

JOURNEY TO KAHO'OLAWE



JOURNEY TO KAHO'OLAWA:
CONCEPT BY HANS HS WINKLER
AND T'UY'T'TANAT-CEASE WYSS

Journey to Kaho'olawe

grunt gallery
116 – 350 East 2nd Avenue
Vancouver, BC
V5T 4R8
grunt.ca

May 2017

Texts by Hans Hs Winkler,
T'uy't'ananat - Cease Wyss
Jean Barman, Glenn Alteen,
Bruce McIntyre Watson
Copy Editor: Hillary Wood
Graphic Design: Sébastien Aubin

Printed in Canada

ISBN # 978-1-988708-02-7

All Rights Reserved
Publication 2017 grunt gallery
Artwork 2017 Hans Hs Winkler,
T'uy't'ananat - Cease Wyss
Text 2017 Hans Hs Winkler,
T'uy't'ananat - Cease Wyss,
Jean Barman, Glenn Alteen,
Bruce McIntyre Watson

Copyright grunt gallery and the artists. Content
from this book cannot be reproduced without
express written permission from the publisher.

THANKS TO
Michael Naho'opi'i, Kaho'olawe Island Reserve
Commission; Mike Shanahan, Bishop Museum,
Honolulu; Gundolf Krueger, Cook/Forster
Collection of the George August University
Gottingen; Helen Adkins, S7aplek - Bob Baker,
Jean Barman, Pulama Collier, Jolene Castillou
Cumming, Peter Ruthenberg, Bruce McIntyre
Watson, Kultsia-Barbara Wyss, John S. Romain.

SPECIAL THANKS TO
Juve Vega for his valuable support.

grunt gallery would like to acknowledge our
funders: The Canada Council for the Arts,
The British Columbia Arts Council, the City
of Vancouver, BC Gaming and the Audain
Foundation, as well as individual donors
and supporters.

TABLE
OF CONTENTS

P.12	Introduction Glenn Alteen
P.16	Historical Context Hans Hs Winkler
P.18	HO 'OKU-E - The Hawaiian Resistance Hans Hs Winkler
P.26	Zero Zone Zero Zone Kaho'olawe About Vanishing in Art and Culture Hans Hs Winkler
P.42	Navigation, Cupstones and Tattoos Hans Hs Winkler
P.56	Kanakas in Coast Salish Lands and Waters My family and community stories T'uy't'tanat-Cease Wyss
P.102	Leaving Paradise Excerpt Jean Barman and Bruce McIntyre Watson
P.114	Bibliography
P.116	Biographies
P.118	Picture captions





3.1



3.2



4

Kaho'olawe is one of the 8 islands of Hawaii. It is about 11 miles long and 7 miles wide and rests 7 miles away from the next island, Maui, and 16 miles away from Lanai.

In traditional Hawaiian cosmology, the island is a sacred place. Named after the Hawaiian and Polynesian god of the ocean currents and navigation, it is known as the kino lau (body form) of the god Kanaloa. It is the residence of Ka-moho-ali'i, the shark god brother of the volcano goddess Pele and is said to have been born of the union of earth mother (Papa) and skyfather (Wakea). It is considered as a place of refuge.

Kaho'olawe is a cultural and artistic centre and, as a navigation marker, called Kohemalamalama O Kanaloa or Kanloa. For over a thousand years it was used as a natural guide for the native navigators who sailed without instruments, dependent upon islands, sun and stars, currents and winds to get them safely to their destination.

The high central part of island, offering a unique over view of the Hawaiian Islands, was used as a traditional training school by Kahuna priests. It figured significantly in the long voyages between Hawaii and Tahiti. The southern tip of the island was not only a ceremonial area, but also served as a launching place for those voyages.

In its varied history, the island was used by colonists in the 19th century as a penal colony and a site for sheep and cattle ranching, and in 1940 it was taken over by the U.S. Navy as a target site for bomber planes and gunnery practice during WWII and the Vietnam War. In 1990 Kaho'olawe was placed under the administration of the Kaho'olawe Island Reserve Commission after civil protest and strenuous lawsuits forced the return of the island to Hawaiian rule.

The island is currently uninhabited and primarily accessible to Native Hawaiians/ Polynesians only for cultural and spiritual purposes or restoration and continued efforts at re-vegetation.

The journey to Kaho'olawe of Cease Wyss and Hans Winkler became a journey through the history of human beings and the "new civilisation" in the Pacific, written by the American/Anglo-Europeans since the 18th century and told through oral history by Indigenous people in British Columbia and by native Hawaiians for more than 1500 years.

The core of Wyss and Winkler's project was to create different conceptual art works within the context of the island and its symbolical character, and in relationship to other cultures and nations. Hans Winkler was first invited to the island in 2013. This visit triggered his active participation as an outsider and artist in the development of the future of the island. During the first trip to Kaho'olawe he studied archaeological sites and their connection to navigation systems and tattoos worldwide. After studying the Hawaiian history he developed the conceptual vision of Kaho'olawe as a cartographic "free cultural zone."

Research on the project led him to the Georg Forster and James Cook Collection at the University of Göttingen, which houses one of the largest collections of 18th century Polynesian art in Europe. He is attempting to return to Kaho'olawe the "feather sculpture" of Ku—one of the four major Hawaiian deities—currently held in the archive of the German University.

For the further development of the project, Winkler stayed in Kaho'olawe in January 2014, together with Canadian Squamish artist Cease Wyss. She lives in Vancouver and her cultural and hereditary roots go back to both Hawaiian and First Nations peoples in British Columbia.

In collaboration with native Hawaiians as well as with Indigenous people in Canada/ BC, they worked on the next step of the project, which included a 5-day performance/ presentation in Vancouver, BC, in May 2017, and the preparation of this publication.

grunt gallery's role in this process has been to act as enabler, connecting Winkler and Wyss in a remarkable four-year journey that starts in Hawaii on Kaho'olawe and ends in the Squamish Reserve across the harbour from Vancouver. Their project brings to light the relationship of important indigenous histories that bridge a wide ocean. The stories of the Hawaiians on the West Coast are old, but not well known. The Kanaka name, originating in Hawaii and familiar to so many places in BC, is lost to history by a rapidly changing city that doesn't often respect or nurture its past.

Having been a witness to the journeys and historical researches of this project, it

naturally follows that grunt would eventually produce this publication. grunt gallery and the rest of Vancouver sits on the unceded traditional territory of the Musqueam, Squamish and Tseliel Waututh peoples, and while this recognition is restated again and again, its essential message is not always digested. Indigenous people have lived on this land for many millennia and have distinct and rich histories both pre and post European contact. This publication tells the story of an interconnection between peoples that went on throughout the colonial history of both the province and the Hawaiian Islands, and that continues to thrive generation after generation.

This project speaks to the traditional territories of the Hawaiian people and the Squamish nation. In both places, despite a colonialist history that has brutalized the land and the people, their stories cannot be erased from the landscape. Stories of the land, how they lived on it, ate from it, and navigated the land and the waters continue to be told and lived by both nations.

The story of Kaho'olawe, its sacred place in the Hawaiian people's history and mythology, its loss and desecration by the US Government and the Hawaiian people's efforts to save and rehabilitate it are an inspiration to people everywhere and an important story to tell. Its connection to a land and a people 3000 miles away on the BC coast is an essential history in BC. On behalf of grunt gallery, I would like to thank Hans Winkler and Cease Wyss for this project and the important research they have performed over the four years of its duration. I would also like to thank Kultsia-Barbara Wyss, Bob Baker, Jean Barman and Jolene Castillou Cumming for their significant contributions, and finally, Juve Vela for his timely support.

Glenn Alteen
April 2017



5



6

The presence of Europeans and U.S. Americans in Hawaii has been associated with all kinds of cultural and human suppression and violence ever since “one of Captain Cook’s lieutenants murdered an unarmed Hawaiian man the first day the English set foot in the islands in 1778. On their next visit, less than a year later, Cook’s men massacred dozens more Hawaiians and burned an entire village to the ground a Kealakekua.” 1

From the earliest landings of Europeans on the island, Kaho’olawe was perceived as a place of little significance. The island’s importance in Hawaiian cosmology was ignored. J. G. McAllister wrote of Kaho’olawe: “The lack of traditions for Kaho’olawe is mute evidence of the unimportance of the island. A transient population, without taro patches and permanent abodes, with a paucity of material objects, was of little interest to avaricious chiefs and priests, and the island consequently escaped most of the inter-island warfare.”² Statements such as this only served to highlight the difference between the materialism of European thought and the spiritual approach of the island peoples.

In 1793, Captain Vancouver introduced goats to the island, and their uncontrolled grazing, along with sheep and cattle later ranches on the island, decimated much of the plant life there. Soil erosion took a serious toll on the environment. But that was hardly the worst in the difficult history of Kaho’olawe. The island was seized by the U.S. Navy and used as bombing range from the 1940s to the 1990s. In the late 1960s and early ‘70s American fighter bombers training for the Vietnam War swept down on the island, dropping 2500 tons of bombs on Kaho’olawe between 1968 and 1970. And in the later year alone they bombarded the island for 315 days, solidifying its reputation as “the most bombed island in the Pacific.”³ “The U.S Navy also conducted spectacular experiments like simulating an atomic blast on the island in 1965. Five hundred tons of TNT were detonated to test the impact on ships anchored offshore. It lightened up the sky like day on the neighbouring island of Maui. The experiment cracked the water table on part of the island and created a salt water pond that nothing can live in.”⁴

In the Hawaiian language resistance means:
Ho'oku'e–

The word Ku-e can be translated as to stand
for something.

Also implicated in the meaning:
we are looking from outside.

Since the 1970s a renaissance in Hawaii has led to a new self-consciousness, which has focused on Kaho'olawe as a place of revival in Hawaiians' philosophy of life.

George Helm, co-founder and spokesperson of the Project Kaho'olawe Ohana (PKO) – an organization protesting the bombing of the island – saw a “moral responsibility to attempt an ending to this desecration of the sacred aina (land).”⁵ Their protest took the form of unsanctioned occupations on the island, during which time the Navy was forced to halt its bombing practice and experimentation. Kaho'olawe thus became an important symbol for the Hawaiian resistance movement and the civil use of non-violence to oppose injustice.

After five “illegal” landings in Kaho'olawe, at the time when the island was still actively used as a bombing range as well as through an “official” long-term lawsuit of the PKO against the U.S. Navy, Kaho'olawe finally became again accessible to Native Hawaiians. “With this success Hawaiians were once again culture heroes in their homeland, not only to fellow Hawaiians but to a generally admiring and sympathetic public.”⁶

One important part of the success goes back to the point that all activities/ interventions of the resistance were deeply related (connected) to the local Hawaiian society, which brought the community together and involved the elders or kupunas (spiritual leaders) for advice and their opinions. It shows the “familial relationship of the native society, in which the necessities of life – land, water, food, collective identity and support – were available to everyone.”⁷

Helm stated during a meeting at the Bishop Museum in Honolulu that he believed “the time of Lono had come again, that Lono was to return, not in form of a god, but in concept.” Part of the story of Lono is that the god once disappeared on the way from Kaho'olawe to Tahiti. Ironically, George Helm and Kimo Mitchell, another of PKO's leaders, disappeared into the Pacific Ocean in March 1977. Helm was never found.

There were several strong intellectual influences on the resistance movement. Members of the PKO, especially George Helm, were inspired not only by traditional Hawaiian thought, but also by the philosophy and theories of Friedrich Nietzsche and C.G.

Jung. “Helm found confirmation of his faith in the indigenous culture of the Hawaiian islands. In himself and in other Hawaiians, he came to feel, stirred the collective unconscious of his ancestors.” At the same time, Helm often quoted Nietzsche's thoughts: “Socrates was responsible for rationalism and the bringing about of the theoretical man.” Which means that we “should not pretend to understand the world only by the intellect; we apprehend it just as much by feeling. The judgement of the intellect is, at least, only the half of truth.”⁸

It is obvious both cultures/nations, the Hawaiians and the “settler” society, are very different in their respective thinking, acting, behaviour, and belief systems. Before the Native Hawaiian culture was forming “it was as antithetical to the European developments of Christianity, capitalism, and predatory individualism as any society could have been...”⁹ The scandal is that since the 19th century it is a society in which the indigenous culture has been suppressed and dominated. The resistance, Helm stated, is “against imperialism which suffocates the growth of individual ethnicity.”

“Most representations of Hawaii identify the islands with a linear, irreversible history and with visible phenomena. Most of these representations maintain that the world they construct exists independently, and further that this reality can best be described not by Kanaka Maoli (traditional Hawaiians) but by Euro-American, symbolic technologies.”¹⁰

For trespassing – the Navy called them “illegal landings on Kaho'olawe” – members of the PKO were arrested and detained for trial. Naturally a definition of the terms “legal and illegal” would be useful at this point but could also be deceitful. Special ethics, together with political and economic power structures, within which some national governments act “illegally” or at least according to their own economic interests, influence these definitions.

With the annexation by the United States in 1898, the lawful government of Hawaii was overthrown with the result that Hawaii under the colonial parent of the United States became a settler society “in which the issue of civil rights is primarily an issue about how to protect settlers (not Hawaiians).”¹¹ In this context it could be said that these

“expeditions” of young people with political and cultural events never achieve the absurdity of political realities and state maneuverings.

In March 1977 George Helm and Kimo Mitchell lost their lives and disappeared in the Pacific while attempting to land on Kaho'olawe. Walter Ritte wrote about his friend George Helm that “his love for these islands made him commit his life to protecting the land.”¹² Through their engagement which started “to heal the already wounded soul”¹³ of the Hawaiians as well as through the mysterious circumstances in which they disappeared, Kimo Mitchell and George Helm became heroes and role models for generations. Out of their vanishing many stories were created, especially that both men were killed by the U.S. Navy. These stories help to keep them as well as the Hawaiian resistance movement for Hawaiian independence and sovereignty alive.

“The work to heal the island will heal the soul of our people. Each time we pick up a stone to restore a cultural site on the island, we pick up ourselves, as Hawaiians. As native Hawaiians rediscovered their culture, the restoration of Kaho'olawe along Hawaiian lines became a burning topic for them, a major catalyst for a native Hawaiian renaissance.”

Noa Emmett Aluli



7.1



8



7.2



9



9



9



9



10

I came here to ask; to help some people's lives, and I am talking about possibility or probability and the science of mathematics help us guys figure out the odds and averages. Regardless of that fact, we are supposed to respond with a sensitivity to this emergency and we had no response from anybody except Mr. Peters, Mr. Yuen, Kinau Kamalii, Dan Akaka.

Our organization is one year old and sitting in an office for a long time, I am sure everybody behind the powers of the political pedestal know my name. I come just to support the resolution and very grateful for having this opportunity upon invitation. This is a step forward in helping to bridge the gap between the politicians and the people who elect you here.

The bombs over there, for me, is not the danger; it's the negligence. For one year, my commitment is to Walter Ritte, Richard Sawyer and their wives who are on that aina, to make a meeting with the President of the United States, with Congressman Akaka and the Council of Hawaiian Organizations, and I would put my life out for that meeting and six other people have done so. A potential lawyer has given his sacrifice. He could have been convicted for felony. The social worker could have lost his job and you should listen to what I have to say because you are being paid. We never had a chance to talk. This is the first time something like this is happening—you guys are going to hear it. Please kokua; do something—some reaction. Every county made a resolution—County of Hawaii—every county did. Bills have been passed and when something like this is happening, nothing is being done. All I'm asking for is a reaction, positive or negative, but please support us if you can, and we are talking about Aloha 'Aina 'Ohana and if you cannot understand it, go do your homework.

Mahalo.

Our conceptual art project is intended to lead to a new mapping of the Hawaiian Islands, underlining the significance of Kaho'olawe and highlighting the necessity for its protection. Here, the instrument will be a blank, the symbolic cartographic disappearance of the island.

Kaho'olawe is a place well suited to illustrating the fleeting, temporary nature of cultures and works of art and the symbols of vanishing. However, there are two sides to it, showing both its appalling and attractive aspects. It embodies ideas of destruction and devastation and war, and at the same time it carries the native Hawaiians' traditional concept of "Aloha 'Aina" (love of the land) and the island as a sacred place.

In order to investigate this location retrospectively, it is necessary to go back to the time (Zeitgeist) after World War II and during the Vietnam War. Artists, writers and activists in Europe and America – the horrors of war still in the backs of their minds – united and formed unique movements in order to create a new culture. With their ways of life and forms of expression, they attacked traditional and commercial values, bourgeois ideas on morality, manners, culture and art, all of which led to war, repression and mass murder.

The refusal to trust the significance and effectiveness of commercial products, and the decision to manifest relevance publicly by means of attitudes and actions instead, can be traced back first and foremost to the influence of the Fluxus movement, and the Conceptual Art of the 1960/70s.

The Fluxus manifesto called for the sabotage and disruption of the existing systems to be the basis of artistic action. Conceptual artist Mel Henderson rallied several hundred yellow cabs in one location in San Francisco and documented the emergent traffic chaos, which from a bird's eye view looked like a sunflower; performance artist Terry Fox sent a dead, life-sized fish from a glacier on an undetermined journey through the ice.

These works, and many others, convey a poetic attitude, a sense of subversion and disobedience, the importance of intervening in society and taking a political stance by means of artistic works. The works also emphasize the cultural domain which itself is determined by stories. The focus is shifted

to artistic projects/actions of which hardly anything remains but the stories about them. And this is precisely how they survive – as stories, that is, as images in the head.

The phenomenon of storytelling has been part of human cultural life from its very beginnings, especially in Hawaii. The traditional Polynesian practice of "story telling and oral transmission reached a high level with this culture as a means of preserving history, reciting genealogy, and entering the nobility, as well as preserving the mythology of sacred origins." 14

Since most of the time the stories go beyond the limits of fiction, it also shows that our existence and actions are constantly accompanied and circled by stories, which create and feed an autonomous domain of culture.

It was the dada poet, boxer and artist Arthur Cravan who declared vanishing to be the highest form of art. And he vanished – in 1918 he disappeared forever in a boat in the Gulf of Mexico. What remained was the myth about him which turned his whole life into a work of art.

One year after the October Revolution in Russia, the artist Kazimir Malevich presented his concept of "the disappearance of culture and art" by creating the *Black Square* as well as *White on White*, both of which became iconic paintings in the 20th century. The *Black Square* was first shown in The Last Futurist Exhibition (0, 10) in 1915. The work is frequently invoked by historians and artists as the "zero point of painting," referring to the painting's historical significance and paraphrasing Malevich as both end and a new start.¹⁵ It seems that these modern artists re-connected (like members of the PKO) to history and traditional signs, and story telling.

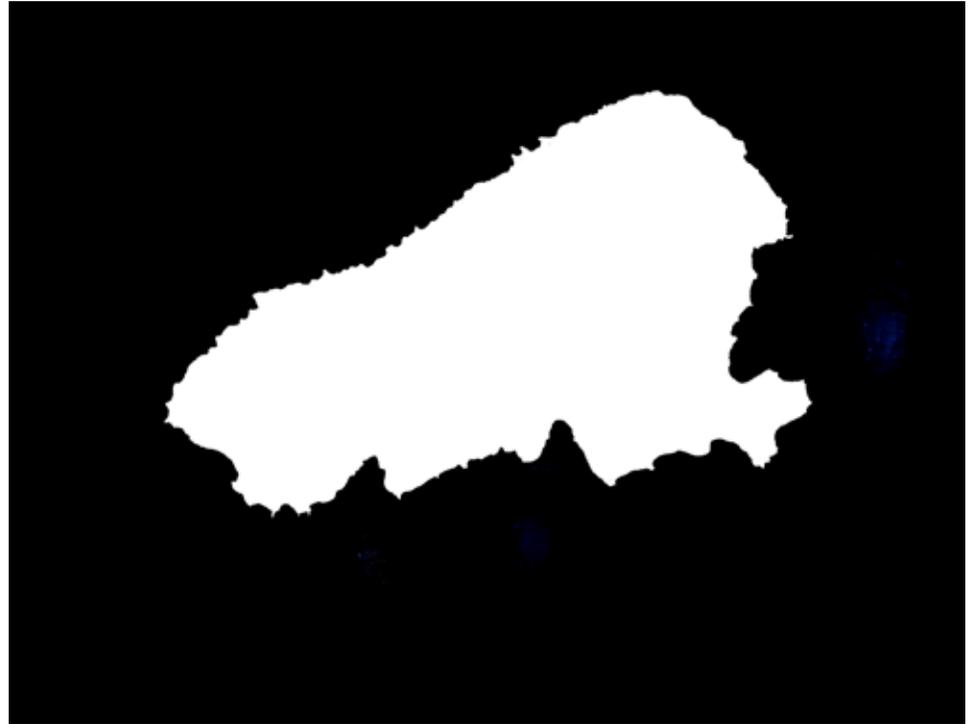
Different native cultures in the world – some thousands of years ago – created signs in which the form of a blank or white square stands as a symbol for "cosmos and silence," and a black square for "death."

