Shortly after the dramatic 1976 Hawaiian winter surfing season, thirty to thirty-five Native Hawaiian men and a handful of non-Hawaiian locals from the north and east sides of the island of Oʻahu gathered in a home under the green, jagged hills behind Sunset Beach to form an organization centered on a Hawaiian cause. After naming themselves the Hui O Heʻe Nalu (or Club of Wave Sliders), they outlined their chief objectives. Their primary goal was to preserve Native Hawaiian control over the waves of the North Shore. At meetings held in succeeding months, they voiced their concerns about an endangered Hawaiian space, ka poʻina nalu (the surf zone), and developed tactics to offset what they saw as exploitation—in fact, virtual colonialism—by the surfing industry. As their agenda grew, club membership also expanded.
Months prior, International Professional Surfing (IPS) had made Hawai‘i’s North Shore an essential leg of a world surfing series in 1976 and asserted exclusive rights to North Shore waves. So the Hui began protesting IPS competitions through surfing sit-ins in which members would paddle into the competition zone, sit on their surfboards, and then ride the forbidden waves. In extreme cases, such resistance devolved into fistfights, where haole (foreign to Hawai‘i, or white) surfers were usually overpowered by large and strong Native Hawaiians. After a difficult initial phase, tensions began to settle, and the promoters and surfers made some concessions. Through such compromises, the Hui helped reduce the number of professional competitions on the North Shore and found employment for Hui members in the surfing industry. But they simultaneously shaped resistant identities and maintained a Native ranking atop a social hierarchy in the Hawai‘i surf—a ranking that Hawaiian surfers had enjoyed from ancient times, and one contested over with elite haole shortly after the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian kingdom.

Hawaiian cultural and political activism was rejuvenated in the 1970s. However, the Hui O He‘e Nalu’s resistance seems unique in comparison to other Hawaiian projects of cultural rediscovery and restoration. In an era when Hawaiians rekindled the idea of political restoration on land, the Hui’s work to preserve Hawaiian control over a Native space (the surf zone) distinguishes them. However, preserving Native space in the surf was not a new concept, as Hawaiian surfers have successfully resisted colonial encroachment in the po‘ina nalu (surf zone) since the early 1900s. To better understand this, we must look further into the surf.

Ka po‘ina nalu, the surf zone, constitutes a Native Hawaiian realm, an overlooked space extremely significant to Kānaka Maoli (Native Hawaiians). While surfing was a thriving aspect of Hawaiian culture in ancient days, in the twentieth century it served as both a refuge and a contested borderland for many Native Hawaiians. In other words, it was a place where Hawaiians felt free, developed Native identities, and thwarted foreign domination. As Hawaiian surfers secured control over ka po‘ina nalu, haole colonial authority was less influential there. On land, many Hawaiians were marginalized from political, social, and economic spheres during much of the twentieth century. Yet in the ocean Native surfers secured a position atop a social hierarchy. In this book I provide a history of this contested Hawaiian surf zone by analyzing particular Hawaiian surfers, including ancient Hawaiians, Waikīkī surfers of the early 1900s, a radical environmentalist group called Save Our
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Surf, iconic professionals like Eddie Aikau, and finally the North Shore club Hui O He’e Nalu. These surfers are unique to Hawaiian history in that they provide examples of ardent and successful Hawaiian cultural-based resistance that thrived throughout the twentieth century.

While recording stories about surfers and waves of resistance, this book explores history from a different direction. By observing history from the vantage point of the ocean, issues of colonialism, politics, and resistance appear strikingly different. Doing so also engages with an underrepresented period of study in Hawaiian history, the twentieth century. While analyzing peculiar relationships in the Hawaiian waves, I suggest that several uncharted pockets of Native resistance existed in Hawai’i’s past. Although specific to Hawai’i, the lessons of perspective, resistance, and issues of masculinity analyzed in this book also apply to locales distant from Hawaiian beaches. And, the cultural encounters discussed in this book implicate characters from Australia, the United States, and Brazil, to name a few.

