



# H-Environment

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## H-Environment Roundtable Reviews

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**Hi'ilei Julia Kawehipuaakahaopulani Hobart, *Cooling the Tropics: Ice, Indigeneity, and Hawaiian Refreshment*. Duke University Press, 2022. ISBN: 978-1-4780-1919-0.**

### Contents

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Introduction by Kara Murphy Schlichting, Queens College CUNY	2
Comments by Candace Fujikane, University of Hawai'i	4
Comments Rebecca H. Hogue, Harvard University	8
Comments by Sara Jensen Carr, Northeastern University	11
Comments by Jonathan Rees, Colorado State University – Pueblo	15
Response by Hi'ilei Julia Kawehipuaakahaopulani Hobart, Yale University	17
About the Contributors	21

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**Introduction by Kara Murphy Schlichting, Queens College CUNY**

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**H**i'ilei Julia Kawehipuaakahaopulani Hobart's book, *Cooling the Tropics: Ice, Indigeneity, and Hawaiian Refreshment*, explores how the commercialization of ice within settler colonialism wrought new ideas about temperature in Hawai'i. In this history, Hobart uses the commodification of coolness, specifically in relation to food, to unearth thermal politics and systems of power. As a result, the reader learns to appreciate the consumption of shaved ice, and the role of ice in Hawai'i more generally, as more than a cool treat. The frozen food reveals the unresolved contest between American settler colonialism and indigenous self-determinacy. Hobart frames shaved ice within multicultural imaginings of food and place that mask the imperial and military industrial complexes in Hawai'i.

As **Jonathan Rees** notes, Hobart's chapters on ice cream and shaved ice root what could be traditional food histories in culturally loaded concepts of "purity, civility, and racial superiority." Rees, as a scholar of ice and refrigeration technology, commends Hobart's framing of ice, and American refrigeration technology more broadly, as a tool of imperialism. Highlighting both producers and consumers, Hobart illuminates the social meaning of a commodity (ice) and a technology (refrigeration). Telling the history of ice in Hawai'i through food history, Rees notes, allows Hobart to link commodity histories to modern indigenous food politics. Hobart shows how iced alcoholic drinks spurred paternalistic views and led to the regulation of Native Hawaiian businesses and consumption practices. Ice production also fueled additional regulations around food safety and ideas of freshness concerning traditional foods. In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century fermented poi, which did not require refrigeration, came under attack as a source of cholera, and the Board of Health prohibited poi sales. In another example, in Hobart's telling, rainbow shaved ice reveals ideas of race and nationalism, a representation of Hawai'i's mythologized, lionized—and problematic—celebration as a multi-racial society.

**Candace Fujikane** commends Hobart for tracing the impact of ice and refrigeration technologies on settler colonial concepts and state policies. The discourse of coldness, Fujikane notes, became a thermal expression "of territorial entitlement and colonialism." Ice and cold refreshments were used to define Indigeneity and settler colonial identities and class hierarchies. The materiality of ice, cold foods, and the "politics of taste," Fujikane highlights, also have a social history as a part of the negotiation around ideas of race and civility. These hierarchies, in turn, contributed to the American system of occupation and capitalism in the Pacific. Hobart explores the role iced drinks played in Honolulu's settler colonial society and how they contributed to Native Hawaiian (Kanaka Maoli) dispossession and racialization.

**Rebecca H. Hogue**, like Fujikane, praises Hobart for her success in weaving top-notch scholarship with a clear affection for the Kanaka Maoli, their places, and their history. Hogue reflects on how Hobart incorporates her experience at the Pu'uhonua o Pu'uhuluhulu camp, helping to protect Mauna a Wākea, into *Cooling the Tropics*.

Activists at the camp protested the construction of the Thirty Meter Telescope atop the sacred peak. Hobart finds in the camp's logistics to keep food cold and safe—to keep it on ice—links to her research on refrigeration technologies, colonial food systems, Kanaka Maoli sovereignty, and traditional Hawaiian practices of food preservation and conservation. In a related vein, Hogue also notes Hobart's archival source material, particularly the author's ongoing study of 'Ōlelo Hawai'i. Hobart's translation work, Hogue reflects, is not just between the 'Ōlelo Hawai'i and English languages, but a translation between the materiality and thermal politics of ice for Native Hawaiians.

Ice appears in *Cooling the Tropics* in various forms and uses. These multiple ways of seeing, **Sara Jensen Carr** writes, gives Hobart a novel way to view and analyze the occupation of the Kingdom of Hawai'i. Carr underscores the food studies focus of *Cooling the Tropics's* central chapters. Chapters on ice cream, iced drinks, poi, and shaved ice illuminate how public health regulations became a tool by which settlers policed the Kanaka Maoli. With her background in landscape and environmental planning, Carr also considers "how ecologies and landscapes were altered on local levels by ice and refreshment," and the role regulations concerning food production and consumption played in Native Hawaiian dispossession.

In her response, Hi'ilei Julia Kawehipuaakahaopulani Hobart reflects on the broader questions this roundtable poses. What might Hawai'i's colonial relationship to refrigeration teach us about other Pacific Islands and Oceania? How might we, in the unfolding climate crisis of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, unearth and interrogate the thermal politics and power systems of an unequal, warming world? This roundtable is also full of conversations rooted in specific places and deep scholarly exchange. Carr and Hogue reflect on their experiences as Oahu residents; Fujikane cites Hobart citing Rees. This sense of community and scholarly conversation continues in Hobart's response. Hobart writes about her evolving relationship to a homeland that she now lives distant from and about her ongoing work to know 'Ōlelo Hawai'i. This roundtable celebrates *Cooling the Tropics* for balancing the global and climatic with the intimate, embodied, and place-based meanings of coldness in a tropical place.

Before turning to the first set of comments, I would like to remind readers that as an open-access forum, *H-Environment Roundtable Reviews* is available to scholars and non-scholars alike, around the world, free of charge. Please circulate.

