# The Environmental History of the Pacific Ocean



The Environmental History of the Pacific Ocean is a course in experimental history, for the ocean's history has never been properly told. Oceans have long been thought to be timeless, or that whatever changes have taken place underneath the sea are forever hidden from humans. But, a new realization that oceans – as much or more than other ecosystems – are changing at a rapidly increasing pace, means that we will benefit from discovering the long-lost history of the Pacific. And, because of new research in history and marine sciences, we are now better able to do that than ever. This course brings together a variety of readings and other media to invite you to help construct the history of the Pacific Ocean. Primarily focusing on Polynesia as well as the Pacific Northwest, the class will invite you to consider such questions as: What have been the crucial turning points in this history? Which relationships between different cultures and species have been most important? How has the ocean environment connected distant humans? How have different humans tried to understand the Pacific? At the conclusion of this course, you will have joined the ranks of those trying to understand the ocean, this time through the distinctive perspective of environmental history.

# **Assignments:**

<u>Class Participation (10%):</u> You are expected to attend all classes and actively contribute to class discussion of the reading and lecture materials.

<u>Map Exercise (10%):</u> Each Monday students will contribute to an open-source map of important Pacific locations mentioned in that day's text.

Quizzes (20%): Each Wednesday you will take one written, in-class quiz covering lecture and reading material. Possible quiz questions from the readings will be announced in advance. There will be a total of 8 quizzes. You may also substitute a one-page essay for up to two of the quizzes if you wish. Your lowest quiz score of the quarter will be dropped.

Short Essays (20%): Two short (3 - 4 page) essays due **April 21** and **May 19** on the assigned readings for those weeks. More information will be given on canvas.

<u>Final Paper (30%):</u> A 10 - 12 page essay that examines either a) one of the themes of the class, or b) one Pacific location or c) week 10's theme "Disasters Fast and Slow" in the context of class themes. The paper should use and cite at least 5 of the required readings and 5 of the optional readings (can be substituted with other readings approved by the professor). **Due Friday, June 10** 

#### CLASS SCHEDULE (SUBJECT TO CHANGE)

#### WEEK 1 PACIFIC GEOGRAPHIES IN MOTION

#### March 28 Introduction

- Paul D'Arcy, "The Oceanic Environment," in D'Arcy, The Peoples of the Sea.
- J.R. McNeill, "Of Rats and Men: A Synoptic Environmental History of the Island Pacific," *Journal of World History* 5 (1994): 299 349.
- Ryan Tucker Jones, "The Environment," in David Armitage and Alison Bashford, eds., *Pacific Histories: Ocean, Land, People* (New York, 2014).
- Moshe Rapaport, ed., *The Pacific Islands: Environment and Society* (Honolulu, 1999).
- Paul D'Arcy, "Oceania: The Environmental History of One-Third of the Globe," in J.R. McNeill and Erin Steward Maudlin, eds., *A Companion to Global Environmental History* (Chichester, 2012).

# March 30 Traveling the Ocean Highways

- **Q** Jon Erlandson, et al, "The Kelp Highway Hypothesis: Marine Ecology, the Coastal Migration Theory, and the Peopling of the Americas," *Journal of Island & Coastal Archaeology* 2 (2007): 161 − 174.
- @ Ben Finney, "Myth, Experiment, and the Reinvention of Polynesian Voyaging," American Anthropologist 93:2 (1991): 383 – 404.

- Atholl Anderson, "Faunal Collapse, Landscape Change and Settlement History in Remote Oceania," *World Archaeology* 33:3 "Ancient Ecodisasters" (Feb., 2002): 375 390.
- Witi Ihimaera, "Nui a Kiwa: The Original Ocean," in Paul D'Arcy, Matt Matsuda, and Ryan Tucker Jones, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Pacific Ocean, v I: The Pacific Ocean to 1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022).
- K.R. Howe, ed., Vaka Moana: Voyages of the Ancestors (Honolulu, 2007).
- 1 David Lewis, We, the Navigators: The Ancient Art of Landfinding in the Pacific (Honolulu, 1972).
- Alistair Couper, Sailors and Traders: A Maritime History of the Pacific Peoples (Honolulu, 2009).
- Thomas Gladwin, *East Is a Big Bird: Navigation & Logic on Puluwat Atoll* (Cambridge, MA, 1970).