Unlike histories that emphasize only Native displacement, this story stresses Hawaiian agency. It also determines that identities are complex, as Hawaiian surfers defined themselves in both opposition and relation to colonialism. This book not only highlights encounters between Hawaiians and haole, but also analyzes certain media portrayals. In an effort to market the islands to tourists, American media have often feminized, sexualized, and emasculated Hawaiian men. Whereas the history of Hawaiian masculinity has only more recently been studied, this book also addresses issues of Hawaiian manhood. Through the surfers discussed in this book I argue that Hawaiians did not always subscribe to stereotypes about Hawaiian men, but instead contested, rewrote, or creatively negotiated within them. Because Hawaiian surfers preserved ka po‘ina nalu from foreign domination in the twentieth century, they were empowered to defy haole definitions of how Hawaiian men should behave. As they transgressed these expectations and categories in the waves, Hawaiian surfers simultaneously defined themselves as active and resistant Natives in a history that regularly wrote about them as otherwise. Ka po‘ina nalu is a place where resistance proved historically meaningful and Hawaiian men regularly flipped colonial hierarchies and categories upside down.

He’e Nalu: History and Identity

As Natives of Oceania, Hawaiians have viewed the moana (ocean) as essential to their existence. Since their first encounter with them, Westerners have
acknowledged Hawaiians as masters over their aquatic domain and have revered them as ocean experts—in swimming, fishing, wave riding, canoe racing, sailing, and long-distance ocean navigation. Throughout the nineteenth century many haole, Calvinist missionaries in particular, deemed many Hawaiian practices barbaric. Despite their efforts to vilify Hawaiian cultural practices, Native ocean traditions like he’e nalu (surfing) still continued. Thus it remains a source of pride for Hawaiians today. As one surfer explained, “Surfing has been a part of our history for thousands of years, and when you surf you have that connection, you connect spiritually and physically to all the elements around you; this is a part of you, it’s a Hawaiian thing.”

We all make sense of our present through our understanding of the past, and our articulations of the past are “the medium of our present relationships.” Thus Hawaiian surfers approached their present and future while looking back toward their past. According to both Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa and Jonathan Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio, Hawaiian tradition taught Hawaiians to look toward the future (ka wā mahope) while facing their past (ka wā mamua). Although people often romanticize, idealize, and even invent tradition when remembering the past, Kanaka Maoli surfers found strength in a living Hawaiian art and tradition that was celebrated by Hawaiians from ancient times, through the annexation of Hawai‘i, and down to the present.

David Malo, a nineteenth-century Hawaiian historian, described he’e nalu as a “national sport for the Hawaiians.” In chapter 1 I discuss the importance of surfing in ancient Hawaiian society by drawing from Hawaiian mo’olelo (histories, legends) about surfers—including accounts found in Hawaiian-language newspapers. Hawaiian mo’olelo about Native surfers express the significance of surfing in Hawaiian society. This is conveyed in mo’olelo about surfers like Ka‘iliokalauokekoa, Lā‘ieikawai, Kelea, Mo‘ikeha, Kahikilani, ‘Umi, Pa‘ao, Naihe, and many others. Through many surfing mo’olelo we learn that mutual respect in the waves is an important cultural concept for Hawaiians. Ancient surfers conveyed such respect by maintaining healthy relationships of social exchange, even in the surf. In ancient times tension often arose when surfers violated protocols of respect—as seen specifically with stories about Palani, Hi‘iaka, and Kapo‘ulakina‘u. Whereas wāhine (women) surfers are popular characters in ancient mo’olelo, we are reminded of the important role women played in Hawaiian history through these stories. Although women are often portrayed as empowered in several mo’olelo, such representation stands in stark contrast to twentieth-century
tourist-driven images that sexualize and objectify women. In these surfing mo‘olelo we also learn lessons of Hawaiian values regarding honesty, fidelity, parenting, and so on. Ultimately, these stories reveal that he‘e nalu has been an integral part of Hawaiian society.