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**Comments by Candace Fujikane, University of Hawai'i**

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**H**īlei Julia Kawehipuaakahaopulani Hobart's book, *Cooling the Tropics: Ice, Indigeneity, and Hawaiian Refreshment*, is a brilliant book that maps the settler colonial commodification of the cold in the forms of ice and refrigeration technologies. Hobart meticulously traces discursive continuities across state policies based on ideas of manifest destiny, suturing race, refrigeration, and refreshment as thermal expressions of territorial entitlement and colonialism. As Hobart writes, colonialists worked to reconcile rhetorically the unsuitability of white people for warm places, as well as their entitlement to the resources and capital extracted from them. In this book, Hobart brings together her work on food security and thermal discourses, citing Jonathan Rees' argument that "Ample perishable foods became a symbol of American plenitude" (7). Hobart extends this insight to argue that ice and cold refreshments, as material objects, helped to code hierarchies of power through the sensorium, structuring desire, Indigeneity and settler positionalities, and racial and class differences, all in the service of capitalist global expansion. The imported commoditization of ice informs the "normalization" of Kanaka Maoli dispossession and racialization, as well as the infrastructures of occupation and global circuits of settler capitalism. *Cooling the Tropics* has been already been critically acclaimed by major scholarly associations: it was awarded the 2023 Best First Book Award by the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association (NAISA) and an Honorable Mention for the 2023 Lora Romero First Book Publication Prize by the American Studies Association (ASA) for its extraordinary capacity to take the fleeting, ephemeral material existence of ice to track the social conditions that structured life, tracing the political discourses that have brought us to the present of artificial cold while inviting us to envision decolonial futures beyond it.

The opening image eloquently encapsulates the difficult work that Hobart's book accomplishes in critiquing the American ice trade as a form of thermal settler colonialism while maintaining the agency of Kanaka Maoli in the processes of worldmaking. An 1876 advertisement ran in the Hawaiian language newspaper *Ka Lahui Hawaii* for Bonanza Saloon's glasses of iced drinks, evoking Kanaka Maoli associations with the cold to popularize a foreign commodity, but what is truly stunning is the way that the ad evokes complex layers of Kanaka Maoli epistemologies of ice. The author of the advertisement writes that people who are familiar with the stories of ice in Hawai'i will experience "ka ono maele ka puu i ka wai o ka lehua," "the throat's delicious numbing feeling due to the water of the lehua blossom." As Hobart points out, the term "mā'e'ele" refers to a "numbness associated with shivers of pleasure," opening up the concept of ice to "overlapping sensory, intellectual, and emotional aspects of feeling" to capture the fullness of the concept of refreshment, alluding to the fiery passions of Pele represented by the red lehua flower (1). In this way, Hobart illuminates ancestral and genealogical worlds of meaning in Hawai'i by grounding ice in Kanaka Maoli empiricism and worldviews.

To map out American imperial discourses of ice and cold refreshment as they became enmeshed in daily life in Hawai'i, Hobart begins Chapter One with Hawaiian epistemologies of the cold, with the sacred mountain Maunakea's snows, mists, and rains as the agential forces of intentionality, ancestry, and spirit, an understanding that forms the foundation for the tremendous uprising of Kanaka Maoli and their allies at the sacred mountain to protect the lands, skies, and waters of Maunakea from the proposed construction of the Thirty Meter Telescope. This is the narrative trajectory of agency that forms the *iwikuamo'o* or the backbone of this book, an agency with which Hobart concludes the book in an intimate glimpse into life at the stand at Pu'uhonua o Pu'uhuluhulu and the questions of how Kanaka Maoli and allies will feed ourselves in a decolonial future.

The best analyses of discursivity track the genealogies of the origins of early discourses and their continuing impact on contemporary struggles, and Hobart's book does precisely that. Hobart illuminates a social history of ice as it intersected with the very real and complex ideologies of race and "civility" that shaped nineteenth-century American imperialism in the Pacific and representations of Kanaka Maoli as incapable of self-government. In one particularly resonant example, Hobart argues that the temperance movement in the United States became a tool that Americans used against Hawaiian monarchs like Kamehameha III. Hobart pairs the deep influence in Hawai'i of the 1840s "Cold Water Army," a religious-based temperance movement based in Pennsylvania advocating for piety, virtue, and civility through the consumption of iced water, with James O'Meara's 1881 fictional account of Kamehameha III as an alcoholic who consumes a brandy bath and dies before he can sign a treaty of annexation to the United States. Such accounts profoundly illuminate the fantasmatic rewriting of history to accommodate American settler desires in the face of Kanaka Maoli agency in their efforts to maintain the independence of the Kingdom of Hawai'i.

In present day struggles, advocates for Kanaka Maoli food systems have had to challenge settler state regulations based on these nineteenth and early twentieth century discourses of civility and food safety to ensure the continuation of Kanaka Maoli food systems that are not dependent on capitalist modes of production or settler attempts to extinguish Kanaka Maoli practices. As the chapters unfold, Hobart shows us how such early representations of Kanaka Maoli incapacity to govern themselves extend from discourses of ice, cold, and civility to microbiopolitical forms of settler colonial governance. Discourses of cold and the politics of taste led to state regulations of food safety, which Hobart illustrates had much larger consequences leading to Kanaka Maoli land dispossession. The chapter focuses on the continuities between two critical "food safety" poi bills, one passed one hundred years earlier during the period of territorial expansion and the contemporary movement to legalize pa'i 'ai, the less pounded taro that is thicker than poi. Hobart begins the chapter with the victory for Kanaka Maoli that is the outcome of these bills, explaining that in 2011, Senate Bill 101, also known as the "poi bill," legalized the commercial sale of traditionally prepared foods made from kalo, exempting Native Hawaiian staple foods like poi and pa'i 'ai from certain Department of Health (DOH) food safety

regulations. Yet this one hundred year-old story of state attempts to regulate the making and selling of poi continues to rely on discourses of “civility” and “cleanliness” from the early twentieth century. As Hobart explains, in 1911, the *Hawaiian Gazette* asserted that poi was the source of cholera. Dr. Donald Currie traced the cause of a cholera outbreak to a stream in Mānoa valley that irrigated Chinese vegetable farms and lo‘i kalo (taro pondfields) that supplied Honolulu poi shops. In a series of half truths driven by white concerns about racial and microbial purity, the *Gazette* reported on a moratorium against the sale of vegetables in Mānoa. Kalo farmers disappeared from Honolulu and then more rural areas. Earlier accounts in 1903 implied that wealthy Honolulu residents had long been looking for reasons to overtake agricultural lands for residential development, and this moratorium was part of a longer process of making the land available for luxury homes and the campus of the University of Hawai‘i. This insight into moratoriums on poi show us a long history in which settler legislation has enacted land dispossession through so-called “food safety measures.”

