

ment of forces of fortune and destiny, power and prejudice that have affected human action and reaction throughout the world are the same ones that affected life in these islands.

Placing the significance of Schweizer's work in the context of Hawai'i's historical canon is not difficult. *Turning Tide* is an important contribution to the conversation about *K naka Maoli* nationalism, nationality, sovereignty, and self-determination for several reasons. Schweizer employs an effective methodology and is first-rate as a researcher. His background and expertise in the field of European languages and literature gives the work a unique perspective. Finally, his unabashed affection for things Hawaiian contributes most to his role as a bridge between peoples and their sometimes adversarial ideas. Such understanding of a topic can come only from one who is willing to consider another's point of view with respect. Schweizer was willing to do this throughout his text. His dedication and scholarship is reminiscent of people like Abraham Fornander, Lorenzo Lyons, Samuel Elbert, and Donald Mitchell who also felt their *kuleana* and performed important work to fulfill it. The tide has turned and will continue to do so. Schweizer's contribution speaks to the necessity of being undaunted in the application of imagination, creativity, and emotion to an interpretation of the Hawaiian past in order to better understand what is happening in contemporary times. In his case, the results are serendipitous indeed.

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Pana O'ahu: Sacred Stones, Sacred Land, edited and compiled with photographs by Jan Becket and Joseph Singer. Contributions by K haunani Cachola-Abad, J Mikilani Ho, and K wika Makanani; foreword by Marion Kelly. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999. ISBN 0-8248-1828-8, cloth; xxx + 186 pages, map, photographs, notes, bibliography, glossaries, index. US\$42.

The most disturbed of the Hawaiian islands, O'ahu, still retains a large number of cultural and historic sites that provide a measure of the nature, complexity, and accomplishments of Hawaiian society before the beginning of extensive contact with the western world. Through a remarkable collection of photographs and accompanying texts, *Pana O'ahu* offers a visual reminder of the presence and activities of the *K naka Maoli* or Native Hawaiian people when this and the other islands of the group were theirs alone. Born out of protest against the desecration and destruction done to Hawaiian lands by the construction of the H-3 freeway in the last decades of the twentieth century, this compilation of photographs offers stunning testimony to what has been lost and to what might yet be regained through political resurgence and cultural revitalization. This is a book well worth viewing, reading, and reflecting on. In addition to the history it tells, this book also suggests other ways of doing history, of reading that part of the past that is imprinted on the terrain by the actions of godly beings or recorded in the ruins of structures that Native Hawaiians built on the land. In short, this book is both about the past

and about the ways in which a native past might be more appropriately and accurately appreciated. In my opinion, it succeeds at both levels, and honestly. There is no attempt to hide conflicting evidence from different primary sources; no effort to replace uncertainty about the Hawaiian past with groundless speculation; no aversion to mentioning the hardship visited on O'ahu by the invasion of conquering chiefs from Maui and later Hawai'i in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

The black-and-white photographs taken by Jan Becket and Joseph Singer form the core of this book; they are of sixty *heiau* or shrines, most having been built between the fifteenth and late-eighteenth centuries. Some of these *heiau* were extensive edifices on which elaborate ceremonies took place, involving the *ali'i nui* or highest order of chiefs. Others, according to Marion Kelly, were constructed by the *maka' inana* or common people to procure divine assistance in securing the bounty of the land and bordering sea. The more modest sites left behind by the *maka' inana* are of special interest to the photographers and authors of this book. *Heiau*, then, could be places for high ceremony, quiet reflection, religious worship, or ancestral commemoration. Of particular note is K. haunani Cachola-Abad's point about the great diversity in the size, shape, environmental settings, and functions of *heiau*—a diversity demonstrated graphically by the photographs. Whatever their specific form and function, however, all *heiau* were considered sacred sites.