He‘e nalu is significant to Hawaiians today because it is a tradition that continuously survived the destructive power of colonialism. It has been, and remains, a living Hawaiian sport significant to the ‘Ōiwi (Natives). Using this perspective in chapter 1, I write a narrative contrary to most surf history accounts by challenging, rather than emphasizing, the idea that he‘e nalu dis-integrated and became extinct in the nineteenth century. Although diseases took the lives of hundreds of thousands of Native Hawaiians and many missionaries frowned on “idle and sensuous” practices such as the hula and surfing, Hawaiians continued surfing in the nineteenth century, and several Hawaiians, even members of the royal family, still made time to surf in the late nineteenth century. Among those who frequented the waves at that time was Princess Victoria Ka‘iulani, Queen Lili‘uokalani’s niece and the designated heir to the throne. According to William A. Cottrell, a Hui Nalu surfer of Waikīkī, the princess was an expert surfer in the late 1890s. Her cousin, Prince Jonah Kūhiō Kalaniana‘ole, was also known for regularly riding the Waikīkī surf. He, along with his two brothers, was also the first to surf waves in California in 1885.

Although some Hawaiian ali‘i (chiefs, rulers) enjoyed serenity in the surf, they struggled to maintain their political sovereignty in the late 1800s. Their troubles with haole business elite culminated on January 17, 1893, when a company of U.S. Marines stormed the Hawaiian kingdom’s ‘Iolani Palace. Without clearance from Washington, U.S. minister John L. Stevens used these troops to help a cohort of haole businessmen overthrow Hawai‘i’s Native government. With their Gatling guns and cannons pointed at the palace, Queen Lili‘uokalani temporarily surrendered. Although U.S. president Grover Cleveland admonished the provisional government to return Hawai‘i’s administration to the queen, the monarchy was never restored, and Hawai‘i was declared a republic on July 4, 1894. In 1897 a coalition of three Hawaiian political organizations (Hui Aloha ‘Āina for Women, Hui Aloha ‘Āina for Men, and Hui Kālai‘āina) initiated petitions to oppose (kū‘ē) annexation. These petitions, once delivered to Congress in 1898, helped kill the annexation bill. However, Hawaiian celebrations were cut short that year. With the election of a new president and the outbreak of war against Spain and the Philippines, the United States seized Hawai‘i’s government with an illegal joint resolution bill in 1898.
of political conquest and turmoil is essential to understanding twentieth-century Hawaiian surfers and is the main topic of chapter 2. Hawaiian motives, identities, and frustrations, even in the surf, are directly related to the political violence inflicted at the time of overthrow and annexation.

While haole business elites settled into stolen seats of government, disillusioned Hawaiians flocked to the Waikīkī surf. In the decades just following the overthrow of the Hawaiian kingdom, the popularity of surfing surged in Honolulu. For many Hawaiians, he’e nalu provided solace and escape from injustice and political conquest on land. Native Hawaiian surfers like George Freeth,21 the Kahanamoku brothers, the Kaupikos, the Keaweamahis, and many others popularized surfing and took the sport to new heights.22 The resurgence of he’e nalu was most noticeable in Hawaiian ocean-based communities like Waikīkī. However, this Hawaiian realm was challenged when an elite haole surf club called the Outrigger attempted to wrest the surf from Native Hawaiians. Thereafter, it became a zone of contestation and rivalry, a Native respite that Hawaiians now had to defend from the same individuals who had overthrown their kingdom a few years prior. A group of Hawaiian surfers called Hui Nalu united to protect ka po’ina nalu and ensure Hawaiian control over their ocean domain.

