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HAWAIIANS HAD MANY NEGATIVE EXPERIENCES WITH HAOLE
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it is well-known that Hawaiians have been and still are among the most generous, sharing and hospitable people in the world. From the very beginning visitors to Hawai'i recorded these positive qualities as the foremost characteristics of the Hawaiian people. Today the tourist industry makes millions on "Hawaiian Hospitality."

In exchange for their generous hospitality Hawaiians have experienced more than two centuries of racism and exploitation. The prime proponents of racism and the people who have gained the most--land, power, wealth--have been haole. They have benefited as a result of their exploitation of Hawaiians and the resources of their islands.

Let me provide a few examples of what can be called systemic racism and exploitation practiced against Hawaiians since 1778.

Early in their experiences with Europeans and Americans Hawaiians were cheated and slaughtered by haole at Waimea, Kaua'i; Kealakekua, Hawai'i; and Olowalu, Maui, to name a few places where haole killed Hawaiians.

(Beaglehole 1967 (1) 267; Fortunate 1982);

The first time Cook's men landed at Waimea, Kaua'i, they killed a Hawaiian. At Kealakekua, Cook was discovered trying to take Kalaniopu'u, high chief of Hawai'i Island, hostage and for that Cook was killed by Hawaiians who were protecting their chief. According to Cook's own journal, Kalaniopu'u had been very generous, giving the visitors canoe loads of vegetables and hogs, many beautiful feather cloaks and capes and other precious gifts (many of which are in the British Museum today). In addition, Hawaiians furnished each of Cook's ships with a daily canoe load of free vegetables while they were anchored at Kealakekua Bay.

In retaliation for Cook's death, his men opened fire on the Hawaiians at the shore. From the safety of their ships they shelled the village with their cannon and burned down 50 or 60 houses. They killed about 100 Hawaiians, including about 30 chiefs. To intimidate Hawaiians, Cook's men cut off the heads of some of the Hawaiians and fixed them on poles for all to see. The white man's burden was heavy, indeed.

The massacre at Olowalu was an outrage, a vicious premeditated attack on innocent Hawaiians by an American trader. It is estimated that he killed over a hundred Hawaiians and wounded many more. Some traders cheated by trading faulty guns that exploded when used, by diluting with charcoal the gunpowder they traded with Hawaiians, or by sailing off without paying anything for the supplies they had received.

Greed for profits made by the sandalwood traders and others functioned over time to destroy the traditional Hawaiian social system. Unscrupulous traders manipulated unsuspecting Hawaiian chiefs for their own purposes. The result was terrible hardships experienced by the Hawaiian people. Many died trying to fulfill the demands of the traders. Traders sold to chiefs ships that were so rotten they sank at the dock before all the sandalwood could be collected to pay for them. Chiefs begged that the debts be

*(Beaglehole 1967 (1):
535-536, 537-
538-539, 545, 547,
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cancelled, but traders and merchants insisted the sandalwood had to be paid.

Haole missionaries declared theirs was the only true God. They damned Hawaiians as infidels and idolators. They threatened Hawaiians with the fire and brimstone of Christian hell if they did not give up their beliefs in their nature gods. They worked to have the Hawaiian hula outlawed as lascivious, and in general they denigrated Hawaiian culture. They did all this while the United States was still at least some four decades and a terrible war away from ending slavery within its borders.

In the 1820s, 30s, and 40s, gunboats from haole countries constantly threatened to take over the only homeland of Hawaiians-- 52 gunboats came between 1824 and 1844. Captains of the warships falsely claimed that Hawaiians owed haole traders hundreds of thousands of dollars in unpaid sandalwood I.O.U.s, and they demanded immediate payment. Haole traders were so anxious to get the sandalwood that they took the signatures of chiefs on promises to pay in the future, knowing they could call on their country's warships to threaten the Hawaiians and force them to pay these inflated debts. The chiefs on their part were forced to order their people out to cut, collect and haul the sandalwood down from the mountains to the waiting ships of the traders and merchants.

One English admiral not only threatened the Hawaiians with his military power, but when they resisted, he invaded and set himself up as a military dictator. For five months he arrogantly ruled these islands and the Hawaiian people. Another example of the white man's burden.

Fearful that they might some day lose their country forever to the foreign gunboats, the Hawaiian chiefs called upon their friends, the New England haole missionaries to help them deal with the aggressive foreigners. These "friends" wrote the western-type laws of the 1840s and 1850s. The land laws they wrote changed the Hawaiian system of land-use rights for all Hawaiian farmers into the western system of exclusive private ownership of land. In the process more than 70% of the Hawaiian people became landless. Not only did they have their traditional lands taken from them, but they were also denied their traditional rights to other necessary resources.

