
26. This announcement was included in an e-mail of November 28, 2003, that was sent to a number of Kamehameha alumni and supporters.

27. It is interesting to note that even after all of this, Mohica-Cummings was expelled from K.S during his high school years for zero-tolerance behavior. Though a complete discussion of the complexity of the legal case is not warranted in this chapter, it was believed by those advising K.S leaders that the initial settlement with Mohica-Cummings's family would improve their chances of winning the Doe case, which went up to the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. In May 2006 the full board of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals found in favor of Kamehameha in the Doe case in a vote of eight to seven.

The community was elated, as a favorable ruling was unexpected. Kamehameha was immediately informed that an appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court would occur. Their team of legal experts began to strategize and once again decided to settle out of court. Once the plaintiff's attorneys realized that Kamehameha would never take their chances with the predominantly conservative highest court in the United States, they began to solicit for more clients, knowing this could be a profitable way to line their pockets. As Kamehameha continues to settle rather than fight, it is much harder to garner support and loyalty to their causes. It is unfortunate that they envision this as their only option.


29. Sacred area near Wahiawā on O'ahu, known for its large birthing stones used by ali'i.

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**Portrait. Sam Kaha'i Ka'ai**

**Ty P. Kāwika Tengan**

Every story is a ceremony for Sam Kaha'i Ka'ai. With half-remembered prayers and bright shining eyes, he has shaped countless histories, images, and men in the likeness of their ancestors. It is impossible to adequately represent his life or works in a book (which I have tried) or a gallery (which others have tried). Thus, it is fitting that this piece, based on recorded conversations between 1999 and 2011, is a portrait, or a ki'i. Like most things Hawaiian, ki'i is a multivalent term filled with kaona (deeper meaning). On one level, it refers to an "image, statue, picture, . . . likeness," or something "carved"; as a verb, it means to "fetch, get, procure, send for, go after, summon, attack," or "seek for sexual ends"; in hula, it names a step or gesture; and in the cosmogonic prayer of the Kumulipo, it represents the first man (who in turn represents the gods). A kālai ki'i (carver of images) and haku mo'olelo (composer of histories and stories), Sam has summoned Kanaka Maoli to "be real" in the quest for ea (sovereignty and self-determination) by petitioning the heavens for life on earth.

**Remembering**

Born in Hāna on April 17, 1938, to Edward and Caterina Marcil, Sam was given in hānai (Hawaiian customary adoption) to Edward's childless sister Christina and her husband Samuel Kaha'i Ka'ai Sr. of Moloka'i. Sam spent his early years on the Marcil homestead in the rural sweet potato growing and fishing village of Kaupō on the southeastern side of Maui. There he learned carving from his uncles as he first watched them work, then fetched and carried materials, then learned to sharpen and tie the adze, and finally began to carve wooden boards and boxes. He later lived on O'ahu where he went to McKinley High School, served briefly in the Army Reserves, attended the Honolulu Academy of the Arts, and worked as a carver at the International Marketplace in Waikiki.

Sam moved back to Maui in 1960 to open a shop on Front Street (Lāhainā) called Ka Honu ('The Turtle'), which sold carvings he made and crafts he imported from thirty-eight different Pacific islands. At twenty-three he married a schoolteacher from Michigan, and they had three daughters. At this time he also began to visit his great-uncle Līhau Ka'ula Ka'alhue in Kaupō to talk about "Hawaiian subjects," which
"were not popular at the time." He had a growing sense of unease and dissatisfaction with the state of Hawaiian affairs, a feeling that was only compounded when he went through a divorce in 1985.

After much soul searching, Sam came to the realization that Hawaiian "material culture was missing." In his view, things considered Hawaiian were either adaptations of foreign objects (e.g., the 'ukulele, which was the Portuguese braguinha) or Hawaiian-looking items produced elsewhere (e.g., kukui [candlenut] lei made in the Philippines and lauhala [pandanus leaf] mats made in Sāmoa and Tonga). He summarized Hawaiians' collective alienation from their material culture in his maxim, "When you eat poi from plastic bags, you burp foreign sounds." He argued, "Hawaiian things will be in Hawaiian hands when Hawaiians pick it up, and you can't pick it up in the store, you gotta make it."

All of this became clear to him in 1988 when he went to Aotearoa / New Zealand on a Fulbright scholarship to study carving with Māori artisans. He explained, "To a Māori ... accident of birth did not make you who you were. ... So they would say, 'A'oe Māori? Are you real? Do you go in the street with your father's good name? And ... that hit as a kind of a clear answer to the things that you kinda not put your finger on at home." Sam lamented the fact that instead of doing the things that make us Māori, Hawaiians look to written accounts by foreign observers like Captain James Cook.

