

Book Reviews

Hā'ena: Through the Eyes of the Ancestors. By Carlos Andrade. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008. xxi + 158 pp. Maps. Bibliography. Illustrated. Photographs. Index. \$30.00 cloth

Listening to tales told by the earth and elders of Hā'ena, Kaua'i, Hawaiian studies professor and geographer Carlos Andrade maps out a storied landscape of tradition, change, and persistence. *Hā'ena: Through the Eyes of the Ancestors* issues an urgent call to Kānaka 'Ōiwi Maoli [indigenous Hawaiians] and all peoples of Hawai'i to remember the mo'olelo [histories, stories, narratives] of the places that we are now a part of. This is especially important as pressures from tourism, in-migration, and escalating real estate prices threaten to reshape the face of the Hawaiian Islands. As Andrade tells us, "[t]he loss of names and their accompanying stories sever Native peoples from their ancestry, history, and identity, and, in this era of globalization, their legitimate claims to their continuing existence as a unique and distinct people" (p. 4). But if we hold on to these mo'olelo, we may just be able to 'ō'ili pulelo ke ahi o Makana (p. ix)—rise in triumph like the firebrands of Makana. Andrade does precisely this as he combines the tools of geography, history, ethnography, and Hawaiian studies in a text that shows indigenous research at its very best: intelligent, accessible, responsible, and relevant. This book will become essential reading for community members, students, and scholars looking at—and with—Native land and peoples.

"Hā'ena, the intense breath of the sun, reverberates through the archipelago, beginning first at the easternmost tip at Hā'ena, Puna, and on to . . . the northern tip of Kaua'i at Hā'ena, Halele'a" (p. xiii). So begins a journey that the respected kumu hula [source of hula] and cultural expert Pualani Kanahale takes us on in her stunning foreword as she invites us to find deeper meanings and broader connections. Andrade, who is an accomplished songwriter and experienced canoe voyager, picks up on this lyrical tone as he describes the elders whose voices populate the text: "Like stars guiding voyaging ancestors through the perils of the sea, these special people show the way and enrich lives with the experiences they share" (p. xviii). Don't let the poetry fool you though—this work has a political edge. "Native ways and per-

ceptions . . . have been and continue to be submerged by increasing numbers of newcomers who now own and inhabit the majority of lands in Hawai'i, greatly outnumbering the aboriginal people" (p. xvi). Thus Andrade "wrote this narrative . . . to preserve for the youth of the Native Hawaiian community a record of the legacy inscribed upon the land" (p. xvi). In so doing, his study aligns with Davianna McGregor's project of documenting cultural histories and kūpuna voices in *Nā Kua'āina: Living Hawaiian Culture* (2007). Andrade also aimed to show how land that was "traditionally held in common by Native people, came to be fragmented into the private property regime found in effect today" (p. xvi). Rather than being a case of sudden and drastic land alienation, the example from Hā'ena reveals a group of ordinary people who accomplished an extraordinary feat of cooperatively owning land well into the middle of the 20th century. Like Robert Stauffer's *Kahana: How the Land Was Lost* (2004), *Hā'ena* forces us to pay careful attention to specific histories of land, law, and people—and their consequences.

The first two chapters delve into indigenous concepts of time and space in Hā'ena. Andrade draws on ancient genealogical chants, translated and untranslated oral traditions, testimonies before the mid-19th century land commission, traditional proverbs, modern songs, and oral histories of kūpuna he interviewed. Rich historic and contemporary photographs, art works, and maps allow us to not only look through but also *into* the eyes of the ancestors as we visit the beaches, streams, caves, and stones where their histories have been memorialized. While covering much familiar ground in Hawaiian studies [Kumulipo, Wākea and Papa, Kāne and Kanaloa, Hi'iaka, mo'ō beings], Andrade makes a number of original contributions (e.g., a rethinking of the place of Menehune in popular and scholarly imagination on pp.6–10). He also creates a space for the elders to tell their own stories, whether it be Kapeka Chandler's childhood memories of Pele catching the bus to Maninoholo (p. 15) or Thomas Hashimoto's teachings on proper behavior at Kē'ē (p. 18), the famed site of hula instruction that attracted the volcano deity to be with the chief Lohi'au in an epic legend. This weaving of old and new in both text and image continues throughout the book, reinforcing the deep connections between the past and present that abide in the kūpuna and their one hānau [birthsands]. This is especially effective in Chapter 2 as Andrade reveals the meanings and tales behind the specific place names and the broader categories of Hawaiian land terms that anchor identities in place. In many ways, Hā'ena is an ideal ahupua'a—a traditional land division running from mountain to sea and endowed with abundant springs, flowing streams, fertile soil, and rich fisheries. Ahupua'a life, as an ideal, "was distinguished by shared use of land and resources, regulated jointly by *kono'ihiki* [head administrators] and *maka'āinana* [the people living on the land]" (p.30). People

remember John Hanohano Pā and Rachel Mahuiki as modern konohiki and ahupua'a leaders whose intimacy with the bay at Makua and its surrounding families promoted the sustenance and growth of community (pp. 43–51). Neither were they alone in this capacity; the entire last chapter is dedicated to the telling of similar stories of kūpuna [all men] that “continue to be an important source of growth, inspiration, guidance, and wisdom to present-day generations” (p. 123).