Considering the fast pace of the modern, industrial world and general inflationary tendencies, Kaho'olawe is a symbol that stands for the vision of a free-zone, a rehabilitation area as communal property, cultural site, and blank space that calls for

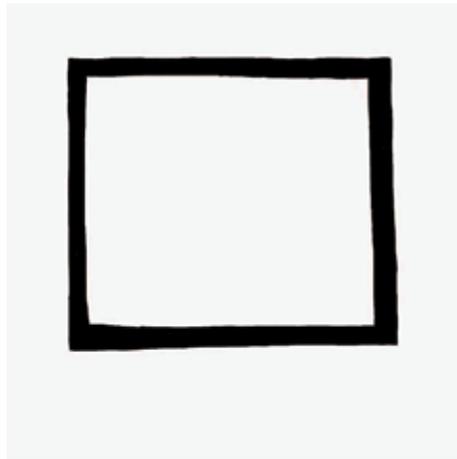
creative resourcefulness/fantasy. The island of Kaho'olawe is liberated, through this process of removal, step by step, from maps of Hawai'i and off the cartographic system. A free space, a creative blank is created for the site, which demands the recall of the original concept of the space.

In addition, the island refers equally to a cultural background and to the realities of our so-called civilization.

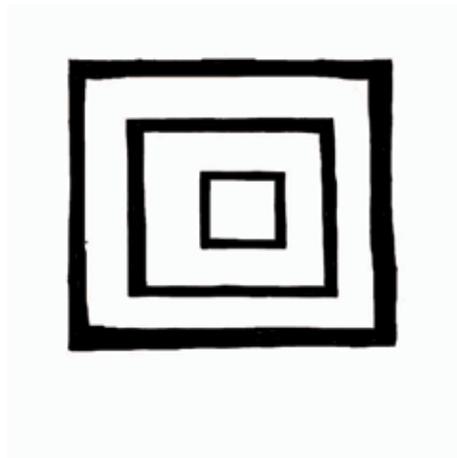
Has not the blank itself become the most consequent of all artistic practices? Does not the very act of vanishing eventually become itself a form of art?



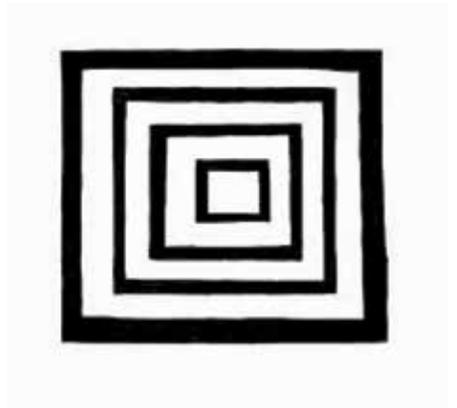
12



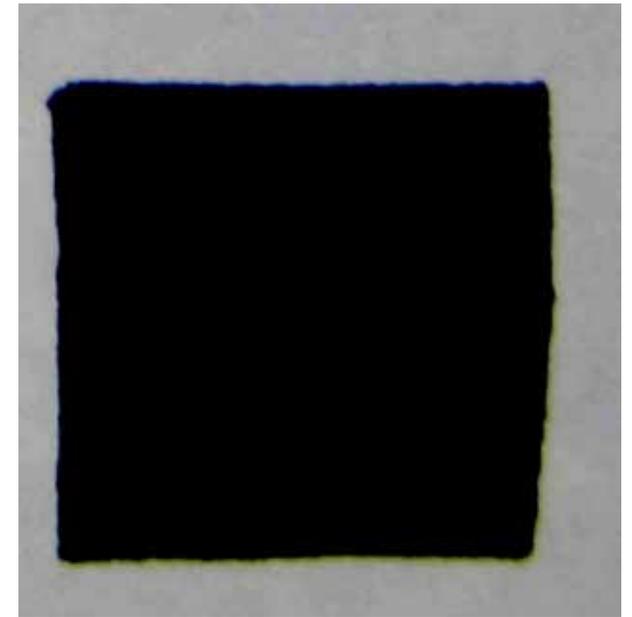
13.1



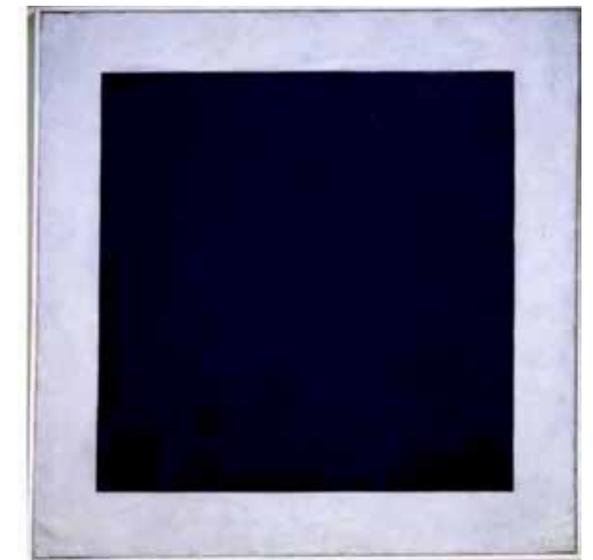
13.2



13.3



14.1



14.2





17

The Ghost Walker: “Then I looked out of the window and saw the line of torches approaching in a straight line, first the chief, than the kahuna, than the lesser chief, and then the fisherman carry the nets. I heard their chanting.

He tried to catch one of the legs of a fisherman, but the night marcher lifted his leg higher and kept marching.”
Harriet Ne



Open letter to the Cook/ Forster collection at the Georg August University Gottingen, Germany To support the new journey of the god Ku (feather sculpture) from Germany to Kaho'olawe

NEIL ABERCROMBIE
GOVERNOR OF HAWAII



KŪKULU KE EA A KANALOA
KAHO'OLAWE ISLAND RESERVE COMMISSION

811 Kaho Street, Suite 201, Waiuku, HI 96793
Telephone (808) 243-3030 Fax (808) 243-5983
Website: <http://kahoislandreserve.com/hgi>

COMMISSION MEMBERS

MICHELE MCLEAN
Chairperson
AMBER NĀMAKA WHITEHEAD
Vice-Chair
WILLIAM J. ALA, JR.
H. EDWALT AGUIAR, M.D.
C. KALIKO BAKER, Ph.D.
COLETTE Y. MACHADO

Michael K. Nāho'opi'i
Executive Director

Log No.: 13-01:004

Re: Letter of Support

To Whom It May Concern:

Kaho'olawe is the smallest of the eight main islands in the Hawaiian Archipelago, 94 miles southwest of Honolulu. From 1941 to 1994, Kaho'olawe and its surrounding waters were under the control of the United States Navy. Both the island and waters surrounding Kaho'olawe were used by the Navy and allies of the United States as a live-fire training area. Despite recent clearance efforts, unexploded ordnance is still present and continues to pose a threat to the safety of anyone accessing the island or its waters. A decades-long struggle by the people of Hawai'i succeeded in stopping the bombing of Kaho'olawe and helped spark the rebirth and spread of Native Hawaiian culture and values. An act of Congress in 1994 conveyed the island back to the State of Hawai'i.

Kaho'olawe is of tremendous significance to Native Hawaiians as a treasured resource for all of Hawai'i. In recognition of the special cultural and historic status of Kaho'olawe, the island and the waters within two nautical miles of its shores were designated by the State of Hawai'i as the Kaho'olawe Island Reserve (Reserve). The Reserve, composed of undeveloped rugged shoreline, arid landscape and expansive cliffs, was established for the preservation of traditional Native Hawaiian cultural, spiritual and subsistence purposes, rights and practices including: preservation of Kaho'olawe's archaeological, historical, and environmental resources; rehabilitation, revegetation, habitat restoration; education; and fishing. In 1993, the Kaho'olawe Island Reserve Commission (KIRC) was established by the State of Hawai'i, to manage Kaho'olawe, its surrounding waters, and its resources, in trust for the general public and for a future Native Hawaiian sovereign entity.

This letter is in support of Mr. Hans Winkler's project to create, in collaboration with the KIRC, works of art that represent the cultural and spiritual significance of the island of Kaho'olawe which will help increase public support for the restoration of Kaho'olawe. Mr. Winkler will be participating in a volunteer access to Kaho'olawe and will be housed at the Honokanai'a Base Camp for this project. He will be escorted and provided with logistical support by KIRC staff.

Sincerely,

Michael K. Nāho'opi'i
Executive Director

MKN:tg



20



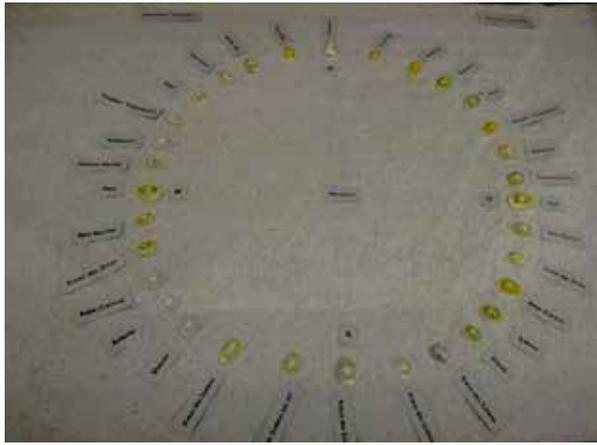
21.1



21.2



22.1



22.2



22.3

Part of the reclamation of Kaho'olawe as an ancient sacred site is the examination of its archaeological sites. Since 1981, the island has been designated as the Kaho'olawe Archaeological District. It houses approximately three thousand archaeological sites including cupstones, which are rocks and boulders incised with man-made depressions in the form of circular cups (symbols of the sun), but also with other symbols, such as crosses, arrays of cups in the shape of a cross, and parallel lines. In their meaning and significance, they show a remarkable connection to ancient cultures from around the world.

On Kaho'olawe, as elsewhere, we see these markings and lithic arrangements as related to astronomical constellations observed at particular seasons. These same constellations were used for navigation and were one of the tools used at the navigation school on the Hawaiian island.

It would seem that the cupstones also bear witness to a nature religion, in which the sun stood at the center of cultural life. In its quality as vital provider of warmth, the sun determined the cycle of life. Worldwide, many indigenous peoples synchronized the sowing of the crop, the time for hunting, fishing and voyaging and likewise that of medical treatment, with the phases of the sun or moon (in Christianity this was later named sun worship).

"...the astronomical interpretation has recently most unexpectedly found a sensational, if only indirect confirmation through the famous Nebra sky disc. It is a cast bronze disc from the mid-Bronze Age that was found in Nebra an der Unstrut, in Saxony-Anhalt, Germany. Its surface is inlaid with geometrical figures (numerous small circular plates, one large circular plate, a crescent-shaped plate, and horizon arcs) made of fine gold plate. These figures are generally interpreted as having an astronomical explanation."¹⁶

In Franz Haller's book on petroglyphs, cupstones, and engraved rocks, we can read: "... these cupstone cult sites thrive from and herald the vitality of prehistoric religion, which has survived thousands of years."¹⁷

In Hawaii there are also stones that served as places of birth, and it was said that body tattoos gave an account of the event, with its place and time, like birth certificates.

For more than 5,000 years, cultures all over the world have used tattoos as a mark

of their clan membership, of beauty, for the exchange of information, and also "as a medical prescription. Tattoos play a central role in the healing rituals of many different peoples."¹⁸

In 1991 a mummy was discovered in the Alps near the border between Austria and Italy. Nicknamed Ötzi, he lived around 3300 BCE. Ötzi's body shows more than 47 tattoo marks. According to recent research, they represent acupuncture pathways and points. "These lines seem to have been applied to support healing and provide pain relief."¹⁹ Indeed, according to the acupuncture map, they correspond to anti-arthritis therapy. It is conceivable that, as well as to marking acupuncture points, the tattoos also yield information on the time and place of treatment.

Ötzi's tattoos – parallel lines, and cruciform marks – lead us straight back to the phenomenon of cup-marked stones in South Tyrol, which display similar shapes and signs. Both Ötzi's body and the cupstones were marked with signs and information that communicate with one another, using a similar vocabulary. Most importantly however, they give evidence of a culture that still influences us today.

"Humanity has produced thousands of cultures, in which ever new patterns were conceived. Many of these cultures, oftentimes particularly those of outstanding beauty, consciously chose the limitation, the restraint of outreaching greed and further spread in time, space, richness and quantity of goods, in favor of a stability of ethos and habits, which, on the long-term, seemed to be more sustainable... once their worse hunger stilled, the strong-willed early peoples exerted symbolic activities and speculations that have been handed down from what were once thought of as primitive and are today called traditional societies. Even with peoples that live in extremely austere regions, these pursuits still occupy the largest part of the days and nights: rites, dance, figurines, visual art, the telling of solemn and less solemn stories.

These occupations took up a lot of time that according to the opinion of the base enlighteners should be devoted to the enhancement of their living circumstances... this unreasonable human inclination must

be thanked for the cave paintings of Lascaux and Altamira, Reims Cathedral, and Mozart's Coronation Mass" 20 or for the 30.000 year old sculptures of the Vogelherd Cave near Heidenheim/Brenz in Germany and the island of Kaho'olawe!

¹ Houston Wood, *Displacing Natives: The Rhetorical Production of Hawai'i*, Rowman & Littlefield, 1999. p. 21

² J. Gilbert McAllister, Bishop Museum, 1946

³ Walter Ritte, *Ho'i Ho'i Hou, A Tribute to George Helm and Kimo Mitchell*, Edited by Rodney Morales, Bamboo Ridge Press, 1984. p. 73

⁴ Mansel G. Blackford, *Pathways to the Present: U.S. Development and its Consequences in the Pacific*, University of Hawai'i Press, 2007. p. 28

⁵ George Helm notes, Hawaiian Room, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i, 1977

⁶ Tom Coffman, *The Island Edge of America: A Political History of Hawai'i*, University of Hawai'i Press, 2003. pp. 299-304

⁷ Walter Ritte, *Ho'i Ho'i Hou, A Tribute to George Helm and Kimo Mitchell*, Edited by Rodney Morales, Bamboo Ridge Press, 1984. p. 20

⁸ *ibid.*

⁹ Mansel G. Blackford, *Pathways to the Present: U.S. Development and its Consequences in the Pacific*, University of Hawai'i Press, 2007. p. 129

¹⁰ *ibid.*

¹¹ Trask, Haunani-Kay, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawaii*, University of Hawai'i Press, 1999. p. 24

¹² Walter Ritte, *Ho'i Ho'i Hou, A Tribute to George Helm and Kimo Mitchell*, Edited by Rodney Morales, Bamboo Ridge Press, 1984. p.73

¹³ *ibid.*

¹⁴ Gloria Cronin, *Tales of Molokai: The Voice of Harriet Ne*,

Honolulu. p. 34

¹⁵ Kasimir Malevich, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Black_Square_\(painting\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Black_Square_(painting))

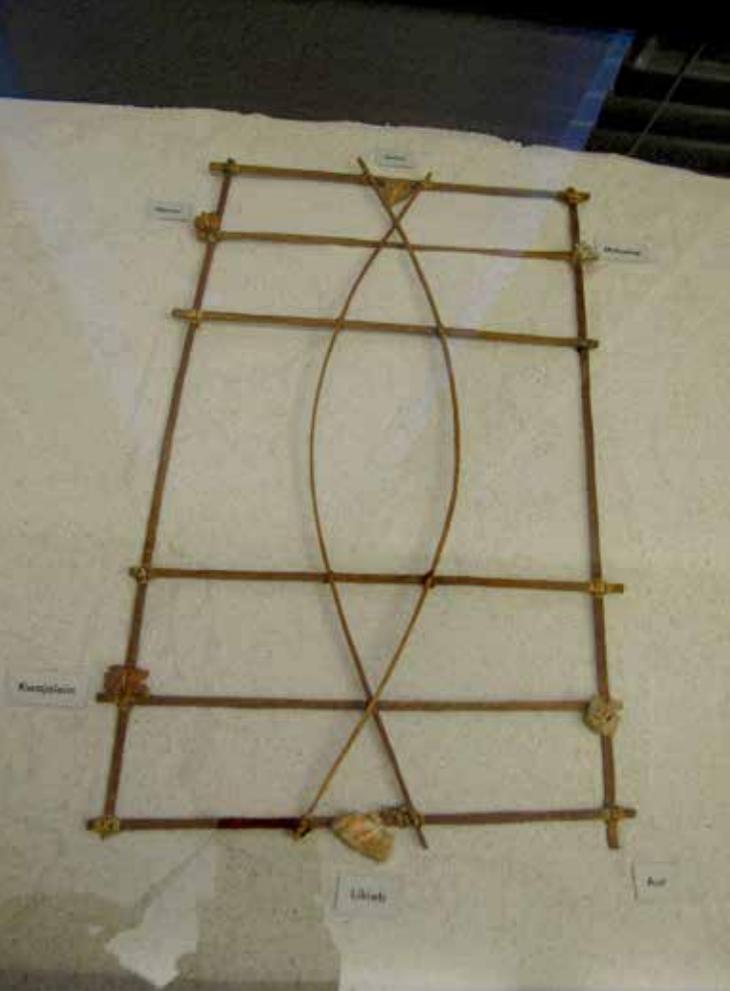
¹⁶ Giovanni Rizzi, *Schweigende Felsen, Südmedia*, Brixen 2007. p.14

¹⁷ Franz Haller, *Die Welt der Felsbilder in Südtirol, Schalen und Zeichensteine*, München, 1978. p. 9

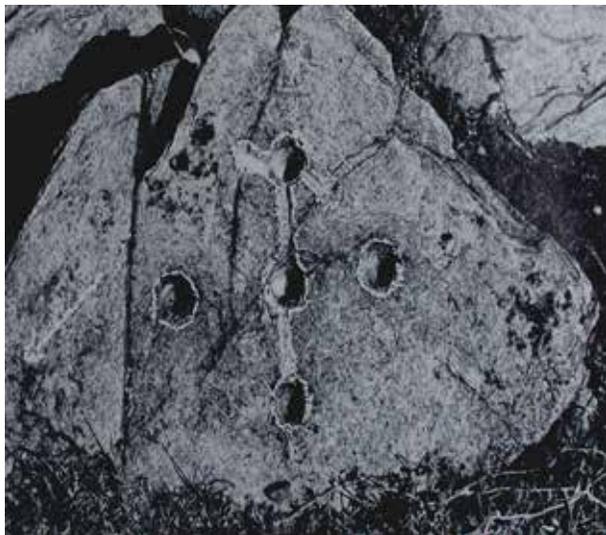
¹⁸ Hartmann Hinterhuber, *Kreative Krankheitsbewältigung. Die Tätowierungen des Homo Tyrolensis vom Hauslabjoch*, in: Helmut Haselbeck u.A. (Hg.), *Kränkung, Angst und Kreativität*, Innsbruck/Wien, 1996. p. 159

¹⁹ Akupunktur vor 5200 Jahren: <http://www.ogka.at/Aerzte/artikel/oetziMMW.htm>, p. 4

²⁰ Carl Amery, *Die Botschaft des Jahrtausends*, München 1994. p. 38



22



22.1



23.1



23.2



24.1



25.1



24.2



25.2



26.1



26.2



27



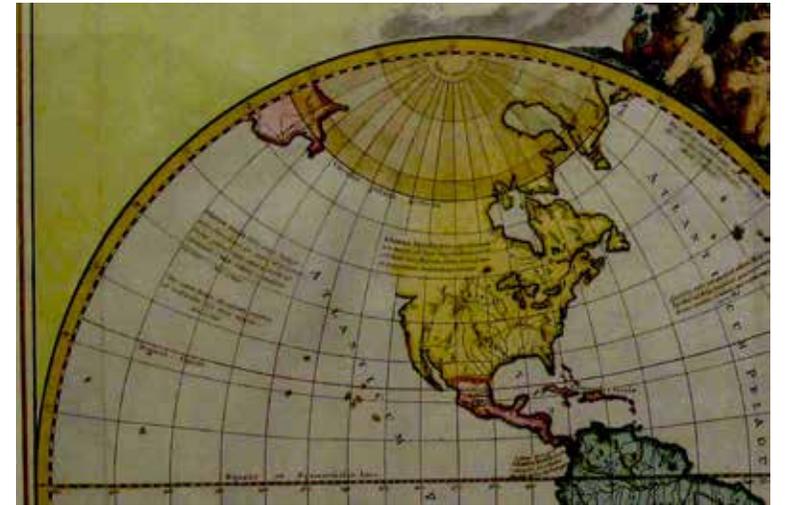
28.1



28.2



29



30



31

—
T'UY'T'TANAT-CEASE WYSS

Chexw maha7lh, T'uy't'tanat kwe en snas, my Skwxw'u7mesh traditional name is T'uy't'tanat, "Woman who travels by canoe to gather medicines for all people".

