hipo is the name of the area.

The author contends that, on the basis of its scale, location, date of construction, and construction method, Pā'ula'ula o Hipo probably served as a nineteenth-century heiau. He indicates that Hawaiians built some forts in association with luakini heiau and in close proximity to chiefly residential complexes in order to combine symbols of authority and affluence that both Hawaiians and foreigners would acknowledge. Among the examples he cites are forts near Pākākā Heiau in Honolulu on the island of O'ahu, and Ahu'ena Heiau in Kailua-Kona on the island of Hawai'i.

Mills reviews historical descriptions of the fort, the most detailed of which were recorded about seventy years after the Russians abandoned Fort Elisabeth. He compares these descriptions with the cultural remains unearthed by several archaeological projects within or near Pā'ula'ula o Hipo. Based on these findings, he identifies several building episodes and incongruities between the historical descriptions and the cultural remnants of the fort ruins. He identifies what he believes are the original magazine and armory and the flagstaff constructed before the departure of the Russians in 1817. He correlates the magazine and a dungeon with Jackson's "barracks" building. These stone-and-earth features were constructed without lime

mortar or plaster, using techniques similar to those for the fort walls. He concludes that the "guardhouse" was built later. Little domestic refuse was found in its vicinity, and its plaster construction differs from the fort walls, magazine, and dungeon. He also documents other evidence of Native Hawaiian construction, maintenance, and use of this structure after 1817 that supports the historical narratives. Among these features are four possible burials and two post-1850 residential stone enclosures.

The author concludes that Pā'ula'ula o Hipo comprises a rich and long history that extends well beyond the few years associated with the Russian-American Company. He indicates that the archeological findings reveal that the community continued to impart their cultural perspective into the design and use of this sacred landscape until the Hawaiian government dismantled the fort in the 1850s or 1860s. After this period, it served primarily a residential function.

Mills' scholarship is thorough and his assumptions are explicit. He contends that his narrative contributes to creating a more balanced presentation of the past without trying to speak for Native Hawaiians, an undertaking he hopes they themselves will pursue. He raises thought-provoking questions and argues that both broader perspectives and sources of information must be tapped in order to create more historically accurate narratives. Among these sources, he recommends including information from published and unpublished Hawaiian-language materials and from systematic interviews of respected elders, or kūpuna. His interpretations are suggestive and are

aimed at generating discussion and a sharing of knowledge. His book encourages discourse about the nature of the cultural interactions and transformations that took place among Native Hawaiians, and between them and westerners, during this period.

SUSAN A LEBO
Bernice P Bishop Museum

* * *

An Honorable Accord: The Covenant between the Northern Mariana Islands and the United States, by Howard P Willens and Deanne C Siemer. Pacific Islands Monograph Series 18. Honolulu: Center for Pacific Islands Studies and University of Hawai'i Press, 2002. ISBN 0-8248-2390-7; xvi + 473 pages, tables, maps, photographs, interviews, abbreviations, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, US\$52.00.

An Honorable Accord is a valuable contribution to the historical record of events related to execution and implementation of the Covenant to Establish a Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands in Political Union with the United States of America.

The authors, Howard P Willens and Deanne C Siemer, a husband-and-wife team and highly regarded Washington DC attorneys, are remarkably well qualified to tell the story. Willens headed the counsel team for the Northern Marianas negotiators from late in 1972 through execution of the covenant in a ceremony at Mt Carmel High School on Saipan on 15 February 1975, and a 24 March 1976 ceremony in the East Room of the White House when President Gerald Ford

signed the Joint Resolution of the United States Congress approving the covenant.

Since that time, Willens and Siemer have played a role in events related to implementation of the covenant. They worked together in serving as counsel for the First and Third Marianas Constitutional Conventions, in 1976 and 1995-96, respectively. Both are quite knowledgeable about the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI) and its relationship with the United States, and they have previously coauthored writings on those topics.

This book is not merely a reflection of the authors' own personal recollections and their private review of notes, pertinent documents, and records. They have supplemented these sources with perspectives of some 136 others by conducting taped interviews. They also instituted Freedom of Information litigation to obtain access to additional background information from US agencies.

The authors point to the compact as the only instance in US history in which a people ever joined the United States voluntarily, on terms they had negotiated themselves (343).

From a Micronesian point of view, the covenant was pivotal. Negotiation and execution of the covenant were the most important set of events in Micronesia during the second half of the twentieth century, for these actions had lasting effect on all peoples of the former Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (TTPI).

Negotiations concerning termination of the Trust Territory began in October 1969 on a territory-wide basis, with a general understanding,