In the 1930s many Hui Nalu surfers began moonlighting as Waikīkī Beachboys—essentially Hui Nalu surfers turned popular surf instructors. Through their interactions with visiting celebrities and other tourists, the Beachboys became fashionable playboys who often shared intimate relationships with white women and made a decent living in the process. Although racist discourses and American laws discouraged much of this type of behavior on land, ka po’ina nalu was a unique place where Hawaiians, Beachboys in particular, regularly and visibly broke through colonial social categories. After charting the historic contestations between Hui Nalu and Outrigger surfers in chapter 3, I then analyze the ways Beachboys flipped images of Hawaiian men in the surf. In the end, Hui Nalu surfers, like the chiefs of old, remained atop the social hierarchy in the waves.

In chapter 4 I chart a history of gender-based stereotypes defined by colonial categories in Hawai‘i—the same kinds of categories that surfers in Waikīkī and the North Shore ignored, combated, or redefined. Such stereotypes were generated and proliferated through tourism, American popular culture, Hollywood films, and history books. In the first half of the twentieth century Hawai‘i’s tourist industry worked to convince prospective visitors that Hawai‘i’s Natives were safe and accommodating hosts. Since a strong
male presence potentially jeopardized that impression, images of sexual-
ized Hawaiian women eclipsed the Hawaiian man in tourist advertisements. Haunani-Kay Trask has criticized this tourist agenda. In From a Native Daughter, Trask condemns Hawai‘i’s government-supported tourism indus-
try, calling it the pimp that prostitutes Hawai‘i, its culture, and its people. She also contends that such marketing not only sexualized and commodi-
ﬁed the islands as a female prostitute, but was “invented to lure visitors and disparage Native resistance to the tourist industry.”23 Although Hawaiian men were rendered nearly invisible next to the attractive female in tourist advertisements, Hollywood repeatedly found a place for them in South Seas ﬁlms. Popular since the 1920s, movies set in the Paciﬁc Islands blossomed in the mid-1900s.24 In ﬁlms like Wake of the Red Witch, Bird of Paradise, and many others, Hawaiian men are depicted as submissive and incapable next to American heroes. One example of the American hero is John Wayne, typically depicted as strong, cunning, and attractive—essentially the polar opposite of Native men. With the help of historical narratives, tourist-driven media venues painted Hawaiian men as insigniﬁcant players in their own society. Such depictions emasculated Native Hawaiian men and rendered them nearly invisible.

Issues of masculinity are also central to this study. Colonial deﬁnitions of successful manhood, modeled after Western criteria, may have instilled feelings of ineptitude in some Hawaiian men. However, many Hawaiian surfers redeﬁned their manhood in the waves. As Ty Tegn theorized in Native Men Remade, late twentieth-century Hawaiian notions of masculin-
ity were often constructed in contrast to emasculating tourist images and in light of contemporary deﬁnitions of what it meant to be na koa (warriors).25 Although competing deﬁnitions of manhood often clashed in the waves, for many Hawaiian surfers expertise in the surf helped strengthen their identi-
ties as both men and Native Hawaiians. Often, identities forged in ka po‘ina nalu bolstered self-conﬁdence in Hawaiian men and helped them combat Western deﬁnitions of manhood. While Western culture deﬁned successful manhood through the accumulation of Western notions of wealth, educa-
tion, and social standing, these new deﬁnitions often belittled Hawaiian men. However, Hawaiian surfers expressed conﬁdence as men through their skills in the waves—as seen in the jib debate between Buffalo Keaulana and Ben Finney on board Hōkūle‘a (see chapter 5). While gendered identities were forged in the waves and elsewhere, ethnic identities were fueled in the cultural movements of the Hawaiian renaissance.
A climate of resistance and cultural revitalization grew among Native Hawaiians in the mid-1970s. Hawaiian activists were influenced by other indigenous groups of the United States and the Pacific during this time. Most notably, Hawaiian activists drew inspiration from the Native American occupation of Alcatraz when they defiantly landed on the U.S. military–controlled island of Kaho‘olawe. Renewed Hawaiian activism and revitalization in the 1970s is often referred to as the Hawaiian renaissance. Although the Hui O He‘e Nalu was a product of this period of heightened cultural awareness and resistance, another group of Hawaiian and local surfers helped instill the spirit of pride in the 1960s. Save Our Surf (SOS) was a grassroots organization that comprised surfers determined to protect Hawaiian waves and coastlines from overdevelopment in the 1960s and 1970s. Leaders of this organization, such as John Kelly, combined Marxism and Hawaiian cultural pride to create a highly influential, politically active group of surfers. Over the course of several years, their protests stopped numerous large-scale development projects in Hawai‘i—projects that threatened many local beaches and surfing breaks. They regularly hosted rallies and protests at Hawai‘i’s state capitol, lobbied for change in legislation, and pursued developers in courtrooms. In chapter 5 I contextualize the Hui’s resistance by elaborating on the history of cultural and political movements of the 1960s and 1970s.