I want to share my story. It is the story of my family, our name and how our family came to be the cultural blends that we carry in our bloodlines. My Skwxwu7mesh family name is Nahanee, and it stems from my grandfather Lorne Whitton Nahanee Sr. His family lineage is the story I am sharing here. My descendants come from people of the water. Canoe people. And people of the land. We are indigenous people from the Salish Sea and from the Pacific Ocean. This is a small piece of my cultural lineage, as shared through my mother and her immense research over many years. I grew up hearing excerpts of these stories of our lineage from my grandfather's family. My cultural pride stems from the incredible stories I've learned throughout my life.

In the early 1800s (1829–1861) there was a surge of trading that happened between Hawaii and England, and what was then the unfounded countries of Canada and the United States.

In the beginning of the migration between the North American continent (also known as Turtle Island) and the archipelago known then as the Sandwich Islands (named so by Captain James Cook, in honour of John Montagu who was the First Lord of the Admiralty, the 4th Earl of Sandwich), which later—after the English monarchy was overthrown by the United States between 1893 and 1898—became known as the Hawaiian Islands (named after Hawaii, the largest island in the archipelago), the men of the Sandwich Islands, later known as the Hawaiian men, were being offered jobs at the shipyards and on board a few ships that were travelling between the Hawaiian Islands and the Pacific Northwest Coast. They were told they would be on contract for a determined time frame and that they would return to Hawaii when they completed their contracts. They were sent over to various forts on merchant and trade ships, including the limited number of ships that were actively travelling between Hawaii and Fort Vancouver in the USA and Fort Langley in Canada.

The ships sailed between these destinations for 135–145 days. The distance between the mainland of Turtle Island and Hawaii is approximately 3,000 kilometres, and the travel time always depended on the weather conditions and the routes. A term that became well known in the Pacific Northwest Coast when referring to Hawaiians was "Kanaka", derived from a popular term in Hawaii: "Kanaka Maoli", meaning the "True People".

Amongst the number of Hawaiians sailing to Fort Langley on the Pacific Northwest Coast, were a couple of young Kanakas whose names were Joe Nahano and a man known only to us as Eihu. The following stories will bring together the compiled information that I have gleaned from interviews with my mother and from research my mom and I have conducted throughout many years.

Here is an excerpt from an interview with my mom, Kultsia-Barbara Wyss:

Joe arrived in Fort Langley around 1860. He married Mary-See-Emiyia Eihu, and they started their family together. This is where the Skwxwu7mesh and Hawaiian family known as the Nahanees began.

Mary See-Emiyia Eihu was Skwxwu7mesh (from her father) & Katzie (from her mother) and she lived near Fort Langley at the time that she met and married a Hawaiian man who was only known as "Eihu". She married the Hawaiian man known as Eihu and they had two children. She moved back to her father's community with her two children from Eihu, and met Joe Nahano, also known to be called Joe Nahinu.

"Joe Kanaka" known also as "Kanaka Joe", whose last name was known as both Nahano and Nahinu and later was pronounced "Nahanee", established himself in the blossoming town of what later became known as Vancouver. He began working at Hastings Mill. He had met a local indigenous woman who became his wife, and she was of Skwxwu7mesh (Coast Salish) descent. This was Mary See-Emiyia Eihu.

The following is from my interview with

Kultsia-Barbara Wyss:

Joe And Mary began a family together, and she brought her two children from her previous marriage with Eihu. Joe and Mary had three children together, and raised her two children from her previous marriage, together with her three children with Joe.

Joe decided to build his home at Coal Harbour, as there was no indication that this area would later become known as the prime waterfront property in Vancouver. It was then thought of as the "edge of town". They built a little home at Coal Harbour that became fondly known as Kanaka Ranch. He and his family planted an orchard and built a few small wooden buildings that included a house and farm sheds as well as chicken coops and other housing for their farm animals. The young family had ducks, geese, chickens and pigs. They grew the food they required to live on and had farm animals that they raised and fed their family with. At some point Joe's name changed from Nahinu to Nahanee.

The following is from my interview with Kultsia-Barbara Wyss:

Our family, the "Nahanee" family, became established at Coal Harbour and set up a small farm or ranch as it came to be known.

Our family traversed between Burrard Inlet and the Fraser River by canoes in small rivers and creeks. The Brunette River was the main travel route, prior to stagecoaches and the railway.

The family was one of a few mixed families that were starting to grow in presence in the region. Asian people were migrating from China and Japan primarily, and often set up their homes close to, or sometimes on the sites of, indigenous villages. They began with gardening and then started opening small cafes to serve traditional foods from their homelands. Today there are still many cafes and restaurants that continue to exist in Native communities throughout BC, mainly Chinese food based businesses. There were several

mixed families that emerged from the indigenous and Asian communities living close together.

Interview with Kultsia-Barbara Wyss:

Fort Langley was originally set to become the capital of what was to become BC, and Victoria later became the capital city of what became known as British Columbia (BC) when the country of Canada was established.

The Asian peoples (Chinese and Japanese) were brought to BC to build the railway. The Hawaiians were brought to BC to protect the English from the local indigenous peoples.

The Hawaiians were brought to Fort Langley to protect the English from the local indigenous peoples as a result of how they had received very intense responses from local indigenous peoples from other parts of North America.

The Hawaiians were given a “more privileged welcome” than the Asian people who came to North America at this time. In fact, they were given the option to be buried in the Mountainview Cemetery that is located at Fraser St. between 31st and 41st Avenues, and between Fraser Street and Prince Edward Street. Indigenous people and, for many years, Asian people of various cultures were not given this right or privilege. There are a few Hawaiian graves that have been identified more recently by local historical researchers in Vancouver. Jolene Cummings is someone who leads very focused tours to highlight the Herstories of women who have lived in Vancouver since it was founded, and she has led tours through Mountainview Cemetery where she came across a small number of graves which she identified as being connected to Hawaiian families.

There are various elements across the city and the province that show ephemeral traces of the Hawaiians who have been travelling here over the past 160 years or more. Notably, the Kanaka Bar Indian Reserve in the Fraser Canyon and the Kanaka Bar tunnel close to this community are places that still carry these names.

This information comes from the website on the Kanaka Bar Indian Reserve:

Located 14 kilometers south of Lytton, British Columbia, Kanaka Bar Indian Band is one of 15 indigenous communities that make up the Nlaka'pamux Nation today.

Originally known as T'eqt'aqtn (the crossing place) and the residents T'eqt'aqtn'mux (the crossing place people), the community was renamed Kanaka Bar by colonial officials just after James Douglas declared the mainland colony in 1858. Today, the community and its residents choose to self-identify as Kanaka Bar, while never forgetting their indigenous history, their connection to the land and their responsibility to care for it.

Taken from the nation's website: kanakabarband.ca/about-us/our-history

Not everyone is aware of the history of the Hawaiians in the Pacific Northwest Coast, and specifically in Vancouver. The Kanaka's migration to Fort Langley by the Hudson's Bay Company has been well documented online by several sources ranging from Vancouver City archives, through to Wikipedia pages set up by various Hawaiian historians who have accumulated this information.

The following is taken from an interview with Kultsia-Barbara Wyss:

The Hawaiians were quite strong and therefore the English brought them along on their journeys due to the fact that the Hawaiians were strong enough to load and unload the heavy weights that were being carried. The local indigenous peoples were highly skilled at loading and unloading large cedars, so they were brought along to England with the Hawaiians.

Before Canada was an established country...the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) founded several forts throughout the Pacific Northwest

Coast. Salmon was one of the trade items that was brought to various other ports along the coast and out to Hawaii. It was sturgeon that was a main resource that was being harvested and sent overseas to Hawaii, due to the fact it travelled well. The stomach lining helped preserve the meat that helped them keep the meat fresh until they reached Hawaii, so it could be carried through the long journey and remain fresh through carefully storing it low in the ship's hull.

There are stories throughout British Columbia that trace the Hawaiians to a variety of locations throughout the Fraser Canyon and the Pacific Northwest Coast, such as those just mentioned. There are a number of mixed-blood families who are descendants of Hawaiians and indigenous peoples throughout BC. The family most noted for having grown in large numbers, and that has continued their acknowledgements towards this rich and beautiful mixing of indigenous cultures, is the Nahanee family. The family has grown currently to be over 1200+ and continues to increase in numbers. Many of the family members reside in the City of Vancouver and in the Districts of North and West Vancouver. There are other Nahanee family members who live in various parts of Canada and the USA, especially in scattered places throughout the Pacific Northwest Coast.

There have been cultural gatherings of the family, such as family luaus, that have focused on celebrating their Hawaiian roots, and many journeys have been made between their Coast Salish and Hawaiian homelands to continue embracing these cultures. When my daughter was 6 months old, my uncle Latash-Maurice Nahanee approached me and asked me to host a first birthday luau for my daughter, Senaqwila. I accepted this request and our family gathered to share our pride and interest in embracing and learning more about our Hawaiian roots and learning to celebrate our Hawaiian cultural alongside our Coast Salish culture. A long-time community member who married into the Skwxwu7mesh culture from Hawaii, Lei Aloha Baker, gave my daughter two beautiful Hawaiian names,

Kuu'ipo (Sweetheart) and U'alani (Teardrops from Heaven /Rain).

There are many friendships that have formed between Hawaiians and our Nahanee family members, and they have become interwoven between the cultures as a result of these journeys. Our Hawaiian Ohana (Hawaiian Family) have joined us on canoe journeys throughout the Pacific Northwest Coast on ocean-going canoes. We have found common cultural bonds that continue to weave our cultures together in beautiful ways.

Through my journeys across the big water to my other motherland, I have made many connections with the Kanaka Maoli, especially when sharing my ancestral stories of identifying as Kanaka. Recently, I was told by many Hawaiians I met in Oahu that my family are the Kanaka Maolis returning home after close to two centuries of being away. It has been quite emotional for both sides to recognize and acknowledge this. I really feel the importance of what our journeys are, as the many family and community members from the Skwxwu7mesh Nation continue to find our connections to our ancestral homelands.

It was through one of these journeys I came to learn about and visit the island of Kaho'olawe. This little island has helped me learn many great elements of my Hawaiian culture. There are so many layers I have unearthed and discovered about my Hawaiian roots. I have developed a deeper appreciation for Hawaii and the Kanaka Maoli. My connections have grown with other people from my Skwxwu7mesh community members sharing their personal stories of their journeys to Hawaii.

My dear friend and a cultural leader in our community, Sahplek-Bob Baker, shared stories of his early years in Hawaii, when he left the cold, wet, urbanized environment of our traditional lands and waters in North Vancouver to go live in Hawaii and learn his family stories of Hawaiians and to embrace the beauty of that culture.

Bob was living in Hawaii in the mid-1980s. He lived and worked there for close to 25 years. Bob became involved in the Kahana Canoe Club, which is located by Lahaina on the Island of Maui.

It was through involvement in this club that he wound up becoming part of the

early reconnections between the Hawaiian Sovereignty movement members and later with the return and the reclamation of the island of Kaho'olawe. The Hawaiians had begun their pilgrimages to Kaho'olawe in 1976, and many regular trips began happening between Maui and Kaho'olawe.

The following is from an interview with Bob Baker:

I became involved with PKO during the time I worked for the American Indian Center in Honolulu...and through one of the leaders who was in Ocean Plant Studies at University of Hawaii, Manoa. When I moved to Maui in early '80s, I got word from David Bell that an access was scheduled, so I got in touch with the PKO leader and asked how I could help. That's how I learned of the need for canoes to do landings and to be used for inspection tours around the waters of Kaho'olawe.

Bob shared with me that he was approached by some of the founding members of a group known as the PKO: Protect Kaho'olawe Ohana. He was asked about the outrigger canoes he was helping to maintain and the club activities, which included short and long trips throughout the archipelago of Hawaii.

It was through his involvement in the canoe club that he was able to join the Hawaiian sovereignists in journeying to Kaho'olawe regularly. And when they travelled there, amongst the many activities and intentions of the people were included ceremonies that were especially challenging to conduct on the other islands. This was mainly due to urbanization and the overflowing levels of tourism that have been increasingly the biggest challenge to indigenous Hawaiians being able to live their true cultural lives without being followed by tourists and having their sacred ceremonies photographed.

The Hawaiians share a ceremonial practice in all of the islands that they are rarely allowed to practice due to the fact that it involves them walking from one part of the island to the other, and stopping at specific sites to recognize their family ties to each

section of the land they are walking on. Bob was witness to a few of these ceremonies on Kaho'olawe, and was able to personally take part in the beauty of how that ceremony has incredible spiritual effects on the people taking part in it. He was also witness to the shrines being built and learning firsthand what the intentions of these sacred shrines are. These are recorded memories of Bob Baker from his early days in Hawaii in the 1980s, particularly as he came to be involved in the journeys to the island of Kaho'olawe. He spent 25 years living in Hawaii and most of that time was spent being involved in the outrigger canoe culture in Lahaina on Maui.

The following is an excerpt from an interview I did with Bob.

Sahplek-Bob Baker: Kaho'olawe Island memories:

It was in the early 1980s in Oahu, where I sat down with a Kahuna who shared important info with me about Kaho'olawe. He told me that the name Kaho'olawe was only one part of a long sentence that translates to "the Fetus of Kanaloa" and how "it is fed by Maui and the rain that forms above that island, and reaches out to send rain clouds to Kaho'olawe" to feed the watershed there. The island topography is too low to attract rain clouds and so it requires assistance from the sister islands.

I became further involved in the movement with the locals in travelling over the island through my involvement in the canoe club when I moved to Maui. I think it was David Bell (a Heiltsuk friend who had been living in Hawaii, and still lives there) who connected me to the grassroots movements who were talking about going over to Kaho'olawe more and more. He said that he had heard that there was need for canoes and canoe pullers to assist in gaining regular access to the island, and that they required non-motorized vessels to do this because of the live ordnance which is resting on the ocean floor surrounding the island.

Our trips to Kaho'olawe were based in the grassroots movement, and this is how it began. I learned about the irrigation systems they were building and how they worked to catch rain and how the Hawaiians were setting up this irrigation system and a water tank. It has hoses attached to spread out the water they would catch in order to feed into the plant life they brought to the island to fight the erosion caused by the goats, the wind and the lack of natural water resources, which had been destroyed through the test bombing.

We would go over and clean up and see what kind of things the military was up to. We would do beach clean-ups and we would clean up messes the military left around the island. We would assess what was going on at Kaho'olawe and we did ceremonies.

The Makahiki is the ceremony that happens during the harvest time from October to February. There is no fighting, and no battles that are happening this time. It is a time of peace, the time to harvest foods. It is the time of Lono.

The Makahiki is a day-long ceremony that requires those participating in it to stay with the group for the entire day.

There are two Heiaus, a Fisherman's Heiau and a Woman's Heiau. The women have their own part of the ceremony, their own agenda. They do a ceremonial kind of bathing in the ocean before they begin. The women do their bathing on a set day, then there is another set day for the next series of ceremonies. We all began at daybreak and then we paid homage to the gods at the Fisherman's Heiau and gave offerings to the shrines built for them. We would give gifts to Lono, and ask for support and protection from Lono.

Then we began walking across the

island. We walked to the next spot, where the navigator's chair is located. We would arrive there and take off anything that was from the modern era, specifically jewelry, watches, etc., and set those aside to continue our work there. We would put our gifts on the big rock table there and the Kahuna would be sharing songs and chants during our ceremonies at this location. The Kahuna would guide us through this work. No pictures were allowed to be taken, no recordings of any kind. When I witnessed this on my first time, at high noon, there were no boats, no planes, nothing to signify that it was a modern time, and it made my hair stand up on the back of my neck! I only saw a pod of whales swimming and jumping in the far distance towards the islands of Lanai, Molokai and Maui. That went on for close to an hour while the ceremony was taking place. It made us all take notice, and feel the power of the ceremony to transport us back in time.

Next we marched from there to the navigational shrine, and this was our final part of the ceremony. The walk to the navigational shrine took us a few hours to walk to. It is the most incredible part of the island, in that it is the point from which canoes, outriggers, and other vessels would take off and head to Tahiti. The Hawaiians and Tahitians still use this ancient system to depart from and arrive at, and this was how the Tahitians originally came to arrive in the Hawaiian archipelago and raid the villages. There is a small canoe, about 4 feet long, and about 1 foot wide, that is used to send off the gifts to Lono into the ocean, bound for Tahiti.

The day we did this ceremony, we sent out the small canoe by sending some of the group out to launch it in the water. They swam it out into the current that heads out towards Tahiti. The canoe was filled with foods, and gifts for the spirits and the God, Lono, and as it floated into

the blue and orange horizon that filled the sky with its bright hues, there was a sudden streak of black that appeared, and it sat on the horizon...A black line coming from the direction of where the canoe was going...It appeared as the canoe seemed to disappear. There were no clouds and it was all clear and there was a black streak that held onto the horizon for what seemed like hours, and yet it was a few minutes. It gave us all chicken skin! We all sat in awe witnessing the moment and understanding that our gifts were received, and that the God, Lono, was grateful.

We wound down our day sipping ava, (a drink that makes you all numb!) and singing songs and chants to complete the day. The drink is meant to clear your mind and relax you. It is used to calm you and keep you from thinking and feeling anything heavy. It works really well! My Hawaiian friends will often serve that to me when I return for visits to Hawaii.

The Makahiki Ceremony takes up to 12 hours from start to finish, and is a beautiful ceremony that ties the people, the land, the water and the air together whilst connecting the human and the spiritual worlds together. The incredible work of the Kahunas who lead these ceremonies is an intrinsic element in the work that takes place. They guide the people along through their journey from shore to shore on the island, taking the time to acknowledge the deities, the elements and the people.

It has been 40+ years since the first Hawaiians set foot back on the island of Kaho'olawe after being forced off the island for close to 160 years. Those brave young surfers, the young warriors who took to the waves on their surfboards—George Helm and Kimo Mitchell—made their way back to the shores their ancestors were banished from. Despite the fact that the island became a desert filled with invasive plant and animal species on land and in the waters, and despite the dangers of the bombs above and below the water line, this island has become

a beacon of Hope in a very challenging time for the Hawaiian people. Historically, since the bombs and missiles began being tested on Kaho'olawe, there have been many signs planted on the shorelines around the entire island. George and Kimo went missing during one of their frequent trips to the island, mostly by surfing there. Eventually the searches were called off and their bodies were never retrieved. The spiritual beliefs of the Hawaiians are that the spiritual deity of the island took them and has held onto them since. They are forever enveloped in the arms of their ancestors.

“The effort to retake Kaho'olawe would eventually claim the lives of George Helm and Kimo Mitchell.”
[<https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kahoolawe>]

When the ranchers who once inhabited the island from the era of the English colonial occupancy departed, they left behind ephemeral traces, such as roads and other scars on the land. They also abandoned numerous goats, which were left to the military to deal with after the American colonization and occupancy of Hawaii occurred.

Leading up to and after World War II, the Americans became entrenched in the Hawaiian Islands. They began occupying every island including Kaho'olawe. They saw the scarred remnants of an island that was decimated by the ranchers and their livestock. The cattle did not fare well, but the goats managed to survive despite the lack of plant life (due mainly to their insatiable grazing) and later they continued to survive despite the fact that for several decades the US Military was testing bombs and missiles on and around the island.

The island became a target and testing zone for the US Military to use for blowing up missiles and planting land mines in areas around sacred sites and vulnerable wetlands, and has since been referred to as “The Target Island” on most tourist maps.

It was only after the Hawaiians managed to take control of the island through the many years of sovereign actions by many indigenous Hawaiians—most of whom are either passed on or handing over the next

era of this work to the upcoming generations of their future ancestors—that the invasive goats are no longer found on the island.

The military were told by the Hawaiians to take the goats and leave the island for good. Since the goats had multiplied from the original 20 to 20,000+, the task to remove them was challenging. The US Military used a strange and violently offensive maneuver known as “Operation Judas Goat” to deal with the goats. This tactic involved capturing two male alpha goats and spray-painting them neon orange. The goats were then set free to roam about the island looking for herds to follow them. Every time the goats formed a herd, the military swooped down in helicopters and had soldiers armed with high-powered weapons, mainly aka47's, shoot them down from the helicopters, leaving the alpha males alive until all the goats were killed off.

Although the goats were all killed off, there are other animals who continue to threaten the natural ecosystem of the island, namely the feral cats, which are virtually impossible to track or trap. They continue to kill off many wild birds who live on the island and the migrating sea birds that frequent the island.