As she explains in her acknowledgements, Hobart writes with a deep love for the place of her ancestors. We can see this love throughout the book and most beautifully in Hobart’s concluding first-person account of Kanaka Maoli worldmaking in the stand that she took with thousands of Kanaka Maoli and their allies protecting Mauna a Wākea at the Pu‘uhonua o Pu‘uhuluhulu, the refuge that the protectors of the mountain had set up at the foot of the sacred mountain. While the iconic rainbow shave ice reflects settler colonial nostalgia and non-Hawaiian “local” claims to belonging in Hawai‘i, the stand at Mauna a Wākea was led by Kānaka Maoli who stood for the mountain as an ancestor and for the deities on the mountain that are the many forms of water on the mauna: rains, snow, hail, ice, springs, mists, fog drip. Hobart describes the coolers for perishable foods as critical infrastructure that helped to feed the thousands of peoples who came to the mountain each day. Later, these cooling system grew into an insulated trailer with a generator-powered air conditioner. Hobart wonders about the promises and limits of thermal management when coldness has played such an important role in a system of oppression. As she argues, “infrastructures need not overdetermine the limits of our world-making” (145). This leads her to a discussion of thermal forms of food insecurity, the fragility of the cold chain, and what is necessary for long-term abundance.

The meticulous research in this book is invaluable to a decolonial future, and the beauty of a book like this is that it is *generative*: it points to the constructed nature of historical discourses of taste, food safety, and food security founded on settler desires and invites us into future research projects for scholars. I imagine that other scholars may take up the many strands of discourse illuminated in this book. The book invites other decolonial projects to contextualize O’Meara’s annexationist fantasies about Kamehameha III dying by drunken consumption of iced alcohol with other accounts of his taking an abstinence pledge and having casks of rum, brandy, and wine rolled into the sea. Other work might consider the fight for cold stream waters necessary for the health of kalo as Lincoln McCandless and other settlers constructed elaborate irrigation ditch systems that diverted water away from lo‘i kalo to sugar cane

plantations. Or they might consider the trajectory of what Noelani Goodyear-Ka'ōpua describes as Kanaka Maoli movements for life, land, and sovereignty in the 1970s as it engaged the “Palaka Power” movement, the 1978 Constitutional Convention, and the counter-memories they provide to prestatehood nostalgia and poststatehood visions of “racial harmony” represented by the iconic rainbow shave ice. Or perhaps other researchers will delve further into arguments that leaders of the pa'i 'ai movement mobilized to grapple with state discourses of refrigeration and food safety to overturn Senate Bill 101. Hobart's foundational work provides this fertile ground for other projects, allowing us to dig collectively into the soil for the planting of more decolonial projects that we need for the future.

As people in Hawai'i currently rely on the importation of 85 to 90 percent of our food, Hobart's book raises critical questions about what food security means in an era of climate change. Seeking alternatives to artificial coldness, thermal infrastructures, and the preservation of food takes us to times past and how ancestral practices can be adapted to the present. Hobart is one of several key Kanaka Maoli scholar activists who are thinking through how people will feed ourselves in a decolonial future in Hawai'i. Her earlier edited collection, *The Foodways of Hawai'i: Past and Present* (2018), shows how her work has been in conversation with Kanaka Maoli scholars Mehana Blaich Vaughan and Malia Akutagawa who remind us that people who live along the shoreline continue to refer to the ocean as their “icebox.” How do Kanaka Maoli traditional knowledges of food preservation provide alternatives to thermal technologies? How are these knowledges leading us to a shift away from imported refrigerated and processed food toward a plant-based diet and a shift in our very palates? If, Hobart points out, ice cream was introduced by Hawai'i's territorial school system to adapt local taste to American ideals, how can we effect other changes in taste from pelagic fish to fish that are raised in traditional fishponds, from ahi poke to manini poke? Hi'ilei Kawelo, founder of Paepae o He'eia, a nonprofit organization stewarding the Hale o Meheanu fishpond, describes the 'ono of manini poke and the importance of “restoring the 'ono to our palate.”<sup>1</sup> This is not about a simple return to the past, but about a future that adapts traditions to our present conditions of life.

Hobart leaves us with a powerful decolonial imperative of “thermal sovereignties” that we learned as children: to “cook what get,” to pay attention to the seasonality of food, to salted, canned, jarred, dried, and pickled foods, to the foods available to us that we can grow and gather. Such an imperative serves as a profound ethic for food sovereignty and a refusal of settler capitalism. From an American fetishization of cold to Kanaka Maoli traditional practices of food preservation and conservation, Hobart's book ultimately comes full circle to provide us with a vision of the preservation of life itself.

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<sup>1</sup> Hi'ilei Kawelo, “Mapping Abundance for a Planetary Future Book Panel,” Hawai'i Book and Music Festival, Honolulu, October 25, 2021.

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**Comments by Rebecca H. Hogue, Harvard University**


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“**T**his, however, is not a story about how ice first arrived in Hawai‘i,” says Hi‘ilei Hobart on *Cooling the Tropics*. It is, however, a story about appreciating Hawai‘i’s diverse native ecosystems, their wahi pana (legendary places), and the mo‘elelo (stories, histories) that belong to them. Hobart beautifully weaves the hyperlocal and the global flows of ice and the cold with attention to their moves, shifts, and impacts; how Kanaka Maoli maintained Indigenous understandings of cold and the climate despite the dramatic changes to the archipelago in the nineteenth century; and ultimately how Kanaka Maoli lifeways persist amidst an evergrowing onslaught of militarism, tourism, and settler scientific development.

For me, this book feels personal, not just because I consider Hobart a beloved friend, but because there is so much in it that is, in the words of Dian Million, “felt,” adding rich historical texture to an underexamined aspect of Hawai‘i’s cultural and infrastructural history, and an understanding of place that is storied, atmospheric, and embodied.<sup>2</sup> Hobart and I grew up in different parts of the same town on the island of O‘ahu—Kailua—which in ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i means two seas or two currents (kai—sea or sea water; ‘elua—two). We both grew up along these two water ways, Ka‘elepulu (the moist or wet blackness) and Kawainui (the large or great water), now often referred to by their development names “Enchanted Lake” and Kawainui Marsh, but each contain diverse ongoing histories of multispecies life, abundance, and sustenance of the same kinds that Hobart describes in the book.

Hobart brings us to Kailua in the fifth chapter on “Local Color, Rainbow Aesthetics, and the Racial Politics of Hawaiian Shave Ice,” to examine the ways that “post-racial” narratives and multicultural renderings of food and place have been subsumed under the imperial and military industrial complexes. After a fascinating genealogy of shave ice alongside its militouristic fantasies (that is, in the late i-Kiribati and Black scholar Teresia Teaiwa’s terms, the ways that the tourism industry obscures military occupation), which boomed in the post-World War II era and its import/export the Tiki Bar, Hobart turns to former US president Barack Obama and his own Pacific Pivot.<sup>3</sup> Nearly twenty-five percent of the island of O‘ahu is occupied by the United States military, and the Obama administration’s (as well as subsequent administrations’) turn to the Pacific have only increased military presence.