#### WEEK 2 CULTURAL ECOLOGIES OF COLONIZATION

# **April 4** Cultural Ecologies in the South Pacific

- © Bernard Rigo, "Political Power and *Rahui* in Ancient Polynesian Society," in Tamatoa Bambridge, ed., *The Rahui: Legal Pluralism in Polynesian Traditional Management of Resources and Territories* (Canberra, 2016).
- R.E. Johannes, "Rhythms of Fish and Fishermen," in *Words of the Lagoon:* Fishing and Marine Lore in the Palau District of Micronesia (Berkeley, 1981).
- R.E. Johannes, "Marine Conservation Methods in Oceania and their Demise," *Annual Review of Ecology and Systematics* 9 (1978): 349 364.
- Margaret Chapman, "Traditional Political Structure and Conservation in Oceania," *Ambio* 16:4 (1987): 201 205.
- P.Wehi, M. Cox, T. Roa and H. Whaanga, "Marine Resources in Maori Oral Tradition: He Kai Moana, He Kai Ma Te Hinengaro," *Journal of Marine and Island Cultures* 2 (2013): 59 68.
- Katrina-Ann R. Kapā'anaokalao Nākoa Oliveira, *Ancestral Places: Understanding Kanaka Geographies* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2014).
- Mehana Blaich Vaughan, Kaiaulu: Gathering Tides (Corvallis, 2020).
- Edvard Hviding, Guardians of Marovo Lagoon: Practice, Place, and Politics in Maritime Melanesia (Honolulu, 1996).

# **April 6** Cultural Ecologies in the North Pacific

- Charlotte Cote, in Cote, Spirit of our Whaling Ancestors.
- Lissa Wadewitz, *The Nature of Borders: Salmon, Boundaries, and Bandits in the Salish Sea* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012).

- Wayne Suttles, Coast Salish Essays (Talonbooks, 1987).
- Todd Braje and Torben Rick, eds, *Human Impacts on Seals, Sea Lions, and Sea Otters:*Integrating Archaeology and Ecology in the Northeast Pacific. Berkeley: UC Berkeley Press, 2011.
- Steve Langdon, "Comparative Tlingit and Haida Adaptation to the West Coast of the Prince of Wales Archipelago," *Ethnology* 18:2 (Apr. 1979): 101 119.
- Margaret Lantis, "The Alaskan Whale Cult and its Affinities," *American Anthropologist* 40:3 (Jul Sep, 1938): 438 464.
- Jon Erlandson, Madonna Moss, and Matthew Des Lauriers, "Life on the Edge: Maritime Cultures of the Pacific Coast of North America," *Quarternary Science Reviews* 27 (2008).
- Dana Lepofsky, et al, eds., "Ancient Anthropogenic Clam Gardens of the Northwest Expand Clam Habitat," *Ecosystems* 24 (2021): 248 260.

# WEEK 3 ENCOUNTER on the OCEAN

# **April 11. Cook's Pacific**

- The Pacific in the Wake of Cook, episode 1 <a href="https://hdclump.com/pacific-in-the-wake-of-captain-cook/">https://hdclump.com/pacific-in-the-wake-of-captain-cook/</a>
  - The Brian Richardson, Longitude and Empire: How Captain Cook's Voyages Changed the World (UBC Press, 2005).
  - Vanessa Alayrac-Fielding, "Imperialism, Environmentalism, and the Politics of Transplantation in Captain Cook's Voyages," *Etudes Anglaises* 73:4 (2020): 391 410.
  - David Igler, The Great Ocean: Pacific Worlds from Captain Cook to the Gold Rush (Oxford, 2013).
  - ① David Nicaldri, Captain Cook Rediscovered: Voyaing to the Icy Latitudes (Vancouver, 2020).
  - Paul Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay: An Exploration of Landscape and History* (Chicago, 1989).

# April 13. Encountering the Ocean

- ② David Igler, "On Coral Reefs, Volcanoes, Gods, and Patriotic Geology, or James Dwight Dana Assembles the Pacific Basin," *Pacific Historical Review* 79;1 (2010).
- Marcia Yonemoto, "Maps and Metaphors of the 'Small Eastern Sea' in Tokugawa Japan (1603 1868)," *Geographical Review* 89:2 (Apr. 1999).
- Martina Winkler, "From Ruling People to Owning Land: Russian Concepts of Imperial Possession in the North Pacific, 18th and early 19th Centuries." *Jahrbucher fur die Geschichte Osteuropas* 59:3 (2011).
- Julie Cruikshank, *Do Glaciers Listen: Local Knowledge*, *Colonial Encoutners*, and the Social *Imagination* (Vancouver: Unviersity of British Columbia Press, 2005).
- The Brian Rosen, "Darwin, Coral Reefs, and Global Geology," Bioscience 32:6 (1982).
- Ray McLeod and Phillip F. Rehbock, eds., *Nature in its Greatest Extent: Western Science in the Pacific* (Honolulu, 1988).