There are many invasive plant species that were intentionally and unintentionally introduced to the island that have taken root and somehow survived the extremely windy climate there. There are no longer internal springs that flow through the island as a result of the test bombings that took place. The endless work that thousands of volunteers in many capacities have attempted to work through in restoring the island has become extremely burdensome and often results in failing to attain noticeable results.

Yet, despite the hardships this beautiful tiny island has endured, it has continued to represent a level of hope for the Hawaiians of many generations, due to the few incredibly positive elements it has symbolized. The stories range from the early pilgrimages of those sovereignists in the 1970s, and the formation of the PKO (Protect Kaho'olawe Ohana), through to the continued work of building spiritual and cultural shrines throughout the island. Stories—from the study of ancient petroglyphs found there by the indigenous Hawaiians, to incredible stories such as the ethnobotanist

who discovered a small green plant on a rock outcrop off the southwest coast of Kaho'olawe, and which resulted in bringing back a plant thought to be extinct, and to the many ethnobotanists who continue to seek ways of restoring the island's plants and ecosystems—continue to grow. The formation of the next generation of ceremonial and cultural activists—both individual indigenous Hawaiians and the members of the new organization known as the KIRC (Kaho'olawe Island Reserve Commission)—ensure that Kaho'olawe will always be the birthplace of spirituality, reclamation and the many ancient and newly discovered treasures and myths of Hawaii. The island known as the unborn or stillborn baby of The God, Kanaloa, is a cultural treasure that all indigenous Hawaiians hold close their hearts.

There are many crossovers and similarities in the stories of the Kanakas who left the shores of Oahu and landed on the shores of the Pacific Northwest Coast, and those who were forced off the shores of the island of Kaho'olawe. The removal of the Kanakas from both of these sacred Homes are the cultural and spiritual threads that weave these stories together. The return of the descendants of the Ohana—the Kanakas—to Kaho'olawe, and the return of the Kanakas—the Ohana—from the Pacific Northwest Coast to the many shores of the islands of Hawaii is a powerful interwoven story of reclamation. I feel honoured, in the most humble of ways, to bear witness to these events that are unfolding. To be able to hear stories from many people who have ties to these stories and lands, and to sense the power in these stories of returning to Home, give our people a strong sense of hope and empowerment for our future ancestors that are yet to come.

Gertrude Guerin Hall Nahanee

Gertrude grew up in North Vancouver on the Squamish Mission Reserve Number 1. Gertrude's mother, Mary Jane was a Squamish Band Member. Mary Jane married William Nahanee I.

Mary Jane and Gertrude became a part of the large extended Nahanee family. In her youth, Gertrude met and listened to Andrew Paul, Chief Joe Capilano and Peter Kelly. These three men, who fought for native rights and issues, were part of the great leaders of native people in their day.

Gertrude married Victor Guerin of the Musqueam Band. They had four children: Delbert, Beverly, Glen and Beryl. In 1953, they moved their family to Musqueam. In later years, Gertrude became chief of the Musqueam reserve and accomplished many things for her people. She had a loud voice, determination and strength of character during her public life.

Gertrude was a founder of the Vancouver Indian Center and worked for many years as the Executive Director and board member.



Gertrude



Mary Jane

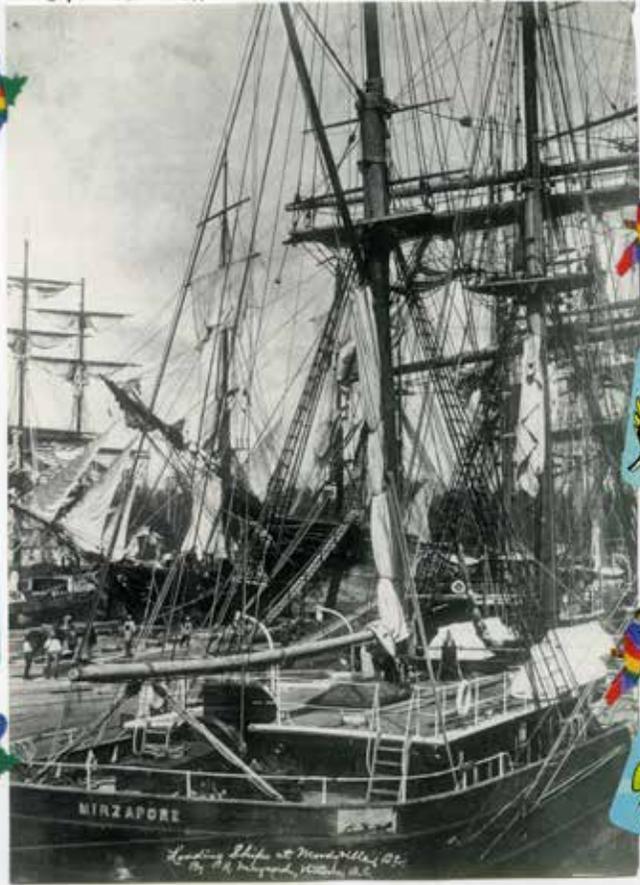
About 1958, the Church encouraged the Squamish people to participate in Canoe races such as were held in pre-contact times



There were about 10 tribes participating and it was magnificent to see the racing canoes.

Type of Ship Joe Nahanee came to B.C. in.

Also type
of ship
William I
Nahanee
worked on.

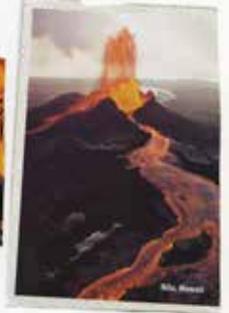


William Nahanee I

Hawaii



He looks
like
Kamehame ha III



Mary See-em-ia Nahanee

Mary See-em-ia of Homulcheson (Capilano Reserve) is a direct descendant of the families, who in their canoes, greeted Captain Vancouver, on June 12, 1792, in the first narrows, Burrard Inlet. She, like her father, Kwei-a-a-neve, a pure Squamish, lived at the Katzie Reserve, Pig Meadows. See-em-ia was a Winter Spiritual Dancer, following in her father's footsteps. Mary married a Hawaiian, Eihu at Fort Langley (date unknown). They had one daughter, Maggie Eihu.

Mary helped raise her grand daughter, Minnie, daughter of Maggie. They were living at the Kanaka Ranch at the time. Minnie remembers that her grandmother always talked English. Mary had small feet and always wore boots and a hat. She would always tell Minnie to try and do like the Whiteman did, copy him, because they knew a lot. "Do not be like a Swash, you know how it is."

Mary had lived at the Kanaka Ranch, located at 1789 Georgia St., Vancouver with Eihu and Joe Nahanees. Joe and Mary had two children, Lucy and William. Mary had lived there since 1869. She raised her children there and her grandchildren. A man named Morton had in fact preempted the land in the area known as Coal Harbour. He went to court to have the people at the Kanaka Ranch moved and he lost the case.

In October 1st, 1899, Mary Eihu wrote a letter to the Mayor and city council. She talked about her and her husband squatting on a piece of land fronting on Coal Harbor in the year 1869. The land had 400 feet frontage on Georgia Street, thence running north to the waterfront. The letter is attached to this story. Mary and her family were being forced from the land and she asked the city council for protection. Mary won the right to stay on the land forever. However, the terms were that the land could not be sold or given to anyone else. Mary did not receive a deed to the land, only the right to live there.

In her later years, See-em-ia would each spring, take care of the vegetable gardens of her three offspring. Mary See-em-ia is buried in the Capilano cemetery, West Vancouver.



11121 Captain Vancouver Enters Burrard Inlet, (1792), ...

36

K'welanexw lived at Katzie Indian Reserve although he was a Squamish Native

See-em-ia was also Squamish Woman, a descendent of Khahtsilano [his name has many spellings]

K'welanexw
— father of Seemia.

Mary See-em-ia ^{Wm.}
first married Eihu
at Ft. Langley.
she then married
Joe Nihw

Margaret Eihu
1857 - Apr. 26/25
Parents:
See-em-ia
and Eihu

Lucy Nahanee
1863 - Aug. 20/33
Parents were
Joe Nahanee
+ Mary See-em-ia

William Nahanee
Mar. 15/72 - 6/12/46
Parents were
Joe Nahanee
+ See-em-ia

* See-em-ia and William Eihu moved from Ft. Langley to Vancouver.

37

Sister of

~~William~~ William Nahanee

→ Mother, Sister, Aunt.



Lucy Smith
(nee)
Nahanee

Capilano Indian Reserve # 5, around 1905

list of buildings

1. Techuzáan, Old Man Comey
2. Corporal Charley and (2nd) wife Molly
3. Tommy Chonik and wife Smesáat
4. Lala L' and wife Xuyim
5. Mathias Joe (old home) and wife Ellen
6. 2nd Hand house and wife
7. Johnny Baker and wife Susan
8. Church
9. Billy Sporn and wife Marianne
10. Jimmy Antoine and his wife Agatha
11. Shack
12. Tuma (Tommy), and wife Christina
13. S'apálek and wife Agnes Liswelut
14. Ned, Chief Edward Joseph and wife Susan
15. Liswelut (4 = 13)
16. Longhouse owned by Ned and Xiyáyo'k
17. Lucy Smith and husband Louis Smith ←
18. Chelametsot and wife
19. Benjamin or Andrew Cottraco and wife Catherine
20. T'ets'ámet, Bummer Jack and wife
21. Charley Reid and wife
22. Christine Jack

Lucy worked
- Cannery
- water treatment



Margaret's family and descendents

Margaret Eihu married Ben McCord, Children:

- 1) Minnie May 1/10/1877-31/8/37
- 2) Maud 1878-1881
- 3) Joseph C. 1881-16/5/1908



Minnie married R.D. Smith

- children: 1) Albert C. 18/1/1895
- 2) Edith - 2/7/1897
- 3) Florence died 1929



Edith m. Mr. Rennie children: 1) June - 1919 2) William - 1921

Margaret married Daniel McPhee

- children: 1) Donald - 1901-1908 2) Irene -

Irene had a son Norman McPhee



Margaret married Sam Gurney. They had a son - Russell. Russell had a daughter: Teri O'Leary (nee Gurney)



Minnie McCord: an interview recorded by the Archivist, 8th of February, 1937

Mrs. Smith [nee McCord] was the only child of Benjamin Cameron and Margaret McCord, pioneers of Coal Harbour. Her parents and grandparents settled on about three acres of land at the foot of Denison Street in very early days. They appear to be the 1st settlers—other than Mr. Morton, in that region of the "West End". It is stated three acres were originally re-empted, but in the final settlement, made in 1895, they secured one lot only, 66 feet by 125 feet, being the north east corner of Georgia and Denison Street, and numbered 1789 Georgia Street West, and sold to a Mr. Crane, for use as a shipyard, for \$21,500.00

When she was interviewed by the City Archivist on July 20th, 1936, Minnie said that her maternal grandfather, Mr. Eibu, a Hawaiian, worked for the Hudson's Bay Co., at Langley Fort. He and [Seem-ia], a chief's daughter were married by the Factor at Fort Langley.

Minnie McCord presented the family bible of her grandfather, Eibu to the City Archives on April 2nd, 1937. The bible is written in the Hawaiian language and was one of the first bibles in Gastown.

"My own mother did not look after me very much, I was really brought up by my grandmother at the ranch on Coal Harbour [Kanaka Ranch]. She was really a lovely woman, everyone loved her, pure Indian of course. Grandmother always talked English, she has such small feet and she always wore boots, and a hat, and she used to tell me to try and do like the whiteman did, copy him, because he knew a lot, and not "be like a Sraush". You know how it is."

My half-sister Maud and I went down to see the train come in, a great big arch at the foot of Granville Street (erected by the CPR) [sic] made of evergreens, and I said to my sister, "Let's get beside this big arch, we'll be safe here; they won't knock that down; we'll be safe here in case the engine goes off the track and they won't run over us." "So, we got under the big evergreen arch, and peeped through the evergreens at the train coming in." To recall it now, it's so funny for anything, but then, well, we had seen lots of work trains, but it was the first passenger train we had seen, and we hardly knew what to expect.

My sister, Maud (McCord) is buried at Brockton Point; I can just remember her funeral. I was then about four years old, so it must have been 1881. Father put a little picket fence around her grave, and he made a little headboard, with a round (half circle) top; it was painted white. It must have my sister's name on it because I remember one day when I was at school down at the Hastings Sawmill school, a girl said to me "I see your name (McCord) on a grave board in Stanley Park."

Minnie, her mother and friends were at their home in Coal Harbour the day of the Great Fire in Vancouver on June 13th, 1886. They witnessed the remains of the fire at the end of the day. They had spent the day putting flowers on the graves at Brockton Point.

Genealogy: [I] have son, Albert C. Smith, who lives at 1626 North West Everett St. Portland, Oregon; he is quite a hockey player. He was born at 1789 Georgia Street in 1895.

My daughter's name is Edith, now Mrs. William Rennie, born the same place, the year of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee (1897); and Mrs. Florence Dean Smith, she married a man of the same name; she died in Shanghai in 1929. She was getting ready to come home to see me, and waiting for the "Empress", when she died, it was a terrible blow.

My grandchildren are June Rennie, i.e., born Selkirk, Man, and now about seventeen, and William Rennie, also born Selkirk, now about fifteen.



Minnie McCord (Smith)

3rd Generation Nahanees

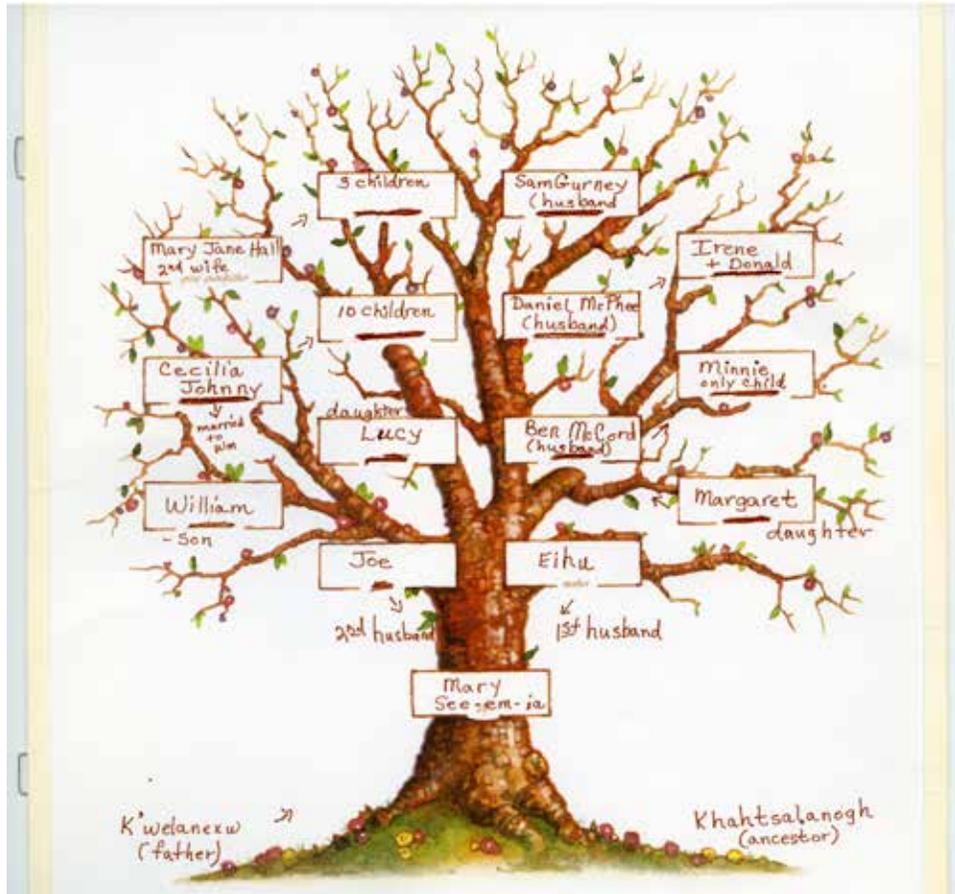
Ed →

Maud

Bill

Ben





42

Seem-ia fights for her land

C. L. ...
...
November 1st 1929

To the Mayor
and City Council
Dear Sirs:

I, and my husband residing on a piece of land
fronting on Coal Harbor in the year 1878.

My husband took out his naturalization papers
in the District of Columbia on the 15th day of August in the year
1878, and resided on the land until the time of his death.
We had a boy and a girl born on the land, who are now married,
and living with their families on said land and have been
living on the land continuously since the time of their birth.

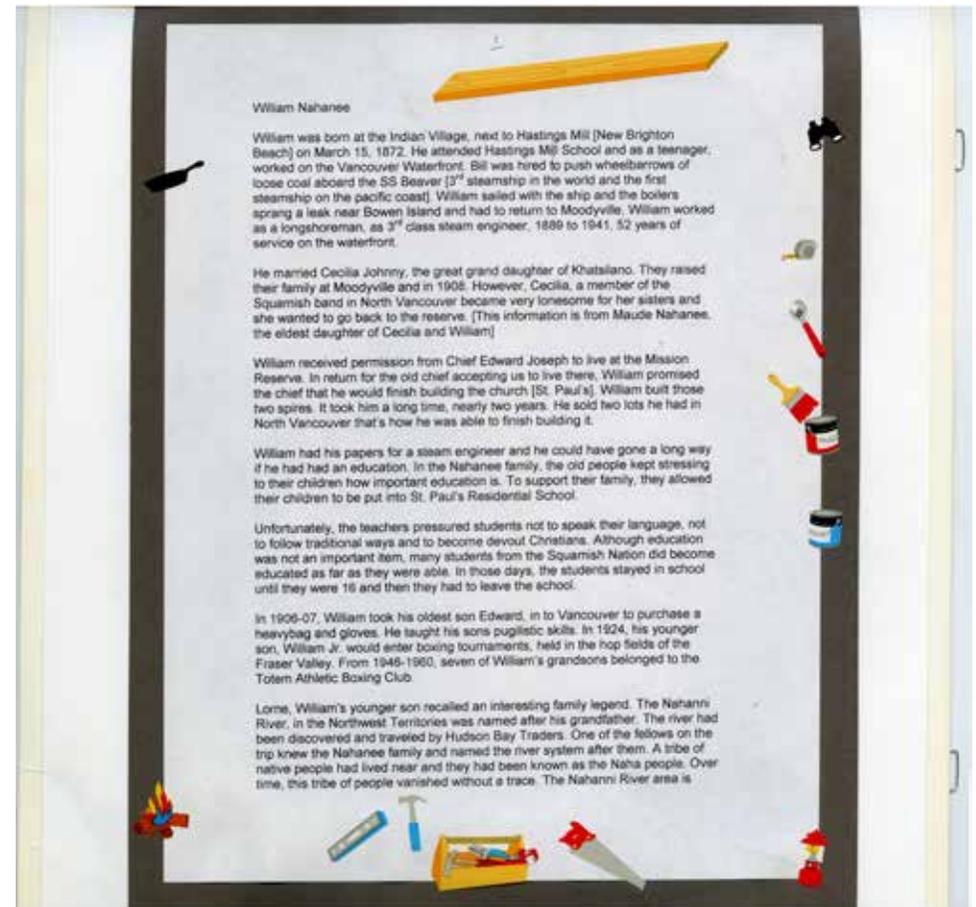
The land is situated on George Street with about
400 feet frontage on said street, thence running north to the
waterfront on Coal Harbor, thence street continues to Coal
Harbor would go through the center of the property. About
four years ago a real estate dealer tried to dispossess me
and my family off the said estate, and took the matter to the
courts, whereas the judge of the Supreme Court held in this
city on the 23rd day of July 1919, sustained our quarter's
rights.

Notwithstanding the fact of the verdict of the
high court concerning our title to said land said real
estate dealer has broken down our fences, destroyed portions
of our timber, and taken possession of five acres of our
land, and on September the 21st last Sunday, they destroyed
and burned 3 of our dwelling houses, and consequently has
left none of the family in destitute circumstances.

Said real estate dealers have erected a board
fence round the property, and are advertising the land for
sale, and we ask as common citizens from the City officials
to grant us their protection.

MARY HILL
Her Mark

43



*St. Paul's
- Wm. built
the two Spires*




famous for places called Deadmen's Valley and Headless Valley. This legend arose when gold prospectors went in to these valleys. A few months later, their bodies floated down the river minus their heads. Today, the Nahanni River system is world famous for wilderness river trips and is designated a World Heritage Site.

As a final note, William's pastime pursuits included construction, strip-planking rowboats and building miniature sailing ships and inserting the model inside of bottles. William also owned and operated a grocery store at 100 Bewicks, North Vancouver.

As a hunter, William traversed the mountains from Deep Cove to Horseshoe Bay, long before trails were built. He instilled within his sons not waste bullets and most importantly to share the game and fowl, with the old people and those not able to hunt. His sons and later descendants carried on this tradition.