Shave ice, as Hobart cleverly illustrates, is one delicious way toward examining the nefarious but pervasive harms of militarization as a method of dispossession from

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<sup>2</sup> Dian Million, “Felt Theory: An Indigenous Feminist Approach to Affect and History,” *Wicazo Sa Review*, vol. 24 no. 2 (2009): 53-76.

<sup>3</sup> Teresia Teaiwa, “Reading Paul Gauguin’s *Noa Noa* with Epeli Hau‘ofa’s *Kisses in the Nederends*: Militourism, Feminism, and the “Polynesian” Body,” *Inside Out: Literature, Cultural Politics, and Identity in the New Pacific*, Vilsoni Hereniko & Rob Wilson, editors. (Rowman and Littlefield, 1999): 249-263.



arable land. In Kailua Bay, Mōkapu Peninsula was once a place of agricultural abundance, referred to as ‘āina momona—fat, fertile, rich lands—home to lo‘i kalo (taro patches) and loko i‘a (fish ponds) as well as loko pu‘uone, a shore fish pond that was known to be particularly plentiful and desirous to nearby farmers.<sup>4</sup> Since 1918, however, the peninsula has been occupied by the United States military, and is now known as Marine Corp Base Hawaii. Obama and his motorcade functions as a synechdochal referent for the ubiquity of military presence in Hawai‘i, in infrastructure, in commerce, and even traffic: as Hobart includes the joke made by Kailua residents, “What do you call it when Obama goes to get a shave ice? A road Barack” (131). Hobart astutely argues that this connection to the frozen treat is a performance of the “local,” a form of Indigenous dispossession, expressing “embodied investments in American power and privilege, rather than affinity with Hawai‘i on its own terms as an Indigenous nation under military occupation” (133).

Carceral and policing logics of the militarized settler state abound in Hobart’s storytelling of the nineteenth century to present moment. Captivating narratives with colorful characters, like Blanchard’s ice cream police in the face of cholera (Chapter 4), the policing of pa‘i‘ai and Indigenous knowledges (Chapter 4), or American missionary wives’ temperance judgment (Chapter 2), give new textures and nuance to the biopolitical forms of the settler desire for control as well as the persistence of Native tastes, sciences, and relationality.

While the body of this book is a masterclass in clear and elegant prose, and Hobart is a compelling and lucid storyteller, this book should also be praised for its footnotes. One of the most exciting things about *Cooling the Tropics* is the way Hobart dexterously moves between a variety of genres of source material in both English and ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i. Here we see her acts of capacious translation, not just in translating from one language to another, but making legible the stories of advertisements, applications for business licenses, newspapers, photographs, and restaurant menus. Hobart begins the book with a prefatory note explaining herself as a “learner” of ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i and one who is in the process of continuing to grow her language acumen (i). The significance of this choice cannot be understated. The first Hawaiian language immersion schools began in the 1980s and 1990s, and our generation was in many ways at the beginning of the receiving end of the curricular shifts in Hawaiian language and cultural education, after the language had been banned in public schools for over ninety years. Hobart’s language training has happened because of her commitment to language learning, even though she lives and works 5,000 miles away. But what strikes me is the simultaneous rigor and humility with which she approaches these translations, which result in abundant, nuanced interpretations of the texts.

One of my favorite translations comes when she is discussing the role that ice begins to play in a variety of contexts encountered not just by the elite, whether ali‘i (royalty)

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<sup>4</sup> Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau, *Works of the People of Old: Na Hana a Ka Po‘e Kahiko* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1976), 147-150.

or foreigners, but by the *maka'āinana*, the commoners. A phrase from the 'Ōlelo Hawai'i newspaper, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa (The Independent Newspaper)*, from March 1875, describes machine-made ice. Here she makes several translation choices, with my favorite in particular, “*na mea akamai*,” literally “smart things,” that she translates instead as “technologies” (79). While the word “technologies” enters the English language in the early modern period, Pukui and Elbert’s dictionary does not contain a translation for the word into 'Ōlelo.<sup>5</sup> Hobart’s translation is a recognition of Kānaka Maoli as interested agents in the world stage and at home, as scientists, critical observers, and ever-learning intellectuals and practitioners. The book as whole is a translation of ice for us, too, where it is multiple and curious, and challenges its readers to sit with something seemingly ubiquitous to marvel at its simultaneous depth, simplicity, and complexity.

At the end of the book, Hobart brings us back to the political stakes of ongoing Hawaiian knowledge—that is, the exigence of analyzing how infrastructures of the cold “sit in tension with struggles for territorial sovereignty and self-determination” at the site with which she began her first chapter, Maunakea (143). Hobart interfolds her own histories at Pu'uhonua o Pu'uhuluhulu, the camp built at the base of Mauna Kea Access Road to support the *kia'i* (protectors) engaged in the protection of the mauna from desecration. She details the intricacies of organizing and maintaining food for the thousands of volunteers who participated in the movement, of keeping coolers cool and managing melting ice. The persistence of providing abundance amidst ongoing capitalist development, militarism, and climate change—Hobart makes clear, “is sovereignty work” (137). With a renewed attention between the relationships of the local and the global, she insists on the urgency of the lessons learned at Pu'uhuluhulu and Maunakea—“the environmental intimacies of melt might guide us toward worlds persistently calling for our return, ones predicated on change and growth” (146). These are the very changes she so eloquently demonstrates throughout this stunning book, of the many multigenerational lives, in their storied places—feet atop a sacred mountain, hands in the kitchen, a chill in the breath.

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<sup>5</sup> *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “technology (n.),” July 2023, <https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/8192265936>.

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**Comments by Sara Jensen Carr, Northeastern University**

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Several years ago, when we lived in the Moiliili neighborhood in Honolulu, my son's preschool held their annual "snow day." We watched as a truck pulled in and created a small heap of powdered ice in the parking lot for the children, who wielded beach toys but immediately found the substance much, much different than the sand they were more accustomed to. I found it hard to articulate the uncanniness and of that morning, but in *Cooling the Tropics*, Hi'ilei Julia Kawehipuaakahaopulani Hobart deftly shows how ice in various forms, scales, and uses is a lens through which to view the occupation of the Kingdom of Hawai'i. Ice was central to white settlers' pursuit of refreshment, health, and comfort on the tropical island, and the attainment of "refreshment," as well as dispatches to the mainland celebrating the technological and culinary achievements of cold treats and refrigeration, obscured the violence wrought mainly upon the Native Hawaiian (Kanaka Maoli) and at times Asian immigrants and multiracial residents as well.