# WEEK 4. SEA SLUGS and WHALES

#### April 18. Sea Slugs

- © Edward Melillo, "Making Sea Cucumbers Out of Whales' Teeth: Nantucket Castaways and Encounters of Value in Nineteenth-Century Fiji," *Journal of Pacific History*
- Michael Stevens, "Kā i Tahu me te Hopu Tīti ki Rakiua: An Exception to the 'Colonial Rule," *The Journal of Pacific History* 41:3 (December, 2006), 273 291.
- Katerina Teaiwa, Consuming Ocean Island: Stories of People and Phosphate from Banaba (Bloomington, 2014).
- Jennifer Newell, *Trading Nature: Tahitians, Europeans, and Ecological Exchange* (Honolulu, 2010).

# April 20. Whales

- @ William Whitecar, Four Years aboard the Whaleship
- Michael Dyer, O'er the Wide and Tractless Sea: Original Art of the Yankee Whale Hunt (New Bedford: New Bedford Whaling Museum)
- Ryan Tucker Jones, "Running into Whales: The History of the North Pacific from below the Waves," *American Historical Review* (2014).
- Ryan Tucker Jones and Angela Wanhalla, eds., *Across Species and Cultures: Whales, Humans, and Pacific Worlds* (Honolulu, 2022).
- David Haines, "Maori Pariticipation in the New Zealand Shore Industry," in *Whaling and History III* (Sandefjord, 2010).
- **♦** Lynnette Russell, *Roving Mariners: Australian Aboriginal Whalers and Sealers in the Southern Oceans, 1790 − 1870 (SUNY, 2012).*

# Short Essay 1 due April 21

# WEEK 5. OCEANS and IMPERIALISM

#### April 25. Oceans of Conquest

- Josh Reid, "I Want the Sea," in *The Sea Is My Country: The Maritime World of the Makahs* (Yale University Press, 2015).
- Joseph Taylor, *Persistent Callings: Seasons of Work and Identity on the Oregon Coast* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2019).
- **1** Bathsheba Demuth, Floating Coast: An Environmental History of the Bering Strait (New York: Norton, 2019).
- Gregory Rosenthal, "A Storm in Sāmoa: An Environmental Microhistory," *Rethinking History: The Journal of Theory and Practice* 21 (2017).
- 1 David Arnold, *The Fisherman's Frontier: People and Salmon in Southeast Alaska* (Seattle, 2008).
- Ross Coen, "Owning the Ocean: Environment, Race, and Identity in the Bristol Bay, Alaska, Salmon Fishery, 1930 1938," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 104:3 (Summer, 2013): 133 150.
- Arthur McEvoy, The Fisherman's Problem: Ecology and Law in the California Fisheries, 1850 1900 (Cambridge, 1990).

# April 27. Literature, Ocean, Empire

- Q John Steinbeck, "Doc," in Cannery Row
- Robert Louis Stevenson, "The Dangerous Archipelago Atolls at a Distance," and "Fakarava: An Atoll at Hand," in *In the South Seas*
- Q Jack London, "The Royal Sport," in Tales of the South Seas
- **1** John Steinbeck, *Log of the Sea of Cortez*
- **1** Ed Ricketts, *Breaking Through: Essays, Journals, and Travelogues of Edward F. Ricketts* (Berkeley, 2006).
- Michael Lannoo, Leopold's Shack and Rickett's Lab: The Emergence of Environmentalism (Berkeley, 2010).

# WEEK 6. WORK, SURF, CONSERVATION

# May 2. Work and Conservation

- Ann Vileisis, "Becoming a Commodity and an Icon," in *Abalone: The Remarkable History and Uncertain Future of California's Iconic Shellfish* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2020).
- Wurk Dorsey, "Putting a Ceiling on Sealing"
- Arthur F. McEvoy, "Towards an Interactive Theory of Nature and Culture: Ecology, Production, and Cognition in the California Fishing Industry"
- William Cavert, "Pearl of Empire: Science, Commerce, and Conservation in the Tuamotu Archipelago" Unpublished PhD Dissertation