As shown in the family genealogy, William was married several times after his first wife, Cecilia died. William's direct descendants who are still alive include David, Rena and Glen. We are fortunate to have them still with us, so that we may learn more about William Nahanee I.



Prospect Point. 26 July 1901, unveiling walking beam, S.S. "Beaver"
The historic S.S. "Beaver" was wrecked on Prospect Point, 26 July 1901. In 1921, the ruins salvaged one of her four side levers of walking beam. His wife preserved it, and 20 years later gave it to Major Matthews. Mr. Nahanee, Indian, was one of her crew, and, at the time, told of his escape from the wreck. Port, Esq. (London)

*This land is at N.E. corner of Georgia + Denman St.
Vancouver, BC*

*Kanaka Ranch.
1st family
Home of
The Nahanees*



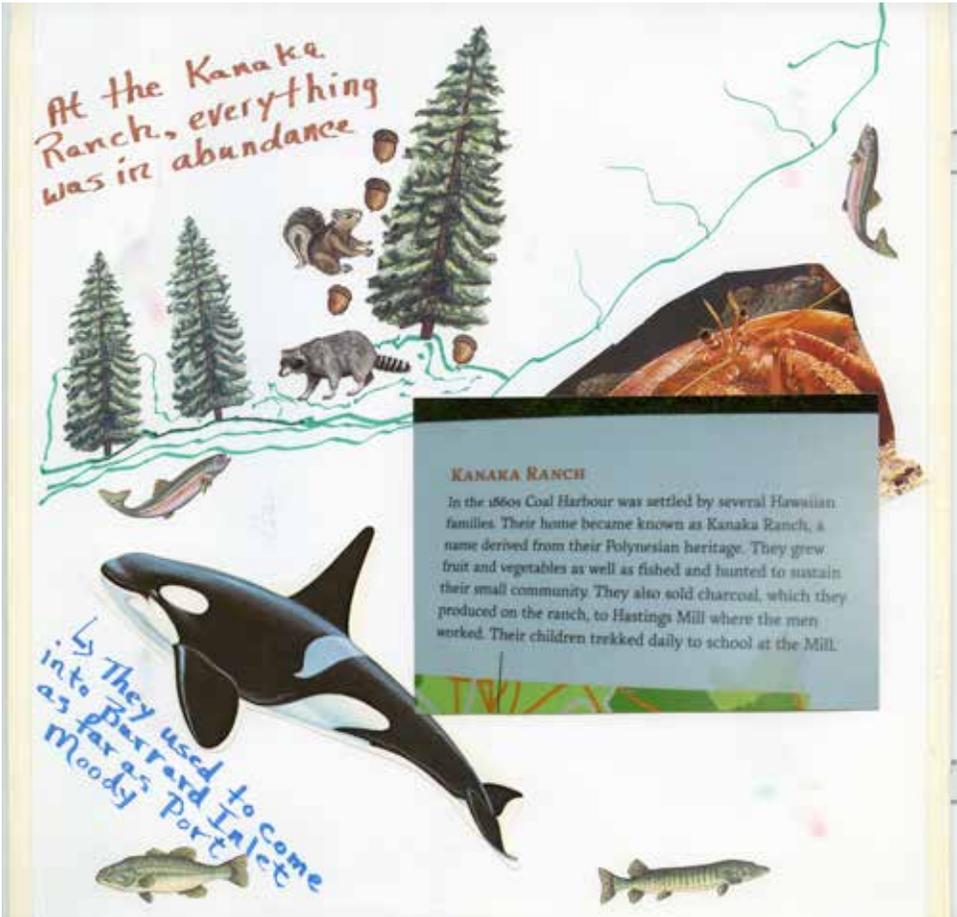


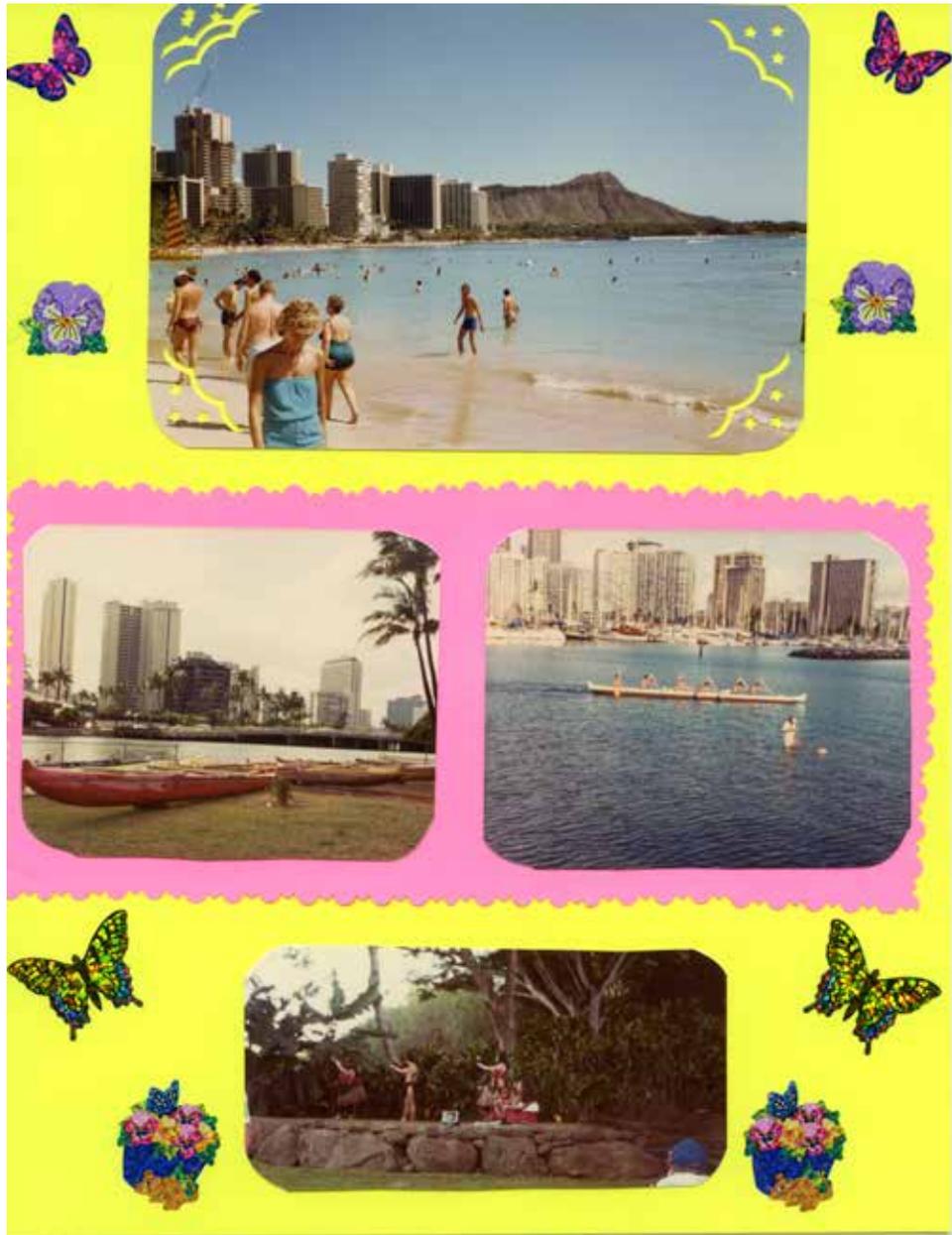




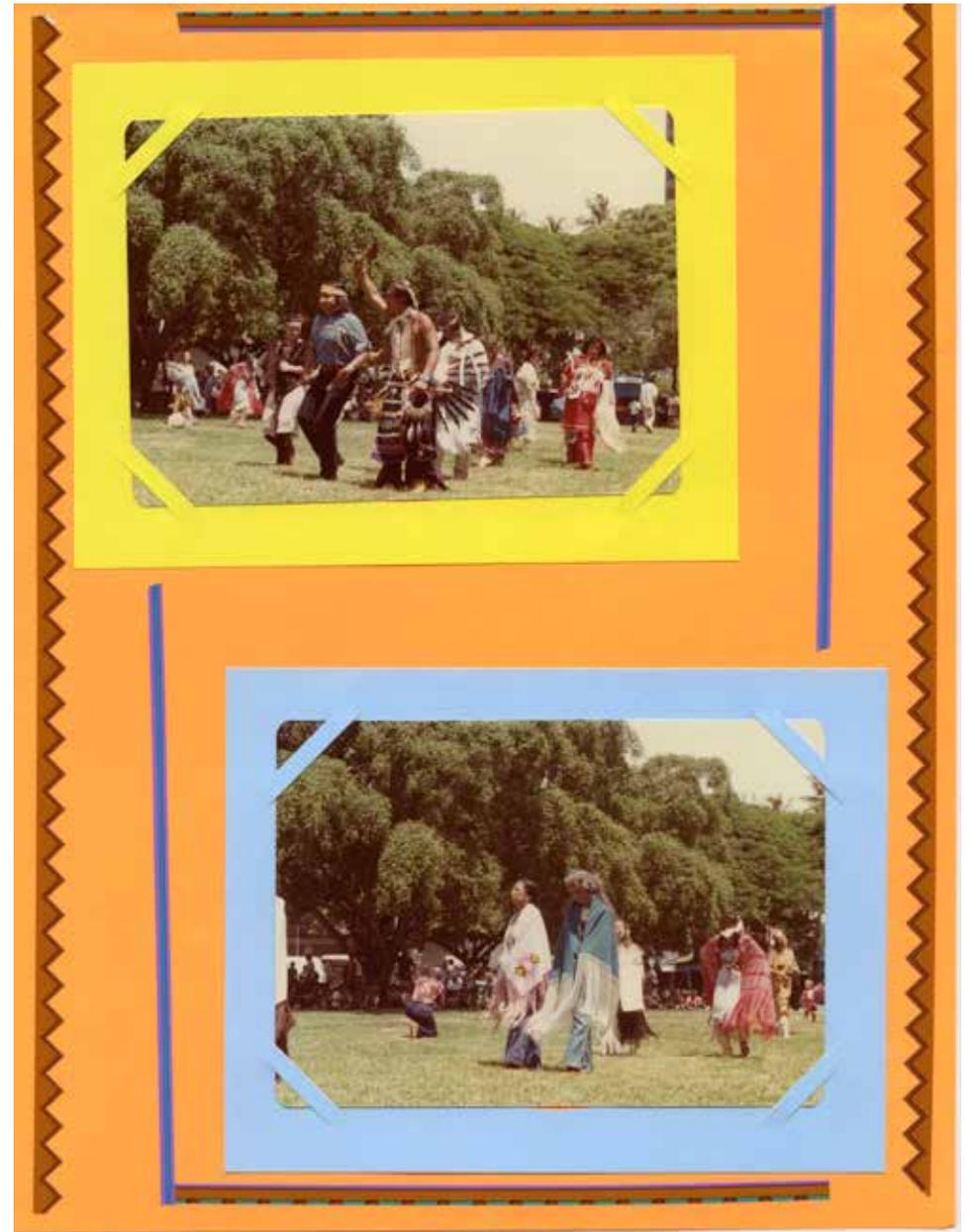


"Our buildings were not much, just a couple of small houses on the beach beside a creek. My mother planted apples from seed, and they grew into fine trees bearing such enormous apples, as big as soccer, and we had lots of goodberries. No, we were not "on relief" (and Mrs. Smith laughed), we had (with emphasis) EVERYTHING, lots of fish and game."