I read Hobart's book not as a historian but rather through my own background in landscape and environmental planning, and in the interest of full disclosure, a mixed-race settler scholar who lived in Hawai'i for some years while I was a faculty member at University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. As such, I'm familiar with the literature around the theft, fracture, and draining of the Hawaiian landscape narrated by many scholars, some of whom are former colleagues, and are also extensively cited in Hobart's work. Candace Fujikane's work draws direct lines between the Māhele, or "division" of land amongst settlers in 1848, the forced scarcity it imposed upon Native Hawaiians, and how re-attunement to island ecology can ensure abundance.<sup>6</sup> Jon Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio similarly connects how colonial policies tore apart the subsistence economy long prior to statehood.<sup>7</sup>

Extending on their work, Hobart shows how ecologies and landscapes were altered on local levels by ice and refreshment after these laws were imposed, but also how these events were situated in the larger web of Native Hawaiian (Kanaka Maoli) dispossession by focusing on how the arrival of frozen mainland delicacies (ice cream) and the creation of others (mai tais, shave ice) reverberated through the now-familiar beats of settler colonization. In the first chapter, she narrates how the settler characterization of the sacred peak of Maunakea, the only location in Hawai'i where it snows, as a *terra nullius* was used to justify its occupation by space observation stations and recreational skiing. The second chapter demonstrates how iced drinks, particularly alcoholic ones, spurred paternalistic views and regulation of Native Hawaiian businesses and consumption, namely how "raced, gendered, and classed understandings of iced drinks would go on to inform the body politics of refreshments in the decades to come, which tethered individual healthfulness to questions about

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<sup>6</sup> Candace Fujikane, *Mapping Abundance for a Planetary Future: Kanaka Maoli and Critical Settler Cartographies in Hawai'i* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2021).

<sup>7</sup> Jonathan Osorio, *Dismembering Lahui: A History of the Hawai'ian Nation to 1887* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002).

Hawaiian capacities to self-govern” (61). The third ties the local production of ice in the Kingdom to its acceptance as a Western territory on the mainland, and therefore more subject to colonial power alongside Native Hawaiians’ uneasy relationships with the presence of the expanding industrialization under foreign powers. In the fourth chapter, Hobart discusses how the emergence of ice cream parlors provided more opportunities for policing the “safety” of Hawaiian foods such as fermented poi, literally displacing its production in favor of the western delicacy. The throughline of these middle chapters is the utilization of public health as pretense to displace and police Kanaka Maoli, a justification that that was also wielded to take land, drain productive fishponds, duck ponds and marshes, and construct concrete canals where streams once flowed.

I found Hobart’s fifth chapter on the emergence of shave ice one of the most fascinating in the book in its complexity and mediation on how these threads converge in the islands today. Hobart describes how shave ice, alongside the widespread adoption of the rainbow as a representative symbol of Hawai’i, supported a narrative of multiracial harmony that was crucial to selling mainlanders on the complicity and hospitality of Hawaiians. As she notes, there has been very little scholarship on the history and meaning of shave ice, but the story of its creation and enduring popularity demonstrates how narratives of Hawai’i’s occupation, self-determinacy, and specific identity all often sit within close proximity to one another. As she writes, “Grounded in the specific racial and economic contexts of sugar plantation labor in the islands, shave ice gestured toward shared histories of oppression at the same time that it appealed to a depoliticized and harmonious present – one that affirmed local identities” (126). This framing gained strength at the same time the socioeconomic ascendancy of Asian settlers began to decisively displace native Kanaka Maoli. The Obama presidency was the culmination of this narrative, buoyed by the former president’s frequent proclamations of love for the frozen treat. Indeed, at Waiola Shave Ice in Honolulu, our local stand of preference, the “Obama Rainbow” sat at the top of the menu, with stripes of cherry, lemon-lime, and passion fruit.

There is a certain vein of recent popular literature that purports that “just one thing” whether it be salt, parking, or algorithms “explains the world;” Hobart shows the power in a highly specific story that nevertheless makes clear its relevance on a global scale. Hobart’s history is an important touchstone as refrigeration plays a role in the continued colonization of the Global South, a largely overlooked issue although the work of journalist Nicola Twilley on the so-called “cold chain” also examines its implications in the present day.<sup>8</sup> While at first Hobart’s opening chapter about Maunakea seems like a digression from the food studies approach in the rest of the text, in the conclusion it comes full circle, as Hobart reflects on her time spent at the Pu’uhonua o Pu’uhuluhulu camp at its base alongside other protectors protesting the

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<sup>8</sup> Nicola Twilley, “Africa’s Cold Rush and the Promise of Refrigeration,” *The New Yorker*, August 15, 2022; “The Coldscape,” *Cabinet*, Issue 47, Fall 2012; *Frostbite: How Refrigeration Changed Our Food, Our Planet, and Ourselves* (New York: Penguin Press, 2024) [forthcoming].

construction of the Thirty Meter Telescope. The logistics and labor of keeping food at safe temperatures in harsh outdoor conditions sparks a reflection on how refrigeration and colonial food systems hold us hostage. As she writes, “Indebtedness manifests in myriad stressors on the food system, setting into motion food laborer migrations, turns toward industrial diets, collapsing local ecosystems, and many other choices that communities must make in order to ensure short-term survival over long-term abundance” (141). These conditions are almost painfully attenuated in Hawai‘i, where once Kanaka Maoli ensured collective abundance through a complex socio-ecological system of land division and stewardship called ahupua‘a but where now 90% of food is imported.<sup>9</sup>

The effects of colonial technology are particularly accelerated in the remote islands of Hawai‘i. While the topic of air conditioning is understandably not as extensively covered here, it also bears mention as another aspect of how settler efforts to control the tropical environment come at the expense of its Native residents. The need for air conditioners has increased as temperatures rise and trade winds subside, but the power needed to cool indoor environments and the heat generated by their operation only compounds these issues. As white and Asian settlers occupy the most climatically favorable parts of each island and continue to control indoor as well as outdoor environments for their comfort, the hottest part of O‘ahu is on the west (leeward side), which is also where the largest population of Kanaka Maoli reside; and in recent years under-resourced schools have had to close due to extreme heat. The fires that tore through Maui in 2023 have also been linked to climate change and a landscape parched from colonial sugar production, which as Hobart notes is indelibly intertwined with the production and distribution of the refreshments discussed in her book.