The photographs and accompanying texts are organized under the pre-

mahele division of O'ahu into six *moku* or districts; these, beginning in the southeast and moving in a clockwise direction, were Kona, 'Ewa, Wai'anae, Waialua, Ko'olaupoko, and Ko'olaupoko. Such an ordering allows the creators of this book to demonstrate the extent of *heiau* construction on the island, and the disturbance and destruction caused to most of those *heiau* by massive changes in population, government, commerce, agriculture, and economy over the last two centuries. I found particularly dramatic and moving those photographs that show the damage done to Pu'up he'e he'e in Wai'anae, Kahakawelowelo in Waialua, and Kukuioke in Ko'olaupoko. This last *heiau* once stood as the principal shrine of the district, and was clearly visible and imposing from miles away. Pineapple farming in the early decades of the twentieth century and, more recently, the construction of the H-3 freeway have resulted in the near-total demolition of this sacred site. It is now entirely covered by the roadbed of the highway.

Foreign intrusion could also result in the appropriation of sacred Hawaiian sites. The twelve-foot-high standing stone Pihakuloa, once worshipped by Hawaiian women who sought strength and wisdom for their children, was divided and its pieces moved in 1856. One segment was taken to the school for missionary children at Punahele; another was placed at what has now become the Kapi'olani Medical Center for Women and Children. Amidst this largely sad chronicle of colonization, there do survive, and largely intact, *heiau* such as Ulupili in windward O'ahu, a massive, well-maintained platform and one of the

most ancient structures on the island. *Heiau* defined by natural features rather than by stone walls or high platforms also continue to exist. The *p haku* or standing stones that make up the Al la and Wailea *heiau* in Ko‘o-laupoko, both associated with fishing activities and themselves worshipped as gods, offer silent testimony to a past that has not been completely forgotten, neglected, or overgrown.

As a non-Hawaiian and with no expertise in Hawaiian history, I am unable to evaluate the quality of the historical essays that preface each chapter. I find them well-written, enlightening, and persuasive. Overall, and impressive as it is, the volume does have some flaws. Not all of the pages are numbered, and the appearance of different fonts and print size in the text is distracting. The archaeological survey of O‘ahu *heiau* carried out by J Gilbert McAllister between 1930 and 1933, and from which this book draws heavily, is given only sporadic mention. Lacking too are biographies or at least more extensive treatment of those Hawaiian historians who acted as “informants” for McAllister, and whose engaging pictures open each of the book’s six main chapters. These shortcomings aside, *Pana O‘ahu* is a remarkable achievement that advances an appreciation of the deeper Hawaiian past, and of the sacred sites and stones from that past that are still very much about and around.

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Bad Colonists: The South Seas Letters of Vernon Lee Walker and Louis Becke, by Nicholas Thomas and Richard Eves. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1999.

ISBN cloth, 0-8223-2257-9; paper, 0-8223-2222-6; xxiii + 163 pages, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, US\$49.95; paper, US\$16.95.

It must be made clear at once that the authors intend their title as telling irony. They do not oppose the figures under consideration to hypothetical good colonists; rather, Thomas and Eves use “bad colonists” to describe complex senses of failure and degeneration as recorded in the letters of two white traders on the “periphery” during the age of high European colonialism (1870–1880s). As they emerge from this volume, Vernon Lee Walker, an obscure trader in New Caledonia and Vanuatu, and Louis Becke, later famous for his “South Seas” stories, were bad at being colonists in every sense: they failed to maintain any colonial sense of purpose, they failed in their commercial endeavors, they failed at fashioning coherent senses of selfhood, and they failed as letter writers.

Because Thomas and Eves are primarily interested in expressive failures, *Bad Colonists* torques the genre of the letter collection. The volume looks traditional—half of it is composed of the letters, accompanied by handsome maps, facsimiles, biographical sketches, and commentary—but it aims at nothing less than “experimental history” (xxi). For Thomas and Eves, colonial letters—in particular the “letter-home-to-mother”—reveal nuances in what