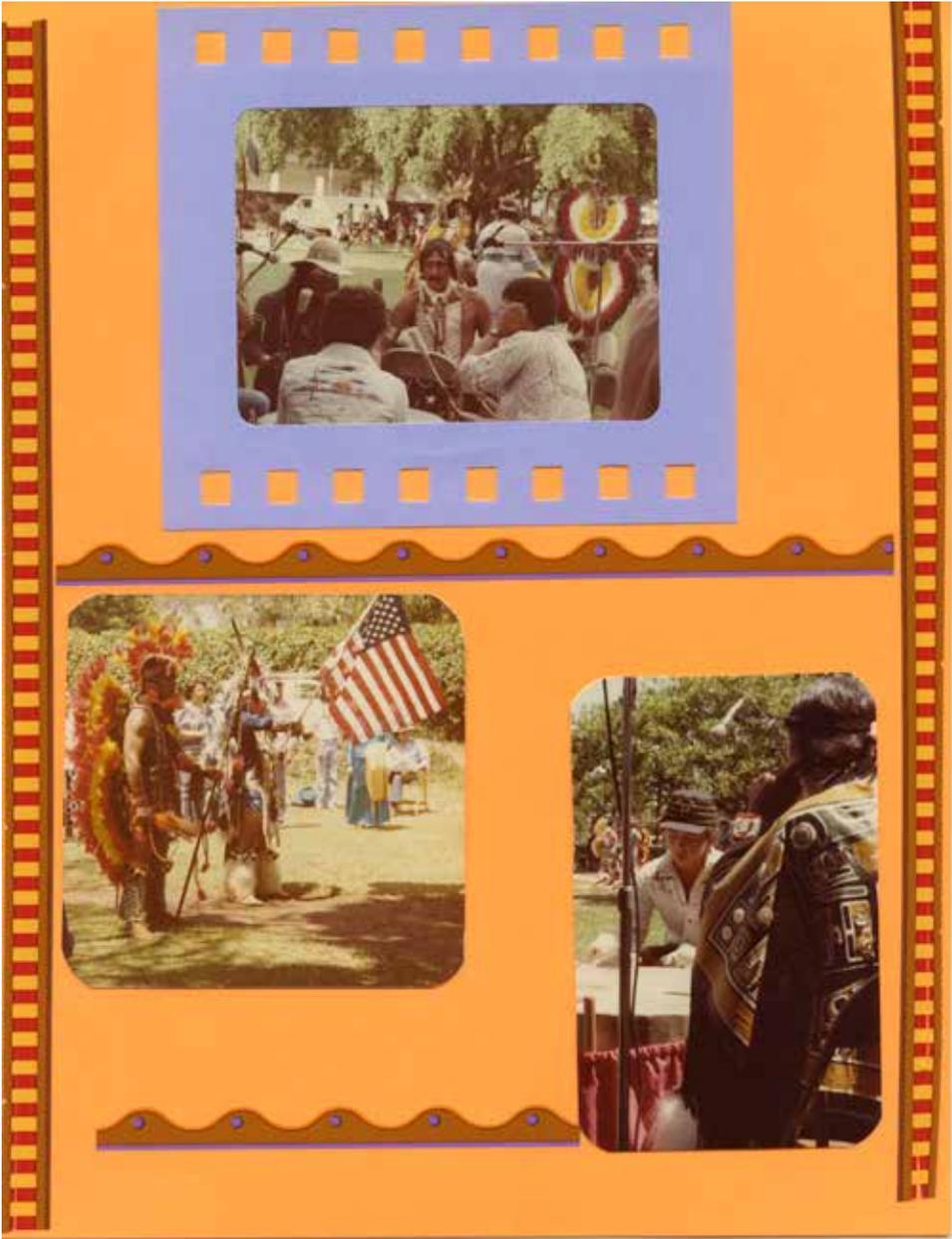




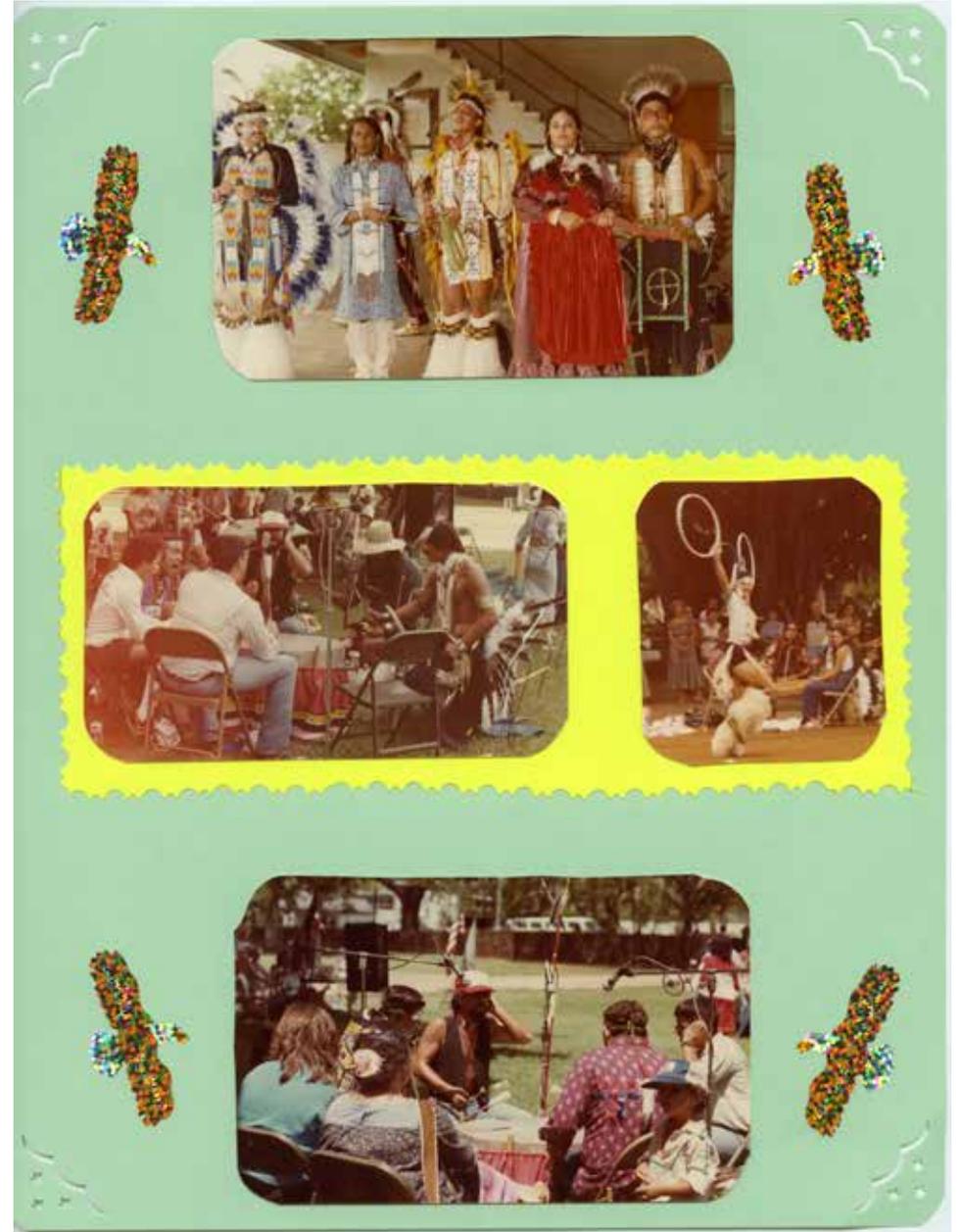
50



51



52



53



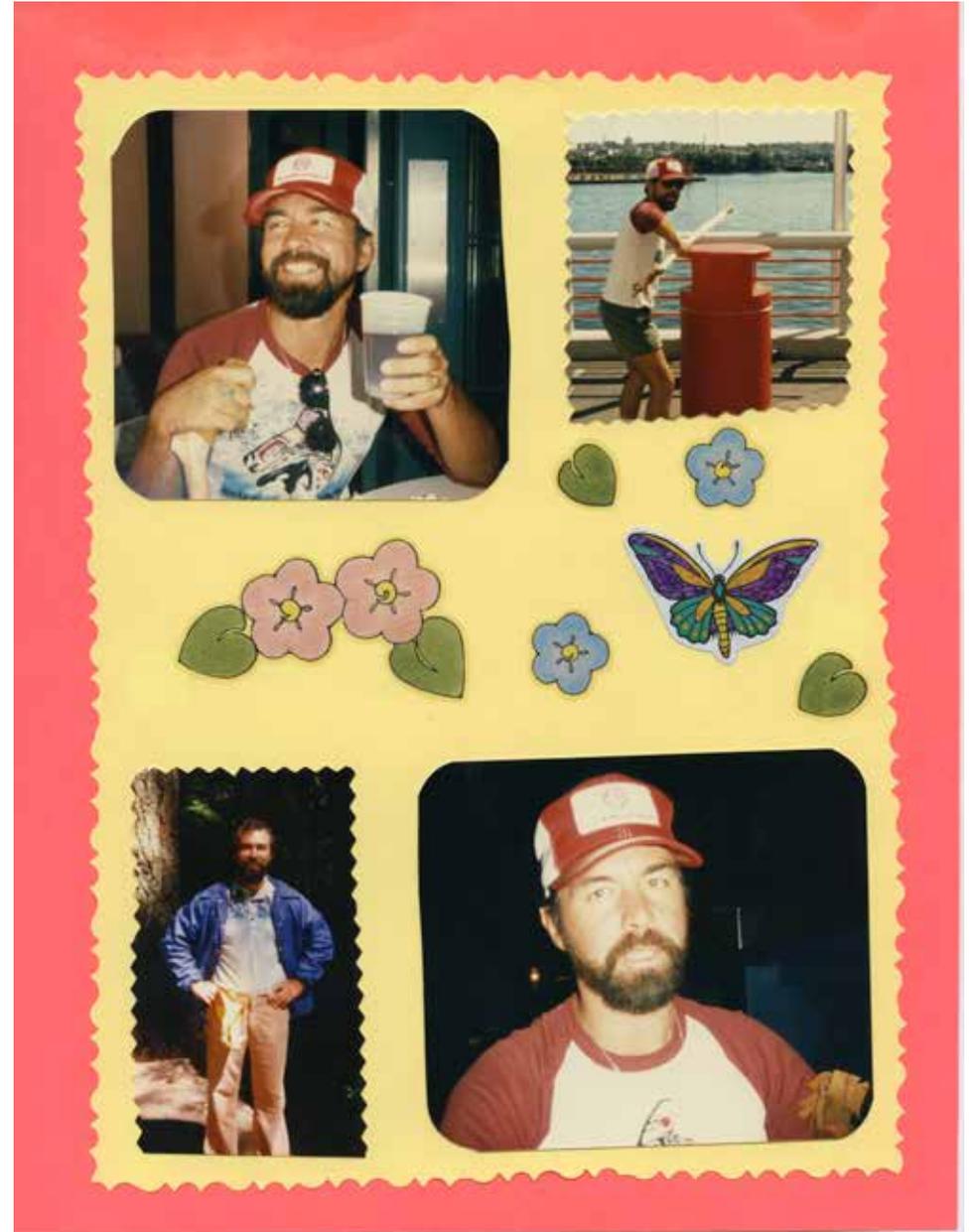
54



55



56



57



58



59



60



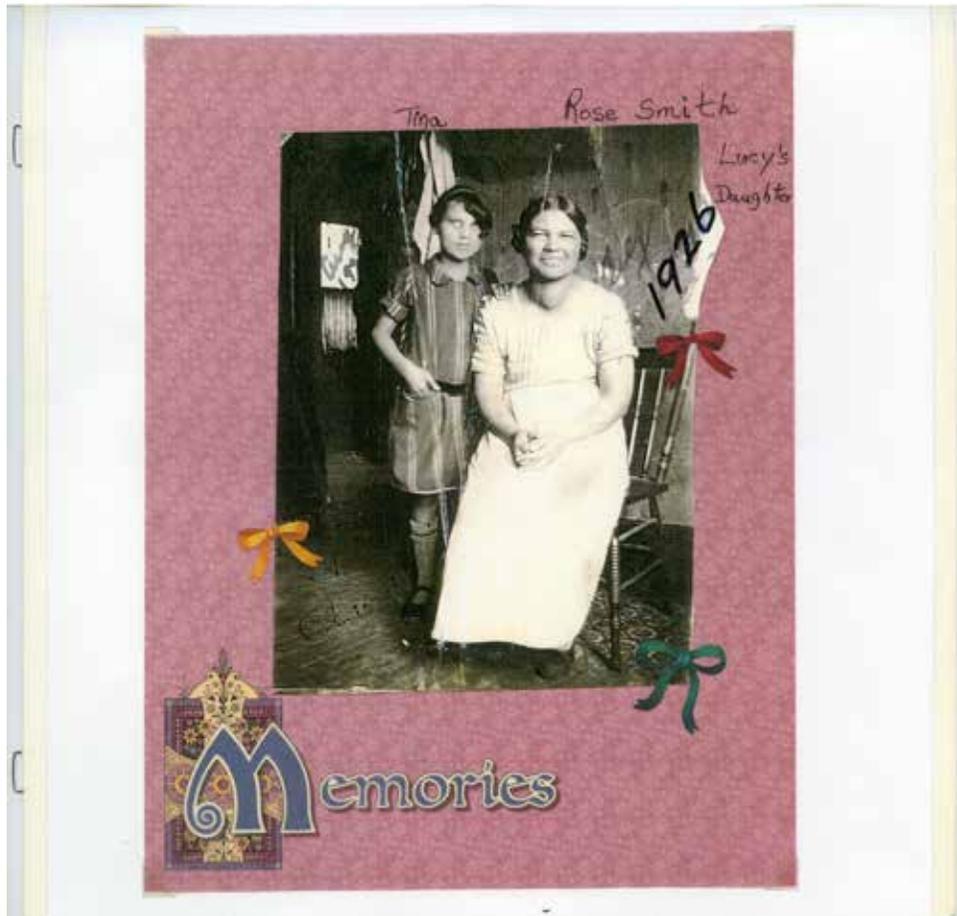
61



62



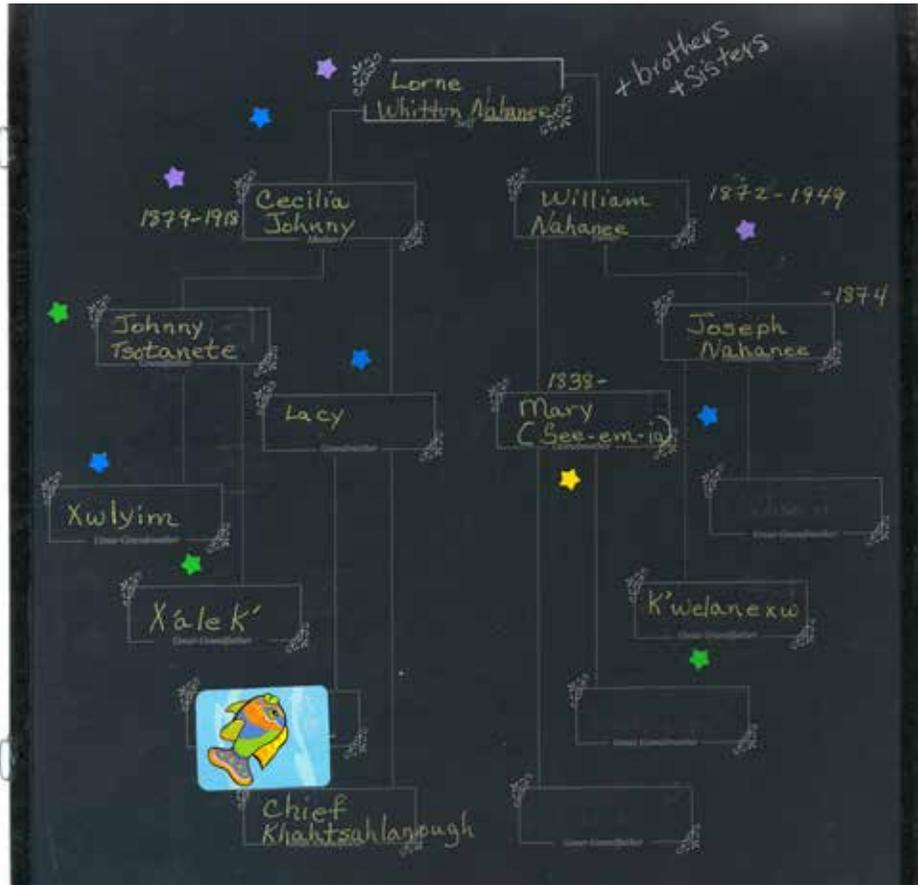
63



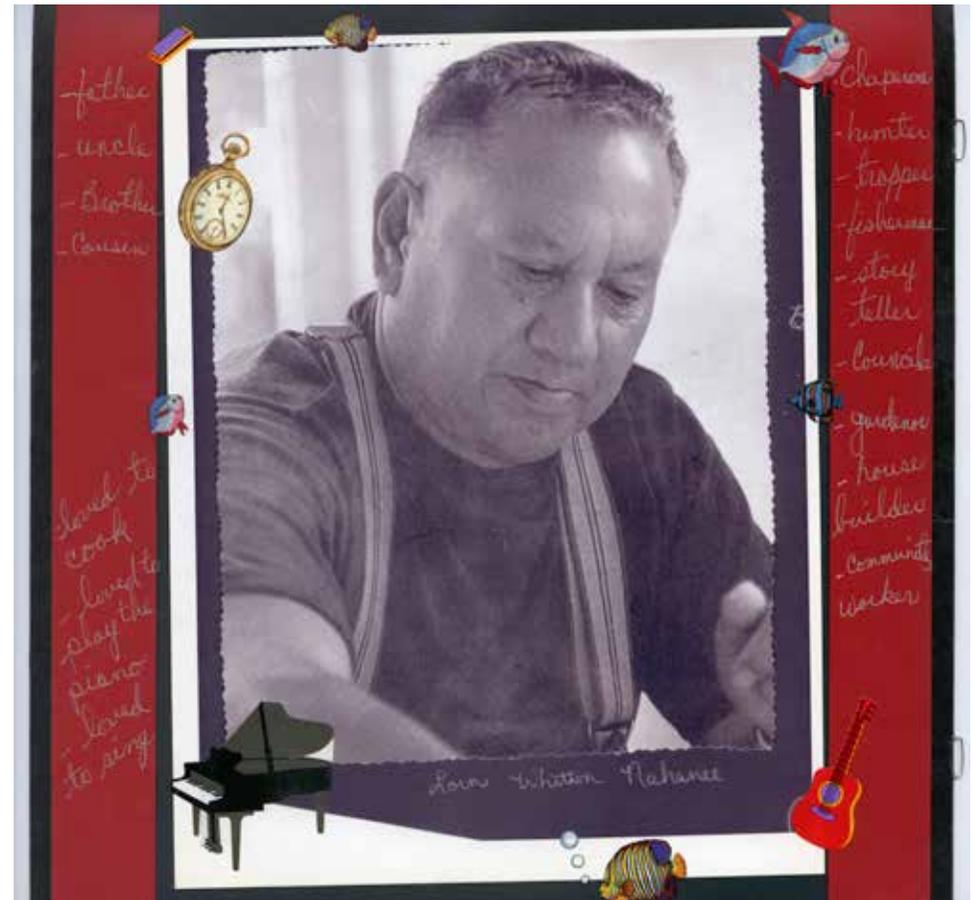
66



67



68



69

Captain James Cook dropped anchor at Waimea Harbor in the Hawaiian island of Kaua'i on January 20, 1778. Two months later he reached Nootka Sound on the Northwest Coast of North America and thereby became the first European to visit both the Islands, which he named the Sandwich Islands, and the Pacific Northwest. Less than a decade later Hawaiians began traveling from the Islands to the Northwest Coast. Among the first non-Europeans to do so, they tell a different story about the post-contact years in the Hawaiian Islands than do the usual histories. These men and women repeatedly acted to the benefit of themselves and others in ways that testify, time and again, to their resourcefulness and resilience.

The long prevailing line of reasoning depicts the Hawaiian people as unable to cope with the changes emanating from contact. Their decline in numbers from about 300,000, by a conservative estimate, at the time of Captain Cook's arrival to 80,000 by the mid-nineteenth century and just 30,000 by century's end gives the plot line for a morality tale in which indigenous ways of life are found wanting.¹ In this view, Hawaiians must have done something wrong to merit their virtual demise. As a newcomer opined in the mid-1830s, "this people is in a deplorable condition--so much sin, oppression and degradation that they are evidently decreasing very fast."² Hawaiians are, in effect, held responsible for the actions of others. In this version of events, the ruling groups did what they could to maintain control, but eventually the United States was compelled to rescue the Islands by taking them into its fold.

The Hawaiian Islands and the Pacific Northwest were intertwined from the moment of contact. The impetus to Hawaiians' departure for the Northwest Coast lay with Cook's voyage. Sea otter pelts acquired on the Northwest Coast fetched such a high price in Asia, where the Chinese used them to trim garments, as to unleash a mad dash for furs. The Islands became a stopover point for merchant vessels in search of pelts. While there, they picked up local men as crew. Sought out for their facility with water, Hawaiians were also distinguished by their physical appearance. According to Cook, "these people were of a brown colour,

and though of the common size, were stoutly made."³

By the time the fur trade became land based in the Pacific Northwest in the early nineteenth century, Hawaiians had established their reputation as dependable workers and were hired almost as a matter of course. Fort Astoria, the principal American initiative west of the Rocky Mountains, relied on Hawaiians. So did its successors out of Montreal and London, the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company. Hawaiians also sustained the early missionaries, worked in the sawmills that sprang up on both sides of the boundary fixed in 1846 between Britain and the United States, and participated in the gold rushes of mid-century. A few came for diversion, as with future kings Lot Kamehamea and David Kalākaua, who visited in 1860. Over a thousand Hawaiians made the crossing to the Pacific Northwest up to the American annexation of the Islands in 1898, some more than once.

By following these Hawaiians to and from the Pacific Northwest, we gain another perspective on the Islands during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. At the time of Captain Cook's arrival in 1787, the eight inhabited islands--from northwest to southeast, Ni'ihau, Kaua'i, O'ahu, Moloka'i, Lana'i, Maui, and Hawai'i--shared a hierarchical way of life based in subsistence agriculture and fishing. Authority over the land and its resources rested with chiefs, or *al'i*, who gave permission for its occupancy and use, as well as protection, to extended family units. These kindred networks, known as *'ohana*, were comprised of commoners or *maka'āinana*, a word which means, literally, "people living on the land." Writing in 1868, indigenous Hawaiian historian Samuel Kamakau explained how:

The Hawaiians were in old days a strong and hard-working people.... Cultivation of the land was their main industry. With their hands alone, assisted by tools made of hard wood from the mountains and by stone adzes, they tilled large fields and raised taro, sweet potatoes, yams, bananas, sugar cane, and 'awa [kava, a medicinal plant]; and

bartered their product or used it at home....The land was fertile, and the principal crop on Kaua'i, Oahu, and Molokai was wet-land taro....On Maui and Hawaii where there was less wet land, dry-land taro was cultivated.⁴

The *maka'āinana* repaid the *al'i* with their labor and part of their crop to be used, as explained by political scientist Elizabeth Buck, "for ritual obligations, for maintaining their chiefly apparatus, for redistribution to their supporting *ali'i*, for status (evidence of kapu and mana) and for warfare." Chiefs had the power to appropriate, channel, or transform mana, which was power emanating from the akua, or gods. Chiefs organized social relations, eating and dressing habits, the use of material resources, and social and personal order through the kapu or taboo system. The prescriptions and prohibitions of kapu not only determined what was sacred and forbidden but helped sustain Islanders in a very effective system of cleanliness and health. Kamakau described his countrymen "prior to the coming of foreigners" as "hospitable, kindly, giving a welcome to strangers, affectionate, generous, givers."⁵

The first outsiders in the Islands were more curious than censorious. Mostly seamen briefly on shore, they were captivated by the salubrious climate and physical beauty of what appeared to many of them a veritable paradise. They were aware of differences, but not interested in effecting change. Much as was happening elsewhere around the world, they differentiated the indigenous population by gender. Women they found pleasurable for sexual purposes, men useful for their labor.

Hawaiian Islanders developed their own strategies for dealing with newcomers so that, as historian I.C. Campbell points out, "for the first few decades after contact, Polynesians went about their affairs as if the coming of Europeans did not represent a turning point in their history." New diseases caused deaths that would otherwise not have occurred, but overall Hawaiians coped. By the early nineteenth century power in the Islands had coalesced around a single ruling chief or king, Kamehameha I, and in 1819 the kapu system was abandoned. A Frenchman who visited that year described new tools, familiarity with firearms, and a penchant for

European dress, “but that is the extent of the influence that the civilized world has had on the activities and customs of the Sandwich Islanders: the natives have made no changes in the way they build their houses nor in the way they live their lives.” Ethnographer Juri Mykkänen concludes that “the society was still largely intact as far as the trajectories of commoner life.”⁶

Hawaiian Islanders’ resourcefulness during the first decades of contact comes through vividly in the stories told about the first men and women leaving paradise for the Pacific Northwest. Both the handful who were of chiefly status and the far greater number of modest background demonstrated a spirit of inquiry and a facility for dealing with new experiences that cut across the hierarchical way of life they shared at home. Be it the maritime fur trade on the Northwest Coast of North America from 1787 into the 1820s or its land-based counterpart at Fort Astoria in today’s Oregon between 1810 and 1814, described in chapters 2 and 3, Hawaiians proved themselves to be hard working, capable, and dependable. Their tenacity argues that the unification of the Islands around Kamehameha in 1810, with its capital at Honolulu in the island of O’ahu, might well have initiated a time of well being and prosperity.

Fundamental change was, however, on the way. It arrived in 1820 in the form of Protestant missionaries dispatched from Boston by the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions. The newcomers were an entirely different proposition from their predecessors in the Islands. Formed in the Puritan tradition associated with New England, they believed utterly in the superiority of their way of life to that they found at their destination. Their duty, as they saw it, was to convert Hawaiians to their outlook, but there was a hitch. The missionaries could not abide the *maka’āinana*, or common people, and very soon concentrated their efforts on the small group at the top. Missionaries’ actions served to turn chiefs’ attention away from their charges. Ordinary Hawaiians’ way of life was disrupted without another to replace it.

From the moment the first missionaries landed in 1820, they made clear their disdain for the *maka’āinana*. Their leader Hiram

Bingham described his group’s feelings in language devoid of romanticism and fired with the zeal of moral certitude. “The appearance of destitution, degradation, and barbarism, among the chattering, and almost naked savages, whose heads and feet, and much of their sunburnt swarthy skins, were bare, was appalling.” According to another arrival, “those wretched creatures” gave “the appearance of being half man and half beast.” The first history of the Hawaiian Islands, published in 1845 and reprinted into the twentieth century, asserted that, up to the missionaries’ arrival, “the Hawaiians were... low, naked, filthy, vile and sensual, covered with every abomination, stained with blood and black with crime.” In her perceptive study of missionary wives, historian Patricia Grimshaw characterizes the “response to ordinary, nonchiefly Hawaiians” as “frankly condemnatory.”⁷

To the extent missionaries found any Hawaiians up to their standards, it was the ruling groups. As put by Grimshaw and attested by Mykkänen, “the missionaries ardently wished to view the chiefs as players in the mission drama.” Ideologically, this attitude was contradictory. As one missionary wife acknowledged about the Islands’ system of rule, “I should scarcely have thought I could have become so desirous of any government so different from that in my own land.” A visitor about this time pointed up the great status differential that divided the tiny minority from what he termed “the common people,” comprising 149,000 of a population he estimated at 150,000. “The greatest wealth they can boast consists of a mat on which to sleep;—a few folds of tapa [bark cloth] to cover them;—one calabash of water, and another for poi [basic foodstuff made from taro];—a rude implement or two for the cultivation of the ground; and the instruments used in their simple manufactures.”⁸

Other factors took precedence over Americans’ commitment at home to the wellbeing of all the people in common and to a republican form of government. The Calvinist theology to which missionaries subscribed interpreted worldly success as an indication of God’s approval. It was laudable, indeed the duty, of God’s elect to have charge of political and economic as well as spiritual

life. So assured, missionaries concentrated their efforts on the favored few. As early as 1823 one of the missionaries took pride “that our warmest friends are among the highest chiefs,” adding, “this, I think, makes our future prospects very flattering.”⁹

Missionaries needed ordinary Hawaiians for two purposes, as objects for conversion and as a source of labor. In order for the ‘wretched creatures’ of the missionaries’ imagination to become docile ‘Christians,’ which alone justified the newcomers’ presence in the Islands, they had to be reformed. Not surprisingly, according to legal ethnographer Sally Engle Merry, “it was Massachusetts prototypes that formed the basis of Hawaiian criminal law.”¹⁰ Proclamations from the mid-1820s onwards banned sexuality outside of monogamous missionary-ritualized marriage and forbade such key Hawaiian cultural expressions as hula dancing and surfing.

The missionaries’ boldest initiative was to make everyone literate so as to be able to read the Bible. The creation of a written alphabet of the Hawaiian language was one of the most positive consequences of missionaries’ presence. At its height in the early 1830s, about 50,000 Hawaiians, mostly adults, were enrolled in some 1,100 schools under missionary aegis. Missionaries were unable to follow through, due to their inability to accept ordinary Hawaiians as capable of sanctity. The total admitted into church membership reached a thousand only in 1837, over a decade and a half after the first missionaries arrived.¹¹ By then almost 90 Board missionaries and support workers were scattered across 17 locations.