While Andrade spends much time celebrating these stories of continuity, he also details the massive transformations that gave his documentary project such a sense of urgency. Chapters 3–5 describe the impact on Hā'ena of land privatization initiated by the 1848 Māhele and the Kuleana Act of 1850. Andrade argues that the traditional place of the konohiki was that of a facilitator and communicator who was expert “at ‘inviting’ both *maka'āimana* and *ali'i* [chiefs] to participate in tasks necessary to preserve order and prosperity within their *ahupua'a*” (p. 76). This, and much more, changed significantly as contracts between “landlords” and “tenants” started to displace kin- and land-based ways of relating. The impacts were of course more than cultural—they were at its very base material. Chapter 4 follows the transfer of title to Hā'ena from its initial granting to the high chief Abner Pākī (father of Bernice Pauahi Bishop), to its parceling out into land commission awards and individual purchases.

Against the threat of permanent alienation from the land, a group of 38 *maka'āinana* formed a cooperative association called the Hui Kū'ai 'Āina o Hā'ena and purchased the majority of the ahupua'a in 1875. Remarkably, they and their heirs held it in common for nearly a hundred years. This group was one of a number of hui formed across the islands in the 19th century whose stories “contain examples of strategies aboriginal Hawaiian people adopted to enable living in the time-honored ways of their ancestors while at the same time engaging the more recently arrived market economy and new forms of governance” (p. 103). Yet despite early successes, the hui throughout Hawai'i began to fall “to a legal system whose balance was shifting more and more toward Western ideals of exclusivity” (p. 104). In the case of the Hui Kū'ai 'Āina o Hā'ena, a 1954 lawsuit brought by two wealthy haole men—one an entrepreneur from the continent and the other a descendant of the Rice missionary family—forced the other shareholders to partition their lands, ending at least one aspect (communal ownership) of ahupua'a life that had endured for centuries. “However,” Andrade notes, “the skills of traditional fishermen and farmers, the stories passed down from many generations, and a unique sense of humor and identity rooted and nurtured in the special place that is Hā'ena continue to be manifested” (p. 115).

Following in the footsteps of Hawaiian studies founder and geography pro-

fessor Abraham Pi‘ianai‘a, Carlos Andrade is leading a new generation of critical Hawaiian geographers including Kali Fermantez, Kapā Oliveira, Renee Louis, Kamana Beamer, and Donovan Preza. Importantly, the relevance of their work goes beyond disciplinary and academic boundaries as the central questions around Hawaiian history and land continue to be reexamined in scholarly and public discourse. Through all of this, it is vital that we do not forget the stories and lessons of the kūpuna who have stood [kū] at the fresh water springs [puna] that give life to the land. Like the mountain peak from which hula graduates would cast firebrands into the night sky (pp. 37–39), *Hā‘ena* is truly a Makana—a Gift for the generations.

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Ben: A Memoir, From Street Kid to Governor. By Benjamin J. Cayetano. Honolulu: Watermark Publishing, 2009. viii + 560 pp. Illustrated. Index. \$50.00 leather bound; \$19.95 paper

In 1934 progressive historian Carl Becker coined the phrase “Every man his own historian.” He meant that every generation of historians sees the past through a different lens—one shaped by the formative events of his era and of his own life.

Any American historian who has practiced his craft over the past half-century knows the truth of Becker’s words. Historians of the middle decades of 20th century studied heroic men (and an occasional woman) who had founded the nation, saved it, fought triumphant wars, defended gallant lost causes, and battled corruption or economic depressions. They wrote about them as well: in their doctoral dissertations, in the books and articles that gained them tenure and promotions, and in the lectures they wrote for delivery to their students.

In the last half of the 20th century, history changed. Younger scholars saw America’s history in terms of ethnicity, gender, culture, or oppression. Many abandoned national history entirely; only that which transcended boundaries, i.e., global history, mattered.

“Every man his own historian” becomes even more apropos in the political memoir. The ex-politician writes of his role in public events—an arena in which large egos of differing ideologies wrestle with complex societal problems and in which all the players see themselves as heroes.