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**Andrade/Ha'ena**

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## Preface

In 1778, Captain Cook ventured into the North Pacific, where he encountered thriving groups of people occupying high islands located almost at the extreme northerly track of the sun. He was amazed by their physical appearance, social organization, and industry. He was even more amazed to find they spoke the same language as people he and his crew had previously encountered almost three thousand miles away in Tahiti. Cook and his men were the vanguard of a flood of European and later American influences affecting all dimensions of life in these islands. The arrival of Captain Cook and others representing predatory nations of Europe and the Americas coursing through the Pacific seeking access to the riches of the East signaled accelerating changes in the natural, economic, political, and social domains in these islands. Later, when the nation of Hawai‘i was taken over and occupied by the United States, even more disruptive transformations came over the land, affecting its aboriginal people. Of course, change is the one, ever-present constant wherever one goes in the world or in history, for that matter. The fledgling nation of Hawai‘i adapted as best it could to these rapid changes for more than a century. Once deprived of its independence, however, changes for the aboriginal people hastened at an even more rapid pace and continue to do so today.

The stories of Hā‘ena contained herein chronicle some of these changes. Hā‘ena is only one place in an archipelago filled with storied places. Like many places in the world, Hā‘ena is filled with the memories, activities, values, and the spirit of its people. Examples of the perspectives of the indigenous people of Hā‘ena can be found in their oral traditions (*mele*, *‘oli*, *ka‘ao*, *mo‘olelo*), in their dances, and in the meanings of names affixed to the land. These names are attached to rocks, waters, and reefs. They are found in forests, on the peaks of the uplands, in the hollows of the lowlands, far out on the wind-swept sea, and out into the universe of stars overhead. Many are kept alive in the daily activities, spiritual life, and discourse of the few *kanaka maoli* (the aboriginal people) living there today.

People all over the world hold and enjoy visions of Hawai‘i. Some of these images are induced by fantasies generated in the movies of Hollywood and on the flickering faces of television sets. Others are generated and fueled by richly subsidized advertisements generated by the Hawai‘i Tourist Authority, corporate entities managing chains of resorts, beckoning Web pages of proliferating numbers of vacation rentals, and conversations between travelers sharing experiences after having sojourned there. In little over two centuries, Hawai‘i, at the crossroads

of the Pacific, has become home to a multiethnic population made up of individuals arriving from both East and West.

Native ways and perceptions, in many instances, have been and continue to be submerged by increasing numbers of newcomers who now own and inhabit the majority of the lands in Hawai‘i, greatly outnumbering the aboriginal people. The stories recorded in this narrative of gods, heroes, and villains, of love, passion, and betrayal, of adventure, seduction, and tragedy, are the legacy of those who came to these islands more than two thousand years ago and are evidence of the long association of the aboriginal Hawaiian people with their island homeland.

I wrote this narrative of Hā‘ena for several reasons. One was to preserve for the youth of the Native Hawaiian community a record of the legacy inscribed upon the land left by the ancestors. New names and new geographies continue to be draped over the landscape. New perceptions are published in guidebooks, iterated in travelogues, displayed in car rental maps, and passed from one traveler to another. The heritage of the indigenous people is slowly being submerged beneath a growing tide of globalization. The passing of older generations makes the task of collecting, preserving, and publishing the stories of the land and recollections of the elders increasingly important. Younger generations know less and less about their *one hānau* (sands of their birth—a traditional Hawaiian epithet for one’s homeland). Compiling this narrative was central to providing a record of what has gone before and continues to be a foundation for today.

The first two chapters of the book explore stories attached to the land. Sources for the stories include oral traditions passed informally over the years from generation to generation as well as a wide variety of books and texts containing stories of Hā‘ena. One such source was the archive of thousands of pages of preserved Hawaiian-language newspapers published beginning in the early 1800s and continuing until the early 1900s. The riches in this resource were only just barely tapped.

Another reason for this book is to address the lack of information and the many misconceptions people have about the process through which the land there, traditionally held in common by Native people, came to be fragmented into the private property regime found in effect today. Penetration by nations from Europe and the Americas into the Pacific wrought many changes in the demography, geography, and social structures native to the islands of Oceania. Almost all these island nations have been sliced, diced, and divided between the nations of continental Europe and the Americas. Native people of Oceania rightly feel their homelands have been taken through what one Maori writer calls “legal artifice.”

In the case of Hawai‘i, newcomers, often ignorant of the history of the islands, mistakenly assume the Native people of Hawai‘i agreed that their islands should become a part of the United States. Another mistaken assumption of those who

only know Hawai‘i as the fiftieth U.S. state is that the basic structure of law in the islands concerning land is identical to law in the continental United States. Visitors, more recent immigrants living in Hā‘ena, and especially younger generations of islanders both Hawaiian and otherwise need to understand the changes produced by the currents of history.

Thus, the third chapter in this book examines, in a fair amount of detail, the process by which privatization of land came to exist in Hawai‘i. The fourth chapter focuses on changes in the structure of landholding specifically as it affected the land in Hā‘ena, and how it altered longstanding relationships between the people and this place. I hope that these sections scrutinizing changes in land tenure might offer information that will contribute answers to questions continuing to plague certain sectors of the local population.



*S. Kelau and son Kala Kelau,  
Hanalei, Kaua‘i, Hawai‘i, ca. 1920.  
Louis R. Sullivan Collection,  
Bishop Museum.*

Chapter 5 tells the story of a little known part of Hawaiian history. In response to privatization of land as described in chapters 3 and 4, groups of Natives pooled their resources, forming *hui kū‘ai ‘āina* (cooperatives to buy land). In Hā‘ena, one such group purchased the *ahupua‘a* (land division) in its entirety. This *hui* held the land as a cooperative beginning in the late 1800s. In spite of an array of coercive governmental policies instituted after the Hawaiian nation was deprived of its independence and absorbed by the United States, the *hui* in Hā‘ena managed to remain intact until the 1950s. After more than a decade

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of litigation initiated by a lawsuit for partitioning the land brought by two *haole* (foreigners), Hā'ena *ahupua'a* was finally fragmented into parcels as they are found on contemporary tax maps today.



*Mrs. Kulupepee,  
Hā'ena, Kaua'i,  
Hawai'i, ca. 1920.  
She was the wife of  
Pa'itulu Kulupepee,  
the last Hā'ena elder  
to practice the art of  
subsistence fishing using  
traditional watercraft.  
Louis R. Sullivan  
Collection, Bishop  
Museum.*

The chapters on changes in land tenure should facilitate a broader understanding of some of the underlying tensions existing in Hawai'i today between the Native people and others. The tension, much denied but often encountered by those who venture beyond the bounds of corporate resort properties and the attendant tourist industry, is often the result of differing perceptions and a fair amount of ignorance of what transpired in the critical years when Hawai'i was a fledgling nation and was taken over by the powerful military, economic, and political forces of the United States.

Finally, the concluding chapter of the book celebrates the lives of elders, some who are no longer with us as well as those still walking among us. These special people, wellsprings of knowledge, humor, wisdom, adaptation, and affection, are living links with ancestors who traveled through the land before us. They are those who, having survived the trials and challenges of time, are living vessels carrying the legacy of those who came before. Like stars guiding voyaging ancestors through the perils of the sea, these special people show the way and enrich lives with the experiences they share.

So, for all of you who embark upon this odyssey through the land of Hā'ena, land of the fire goddess Pele, land of the leaping fire, land standing under the wind watching the sun go to rest in the west, let us venture there and discover what the land itself has to tell us.