In 1975 the Polynesian Voyaging Society built Hōkūle‘a, a sixty-two-foot wa‘a kaulua, or twin-hulled voyaging canoe—a replica of what Hawaiians used to travel long distances in ancient times. In 1976 the Hōkūle‘a sailed from Hawai‘i to Tahiti with traditional navigational methods. Several Hōkūle‘a crew members were also famous Hawaiian surfers, many of whom had helped form the Hui O He‘e Nalu on the North Shore.26 In 1978 Eddie Aikau, a Hawaiian civic ambassador, lifeguard, and member of the Hui, became a crew member of Hōkūle‘a when it embarked on its second trip to Tahiti. Aikau was selected as a crew member because he had an in-depth knowledge of the ocean and was known as one of the world’s best lifeguards. While sailing from Hawai‘i to Tahiti, the ship hit rough seas a few miles off the island of Lana‘i and capsized. Hoping to find help for the troubled crew, Aikau paddled his surfboard toward Lana‘i. Although help eventually arrived, Eddie Aikau was lost to the Hawaiian seas. Because the canoe was a symbol of the Hawaiian renaissance, Aikau was immortalized by the Hawaiian community for his efforts and courage. Aikau was not only revered as a Hawaiian who sacrificed his life for his crew, but his sacrifice was also seen as an offering on behalf
of his people. The Hui O He’e Nalu inherited the spirit of these voyages through some of its members, Eddie Aikau in particular.

In chapter 6 I analyze the history of the Hui O He’e Nalu. Drawing primarily from oral history interviews, I discuss how history, culture, and resistance shaped their identities. In these interviews many Hui members linked their 1970s North Shore experience to the late 1800s and the overthrow of Hawai‘i’s Native government. For example, Billy Ho’ola‘e Blankenfeld characterized International Professional Surfing (IPS) as a group of business-minded exploiters interested only in personal economic gain. He explained, “It was inconceivable in their mind to give anything back to the community. They were taking!” Later in the same interview he described those who overthrew Hawai‘i’s kingdom in 1893 with similar language: “Missionaries turned businessmen . . . saw the profit, and they misled the Hawaiian people.” Bryan Amona recognized Queen Lili‘uokalani’s call for peaceful nonretaliation as honorable (since many Hawaiian lives were saved) and regrettable (because passive resistance did not succeed in the end). When describing his participation with the Hui in the 1970s, Amona stated that he defied his “laid-back nature,” “ran out of aloha,” and actively fought for what belonged to the Hawaiians. Amona, like other Hawaiian surfers, participated in an unfinished colonial history that he metaphorically revisited, reenacted, and rewrote. In waging protest in the waves, they staged resistance against late nineteenth-century Hawaiian colonialism. As the colonialists of the past became fused with colonizers in their present, these Hawaiian surfers invited the possibility of restoring the deposed self and resurrecting a marginalized people.