In contrast, he spoke of what and how he learned "in the doing" when he was growing up in Kaupō:

My tūtū [Lihau] used to say "Kālai kālai, nānā ka maka, hana e ka lima [carve, carve, the eyes watch, the hand works]. Your hand coordination, your eye coordination was you, but the sharpening of the adze before you started was the foundation, and the binding, the making of the handle. ... And then you have to allow for this little extra. It's for the blisters, cause as you concentrate on your carving and you shaping the wood, the adze on the other hand is shaping the hand, shaping the tolerance, shaping the judgment, shaping the 'uhane [spirit].' ... So by doing all of these things increases our familiarity, and then you can feel the same pain of the people before you and have some kinship that is not measured by this time and that time, but time in work.

Sam's own familiarity with the material culture led him to carve the stern images for the Hawaiian voyaging canoe Hōkūle'a's maiden voyage in 1976 and to conduct ceremonies for her departure from Hawai'i and arrival in Tahiti. On one stern was a female image: "Kiha, ka mo'o o malu 'ulu o Lele, represents all the kūpuna. She is the heavenly watcher, a caring spirit, a clear voice of guidance."

On the other side was a male holding a mother of pearl disc above his head, Kāne o Hōkūle'a o ka lani. Sam explained that he was an effigy of our time, reaching for the hōkū, the stars. ... Some people were crying in their heart that they were born too late, see. The trouble is ... when they pray, they wen look down, they nevah look up. Cause if you get up before dawn, the heavens have not changed. ... Their relationship to each other is there, so if you lost your way ... on the land because the streets are changed and the bulldozah making new alaunui [road], well, a'ke alaunui o ka lani [brave the path of the heavens], the heavenly roads are still there. Look up, see your star, remember where your kūpuna said the island was. ... So, choose the right star, set the course, give your life to eternity, ma mua [in front of or the historical past], go forward.

As has been noted elsewhere, the voyages of the Hōkūle'a were instrumental in stimulating cultural revitalization in Hawai'i and the revival of ocean voyaging throughout Polynesia. For Sam personally, Hōkūle'a's "taught many lessons" that "allowed probing. ... Everybody looking at Oriental and Occidental ideas; Hawaiians only had to look south to other islands." Over the years Sam visited such places as Tahiti, Sāmoa, Rapa Nui, Rarotonga, Fiji, and Aotearoa / New Zealand, all islands "on the chain of vertebrae that make up the lei of ancestors and connections."
Rededicating

With a renewed Oceanic intercourse came a new set of challenges. Sam remembered meeting a Māori leader named John Rangihau (from the Tūhoe tribe) who asked him, “What do your Hawaiian men do on their maraes [meeting places]? What do Hawaiian women do? I see you grow a lot of weeds.”

The occasion to respond to these questions came in 1989. That year Sam became the chair of a committee to organize the bicentennial commemoration of Pu'ukoholā Heiau, the temple of state at Kawaihao associated with the unification of the Hawaiian Islands. On this site in 1791, Kamehameha sacrificed his primary rival and cousin Keōua in fulfillment of a prophecy that foretold the end of war when one was laid upon its altar. When the ruler of Kaua‘i peacefully ceded control of his island to Kamehameha in 1810, the entire archipelago came under his rule, and the Hawaiian Kingdom was established.

The 1991 commemoration was to be called Ho‘oku‘ikahi, which meant To Reconcile and To Unify as One. Sam worked with a committee that included respected leaders such as John Keola Lake, Fred Kalani Meinecke, Parley Kanaka‘ole, Hale Kealoha Makua, and the Kahaiali‘i ‘Ohana (Manu, Thelma, and Ulu), as well as staff of the National Park Service (that managed Pu‘ukoholā as a National Historic Site) and members of the Hawaiian Civic Clubs, to ensure that the event was not a pageant, but a happening. Ho‘oku‘ikahi represented a unification of Hawaiians today and an integration of their modern selves with their ancient ones. Re-membering the mo‘olelo of Pu‘ukoholā would involve the reunification of elements of Hawaiian culture and society that had been dis-membered. This involved healing the divisions and animosities between the descendants of Kamehameha and those of Keōua; unifying Kānaka Maoli searching for cultural identity, spiritual guidance, and political sovereignty; and reconnecting with other Polynesian and Indigenous peoples whose histories we shared. There at the temple of state, where Hawaiians had successfully petitioned the heavens once before, new prayers would be lifted as modern Kānaka dedicated themselves to being Maoli—real.

Ho‘oku‘ikahi was also meant to answer the question, “Where are the men?” This question came not only from Māori quarters, but also from within the Hawaiian community. The high visibility of Hawaiian women taking up leadership roles in the cultural and political arenas contrasted with the perceived absence of their men. To correct this, Sam sought to connect men with the values and practices of koa—a culturally and spiritually grounded bravery, courage, and warriorhood that had been lost. He decided to gather a group of forty men to stand at the heiau as Nā Koa, The Courageous Ones / Warriors. He explained that Nā Koa was “not about being warlike,” but “being courageous enough to look at your spirit. It’s about spending yourself, and in the spending you become more about yourself, things you already are.”

