

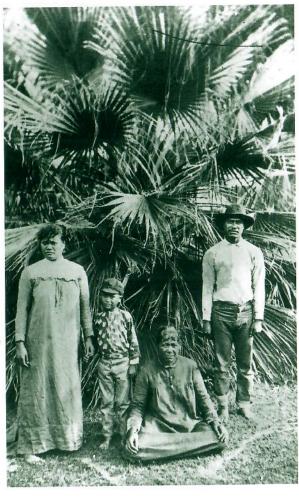
$\mathcal{F}_{\text{oreword}}$

Then There Were None was born from unspoken words, unshed tears, and wounded spirits. It is not a tale of blame or victimization. It is an effort to give voice to kūpuna who became strangers in their own land, a land that once nourished their dreams and now cradles their bones. Without these stories, Hawai'i's history is incomplete.

My *kuleana*, my life's work, is humbly devoted to remembering our *kūpuna*, upon whose shoulders I stand. Through my work and the work of people such as my colleague and friend Martha Noyes and my husband, J. W. A. Buyers, who produced the documentary film *Then There Were None*, silence will not shroud our future generations. They will know who they are, from whence they come, and the sounds of all the world's voices.

Me ka ha'aha'a a me ke aloha, Elizabeth Kapu'uwailani Lindsey Buyers, Ph.D. We have been in these islands for two thousand years. For thousands of years before that we have been Pacific Island people.

Archaeologists and anthropologists argue over what date the first people came to these Hawaiian islands. Remains have been found that date to 150 BC. We have been here a long time.



The world knows of our green mountains and blue seas. The world knows of swaying hula dancers and of Pearl Harbor. The world knows of pineapples, mai tais, Kona coffee, and macadamia nuts. The world knows of coco palms and white sand beaches, of flower leis and brightly colored mu'umu'us.

But the world does not know of us. We are Hawaiian. This is our story.

Papa is the goddess of the earth, and her name means "foundation." She is Papa-hānau-moku, Papa-from-whom-lands-are-born. Wākea is her mate.

Wakea son of Kahiko-lua-mea. Papa, called Papa-giving-birth-to-islands, was his wife, Eastern Kahiki, western Kahiki were born. The regions below were born, The regions above were born, Hawai'i was born. The firstborn child was the island of Hawai'i. Of Wakea together with Kane, And Papa in the person of Walinu'u as wife. Papa became pregnant with the island, Sick with the foetus she bore. Great Maui was born, an island Papa was in heavy travail with the island Kanaloa, A child born to Papa. Papa left and returned to Tahiti, Went back to Tahiti at Kapakapakaua, Wakea stayed, lived with Kaula as wife, Lana'i kaula was born, The firstborn of that wife.

Wakea sought a new wife and found Hina, Hina lived as wife to Wakea, Hina became pregnant with the island of Moloka'i, The island of Moloka'i was a child of Hina. The messenger of Kaula told Of Wakea's living with another woman; Papa was raging with jealousy, Papa returned from Tahiti Bitter against her husband Wakea, Lived with Lua, a new husband, O'ahu son of Lua was born, O'ahu of Lua, an island child, A child of Lua's youth. She lived again with Wakea, Conceived by him, Became with the island of Kaua'i, The island Kama-wae-lua-lani was born, Ni'ihau was an afterbirth, Lehua a boundary, Kaula the last Of the low reef islands of Lono.

> —from the Kumulipo, in Abraham Fornander, An Account of the Polynesian Race, vol. 1.



We had no notion of private property. The concept was, in fact, unthinkable. And as to land, well, how could it be that land could be alienated from the three-part unity of nature, man, and deity?

The word in Hawaiian for land is 'āina.

'AI-NA

'ai: Food, plant food; to eat; to taste; edible.

-na: Passive/imperative suffix.

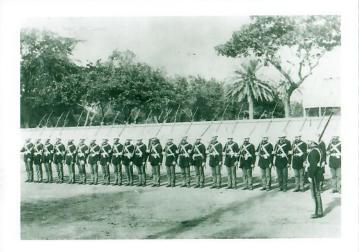
And we are kama'āina, children of the land.

But now we were cut off from the parent, severed from the land.

How could we grow food to feed ourselves? How could we gather wood to cook what food we had? How could we make thatch to house ourselves? How could we weave plant fiber nets to catch fish?

We were separated from the resources necessary for physical subsistence, and we were alienated from one-third of the heretofore inviolable unity upon which life itself depended.

Now both three-part unities were damaged. The person was not whole, not in harmony in his own unity of body, mind, and spirit. And the universe was not whole, was without harmony among nature, man, and god.



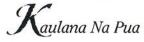
he fall came quickly after that. Hawaiian land was claimed and purchased, not by Hawaiians but by Americans and Europeans.

Sugar was fast becoming king, and white plantation owners, whose livelihood was tied to trade with the United States, exerted ever-greater pressure on our government. In 1876 pressure on King David Kalākaua from white plantation owners and business interests resulted in the signing of the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States. This treaty gave Hawai'i "favored nation" status, ridding sugar exports

from Hawai'i of duties and tariffs in trade with the United States, thus increasing sugar's profitability in the islands. In return for this boon, the Reciprocity Treaty required that Hawai'i allow no nation other than the United States the use of Pearl Harbor.

This concession of Pearl Harbor was a partial concession of Hawaiian sovereignty and at home it rankled. Sugar owners and other American interests in the islands were bolstered, but our native people were hurt and saddened. The foreign blade sank deeper into the Hawaiian heart.