Despite their amiable self-characterizations as freedom fighters, Hui surfers gained their greatest fame in the mid-1980s with Honolulu Advertiser and Honolulu Star-Bulletin stories that followed the court trial of two Hui members arrested on cocaine charges. The Honolulu papers popularized the prosecution’s allegations that the Hui O He’e Nalu was a gang of “strong-arm collectors and dealers.” These articles were often published alongside stories about terrorism in the Middle East and the Iran-Contra affair. Several newspaper articles in 1987 described the Hui members as “terrorists,” as seen in stories like “‘Reign of Terror’ on the North Shore told” and “Threats forced him to hire terrorists, Hemmings says.” Although reporting on the proceedings of the trial, the articles frequently repeated characterizations of Hui members as extortionists and narrated their history as Native troublemakers. As the newspapers labeled Hui members terrorists, several American movies and television
shows introduced many non–North Shore residents to a group of Hawaiian surfers who harassed whites. Through such media venues, American viewers learned that some unruly Hawaiians could be very uncivil to foreigners on the North Shore. I discuss the implications of this in chapter 7.

As Hui members were defined as aggressive terrorists, these stories reduced their disillusionment to hatred and their resistance to barbarism. The terrorist label served a particular function—to undermine Hawaiian resistance and preserve the status quo where haole dominated and Hawaiians were marginalized. Although these labels placed limitations on the Hui’s success, the Hui often manipulated such stereotyping to its advantage. In chapter 7 I also explain how the terrorist label both helped and hindered the Hui. Throughout each of these chapters I draw from various theoretical perspectives to analyze this research; I particularly adapt the concept of borderlands to Hawaiian surf zones.

**Borderlands and Boarder-Lands**

Ka po’ina nalu has attributes similar to the theoretical concept of a borderland, which is a place where differences converge and social norms are often fluid. Because state-sanctioned authority is often absent from the borderlands, unique social and cultural identities are formed there. In such a place accepted hierarchies are often undermined. Susan Lee Johnson found this in the southern mines during California’s Gold Rush. Before U.S. control existed in the region, Chinese, French, Navajo women, Mexicans, Blacks, and Anglo-Americans living in the region violated American social expectations of how each race and gender should behave. It was essentially a world “turned upside down.”

Like the regions Johnson studied, ka po’ina nalu was a place where American control was uncertain, Natives inverted dominant social categories of how they should behave, and surfers accomplished all that they were expected not to. For example, in the early twentieth century Hawaiian surfers in Waikīkī successfully combated elite haole annexationists, had sex with elite white women, ran lucrative beach concession businesses, beat up American and European soldiers, and dictated what haole could and could not do in their surf. All this was done in plain sight of public spectators. But unlike the frontiers described by others, where gender and ethnic fluidity confounded authority, the Hawaiian boarder-land was a place where Hawaiians subverted white hegemony by enacting their Hawaiian identity. Although several
Hawaiian surfers were of multiracial origin, it was their Hawaiian-ness, rather than their mixed heritage, that united and fueled their objectives.

What made this boarder-land community more intriguing was that it flowed like powerful waves against haole hegemony on land. The beach was not just a physical buffer between the land and the ocean, but a cultural and metaphysical border, as Greg Dening has theorized about the significance of the beach in the Marquesas Islands. For Dening, the beach was a place where the apparently “unbridgeable” worlds of Te Aoe (haole) and Te Enata (indigenous Pacific Islanders) collided.33 Beaches divided their worlds; they were “beginnings and endings” and “the frontiers and boundaries of islands.”34 According to Dening, the beach was also the place where both peoples struggled to make sense of the other, and, as each considered the other’s world incomprehensible, violence became the language of reason, and many Marquesans were slaughtered.35 In the end, Te Aoe crossed Marquesas beaches and brought with them baggage of all sorts. Hoping to make the island intelligible by giving it new names and civilizing its Natives, Te Aoe remade the islands in their own image with each beach crossing.