Sam gave a speaking tour throughout the islands and called all Hawaiians (especially the men) to gather at Pu‘ukoholā at Kawaihao in 1991 to remember who they were as a people. On one occasion, he said, “History is either a living thing, or it’s already been blown away. How important is this metaphor? In the canoe, the navigator holds a story, a song, that’s all he has. And exactly three hundred yards behind the canoe, his road is being erased. He pushes into the unknown and has only a small glimpse of the past; except that he remembers the song, and sings it again. So you will live if you remember the song.”

After two long years of manufacturing the various weapons and ceremonial implements and garb that would be used, as well as learning the chants, prayers, and ceremonies that would be conducted, the day of Ho‘oku‘ikahi finally came. The Hōkūle‘a sailed into the harbor to open up the day’s events, which included a reconciliation between descendants of Kamehameha and Keōua; a ceremony honoring Hawaiian dignitaries and those who came from across Polynesia (including Tahiti, Sāmoa, the Marquesas, Rapa Nui / Easter Island, and Aotearoa / New Zealand); a presentation of offerings to the heiau and to the deity of Kūumiākea; and a display of weaponry usage and martial formations by Nā Koa.

When all was said and done, Pu‘ukoholā succeeded in ways that were unexpected.
You know outta all da things we planned, about forty percent collapsed. But, for the sixty that was, there were two thousand percent blessing." The hō'ālona (spiritual signs) appeared as sharks and turtles circled in the water and cameras that tried to record the phenomenon inexplicably opened up and lost their film. "Had wonderful stuff like that, had happened. You know what I mean? You plan things, and there are other things that happen, eh. Those people have mana [spiritual power] also. And they are called, and the other side of the veil pours over."

Returning

Pu‘u’okoholā became a gathering place for both men and women to practice and live their culture. For men, it held a particular appeal as it revitalized cultural and spiritual traditions that were both authentic (i.e., not performed for tourists or as a pageant) and masculine (i.e., aggressive, strong, and disciplined). Nā Koa embodied this gendered reclamation of cultural identity, and they inspired an important segment of the Hawaiian male population who had previously been uninvolved in the cultural politics of sovereignty and revitalization. Both men and women returned to Pu‘u’okoholā each year thereafter to renew and re dedicate themselves.

The groups of Nā Papa Kanaka o Pu‘u‘okoholā (the organizational body of the Pu‘u‘okoholā ceremonies), Nā Koa (the warriors or courageous ones), and Nā Wa‘a Lālani Kahuna (ritual specialists) that were "born" at Pu‘u‘okoholā added a greater level of spirituality to the political rallies and protest marches such as the 1993 ʻOnipaʻa commemoration of the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom and the 1998 Hawai‘i Loa Kū Like Kākou centennial of the so-called annihilation. Sam served ʻawa ceremoniously at the ʻIolani Palace grounds, and he heralded the coming of the masses when he blew his pū (conch shell trumpet) during the marches. In each of these events, Nā Koa was a visible force whose presence signaled the new strength, aggression, and resolve with which cultural nationalists had engaged in their struggles for self-determination and sovereignty.

The assembly of Nā Koa at Pu‘u‘okoholā in 1991 signaled the beginning of what today might be called a warrior movement that came out of two related though separate developments: Pu‘u‘okoholā on the one hand, and on the other the revival of the Hawaiian fighting art lua in 1992. Though separate, these two strands of cultural revitalization frequently overlapped so that many of the members of Nā Koa were also involved in the lua schools.

On Maui, Sam Ka‘ai mentored a number of young men who wanted to take up the kuleana (responsibilities and rights) of their forefathers. Kyle Nākānelua, a firefighter, taro farmer, and lua practitioner, became the po‘o (leader) of a group of Nā Koa from Maui that would return annually to Pu‘u‘okoholā. Eventually the group grew and reorganized as a Hale Mua, a cultural organization that took as its model the men's eating house and domestic temple of precolonial Hawai‘i. Sam recalled that when Nākānelua and others conferred with him, he told them, "Be Maoli… The Hawaiians had a house, the hale mua. Basically the word means 'to go forward.' You suffah da pain, and now we mad… Let's pound each addah until we meld togethah like poi… That means, whatever you are, you must transform by being meld into one. And what it's done fo'? To go forward." The basic aim of the Hale Mua was to establish a foundation for Hawaiian men by creating a safe space for learning and practicing culture, engaging in the ritual process of self-transformation, and establishing networks of support and community. The general premise of the group was that colonization and modernity had led to a loss of Hawaiian life and culture, especially for the men. By reestablishing a Hale Mua, men would gain a deeper understanding of their history and acquire the skills, knowledge, and courage to be more effective as members and leaders in their families and communities.