In 1887 a white political group, the Hawaiian League, in command of several hundred armed white foot soldiers called the Honolulu Rifles, marched on 'Iolani Palace and forced Kalākaua's signature on a new constitution, quickly dubbed the Bayonet Constitution. The Bayonet Constitution curbed the rights and powers of the Monarch, reducing the king to more figurehead than ruler. This new constitution also required that the right to vote be vested only in those male residents who owned a minimum of three thousand dollars worth of property or who had a minimum annual income of at least six hundred dollars. Those requirements eliminated two-thirds of Hawai'i's population, and the overwhelming majority of the thus qualified one-third were white.



(written by Helen Keho'ohiwaokalani Prendergast in 1893)

Kaulana na pua a'o Hawai'i
Famous are the children of Hawai'i
Kupa'a mahope o ka 'aina
Ever loyal to the land
Hiki mai ka 'elele o ka loko 'ino
When the evil-hearted messenger comes
Palapala 'anunu me ka pakaha
With his greedy document of extortion.

Pane mai Hawai'i moku o Keawe
Hawai'i, land of Keawe, answers
Kokua na Hono a'o Pi'ilani
Pi'lani's bays help
Kako'o mai Kaua'i o Mano
Mano's Kaua'i lends support
Pa'apu me ke one Kakuhihewa
And so do the sands of Kakuhihewa.
'A'ole 'a'e kau i ka pulima
No one will fix a signature
Maluna o ka pepa o ka 'enemi
To the paper of the enemy

Hoʻohuhi ʻaina kuʻai hewa With its sin of annexation I ka pono sivila aʻo ke kanaka And sale of native civil rights.

'A'ole makou a'e minamina
We do not value
I ka pu'u kala a ke aupuni
The Government's sums of money
Ua lawa makou i ka pohaku
We are satisfied with the stones
I ka 'ai kamaha'o o ka 'aina
Astonishing food of the land.

Mahope makou o Lili'ulani
We back Lili'ulani
A loa'a 'e ka pono o ka 'aina
Who has won the rights of the land
Ha'ina 'ia mai ana ka puana
Tell the story
Ka po'e i aloha i ka 'aina
Of the people who love their land.



ow, like it or not, we were American, and America made decisions, laws, and policies that were consistent with American aspirations. We were expected to assimilate, and if we did not, we were presumed disposable.

By property interests, commercial association, by school and political education, by the general prevalence of American laws, legal decisions, social and religious ideas, these Islands have become thoroughly Americanized. Go into the Chamber of Commerce, into the principal churches, into the courts, into the schools of Honolulu, Hilo and other chief towns in the Islands, and you would think yourself in New England or western New York. American ideas and interests are all dominant.

—John L. Stevens, "A Plea for Annexation," The North American Review (157, December 1983)

Speaking generally, a region larger than several of our States has been redeemed from utter savagery. . . . Tho [sic] the natives are steadily disappearing in number and seem likely sooner or later to disappear, their places are already supplied by others of sturdier stock.

—D.L. Leonard, D.D., "Christianity and the Hawaiian Islands," The Missionary Review of the Word (16, July 1903)



Ur very concept of ourselves was challenged. English was the language of education, and teachers punished our children if they spoke Hawaiian. Hawaiian scholar Mary Kawena Pukui (1895–1986) told a story of her experience as a boarding school student

at Honolulu's Mid-Pacific Institute. Kawena, half-Hawaiian and half-white, was fluent in both Hawaiian and English, but some of the new boarders at Mid-Pacific spoke only Hawaiian. One girl in particular had trouble understanding the teacher. Kawena turned to this student and translated the teacher's English-language instructions into Hawaiian. For this Kawena was physically punished and told not to speak her native tongue again.

Kawena's revenge was to become the greatest scholar of things Hawaiian this century has known. She wrote fifty-two books and articles, composed more than one hundred and fifty chants and meles (Hawaiian songs), was a translator, a genealogist, a storyteller, a chanter, and a linguist. With Samuel Elbert she coauthored the *Hawaiian Dictionary*, which, since the publication of its first edition in 1957, has been *the* dictionary of the Hawaiian language.

But the Americanizing dug deeper than official disapproval of our language. Many Hawaiian parents, concerned for their children's future, would not allow their own children to speak Hawaiian at all. And it wasn't just the Hawaiian language that was being suppressed. It was Hawaiian ways.



Foreign influence had fast become foreign domination. If we were to have a place in our own home it seemed that there were but two choices. We could retreat to the farthest reaches of the country and strive to live as much as possible in isolation, or we could assimilate, capitulate to the dominant culture, and strive to become a part of it.

The dominant society welcomed our assimilation. But in its heart of hearts the dominant society did not believe us competent or equal. As late as 1965 the influential Pacific Club did not allow Hawaiians to join its roster of members. And while bank tellers and loan officers might be of Hawaiian blood, bank presidents were white. The publishers of both daily newspapers were, and are to this day, white. The owners of radio stations were white. The CEOs of Hawai'i's major corporations were, and are to this day, white.

We might be managers and supervisors, but we were not decision makers. We could play a part, but we could not write the play.



In the 1970s and into the 1980s, "sovereignty" was a word spoken in whispers. Then the whispers grew and sovereignty was spoken aloud.

In 1992, the United States returned Kahoʻolawe to the people of Hawaiʻi.

On January 17, 1993, ten thousand people converged on the grounds of 'Iolani Palace. The day marked the one-hundredth year since the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom. And on the 17th of January, 1993, from the steps of the Palace where our last ruling queen had been made a prisoner in her own home, dignitaries read an official apology by the United States government for its illegal participation in the overthrow of our nation.

Now sovereignty is on the lips of Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian alike. Some utter it with a vengeance, some with hope, some with fear. Sovereignty is no longer just the dream of a few young Hawaiians.