This is a useful, though incomplete, model for understanding Hawaiian beaches and surfers. The beach was historically a place where haole and Hawaiian worlds collided, and violence was sometimes a substitute for mutual understanding. But the beach has a particular historical burden in Hawai‘i—why else would Australian surfer “Rabbit” Bartholomew (see chapter 6) compare himself to Captain James Cook and the Kealakekua beach where he was killed while he himself bled on Sunset Beach in 1976 after a struggle with Hawaiian surfers there?36 Waikiki Beach was also a place where both Hawaiian and haole worlds were redefined and reconstituted. And the ocean was not simply a place from which haole, on the decks of their ships, transposed their image of the islands onto Hawaiians, as Dening has suggested. It has been and remains more significant than that. The ocean has been a place of autonomy, resistance, and survival for many Pacific Islanders. Although some have more recently analyzed the significance of the moana (vast ocean) as a place of resistance and survival—especially in regard to seafaring and navigation—thus far scholars have overlooked the surf.37 Ka po‘ina nalu constitutes another zone. Beyond Dening’s islands and beaches, we must immerse ourselves in the waves.

While Europeans obsessed over exploring and later colonizing the Pacific, they defined the islands as specks of land in a faraway sea. According to Tongan scholar Epeli Hau‘ofa, this limited perspective overlooked the importance of
the ocean, which was far more significant to indigenous peoples of Oceania.\textsuperscript{38} He argued that as Westerners defined the islands as small and limited in resources, they undervalued historic interactions between Pacific Islanders and depicted the ocean as merely a space to be crossed. According to Hau‘ofa, rather than a border—generating isolation and restriction—the Pacific Ocean is (and always has been) a highway linking the myriad islands and their peoples to each other and to the bordering continents of the Pacific.\textsuperscript{39}

Although the perspective in this book may resonate with academic concepts of borderlands and cultural studies, Hawaiian and Pacific Islander scholarship has also made a permanent mark on this book. For example, Noenoe Silva’s \textit{Aloha Betrayed} inspired me to search for better examples of Native agency and resistance in history. While using neglected Hawaiian-language newspapers and newly found petitions to U.S. annexation by the majority of Hawaiians living in 1895, Silva uncovered an indisputably rich history of Hawaiian resistance—a history that was previously determined nonexistent. In many ways this book hopes to accomplish a similar objective: to analyze an overlooked place in Hawaiian history where stories of agency and resistance billowed.

While I draw from magazine articles, books, newspapers, and other written sources (in both English and Hawaiian) to create a narrative about Hawaiian surfers, much of the information used to write this book was gathered from oral interviews. A decisive criticism of mine is that Native Hawaiian voices, male voices in particular, have frequently been quieted by colonial discourses—like the media. Thus this book regularly draws from oral interviews, often directly quoting Hawaiian surfers, to ensure that their words resonate in this narrative. Though it is virtually impossible to create an unbiased, objective history, this book nonetheless constructs a comprehensive historical narrative that resonates from a Hawaiian surfer’s perspective.\textsuperscript{40} And the voices in this story convey more than perspective; they highlight personalities, motives, identity, and soul. Although stereotypes depersonalize and marginalize peoples, this book aims to personalize and humanize individuals.

Historically, he‘e nalu has been an integral part of being Native Hawaiian; it has also been a cultural identity marker for Kanaka Maoli surfers. For many Native Hawaiians, the ocean surf has been a window for looking into their precolonial Hawaiian past, and a place where contemporary identities have developed in relation to both the past and present. The identities fostered in ka po‘ina nalu often imbued confidence in Native men because of the surf. Such identities were often defined in contrast to haole definitions and expectations of Hawaiian men. These unique identities were forged because
the surf became a puʻuhonua—a historic Hawaiian place of refuge from strict colonial laws. And in such a place identities could be constructed in opposition to colonialism. This is not to say that colonialism had no influence on the shaping of such identities; rather, Native Hawaiian identities fostered in the surf zone were developed in opposition to haole conquests on the shore. Ka poʻina nalu has been a space where Hawaiian men redefined themselves as active agents, embodying resistant masculinities. ⁴¹