# May 4. Laboring and Surfing

- Greg Rosenthal, documents on guano
- Isaiah Helekunihi Walker, "Hui Nalu, Outrigger, and Waikīkī Beachboys," in *Waves of Resistance: Surfing and History in Twentieth-Century Hawai* 'i (University of Hawai 'i Press, 2011).
- Greg Rosenthal, Beyond Hawai'i: Native Labor in Pacific World (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2018).
- Manako Ogawa, "Passage to Hawai'i: The Development of a Fishing Culture in Japan since Ancient Times," in *The Sea of Opportunity* (Honolulu, 2015).
- O David Malo, Molelo Hawaii
- Frances Steel, Oceania under Steam: Sea Transport and the Cultures of Colonialism, c. 1870 1914.

#### WEEK 7 WARS UNNATURAL

#### May 9. War in the Water

- William Tsutsui, "The Pelagic Empire: Reconsidering Japanese Expansion," in *Japan at Nature's Edge* (University of Hawaii Press, 2013)
- Wilbert Chapman, Fishing in Troubled Waters
- Finley, Carmel. All the Fish in the Sea: Maximum Sustainable Yield and the Failure of Fisheries Management. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2011.
- William Tsutsui, "Landscapes in a Dark Valley: Toward an Environmental History of Wartime Japan," in *Environmental History* 8:2 (April 2003), 294 311.
- Ping Hui-Lao, "Some Like it Hot: Sato Haruo's *Travels in the Colony*," in Simon C. Estok and Jonathan White, eds., *Landscape, Seascape, and the Eco-Spatial Imagination* (Routledge, 2016). Judith Bennett, *Natives and Exotics*

Watch: The Thin Red Line

#### May 11. Nuclear Ecology

- © Elizabeth DeLoughrey, "The Myth of Isolates: Ecosystem Ecologies in the Nuclear Pacific," *Cultural Geographies* (2012).
- Susan Hosking, Rick Hosking, Rebecca Pannell and Nena Bierbaum, eds., *Something Rich & Strange: Sea Changes, Beaches, and the Littoral in the Antipodes* (Wakefield Press, 2009).
- Mansell Blackford, *Pathways to the Present: US Development and its Consequences in the Pacific* (Honolulu, 2007).

#### Quiz 6

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**1** Watch: Nuclear Savages

May 13 Field Trip to Hatfield Marine Laboratory

#### WEEK 8 ECOLOGIES of DECOLONIZATION

#### May 16. Decolonizing the Ocean

- © Charles Wilkinson, "Nisqually River," in *Messages from Frank's Landing: A Story of Salmon, Treaties, and the Indian Way* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000).
- © Brian Bargh, *The Struggle for Maori Fishing Rights: Te Ika a Maori* (HUIA, 2016).
- **1** Jovana Brown, "Treat Rights: Twenty Years after the Boldt Decision," *Wicazo sa review* 10:2 (1994): 1 − 16
- Michael C. Blumm, "Indian Treaty Fishing Rights and the Environment: Affirming the Right to Habitat Protection and Restoration,"
- Peter Knutson, "The Unintended Consequences of the Boldt Decision," *Cultural Survival Quarterly* 11:2 (1987)
- Amory Ballantine, "The River Mouth Speaks: Water Quality as Storyteller in Decolonization of the Port of Tacoma," *Water History* 9:1 (2017): 45 66.
- Howard Droker and Keith A. Murray Collection on Native American Fishing Rights, c. 1890 1978, Western Washington University Archives
- Laurie Richmond, "Incorporating Indigenous Rights and Environmental Justice into Fishery Management: Comparing Policy Challenges and Potentials from Alaska and Hawaii," *Environmental Management* 52:5 (2013): 1071 1084.
- Julie Cantzler, "Native American Environmental Justice as Decolonization," *The American Behavioral Scientist* 60:2 (2016).
- **Solution** Kate Reedy-Maschner, *Aleut Identities: Tradition and Modernity in an Indigenous Fishery* (Montreal, 2010).
- **1** Bruce Grant, *In the Soviet House of Culture*
- Benedict J. Colombi and James F. Brooks, *Keystone Nations: Indigenous Peoples and Salmon across the North Pacific*

# May 18. Territorializing the Ocean

- Epeli Hau'ofa, "We Are the Ocean"
- **Q** Jeff Willis, "When the 'Tuna Wars' Went Hot: Kirbati, the Soviet Union, and the Fishing Pact that Provoked a Superpower," *Pacific Dynamics* 1:2 (2017): 264 − 281.