Hobart writes that the “fragility of the cold chain reveals itself everywhere: in the smarting wakes of natural disasters and epidemics, and through the dull pain of ongoing colonialism and racial capitalism” (142). This sparked another memory, of living in New Orleans in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina. For many, including myself, the evacuation was unexpectedly months-long, during which there was no power, in the hottest times of the year. We came back to refrigerators that held spoiled food for so long that the smell permeated the water lines and casings, rendering them unusable. Neighbors helped each other haul the refrigerators to the curb, and it would be even more months until they were picked up by waste management and due to supply chain issues, when new ones were available for purchase again. During this period, many wrote messages of protest, satire, and desperation on the abandoned refrigerators, a collective art project with the appliance as a medium and a symbol of infrastructural breakdown. Intertwined in

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<sup>9</sup> Lorenz Gonschor and Kamanamaikalani Beamer, “Toward an Inventory of Ahupua‘a in the Hawai‘ian Kingdom: A survey of Nineteenth- and early Twentieth-Century Cartographic and Archival Records of the Island of Hawai‘i,” *Hawai‘ian Journal of History*, vol. 48 (2014): 55, <http://hdl.handle.net/10524/47256>; State of Hawai‘i, “Food Lbs Produced Locally,” <https://opendata.Hawai‘i.gov/dataset/local-food-lbs-produced-locally>, October 19, 2020, accessed December 16, 2023.

that collectivity were networks of care to keep each other fed and safe. Hobart describes a similar system arising at Pu'uhonua. Again showing her gift for extrapolation from the intimate to the global, Hobart reminds us that melting ice is often used as an example of vulnerability to the climate crisis, but that this is really only relevant to the Global North. In the Global South and the tropics, ice melt is a return to water's most stable phase state, fluid instead of brittle. The anthropological is ecological, the sooner we can come to this understanding is when we can wind our way towards reconciliation, and ultimately, hope.

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**Comments by Jonathan Rees Colorado State University – Pueblo**

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When I decided to call my history of the American ice and refrigeration industry *Refrigeration Nation*, it added three more years to my research because I had to go out and find evidence of how this industry influenced the rest of the world. I found that evidence in trade journals. The men who ran those two closely related industries were very interested in how their products were received in different cultures because they wanted to sell people all around the globe more of everything they provided. However, because my primary subject was always how their business changed what Americans ate and drank, I didn't have time or space to detail the changes that ensued all over the planet.

What I love about Hi'ilei Julia Kawehipuaakahaopulani Hobart's *Cooling the Tropics* is that she has begun to fill in the on-the-ground experience with ice and refrigeration of a particularly interesting geographic location, namely Hawaii. Hawaii makes a particularly exciting case study because it was part of the wider world before it became part of the United States. That explains Hobart's emphasis on ice as a tool of imperialism. When I called America a "refrigeration nation," I meant that it is a place that grew to be so obsessed with ice that this obsession has come to define the country to both itself and the rest of the world. To make that argument the book had to be at least somewhat comparative. I could have done a lot more with the idea of America bringing ice and refrigeration around the world as part of its embrace of economic imperialism. Since I didn't, I am glad to read Hobart do so much better than I ever could have by taking the consumers' perspective in this relationship seriously.

*Cooling the Tropics* is not a book about business or technology. Instead, it is about the social meaning of the product of a particular technology. At its start, the market for ice in Hawaii depended upon the only people who could afford it, namely white colonialists. While one might be inclined to see the spread of refrigeration throughout society as a sign of progress, Hobart notes in her Introduction that there are drawbacks to Hawaii being so dependent upon refrigeration to be able to eat anything and that the large homeless population in that state means that the spread of refrigeration throughout Hawaii still leaves much to be desired. In other words, refrigeration demonstrates that the disparities inherent in Hawaii's original colonial status persist to this day.

Like many places around the world, Hawaii knew ice long before Americans or Europeans imported it. In the case of Hawaii, that ice periodically appeared on the top of the islands' tallest mountain, Maunakea. In her first chapter, Hobart establishes this as contested space and focal point of colonialism because of white efforts to limit access to its summit. She tells this story at the beginning of the book to put a lie to the idea of the "discovery" of ice in this particular part of the tropics. When you remember that ice was never alien to Native Hawaiians, it makes everything that follows look a little different. What was foreign to Hawaii was the commercialization and mass production of ice, which became the focal point of many future disputes.

In the early days of the American ice industry, ice entrepreneurs often tried to exploit the shock value of ice when they shipped it to the warmer parts of the world. Whether that place was Charleston or Calcutta, those shipments were highly irregular because of the difficulties of sending ice across the globe. The Boston merchant Frederic Tudor discovered that if you pack sawdust between the blocks, the outer ice could insulate the inner ice, but even that never meant that a steady stream of ice would ever arrive in a place as far away as Hawaii.

Hobart's second chapter describes how the consumption of ice was one of many things that separated colonial settlers from Native Hawaiians. Hobart discovers that the first shipment of ice from New England to Hawaii arrived in 1850. While she notes that relatively few vessels followed this first shipment, the mere existence of ice in Hawaii helped establish narratives that supported colonialist enterprises. Ice in bars, for example, became a sign that Hawaii was becoming "civilized." Because ice spurred bar patrons to drink more (as it did in the continental United States), it also threatened the Hawaiian king's pro-temperance stand. Again, Hobart draws a fascinating connection to Hawaii's present by connecting this dispute to the proclivities of modern tourists. Yet ice didn't become a permanent presence on the island, Hobart argues, because of the lack of infrastructure. That was a common problem in many overseas markets, which helps explain why American ice companies turned to developing the domestic market after 1860.

The solution to that problem was ice machines. Rather than wait for dirty ice cut from lakes and ponds half a world away, the development of artificial ice meant that consumers in this very isolated part of the world could by ice manufactured nearby. In her third chapter, Hobart dates this from the 1870s. The problem with ice machines in the 1870s was that they weren't particularly good at making ice. Even so, the increased supply helped push ice into new areas of Hawaiian life, most notably keeping other food fresh.