The *maka’āinana* were primarily useful for their bodies, as when Bingham, in the words of his great-grandson, “cajoled the chiefs into providing a thousand laborers” to build a majestic church of 14,000 coral blocks that still survives in the center of Honolulu. A visitor in the summer of 1837 described how the *maka’āinana* “cannot cultivate their land, because their labour is demanded for the church, the missionaries having obtained the necessary edict which compels the natives to labour on the reefs, to procure blocks of stone for the purpose of building a new church.” It is an indication of missionaries’ priorities

that Hawaiians were excused from church attendance were they “to cut a block of compact coral limestone from the reef, about three feet long, two wide, and one deep, at low water, and transport it to the shore—say half a mile.”¹² Churches were constructed through similar means across the Islands.

Contemporary observers with no love for the Americans were convinced that everyday conditions of life were worsening. For all of the bias that underlay their critiques, they are instructive for, unlike the missionaries, these newcomers took plain people’s circumstances seriously. A French ship’s captain described in 1828 how “ever since the Protestants have gained a measure of influence on these islands, the old agricultural life of the people has deteriorated and rapidly declined.” The missionaries’ insistence that everyone immediately become literate and labor on their behalf was “leaving their fields untilled” and “their traditional plantations... devoured by noxious weeds.” He described how “the small ponds where taro was grown are totally dried and barren.”¹³

Englishman Richard Charlton, writing four years later, was far harsher. He attributed depopulation of what he termed “an earthly paradise” to missionary excess. Charlton made four points, the first of which echoed his French counterpart. “The bulk of the people are in a state bordering on starvation because the adults are taken away from their enclosures of taro and potatoes to learn to read and spell.” Second, persons who wanted to procreate were compelled first to marry in the church, which required money they did not have, and so there were fewer children. Third, “the Missionaries have prohibited Fishing, Bathing, Jew’s Harps, and the Surf Board, and every other description of amusement among the native population” so that “their spirit is broken.” Charlton’s fourth point had to do with disease, the most general explanation for population decline. Its calamitous effects he linked to the missionaries “prohibiting bathing, which in that climate is almost as essential to existence as fresh air.” Water’s importance to good health is confirmed by a Danish traveler who, a decade and a half earlier, had termed Hawaiians “the cleanest

people I ever saw, both in their person and habitation.” An English visitor in 1839 asserted that, “if the missionaries had not caused the discontinuance of cleanliness, of ablution, constant sea-bathing, and proper exercise, in men and women, as their natural habits pointed out,” they would have been less adversely affected by disease. The consequence was, as a Frenchman lamented, “this people, which early navigators represented as so happy in their nakedness, seemed to us to be miserable, under the rags which civilization has covered them.”¹⁴

As possibilities diminished at home for Hawaiians to pursue their ways of life, opportunities expanded elsewhere. In 1821 the fur trade west of the Rocky Mountains was consolidated under the Hudson’s Bay Company, which shortly thereafter opened up an office in Honolulu which, as detailed in chapters 4 and 5, actively recruited workers from the Islands. Other indigenous Hawaiians were employed by missionaries who from the mid-1830s, chapter 6 explains, echoed their Island counterparts in pursuing indigenous souls in the Pacific Northwest.

Back home, Hawaiians’ ties steadily weakened to their chiefs and rulers, who increasingly identified themselves consistent with missionaries’ aspirations for them. Hawaiian Studies scholar Lilikalā Kame’eiehiwa attributes the shift to Christian gods being perceived as more promising than the akua in keeping Hawaiians from dying. A well-educated indigenous Hawaiian was less generous. According to David Malo writing in 1839, “in former times, before Kamehehameha, the chiefs took great care of their people,” but now “their attention has been turned more to themselves and their own aggrandizement.”¹⁵ Two of the principal means of alienation were the Chiefs’ Children’s School and the Ka Māhele.

The Chiefs’ Children’s School, which operated in Honolulu from 1839 to 1850, was according to missionary leader Hiram Bingham “the teacher...of the kings and queens of the Sandwich Islands.” Students were the Island’s last five monarchs, 1854-93, and 11 offspring of chiefs. Much as occurred in similar boarding schools for chiefly children on Maui and elsewhere, they were educated into others’ aspirations for them.

However understanding the missionary couple in charge may have been, Amos and Juliette Cooke inculcated in the top layer of the ruling groups a way of life totally at odds with what had gone on before. As diplomatically stated about the student who became Hawaii’s last queen, Liliuokalani, in American National Biography, “her moral values were shaped by the influence of the missionaries.”¹⁶ Taught in English rather than Hawaiian, which was used in the early missionary schools, this select handful was instructed to prefer outsiders’ ways, including acquisition of their material goods. Ruling groups’ schooling separated them more than ever from the common people and their obligations toward them.

The other, very important means of dissociating ruling groups from their charges was the Ka Māhele of the 1840s, a legal division of the Islands’ land which established private property in line with the priorities of missionaries and their newcomer allies. The significance of the shift cannot be overestimated. According to linguist and political scientist Noenoe Silva, “land tenure was the central feature” of a reciprocal system of “political and social relationships based on obligations as well as bonds of affection.” Previously, as explained by cultural anthropologist Marion Kelly: “Hawaiians lived in a subsistence economy based on a communal land tenure system. Although the land was controlled by the chiefs (*ali’i*), who expropriated food and labor from the cultivators of the soil, the commoners (*maka’ainana*), everyone had rights of access and use to the resources of the land and the sea.” Kamakau emphasized Hawaiians’ “inherent love of the land of one’s birth inherited from one’s ancestor” so that, while not owned, “the land belonged to the common people” by virtue of their having mostly “lived on the same land from very ancient times.” Beginning in 1845, all Islands land was divided into individually owned parcels consistent with outsiders’ preference for private property in accord with American practice. As summed up by Kelly: “Traditional Hawaiian culture and society was destroyed as the capitalist concept of private property replaced communal use of the land with individual ownership.”¹⁷

The *maka’ainana* lost out twice over.

The Ka Māhele removed commoners’ obligation to labor on behalf of their chiefs and hence the mutual benefits that ensued. Ordinary Hawaiians were meant to acquire their own land, as were ruling groups and the government, but, as historian Robert Stauffer explains in his detailed examination of “how the land was lost” at Kahana on the island of O’ahu, the six-stage process was so complex and so costly as to deter almost any ordinary Hawaiian who did not receive missionary assistance from making a claim. Not only that, Lilikalā Kame’eiehiwa observes, “some *maka’ainana* may have been reluctant to claim ‘*Aina* [land] that heretofore had been controlled by the *Ali’i Nui* [highest chiefs], as traditionally that would have been very rude and inappropriate behavior.” Despite all of the changes that beset the *maka’ainana*, in the words of Kamakau writing in 1869, “the Hawaiian nation loves its king and chiefs.”¹⁸

According to Marion Kelly, less than a third of adult male commoners got any land at all, even the smallest plot, whereas the principal chiefs acquired thousands of acres each and the king and government large hunks. Overall, “the *maka’ainana* received less than 1 percent of the land although they comprised 99 percent of the Hawaiian population.” An observer lamented in 1849 “the thousands of acres of taro land now laying waste, on all the islands.” A decade later a Russian ship’s officer described “the native *kanakas*” as being “free but landless.” The clusters of “affluent subsistence farmers who were self-sufficient in terms of nearly all the essentials of life” at the time of Captain Cook’s arrival was transformed by the mid-nineteenth century, historian Carolyn Ralston explains, into “a class of unskilled and predominantly landless peasants.”¹⁹

Ordinary Hawaiians also lost out as the ruling groups, deprived of their traditional labor pool, very soon sold off virtually all their newly got gains to get the cash needed to mimic newcomers. Kamakau explained how “the chiefs were selling their land to foreigners and to those who had no grants, and those who were thus turned out became wanderers without any property and had to become contract laborers and serve

people like slaves.” The “bond of mutual dependence” and “spirit of mutual goodwill” that had characterized the Islands’ social structure gave way, in Ralston’s words, to ruling groups’ “buying sprees with little concern for the people’s well being.” Anthropologists Patrick Kirch and Marshall Sahlins term the result “a subtropical caricature of European royalty.” As summed up by Kamakau, writing in 1869, “the greater benefits of the law went to the foreigners who thus secured the right to live on the land even though they were not of the land.”²⁰

The *maka’ainana* had every reason to feel abandoned. Ralston contends that “in no other Polynesian societies were the ordinary people forced to confront their chiefs and recognize that they were not protecting the people’s own interests.” Even Sally Engle Merry, for all of her determination to view the ruling groups’ actions sympathetically “as part of a struggle for sovereignty: an attempt to purchase independence with the coin of civilization,” is forced to acknowledge, based on her close examination of court cases from the town of Hilo in the island of Hawai’i, that their actions “appeared to Hawaiian commoners to be a betrayal.” Noenoe Silva has documented the *maka’ainana*’s resistance to the *ali’i*’s sale of land to outsiders.²¹

Missionaries, together with their children and outsiders mostly allied to them, took charge. It was “under the patronage of American missionaries,” according to eminent Islands historian Ralph Kuykendall, that the first sugarcane plantations began operation in the mid-1830s, initiating the rush for economic gain. Missionary teacher turned entrepreneur Amos Cooke observed in 1850 that, “while the natives stand confounded and amazed...the foreigners are creeping in among them, getting their largest and best lands, water privileges, building lots, etc. etc.” He and the others considered they were forwarding the Islands’, but very conveniently also their own, best interests by becoming the ruling group’s political advisors, as well as entrepreneurs in their own right. As Gavan Daws puts it in his general history of the Islands, “for the foreigners, certainly, it was the beginning of a new era; but for the Hawaiian commoners it was the beginning of the end.”²²

Missionaries viewed their actions as confirming their status and also that of their children as among God's elect. Much as in Puritan New England, whence their outlook originated, economic gain was deemed admirable. Missionaries were encouraged to act as they did by the American Board that had dispatched them to the Islands. Cooke described how the Board advised that "all of their Missionaries at these Islands get free from them as soon as convenient, settle here, with their children, adopt the country as their own, and thus do all that is possible to sustain the country, and Government, whatever the latter may be," very possibly "Republican" within "a few years." This perspective fit conveniently into the conviction among persons whom Daws terms "Manifest Destiny men" that the Islands were American turf.²³

Missionaries and other newcomers rationalized their actions by continuing to portray indigenous Hawaiians as doomed to disappear and, in the interim, too indolent to act for themselves. "It is a matter of no great surprise that the natives should be, as they really are, a lazy people," Cooke opined in 1850. "Like other savage nations, they are averse to any more labor than is absolutely necessary," a leading official of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions asserted a few years later. In the view of a missionary wife, the Hawaiian "lacks stamina, that reliability of character which distinguishes the people of England, old and new." Labor historian Edward Beechert explains outsiders' self-serving logic: "New Englanders, although vigorously opposed to racial slavery, nonetheless held firmly to the notion of racial superiority. Since 'idleness' was a defect of character found in the 'heathen,' it became necessary as part of the conversion process to 'save the Hawaiians' by introducing them to the discipline of work--the opposite of sin as evidenced in idleness."²⁴

Initially newcomers hoped indigenous Hawaiians would work for minimal wages on the sugar plantations being established on newly got land. Their disinclination to do so seemingly demonstrated the rightness of outsiders' intrusions. "They

lack the elements necessary to perpetuate their existence," pontificated the American in charge of the legal system who was also a major planter. "Living without exertion, & contented with enough to eat and drink, they give themselves no care for the future, and mope away life, without spirit, ambition, or hope....I consider the doom of this nation as sealed." This attitude explains Cooke's willingness to go into business and, more generally, his "contemplation of doing something for a future Anglo-Saxon race [in the Islands], provided God, in His wise purposes, should allow this people [Hawaiians] as He has done the aborigines [in other colonized areas of the world to give way] to foreigners."²⁵ Sugar took off as an export crop after the United States removed import duties in 1876. Until then Hawaiians provided the bulk of the labour, being supplanted by contract workers brought from China beginning in 1852 and Japan in 1868.

A way of life that sustained Islanders for generations was destroyed. Noenoe Silva reminds us how not just the Chief's Children's School and the Ka Māhele but each and every change fit into a larger agenda working against the interests of the Hawaiian people. "The banning of hula had as much or more to do with establishing colonial capitalism, and thus with establishing control over the labor of the Kanaka Maoli [indigenous Hawaiians], as with religion and the repression of sexuality." In analyzing what he terms "the twisted nature of nineteenth-century colonialism in the Pacific," Hawaiian Studies scholar Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio describes "a slow, insinuating invasion of people, ideas, and institutions" that "were not physical only, but also psychological and spiritual." As Osorio perceptively observes, "death came not only through infection and disease, but through racial and legal discourse that crippled the will, confidence, and trust of the Kānaka Maoli as surely as leprosy and smallpox claimed their limbs and lives." As summed up by Hawaiian Studies scholar Haunani-Kay Trask, the missionaries "introduced a religious imperialism that was as devastating a scourge as any

venereal pox."²⁶

The United States annexed the Hawaiian Islands in 1898. By then newcomers far outstripped the indigenous population. About 30,000 Islanders were wholly indigenous, another 9,000 partially so, compared to 100,000 newcomers, many of them recently arrived contract workers. Thereafter, as communications scholar Rona Tamiko Halualani puts it, indigenous Hawaiians "were surveilled by blood quantum technology and policies and articulated as 'strange,' non-adaptive, unproductive, unfit, and in need of rehabilitation, thereby maintaining the whiteness of the territory."²⁷ Apart from greater racial, ethnic, and cultural diversity in the non-indigenous population, little has changed to the present day.

Ordinary Hawaiians had to make their own way. While it is impossible to know with certainty the extent to which deteriorating circumstances at home were responsible for individuals leaving paradise, as early as 1839 David Malo tied the two together with considerable specificity.

On account of this want on the part of the chiefs for the people, some of the people are losing their attachment to the land of their birth; they forsake their places of residence, their kindred, and live here and there where they can find a place. Some, however, follow after the chiefs,...but many stand aloof;...and living without land, they are without food, and of these, some are induced to go to foreign countries to obtain a subsistence. This, therefore, becomes a means of decrease in the population; of the many that sail to foreign countries, some become sailors by profession and do not return as inhabitants of the islands, being satisfied with the wages for their labor and the food they receive. Some dwell permanently in the countries to which they go, and some upon other islands in the Pacific; because they find themselves comfortable in the places to which they have gone, they return no more.²⁸

Some Hawaiians first migrated from

their homes into port towns, congregating in what Ralston terms "beach communities." There men were more easily recruited for the fur trade and, in even greater numbers, into whaling. At its height in the 1840s and 1850s about 300 to 500 vessels a year stopped at Honolulu or at Lahaina on the island of Maui to pick up supplies and crew before heading off to hunt animals for their oil. During these years, as many as one in five Hawaiians between the ages of 15 and 30 may have been so employed. Part of the reason lay in men's willingness to work hard, another part in their capacity to do the job. A Hawaiian missionary account of 1844 makes the case. "I have never heard the captain of a vessel who did not speak highly of the native seamen whom he had employed. They are eminently subordinate, docile, good natures and trustworthy; and with proper training they become good efficient seamen."²⁹

From about 1860 another option was to harvest guano, the waste material of seabirds, for fertilizer on small isolated islands under American control in the South Pacific. Again, it was missionaries who sought to profit from Hawaiians' labor. In 1859 missionary leader turned Islands politician, Gerritt Parmele Judd, became the Hawaiian agent for an American guano company. Shortly thereafter he arranged for his son, who a couple of years earlier participated in raising the American flag on one of the guano islands, to transport the first crew of Hawaiian laborers there to begin harvesting.³⁰ Thousands more followed in their wake.

In comparison with the fur trade, whaling and guano harvesting were characterized by harsher and sometimes dangerous conditions of work, by greater isolation from outside influences, and by more certainty men would be returned home. In reality, the jobs may not have been that different from those now available at home, as described by Kamakau in 1869:

Today the working man labors like a cart-hauling ox that gets a kick in the buttocks. He shivers in the cold and the dew-laden wind, or broils in the sun with no rest from his toil. Whether he lives or dies it is all alike.

He gets a bit of money for his toil; in the house where he labors there are no blood kin, no parents, no relatives-in-law, just a little corner for himself.

In the view of Kamakau, far too many of his contemporaries, however “learned they may be, are mere stone-carriers and lime-mixers.”³¹

Hawaiians who headed to the Pacific Northwest were to a greater extent left to their own resources than had they stayed home. The missionary rhetoric seeking to contain indigenous people around the world took longer to make its way there than to the Islands. Their labor was wanted, be it for the fur trade or some other enterprise, but employers felt no need to control their souls. The men were valued for who they were, not disparaged for what they were not. Generally illiterate in English, the Hawaiians left no records of their own, but contemporary accounts testify to their tenacity. These references were almost always made in passing, which gives them a particular honesty. Even when condescending in tone, comments were in general approving. Indigenous Hawaiians in the Pacific Northwest were described very differently from the stereotypes used in the Islands to justify newcomers’ intrusion and usurpation.

Very importantly, Hawaiians who left for the Pacific Northwest did not depart in order to escape traditional ways of life. Rather, they integrated key elements from their upbringing that ensured success in their new venture. When housing was needed urgently, they constructed the thatched huts of their childhoods. Familiar social practices continued both privately and in larger settings. The men took pride in their dances, chanting, and other pleasures. Patterns of obedience to their chiefs that they internalized when young served them well in their work lives.

At the same time, men adapted. Some may have been persuaded to leave by chiefs and rulers avid for the cash advances their departing subjects turned over to them, but no one could compel men to stay once their initial contract came to an end. Men turned the duty they had shown their chiefs into a similar sense of obligation to their employers. Indigenous Hawaiians were hard

workers who repeatedly demonstrated their loyalty in tense conditions, as well as in the tedium of everyday tasks.

It is impossible to know why some Hawaiians soon returned home and others remained in the Pacific Northwest through several terms of employment or for a lifetime. Some men did not measure up to expectations for them, or the jobs into which they were hired disappeared. Family likely drew many men back. A gentler climate in the Islands may also have done so. Others simply wanted to go home. A common pattern was to return at the end of a term of employment, but then go back to the Northwest Coast, perhaps because the opportunities they expected to find in the Islands were no longer to be had.

However long Hawaiians remained in the Pacific Northwest, common indigenous origins did not bind them to their counterparts there. Only rarely did men and women indigenous to the Northwest Coast travel to the Islands, so there was no common body of lore to share. While many Hawaiians cohabited with Indian women, they did not become Indians. Just as with their fellow fur trade workers, and perhaps because of their influence, they distinguished sharply between local women and their men folk. The first they accepted as sexual partners, much as newcomers did in the Islands. Indian men they held at a distance as alien and potentially dangerous.

The denigration Hawaiians experienced at home eventually caught up with them in the Pacific Northwest. As explained in chapter 7, the international boundary settlement of 1846 was a watershed. Arrivals into the Oregon Territory from the United States found Hawaiians an alien presence they lumped together with Blacks, not wanted in any shape or form. The men in charge quickly enacted legislation depriving Hawaiians, and also Blacks and Indians, of the rights they accorded themselves. Over time almost all of the Hawaiians who remained south of the border merged into the indigenous people of North America, making their lives on reservations. In sharp contrast, Hawaiians north of the 49th parallel in British territory, the future Canadian province of British Columbia, were

accorded the same civil rights enjoyed by members of the dominant society. Chapter 8 describes how they could take up land, vote, and live with dignity. Across the generations descendants on both sides of the border have been subject to discrimination based on physical appearance, but they have all the same, as summed up in chapter 9, continued to make a place for themselves across the Pacific Northwest.

Indigenous Hawaiians in the Pacific Northwest have been largely written out of the history of the Islands. One of the few contemporaries recording their absence was Samuel Kamakau, who from the 1860s had a regular column in the independent Hawaiian-language newspaper *Ka Nupepa Ka’oko’a*. In January 1868 he claimed “thousands of Hawaiians have gone away to foreign lands and remained there.” A year and a half later Kamakau described how “the Hawaiian race live like wanderers on the earth and dwell in all lands surrounded by the sea.” He estimated there were “in Oregon, 500,” as well as smaller numbers living in Tahiti and other Pacific Islands, Peru [digging guano], east coast American ports [after whaling], and “the bush ranges of California [where they went in search of gold].” Apart from Kamakau, reflections such as that in old age by John Papa Ii, an indigenous Hawaiian born in 1800, that “Hawaiians still live on those shores,” by which he meant the Pacific Northwest, are rare. As put astutely by Lilikala Kame’eleihiwa: “We have not yet begun to count all of the Hawaiians elsewhere in the world.”³²

The initiative shown by men and women leaving paradise for the Pacific Northwest in no way accords with the commonplace assertions about indigenous Hawaiians as characterized, so a Swedish visitor described in the mid-nineteenth century, by “born indifference and aversion to all kinds of labor.” Such claims, repeated over and over again, came to be believed, even by the individuals themselves. Hawaiian writer George Hu’eu Sanford Kanahale has reflected how “one of the great tragedies in our history lies in the fact that many postcontact Hawaiians believed in their racial and personal inferiority and therefore were ashamed of their ancestors’

practices and ideas.”³³ Hawaiians in the Pacific Northwest did not write about their experiences, with one or two exceptions, but the testimonies of others indicate the strength of Hawaiian values, retained across time and space. They stood tall, as would have their contemporaries at home, had they been given the opportunity to do so.