# Short Essay 2 due

- Rognvaldur Hannesson, "The Exclusive Economic Zones and Development in the Pacific Island Countries," *Marine Policy* 32:6 (2008).
- Transform Aqorau, "Governance and Development in Solomon Islands: A Fisheries Case Study," *The Journal of Pacific History* 42:2 (2007): 247 254.
- Sandra Tarte, "Negotiating a Tuna Management Regime for the Western and Central Pacific: The MHLC Process 1994 1999," *The Journal of Pacific History* 34:3 (1999): 273 280.

- Gonzaga Puas and Paul D'Arcy, "Micronesia and the Rise of China: Realpolitik Meets the Reef," *Journal of Pacific History* 56:3 (2017): 274 295.
- \*New Flags Flying https://www.rnz.co.nz/collections/u/new-flags-flying
- Theodore C. Bestor, *Tsukiji: The Fish Market at the Center of the World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).
- Sasha Isenberg, *The Sushi Economy: Globalization and the Making of a Modern Delicacy* (Penguin, 2007).
- Nadin Heé, "Tuna as an Economic Resource and Symbolic Capital in Japan's 'Imperialism of the Sea," in *Animals and Human Society in Asia* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2019).

# Essay 2 due May 19

# WEEK 9 PACIFIC ENVIRONMENTALISM and the PACIFIC ANTHROPOCENE

## May 23. Atomic Whales

- **Q** Watch: How to Change the World
- Sonnie Henderson, Strand: An Odyssey of Pacific Ocean Debris (Corvallis, 2008).
- **10** Bob Hunter, Warriors of the Rainbow
- Frank Zelko, Make It a Greenpeace! The Rise of Counterculture Environmentalism (Oxford, 2013).
- Connie Chiang, Shaping the Shoreline: Fisheries and Tourism on the Monterey Coast (Seattle, 2008).
- Stephen Palumbi and Carolyn Sotka, *The Death and Life of Monterey Bay: A Story of Revival* (Island Press, 2011).

#### May 25. Nuklia Fri Pasifik

**@** Watch: *Nuklia Fri Pasifik* 

#### WEEK 10 THE ENLARGING OCEAN

# May 30 No Class Memorial Day

# June 1 Disasters Fast and Slow

**©** Kathryn Schultz, "The Really Big One: An Earthquake Will Destroy a Sizable Portion of the Coastal Northwest. The Question Is When," *The New Yorker* July 20 2015.

Watch: There Once Was an Island: Te Henua E Nnoho

Watch: Chasing Coral

#### Quiz 8

1 Lani Wendt Young, Pacific Tsunami "Galu Alfi"

Walter Dudley and Min Lee, *Tsunami!* (Honolulu, 1988).

Roy Starrs, ed., When the Tsunami Comes to Shore: Culture and Disaster in Japan (Leiden, 2014).

David Corlett, "Tuvaluancy," in *Stormy Weather: The Challenge of Climate Change and Displacement* (Sydney, 2008).

Larry Mercullief, "Different Ways of Looking at Things," and Ata Brett Stephenson, "Kaua e mangere – Do Not Be Idle: Maori Responses in a Time of Climate Change," in Zoltan Grossman and Alan Parkers, eds., *Asserting Native Resilience* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2015).

C. Farbotko, "Wishful Sinking: Disappearing Islands, Climate Refugees and Cosmopolitan Experimentation," *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* 51:1 (2010): 47 – 60.

Christine Shearer, Kivalina; A Climate Change Story. Chicago, 2011.

Callum Roberts, *The Ocean of Life*. New York, 2012.

Tony Weir and Zahira Virani, "Three Linked Risks for Development in the Climate Change, Disasters, and Conflict," *Climate and Development* 3:3 (2011): 193 – 208.

John Barnett and John Campbell, *Climate Change and Small Island States: Power, Knowledge, and the South Pacific.* London, 2010.

Michael Edwards, "Parochialism and Empowerment: Responding to Ecocolonialism and Globalisation in the Southwest Pacific," in Alexander Gillespie and William Burns, eds., *Climate Change in the South Pacific* (Dordrecht, 2003).

**1** Jeff Wheelwright, *Degrees of Disaster: How Nature Reels and Rebounds* (New York, 1994).

Richard Loyd Parry, Ghosts of the Tsunami: Death and Life in Japan's Disaster Zone (London, 2017).

① David Grover, *The Unforgiving Coast: Maritime Disasters of the Pacific Northwest* (Corvallis, 2002).