This expansion does not mean, however, that ice was always well-received. Hobart notes at the beginning of the book that cold is a relative term. Despite the expanded market, she explains that native Hawaiians expressed some skepticism about the usefulness of this new product. In turn, colonialists interpreted this as a sign of their racial inferiority. "[S]ettler reports of [Native Hawaiian] aversions to ice surface again and again as indictments of their slow path to civility," she writes in Chapter Three [p. 80]. The failure to take to ice was also somehow associated with the Native Hawaiians' supposedly poor constitutions.

At a time when New England ice appeared all around the world, it played a part in colonial relationships elsewhere too. India received its first shipment of ice from New England during the 1830s. It was incredibly well-received by British officers stationed there, and almost nobody else, not because the people of India hated ice, but because they couldn't afford it. New England merchants like Tudor also shipped



ice to territories that were other countries' colonies, like in the Caribbean, but we get very little comparative perspective in Hobart's book.

The fourth chapter makes the transition from ice to ice cream. In this sense the book resembles a more traditional work of food history. The selling of ice cream in Hawaii resembles the way that immigrant groups were encouraged to eat traditional American foods rather than their strange fare. Hobart argues that the sweetness and perceived purity of ice cream was tied up with notions of purity, civility, and racial superiority. Her change here from production to consumption marks an important change in the book if for no other reason that there appear to be more sources she can rely on when the subject shifts to food. Covering food history also makes it possible for her to draw a connection between ice cream and modern indigenous food politics.

The last chapter is about shaved ice, another consumer good that depends upon refrigeration. Hobart connects the look and flavor of shaved ice with perceptions about race and nationalism. While once an object of nostalgia, the rainbow appearance of shaved ice became a metaphor for Hawaii's success as a multi-racial society. This time it is not the cold itself that is the focus, but the colors of the finished product. In that sense, this chapter feels distinct from the others in the book. Neither the technology of production nor the novelty of cold things in a warm climate applies to this section of Hobart's work, but it does offer her an excellent way to end what is in essence a short history of Hawaii told through its relationship with cold food and drinks.

While Hobart explains at the outset of the book that life in today's Hawaii depends upon mechanical refrigeration, by the end I wondered if Hawaii has become as cold-obsessed as the rest of the United States or does some of that Native Hawaiian suspicion towards this aspect of colonialism persist. As good as this book is at explaining so much of what makes Hawaii different from the rest of the United States, I don't think that question is ever directly answered.

Despite that concern, it is really gratifying to see the historiography of ice and refrigeration go in new directions. Hobart's analysis is directly tied to her geographic focus. It will be interesting to see if new work on ice and refrigeration in other places finds some of the same dynamics at play. For now, though, *Cooling the Tropics* is easily the best book I've encountered about how American refrigeration technology changed life anywhere in the world outside the continental United States. I'd be delighted to read a lot more about other places and am happy that those authors have this work as an example of how they could approach their chosen locale.

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**Response by Hi'ilei Julia Kawehipuaakahaopulani Hobart, Yale University**

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**A**s a dissertating graduate student in 2016, I got an email from Paige West asking if I'd like to join her, Lisa Kahaleole Hall, and Judy Rohrer for lunch before a Pacific Climates event she was hosting at Columbia University. As I crammed into the booth at Friedman's (I remember!), nervously introducing myself to Hall and Rohrer, they kindly asked about my project. I recited my elevator speech to them, which they politely listened to. I finished and, after a beat, one of them turned to me with the steadiest look and said, "Ice? I didn't realize that drugs were such a problem in nineteenth century Hawai'i!" (Ice is a colloquial term for crystal methamphetamine). No, no, I backed up: "Frozen water?" We laughed, but from that day forward, I always added that clause when I introduced my project.

Over the years I was drafting the book, I found that people often needed that clarification – frozen water, not drugs, yes ice, not US Immigrations and Customs Enforcement, yes in Hawai'i, not the continent – because the topic seemed so off-beat. Ice just didn't immediately resonate as a useful conceptual anchor for a place like Hawai'i and its warm people and environment. But, as I hoped to show, ideas about temperature can actually tell us a lot about place and power. Ice is part of Hawai'i's natural landscape, so why did it seem so, well, funny? As Rebecca Hogue suggests in their review, it is a real trick to get at a 'felt' history of something that is largely either taken for granted or seen as incidental to larger histories of power. I learned in the process of writing this text that it required all manner of looking at, around, to the side of, and askance of the topic in order to find its center, testing the limits of my interdisciplinary and my archival training. Rather than lingering in the details of violence, I instead found utility in an analysis of pleasure: refreshment practices, I learned, are also coded expressions of power that deserve to be taken seriously.

The scholars included in this roundtable, Sara Jensen Carr, Candace Fujikane, Rebecca H. Hogue, and Jonathan Rees, offer the most generous gifts of close reading, thoughtful engagement, personal connections, and careful observation in their responses to *Cooling the Tropics*. I write my reply to them feeling humbled, honored, and quite stunned by the beauty of their words. Affirming the parts of the text that I am most anxious about (how does one graciously translate their mother tongue when they are only just learning it?) and nudging at the areas I know remain unresolved (what do we do with refrigeration now, if it is at once precarious and necessary for our current times?), these scholars make my ideas shine much brighter than I knew them to, and I am so thankful for their labors.

I finished writing the final sections of this book at the cusp of the Coronavirus pandemic that came on the heels of the establishment of Pu'uhonu o Pu'uhuluhulu and a surge in Native Hawaiian political consciousness that still brings tears to my eyes when I think of it. In the (brief) time that I was there, I was not paying attention to the relevance to my book's subject matter, and it was only months later that the urgency of thermal politics snapped into focus for me. Not realizing that the history I

had been writing was a meditation on the present, I feel sometimes that the book leaves off in the place where it must begin: with the lived reality of colonial dependence. The tight focus of the book on Hawai'i – really, Honolulu, and really, about 10 square city blocks of it – helped me to bound the text and linger in the stories that I most wanted to know. Without this limitation, I would probably not have encountered Blanchard's ice cream fetish, or the Honoka'a plantation store owner's anguish over melted Polar Pies, or the young model for the Rawley's Ice Cream advertisement who graces the book's cover (I dream of one day knowing her name and giving my respects and gratitude to her family). As a now-diasporic Hawaiian, I am committed to these histories in their most granular registers because they ground me in my homeland even though I am not sure I will ever permanently return to it. At one point, I had convinced myself that I should grow my work towards more transnational concerns, but two years of staying away for fear of spreading Covid disabused me entirely of that notion.