¹ Estimates of the population at contact vary; for diverse perspectives, see Andrew F. Bushnell, “The ‘Horror’ Reconsidered: An Evaluation of the Historical Evidence for Population Decline in Hawai‘i, 1778-1803.” *Pacific Studies* 16 (1993): 115-161; Tom Dye, “Population Trends in Hawai‘i before 1778.” *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 28 (1994): 1-20; Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai?* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1992); Robert C. Schmitt, *Historical Statistics of Hawai‘i*. (Honolulu: University Press of Hawai‘i, 1977); and David Stannard, *Before the Horror: The Population of Hawai‘i on the Eve of Western Contact* (Honolulu: Social Science Research Institute, University of Hawai‘i, 1989).

² Juliette Montague Cooke to her brother Charles Montague, Honolulu, April 18, 1827, in Mary Atherton Richards, *Amos Starr Cooke and Juliette Montague Cooke* (Honolulu: Daughters of Hawai‘i, 1987, orig. 1941), 122.

³ James Cook, *Captain Cook’s Voyages of Discovery*, ed. John Barrow (London: Dent & Sons, 1906), 329.

⁴ Samuel S. Kamakau, “Hawai‘i Before Foreign Innovations,” *Ka Nupepa Ka’oko’a*, January 4, 1868, translated in Samuel M. Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawai‘i*, rev. ed. (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools Press, 1992), 237.

⁵ Elizabeth Buck, *Paradise Remade: The Politics of Culture and History in Hawai‘i* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993), 37; Kamakau, “Death of Kamhameha,” *Ka Nupepa Ka’oko’a*, October 5, 1867, translated in his *Ruling Chiefs*, 201-02.

⁶ I.C. Campbell, “The Culture of Culture Contact: Refractions from Polynesia,” *Journal of World History* 14, 1 (March 2003): 86; Camille de Roquefeuil, *Journal d’un voyage autour du monde pendant les années 1816, 1817, 1818, et 1819* (Paris: Ponthier, 1823), translated and reprinted in Mary Ellen Birkett, “Hawai‘i in 1819: An Account by Camille de Roquefeuil,” *Hawaiian Journal of History* 34 (2000): 81; Juir Mykkänen, *Inventing Politics: A New Political Anthropology of the Hawaiian Kingdom* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2003), 60.

⁷ Hiram Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands* (Hartford, CN: Hezekiah Huntington, 1847), 6; April 25, 1820, entry in Charles Samuel Stewart, *Private Journal of a Voyage to the Pacific Ocean and Residence at the Sandwich Islands in the years 1822, 1823, 1824, and 1825* (New York: John P. Haven, 1828), 88; Sheldon Dibble, *A History of the Sandwich Islands* (Honolulu: Thrum, 1909, orig. 1843), 115; Patricia Grimshaw, *Paths of Duty: American Missionary Wives in Nineteenth-Century Hawai‘i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1989), 57.

⁸ Grimshaw, *Paths of Duty*, 60; Mykkänen, *Inventing Politics*, Chapter 2, “The Politics of Virtue,” 62-88; Juliette Montague Cooke, July 1827, in Richards, *Amos Starr Cooke*, 132; Stewart, *Private Journal*, 136-7.

⁹ “Mission at the Sandwich Islands,” *Mission Herald* 20, n. 1 (January 1824): 110.

¹⁰ Sally Engle Merry, *Colonizing Hawai‘i: The Cultural Power of Law* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 6, also 101, 241.

¹¹ Cited in Gavan Daws, *Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1968), 90, also 97; Table 1, Robert C. Schmitt, “Religious Statistics of Hawai‘i, 1825-1972,” *Hawaiian Journal of History* 7 (1973): 42.

¹² Alfred M. Bingham, “Sybil’s bones, a Chronicle of Three Hiram Bingham,” *Hawaiian Journal of History* 9 (1975): 19; Edward Belcher, *Narrative of a Voyage Round the World* (London: H. Colburn, 1843), vol. 1: 62-3.

¹³ Auguste Bernard Duhaut-Cilly, reprinted in Alfona L. Korn, “Shadows of Destiny: A French Navigator’s View of the Hawaiian Kingdom and its Government in 1828,” *Hawaiian Journal of History* 17 (1983): 21-2.

¹⁴ Richard Charlton, “The Sandwich and Bonin Islands,” London, August 11, 1832, reprinted in Hawaiian Historical Society, *Annual Report* 15 (1907): 38, 46-47; John A. Hussey, ed., *The Voyage of the Racoon: A ‘Secret’ Journal of a Visit to Oregon, California and Hawai‘i, 1813-1814* (San Francisco: Book Club of California, 1958), 34; Belcher, *Narrative*, vol. 1: 272-73; Théodore-Adolphe Barrot, *Unless Haste Is Made: A French Skeptic’s Account of the Sandwich Islands in 1836* (Kailua: Press Pacifica, 1978), 91.

¹⁵ Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires*; David Malo, “On the Decrease of population on the Hawaiian Islands,” *Hawaiian Spectator* 2, 2 (April 1839): 125-6.

¹⁶ Hiram Bingham to his namesake son, quoted in Bingham, “Sybil’s

bones,” 16; Barbara Bennett Peterson, “Liliuokalani,” *American National Biography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), on line (www.anb.org). The students were Peter Young Kaeo, David Kalakaua (King Kalakaua, 1874-91), James Kaliokalani, Victoria Kamamalu, Lot Kamehameha (King Kamehameha V, 1863-72), Elizabeth Kekauiaua, Moses Kekuaiawa, John Pitt Kinau, Alexander Lilioloho (King Kamehameha IV, 1854-63), Jane Loeau, William Charles Lunailo (King Lunailo, 1872-74), Abigail Maheha, Lydia Makaeha (Queen Liliuokalani, 1891-93), Polly Paaaina, Bernice Pauahi, and Emma Rooke (wife of King Kamehameha IV), as listed in Richards, *Amos Starr Cooke*, 389-90. Richards gives an excellent insider view of the school. For another sympathetic but also critical perspective, see Linda K. Menton, Menton, “A Christian and ‘Civilized’ Education: The Hawaiian Chiefs’ Children’s School, 1839-50,” *History of Education Quarterly* 32, 2 (Summer 1992): 213-42

¹⁷ Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 40; Marion Kelly, “Land Tenure in Hawai‘i,” *Amerasia Journal* 7, 2 (1980): 57; Kamakau, “A Constitutional Monarchy,” *Ka Nupepa Ka’oko’a*, May 20, 1869, translated in his *Ruling Chiefs*, 376.

¹⁸ Stauffer, Kahana, esp. 15-16, 31, 35-6; also Kelly, “Land Tenure,” 64; Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land*, 296; Kamakau, “Legislative Problems,” *Ka Nupepa Ka’oko’a*, September 9, 1869, translated in his *Ruling Chiefs*, 404.

¹⁹ Kelly, “Land Tenure,” 66; “Census of the Islands,” *The Friend*, November 15, 1849; A.V. Vyshesalavtsev, reprinted in Ella L. Wiswell, “A Russian Traveler’s Impressions of Hawai‘i and Tahiti, 1859-1860,” *Hawaiian Journal of History* 17 (1983): 91; Caroline Ralston, “Hawai‘i 1778-1854: Some Aspects of Makai‘ainana Response to Rapid Cultural Change,” *Journal of Pacific History* 19, 1-2 (January-April 1984): 22.

²⁰ Kamakau, “Legislative Problems,” 403-04; Ralston, “Hawai‘i 1778-1854,” 24, 29; Patrick V. Kirch and Marshall Sahlins, *Anahulu: The Anthropology of History in the Kingdom of Hawai‘i*, vol. 2 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 2..

²¹ Ralston, “Hawai‘i 1778-1854,” 37; 38-9; Merry, *Colonizing Hawai‘i*, 13; Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*.

²² Ralph S. Kuykendall, “American Interests and American Influence in Hawai‘i in 1842,” Hawai‘i Historical Society, *Report*, 1930, p. 50; *Amos Starr Cooke* to Fanny Montague, February 25, 1850, in Richards, *Amos Starr Cooke*, 384; Daws, *Shoal of Time*, 128.

²³ Amos Starr Cooke to his brother-in-law Mr. Seeley, July 6, 1849, in Richards, *Amos Starr Cooke*, 374; Daws, *Shoal of Time*, 147.

²⁴ Amos Starr Cooke to his sister Mrs. Seeley, November 14, 1850, in Richards, *Amos Starr Cooke*, 396; Rufus Anderson, *The Hawaiian Islands: Their Progress and Condition under Missionary Labors* (Boston: Gould and Lincoln, 1865), 32; Laura Fish Judd, *Honolulu: Sketches of Life in the Hawaiian Islands from 1828 to 1861* (Chicago: Lakeside Press, 1966), 330; Beechert, Working in Hawai‘i, 40-1.

²⁵ William Little Lee to Joel Turrill, October 11, 1851, cited in Merry, *Colonizing Hawai‘i*, 5; Amos Starr Cooke to his mother-in-law, January 6, 1849, in Richards, *Amos Starr Cooke*, 360.

²⁶ Noenoe K. Silva, “*He Kānāwai E Ho’opau I Na Hula Kuolo Hawai‘i*: The Political Economy of Banning the Hula,” *Hawaiian Historical Review* 34 (2000): 46; Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui*, 3; Haunani-Kay Trask, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai‘i*. rev. ed. (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1999), 6.

²⁷ Romanzo Adams, *Interracial Marriage in Hawai‘i* (New York: Macmillan, 1937), 8; Rona Tamiko Halualani, *In the Name of Hawaiians: Native Identities and Cultural Politics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 7.

²⁸ Malo, “On the Decrease,” 127-8.

²⁹ Caroline Ralston, *Grass Huts and Warehouses: Pacific Beach Communities of the Nineteenth Century* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1977); “Native Seamen,” *The Friend*, September 4, 1844, p. 79. Numbers in whaling come from Susan Lebo, Cultural Studies Division, Bishop Museum, Honolulu, and its website <http://www2.bishopmuseum.org/whaling/mainscreen.asp>.

³⁰ Jimmy M. Skaggs, *The Great Guano Rush: Entrepreneurs and American Overseas Expansion* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1994), 72-3.

³¹ Kamakau, “A Constitutional Monarchy,” 372, 378

³² Kamakau, “Hawai‘i Before Foreign Innovations,” 235, and “Legislative Problems,” 404; John Papa Ii, *Fragments of Hawaiian*

History (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1959), 127; Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land*, 322.

³³ C. Axel Egerström, *Borta är bra, men hemma är bäst* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1859), translated and reprinted in “Hawai‘i in 1855,” *Hawaiian Journal of History* 9 (1975), 43; George Hu‘eu Sanford Kanahele, *Ku Kanaka, Stand Tall: A Search for Hawaiian Values* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press and Waiaha Foundation, 1986), 28.

- MacAllister, J. Gilbert. *Archaeology of Kaho'olawe*. Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin, 1933.
- Barman, Jean; Watson, Bruce McIntyre. *Leaving Paradise: Indigenous Hawaiians in the Pacific Northwest 1787-1898*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006.
- Blackford, Mansel G. *Pathways to the Present: U.S. Development and its Consequences in the Pacific*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007.
- Chatwin, Bruce. *The Songlines*, New York: Viking Penguin Inc., 1987.
- Cronin, Gloria L. *Tales of Molokai: The Voice of Harriet Ne*. Laie: Brigham Young Univ Inst Polynesian, 1992.
- Davenport, Kiana. *Shark Dialogues*, New York: Penguin Inc., 1995.
- Forster, Georg. *A Voyage Around the World*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000.
- Koppel, Tom. Kanaka, *The Untold Story of Hawaiian Pioneers in British Columbia and the Pacific Northwest*, Vancouver BC: Whitecap Books, 1995.
- James Cook, Entdeckung der Suedsee*, Exhibition at the Bundeskunsthalle Bonn. Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 2009.
- Landgraf, Anne Kapulani. *Legendary Places of Koolau Poko*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1994.
- Moses, Kuaea Nakuina. *The Wind Gourd of La'Amaomao*, translated by Ester T. Mookini and Sarah Nakoa. Honolulu: Kalamaku Press, 2005.
- Morales, Rodney (ed.). *Ho'i Ho'i Hou, A Tribute to George Helm and Kimo Mitchell*. Honolulu: Bamboo Ridge Press, 1984.
- Levin, Wayne; Reeve, Rowland B. (eds). *Kaho'olawe Na Leo O Kanaloa: Chants and Stories of Kaho'olawe*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1995.
- Little, S., Ruthenberg, P. (eds). *Life in the Pacific of the 1700s: The Cook/Forster Collection of the Georg August University of Gottingen*. Honolulu: Honolulu Academy of Art, 2006.
- Trask, Haunani-Kay. *From a Native Daughter, Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawaii*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999.
- Thoreau, Henry David. *Walden, Civil Disobedience and Other Writings*. New York: WW Norton & Co, 2010.
- Wood, Houston. *Displacing Natives, The Rhetorical Production of Hawai'i (Pacific Formations: Global Relations in Asian and Pacific Perspectives)*. Lanham Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1999.

T'uy't'tanat - Cease Wyss is an Ethnobotanist, Media Artist, Curator, Educator and Activist from the Skwxw'u7mesh, Sto:Lo, Hawaiian & Swiss Nations. Cease shares her knowledge of the rich and diverse cultural stories that originate from the ancestral lands of the local First Nations with a number of community networks. Cease is a media artist with 25 years experience in this field. She has produced various formats of media art, as well as being a mentor in her field for close to 15 years. She is also an ethnobotanist, traditionally trained in this field by Indigenous Elders. Her work involves site-specific and culturally focused teaching with storytelling as her means to sharing knowledge.

Hans Hs Winkler has created actions and interventions in public space and exhibitions since 1984. His published books include *Legal/Illegal* at NGBK in Berlin, 2004; *Looking for Mushroom* at the Museum Ludwig in Cologne, 2008; *Ice houses*, in Kiel, Germany; and *Desvio*, Havana, Cuba. His *Walking Newspaper* project took place in Istanbul, Johannesburg, New York, Havana and San Francisco. Hans Winkler lives in Berlin and New York.
www.hswinkler.de

Glenn Alteen is a Vancouver based curator and writer and Program Director of grunt. He has worked extensively with performance art and is cofounder of LIVE Performance Biennial (1999, 2001, 2003, 2005). His writing on performance was recently published in *Take No Prisoners: The Performance Work of Lawrence Paul Yuxweluptun* (MOA 2016), *Making Always War* (Stride Gallery, Calgary 2009), *Access All Areas* (grunt 2008), *Rebecca Belmore* (Sydney Biennial Catalogue, Australia 2006), and *Caught in the Act* (YYZ Books Toronto, 2005). In recent years Alteen has been involved in archival projects as a producer of websites including *Medicine* (2008), *Beat Nation* (2009) through grunt gallery, *Ruins in Process - Vancouver Art in the 60s* (2009) produced through grunt and the Belkin Gallery at UBC, *Activating The Archive* (2011), *Background ThisPlace* (2013), and *Taking Advantage - The Mainstreeters Redux* (2014).

Jean Barman is co-author with Bruce McIntyre Watson of *Leaving Paradise: Indigenous Hawaiians in the Pacific Northwest, 1787-1898*, published by University of Hawai'i Press, and author of *Maria Mahoi of the Islands*, appearing in a new illustrated edition with New Star Press in Spring 2017. While *Leaving Paradise* talks about Hawaiians in general, *Maria Mahoi* tells the story a Hawaiian daughter who made her life on British Columbia's Salt Spring Island and then on her very own Russell Island. She is Professor Emeritus at the University of British Columbia and a fellow of the Royal Society of Canada.

Bruce McIntyre Watson, co-author with Jean Barman of *Leaving Paradise*, is a retired English and History instructor from Vancouver Community College. He is also author of *Lives Lived West of the Divide: A Biographical Dictionary of Fur Traders Working West of the Rockies, 1793-1858* (3 volumes), Centre for Social, Spatial, and Economic Justice, University of British Columbia, Kelowna, BC. The latter work gives context to the day-to-day environment for the land based Hawaiians working for various companies in the fur trade throughout the Pacific Northwest, from Oregon to Alaska.

PICTURE CAPTIONS

COVER	1. View on Kaho'olawe (from an airplane)	P.37	19. Highest point of Kaho'olawe, used as navigation school, and with a Navigation Chair to study the ocean, the wind, the currents or the stars	P. 53	30. World Map around 1790, with a blank space on the Northwest, Cook/Forster Collection of the Georg August University Gottingen, Germany
P.6/7	2. View to Maui, from the highest point on Kaho'olawe, HI			P. 56	31. Shrine at the highest point of Kaho'olawe
P.8	3. 1. View to Kaho'olawe, from Makena Beach, Maui, HI	P.38	20. Navigation Memorial at the traditional harbor on Kaho'olawe, because of the special currents at Kaho'olawe called the "Tahiti Express".	P. 64-80	32-48 Courtesy of Kultsia-Barbara Wyss
P.9	3.2. Kaho'olawe, landscape			P. 81-96	49-64 Courtesy of Bob Baker
P.10/11	4. Zenith: Sky above the "Navigator chair" on Kaho'olawe	P.39	21.1. Navigation Map, Polynesian Navigator is teaching students, Bishop Museum Honolulu, HI	P. 97-101	65-69 Courtesy of Kultsia-Barbara Wyss
P.14	5. Young Hawaiian couple, Kaho'olawe				
P.15	6. Blank Street Map, Kaho'olawe				
P.20	7.1. Bomb crater filled with water, after Operation "Sailor Hat", Kaho'olawe	P.39	21.2. Polynesian Navigation Map, Cook/ Forster Collection of the Georg August University Gottingen, Germany		
P.20	7.2. TNT detonation on Kaho'olawe during Operation "Sailor Hat", 1965				
P.21	8. Resistance/walk, Hana, Maui, 2007	P.39	21.3. "The Nebra sky disk is a bronze disk of around 30 centimetres diameter, with a blue-green patina and inlaid with gold symbols. These are interpreted generally as a sun or full moon, a lunar crescent, and stars. It's one of the most important archaeological finds of the twentieth century." (Wikipedia), State Museum of Prehistory in Halle, Germany.		
P.22	9. Resistance in Hawaii: stickers/ posters/ labels on cars, 2017				
P.23	10. Poster in Paia, Maui, 2017 (40 year anniversary of the speech of George Helm (PKO) at the House of State, Honolulu, 1977)	P.44	22. Navigation map from Polynesia, Cook/Forster Collection of the Georg August University Gottingen, Germany		
P.24	11. Speech of George Helm (excerpt from a poster in Paia, Maui, 2017, 40 year anniversary of the speech of George Helm(PKO), at the House of State, Honolulu,1977)				
P.29	12. Blank Map of Kaho'olawe, 2017	P. 45	22.1. Cupstones, South-Tyrol, Europe		
P. 30	13.1. Symbol of the Universe (of different traditional European Cultures)	P. 45	23.1. Cupstones, Kaho'olawe. The form of the stone also symbolizes the "Shark God"		
P. 30	13.2. Symbol of the Universe	P.45	23.2. Cupstones, Kaho'olawe		
P. 30	13.3. Symbol of the Universe	P.46	24.1. Tattoos of the iceman, South-Tyrol, Europe		
P.31	14.1. Symbol of Death	P.46	24.2. Symbols on stones, South-Tyrol, Europe		
P.31	14.2. Kasimir Sewerinowitsch Malewitsch,(1878-1935), <i>Black Square</i> , 1907	P.47	25.1. Petroglyph, Kaho'olawe		
P.32	15. Map of Hawaii, without Kaho'olawe, Paia, Maui, 2017	P.47	25.2. Polynesian tattoo		
P.33	16. Map of Hawaii, without Kaho'olawe,Kihei, Maui and Honolulu, 2017	P.48	26.1. Petroglyphs (detail), South Tyrol, Europe		
P. 34	17. Map of Hawaii, without Kaho'olawe, 2017	P.48	26.2. Maori tattoo, New Zealand		
P.36	18. God Ku feather-sculpture, Cook/ Forster Collection of the Georg August University Gottingen, Germany	P.49	27. Petroglyphs, Honolulu, Hawaii		
		P.50	28. 1. Sunset on Kaho'olawe		
		P.50	28.2. Polynesian tattoo, Bishop Museum, Honolulu, HI		
		P.52	29 " My heroes killed James Cook" T-Shirt, Maui, HI		

