Transforming Hawai'i: Balancing Coercion and Consent in Eighteenth-Century Kānaka Maoli Statecraft. By Paul D'Arcy. (Canberra: Australian National University, 2018. xxx, 310 pp. Paper, $55.00.)

Paul D'Arcy's *Transforming Hawai'i* is a significant contribution to Hawaiian statecraft. D'Arcy argues that while scholars have altered their stance that "Hawaiian polities were archaic states by the time Cook arrived, [they fail] to discuss how these structures enabled Kamehameha to unify the islands, while his rivals, with similar structures of government and power, could not" (p. 58).

There are three main themes under which D'Arcy comprehensively and convincingly outlines the reasons for Kamehameha's success: "the balance between coercion and consent; between structural trends and individual leadership qualities and historical events, and between indigenous and European factors" (p. 1). D'Arcy, however, omits a crucial element of foreign influence that was a significant contribution to fortifying Hawaiian statecraft—the British influence. Kamehameha's rivals were not British.

On February 25, 1794, Kamehameha, before consolidating the leeward kingdoms, joined the British Empire as a protectorate and not as a colony. As a British protectorate, Kamehameha remained king and Hawaiian statecraft was not altered except for recognizing King George III as liege and lord and acknowledging themselves as British subjects (George Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean* [1798], p. 56).

After defeating the Maui kingdom in 1796, Kamehameha incorporated and modified aspects of British governance to his own. These modifications included the office of prime minister or premier and the establishment of governors. Aligned with English custom, Kamehameha established three earldoms over the former kingdoms of Hawaii, Maui and Oahu, and governors to preside over them. The Kaua'i kingdom did not have a governor because it became Kamehameha's vassal state by agreement in 1810.

D'Arcy acknowledges Kalanimoku's title as *pu'uku* or "chief treasurer, but he does not explain the term's origin (p. 183). In Hawaiian statecraft, the title *kālaimoku* is more akin to head of government, which was the official name of Kalanimoku. The treasurer as head of government is an English invention that came about as result of King George I's numerous retreats to Hanover that left the British government in disarray. Of the king's ministers, the secretary of the treasury, who held the strings to the government's purse, gradually came to be known as the main or prime minister. Eventually, the British prime minister became the head of government, while the king became head of state.

S. M. Kamakau explained that by this appointment, Kamehameha recognized that the "laws determining life or death were in the hands of this treasurer; he had the charge of everything" (*Ruling Chiefs of Hawai'i* [originally written in the 1860s and 1870s and translated and published in English in 1961], p. 175). Foreigners also referred to the Hawaiian premier as Billy Pitt, the name of King George III's prime minister at the time, William Pitt the Younger.

The successful maintenance of Kamehameha's consolidation of the island kingdoms was due not only to his leadership and diplomacy, which D'Arcy covers very well, but also to his appropriation of British governance into Hawaiian statecraft and the recognition of his leadership by foreign countries. British influence reinforces D'Arcy's argument. It does not undermine it.

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