The downside to my narrow geographical scope is that the book neglects to think substantially beyond Hawai'i. I know, anecdotally, that the Pacific as a whole has a complicated colonial relationship to refrigeration, and yet I am unschooled in those histories. Do my assessments about Hawai'i hold up elsewhere? What can studies of Cuba (per Garth), Puerto Rico (per Garriga-López), New Orleans (per Carr) or Rwanda (per Twilley) reveal about Hawai'i's case, and vice-versa?<sup>10</sup> While I do not believe that my work must be built upon (that feels a bit presumptuous, here), I am also itching to follow the emergent stories that can help us to see a more textured picture of cold chain impacts across the globe. As Fujikane writes in her review, a useful book is one that generates new questions – this is a kind way to give grace for that which remains unresolved – about thermal politics. As seas warm and rise and as weather events intensify, instability (and control) will become even more important frameworks for imagining our collective futures. How will we best survive what is to come, and what we know to already be in process?

Even two years ago, I would have thought of nothing more nerve-racking than to read assessments of my work by distinguished colleagues. The questions that niggle at an author once the book is printed are so hard to shake: Did I miss an obvious point, misread a passage, fail to cite fully? I am sure that I have unwittingly committed all of these errors, but I am indebted to the respondents for recognizing the places that I took great care: with my use of 'ōlelo Hawai'i (which I could have not done without the support of my teacher and friend Aolani Kailihou) and with my footnotes (where I took the opportunity to think aloud with the texts that taught me throughout this project).

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<sup>10</sup> See Hanna Garth, *Food in Cuba: In Pursuit of a Decent Meal* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2020); Adriana Garriga-López, "Puerto Rico: The Future in Question," *Shima* 13, no. 2 (2019), 174-192; Nicola Twilley, "Africa's Cold Rush and the Promise of Refrigeration," *The New Yorker*, August 15, 2020, <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2022/08/22/africas-cold-rush-and-the-promise-of-refrigeration>.

In the year or so since its publication, I have gained so much from reading new scholarship that has helped my thinking evolve, and I want to close my response by highlighting some of that work. A forthcoming book by Jen Rose Smith about the imperial norms embedded in how we think about ice geographies. Geographically focused on her homelands, in the territory sometimes known as Alaska, she shows how ideas about ice do both the explicit and implicit work of racialization and dispossession of Indigenous peoples. Sam Ikehara's work connecting atmospheric forms of imperialism and sovereignty across Hawai'i and Okinawa, combining literary analysis, ethnography, and archival work open up new paths for apprehending the felt conditions of colonized life. Cameron Māhealani Ahia's scholarship on the deified female ancestor Kihawahine insists on the urgency and import of centering deep cultural knowledges within the field of Native and Indigenous Studies, showing us how perilously limiting the Western academy's commitment to genre and discipline can be. There are many more to mention, of course, and I take joy from knowing that their labors will change the scholarly landscape ahead for all of us and, for me, develop my relationship to the places most meaningful to me.

Sometimes, on trips back home, we play 'tourist.' A few years ago my siblings and I took our kids for a long weekend at the Sheraton Waikīkī, where a family friend had hooked us up with ocean-view rooms for cheap. From our balcony perch above, we watched the sun set over the Pacific Ocean; below, we would take turns sneaking off to the adult-only infinity pool, where you can order blended mai-tais from the swim-up bar and float on giant bean bags as your eyes play tricks on you where the pool seems to meet the sea. The pleasure always comes with a tinge of guilt: you know the economic and social structures of dominance that make such a suspension of reality possible. For me, a feeling of unbelonging always competes with a feeling of entitlement to this part of Hawai'i, too. I think that is part of what I wanted to get at in *Cooling the Tropics*: not knowing what to do with those feelings you get when home seems strange, or even hostile to your presence. For the longest time, I just couldn't quite put my finger on it. Which is to say, thermal pleasure is vexed, but I do not wish to be didactic in suggesting what we might do with its problematics.

## About the Contributors

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**Sara Jensen Carr** is an associate professor of Architecture, Urbanism, and Landscape in the School of Architecture at Northeastern University, where she also holds affiliate appointments in the Global Resilience Institute and Institute for Health Equity and Social Justice Research. Her work engages with governments, practitioners, and community-based organizations to address complex socio-environmental problems through design. Her book, *The Topography of Wellness: How Health and Disease Shaped the American Urban Landscape*, was published by the University of Virginia Press in 2021 and a recipient of the John Brinckerhoff Jackson Book Prize as well as awards from the Boston Society of Landscape Architects and the Environmental Design Research Association.

**Candace Fujikane** is an English professor at the University of Hawai'i. She has co-edited with Jonathan Okamura *Whose Vision? Asian Settler Colonialism in Hawai'i*, a special issue of *Amerasia Journal* (2000), which was expanded to *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai'i* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2008). Her book, *Mapping Abundance for a Planetary Future: Kanaka Maoli and Critical Settler Cartographies in Hawai'i*, was released in 2021 (Duke University Press). She is currently working on her new book, *Elemental Cartographies for a Changing Earth*.

**Hi'ilei Julia Kawehipuaakahaopulani Hobart** (Kanaka Maoli) is Assistant Professor of Native and Indigenous Studies at Yale University. An interdisciplinary scholar, she researches and teaches on issues of settler colonialism, environment, and Indigenous sovereignty. Her first book, *Cooling the Tropics: Ice, Indigeneity, and Hawaiian Refreshment* (Duke University Press, 2022) is the recipient of the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association (NAISA) Best First Book Prize, the Scholars of Color First Book Award from Duke University Press, and received an honorable mention for the Lara Romero First Book Prize from the American Studies Association (ASA).

**Rebecca H. Hogue** (she/they) grew up on the island of O'ahu and writes about empire, militarization, and the environment in the Pacific Islands and Oceania. Her current book project, *Nuclear Archipelagos*, examines Indigenous women's anti-nuclear arts and literatures in the Pacific. Her work can be found in *The Journal of Transnational American Studies*, *Amerasia*, *Critical Ethnic Studies*, *International Affairs*, and elsewhere. In 2024, she will join the faculty at the University of Toronto as an Assistant Professor in the Department of English.

**Jonathan Rees** is Professor of History at Colorado State University-Pueblo. He has written three books about the American ice and refrigeration industry. His latest book is *The Fulton Fish Market: A History* (Columbia, 2022).

**Kara Murphy Schlichting** is an Associate Professor of History at Queens College, City University of New York. Her work in late-19<sup>th</sup>- and 20<sup>th</sup>-century American History sits at the intersection of urban and environmental history. She is the author of *New York Recentered: Building the Metropolis from the Shore* (University of Chicago Press, 2019).

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