When asked how he would describe the "average Hawaiian man today," Sam once replied:

I don't know what an "average man" is. You know we have a syndrome called the "galvanizing 'alamihi [black crab]." Everybody say when a Hawaiian try to climb
up, another one pulls him down, all in the same galvanized [steel] bucket. The trouble is that the bucket is galvanized. If it was a basket they crawl in and out. If a clay pot, they can crawl in and out; it's the fact that it's a galvanized bucket. So I don't think it's the fault of the crabs as it is the fault of the environment. And so there's some galvanizing stuff in Hawaiians, but Hawaiian men are trying to raise their families, some cope well, some don't.

"Average Hawaiian man." There are men coping at every level. . . . I think the only thing "average" about Hawai'i is the galvanized bucket. Rules and restraints of society on man and how we handle it. Some handle wit aloha, some handle wit anger. Hopefully wit thoughtfulness and discipline, is what the Hale Mua is for.

Over the years, the Hale Mua of Maui, under the leadership of Kyle Nākāneoa and Sam Ka'ai, proceeded to redefine the average by introducing a new generation of Hawaiian men and boys to the ways of their kupuna. In 2004, Hale Mua visited their "younger brothers" (the Māori) in Aotearoa / New Zealand to deliver the long-awaited response to the questions posed decades earlier—Hawaiian men are here. An affiliated Hale Mua o Kūali'i became active on the island of O'ahu, participating in the Kūa Pono marches for social justice from 2003 to 2009 and conducting the Makahiki Nui ceremonies and competitions at Kuahonu between 2006 and 2011. Kamana'o pono Crabbe, one of the po'o (heads) of the Hale Mua o Kūali'i, worked with 'Umāi Kai and Billy Richards (both lua teachers) to organize three Aha Kāne Native Hawaiian Men's Health Conferences (2006, 2010, 2012) that drew over five hundred men from across the islands each time. For Sam, all of this has been an affirmation that "things like men did in the past are now being translated in a new song."

Reflecting

The year 2010 marked the bicentennial of the Hawaiian Kingdom's establishment under Kamehameha. As he did at the 1991 dedication at Pu'ukoholā, the god of state Kūnuiakāhi presided. This time, it was at a historic gathering at the Bishop Museum in Honolulu where the last remaining temple Kūlai'ihau was brought together for the first time in nearly two hundred years. Members of the Hale Mua from Maui and O'ahu went with the museum's staff to fetch the two images residing outside of Hawai'i in Massachusetts and London; theirs was a journey filled with hō'āla. At the exhibit's opening, Sam Ka'ai spoke to a large audience and clarified some widely held misconceptions of Kū, who is commonly known only as the god of war. As he had been doing prior to (and ever since) the first Pu'ukoholā ceremonies, Sam explained that there are seventy-two names of Kū that correspond to his multiple attitudes and activities, of which war is only one. Kū more broadly is the deity of industry, govern-

nance, and men's activities. The eight-hundred-pound wooden statues are icons of a nation's values, and their faces are "the reflection of a time before us." Like the stars in the heavens and the place names on the land, the carved features of the Kūlai'ihau are the signs that remind us whose grandchildren we really are and what sacrifices we need to make.

Sitting in his living room in September 2011, Sam reflected on developments in the Hawaiian community over the last fifty years: "[Hawaiian] things were unfashionable, and [then] they became fashionable. There was a hunger, and as things were answered, more things were asked for. So kahiko mā [the company of old] stepped forward." And as the ancestors came into our world, we too stepped into theirs. Sam noted that when men put on the mā'aloa (loincloth), there was a special kind of transformation: "In reality by getting undressed you disappear into your father's shadow. I've seen people that said their son and nephews are in that group and these people run past them and they don't even see their own family. Their family always turns into five generations back and the night marchers." One of his last comments was specifically referring to the Hale Mua, but could equally apply to all who have striven to remember, rededicate, return, and reflect in the manner of the kupuna: "You folks are the image of your ancestor; you are the only people in Hawai'i . . . who go off into the world half naked, and are filled with mana, and no one doubts your presence."

Notes

1. 'Ukula'aina Associates, "The Life Work and Collective Song of Sam Kaha'i Ka'ai"; Tengan, Native Men Remade.
5. Finney, Sailing in the Wake of the Ancestors.
7. Nā Maka o ka 'Aina, A Presentation by Sam Ka'ai.
8. Interview with author, Makawao, Maui, September 30, 2011.
A NATION RISING
Hawaiian Movements for Life, Land, and Sovereignty

Noelani Goodyear-Ka'ōpua, Ikaika Hussey
& Erin Kahunawaika'ala Wright, EDITORS

PHOTOGRAPHS BY Edward W. Greer