These same laws opened the doors for haole with money to purchase land and become major private landowners. The names of some are found today in the names of corporations that are among the 72 largest landowners. These own approximately 95% of all the privately owned land in Hawai'i today.

Many of the haole who purchased land in those early years also evicted Hawaiian tenant farmers from their traditional houselots and garden parcels. No laws protected the Hawaiian farmers from these evictions. Some Hawaiian farmers who escaped eviction were forced off their lands because their access rights to fresh water, to forests for firewood and other necessary resources, and their gathering rights in the sea were denied.

There were other ways of losing one's subsistence, such as being forced to give up one's traditional lands, even after they were awarded to you. Roaming cattle from haole-owned ranches consumed the crops of many Hawaiian farmers, forcing Hawaiians to

leave their farms. Evicted homeless Hawaiians became victims of a law requiring the homeless to be jailed as vagrants and forced to work on the roads. The roads were used mainly by the haole-owned sugar cane plantations.

For the relatively few Hawaiian farmers who were awarded their traditional houselots and gardens as a result of the Mahele of 1848, and the Kuleana Act of 1850, new laws were written requiring the kuleana awardees to pay money taxes on their land. The land awarded to a farmer consisted usually of a houselot and only the cultivated gardens from which he fed his family. If a Hawaiian farmer claimed any land on which he raised a crop for market, this land was not awarded.

How then could Hawaiians earn dollars to pay these money land taxes? They could go to sea as sailors--leave their country and families for months at a time. Hundreds did just that. Hawaiians were recognized as "good sailors," much sought by haole sea captains. Hawaiians were known for their love of the sea and their knowledge of sailing.

What other options did Hawaiians have to get dollars to pay the land taxes? If they did manage to grow a crop or catch fish that they could take to market, a license to sell would cost anywhere from \$25. to \$100. with fines up to \$500., if caught selling without one.

There was another option. The independent Hawaiian farmer could leave his land in the country, go to a distant urban center and try to get a job working for someone else, usually a haole. Handling freight, driving a wagon, anything that might help get money so he could keep his land was his objective.

He might have managed to pay the taxes, yes, but, years later, when he no longer could work, he returned to retire on his land; he couldn't find it. His house was gone, his neighbors were gone, and his land was somewhere in the middle of a large sugar cane field; lost forever. Laws written by haole lawyers set up the process by which land could be stolen, legally, even while the rightful landowner kept paying the taxes year after year. Those laws are still on the books today and lands are still being alienated in this way. Adverse possession is the name of the game.

A last option might have been to work for the sugar plantation owners. And who were they? As they say, it takes money to get money and it was the foreigners, the haole who came with money to invest in sugar plantations for the purpose of making more money. So, until the haole bosses could import workers from foreign countries, they hired Hawaiians for cheap labor. Hawaiian men and women worked for the sugar plantations early on. Then after the 1850s, the sugar barons began importing foreign workers, first by the hundreds and then by the thousands. At first a 5-year contract paid \$3 a month, and later a 3-year contract paid \$5 a month. Soon Hawaiians were replaced by the immigrant labor.

Now, it wasn't only the money for land taxes that Hawaiians needed, or money for the licenses to sell vegetables, or to hire out their horses, or canoes. These taxes were only part of the tax story. Laws were made that forced Hawaiian farmers to pay a \$1. annual tax for each horse over two years of age, 50 cents for each

mule, 25 cents for each donkey, \$1. for each dog, and a \$2 poll tax on each adult male human being. Then there was the \$2. annual school tax, and the \$2. annual road tax. The latter could be commuted by working on the roads ten hours a day for two weeks. Non-payment of taxes often led to alienation of land, or jail. If your land was auctioned, the successful bidder would probably be haole, and often was the plantation owner. Few others had cash in those days.

With all these negative experiences coming down on the Hawaiian farmers, the well-spring of goodwill toward haole began to dry up. There is much evidence of this in letters and petitions to the government buried in the Hawaii State Archives.

In 1887, the Americans forced the Hawaiian government to adopt what is known as the Bayonet Constitution, which disenfranchised most Hawaiians. In order to vote for or hold office in the upper house of the Hawaiian legislature, a person had to own property worth \$3,000 over and above all encumbrances, or have an annual income of not less than \$600. These requirements ruled out the large majority of Hawaiians.

Then, to add insult to injury, with the help of the U.S. military, a group of Americans took over the government of the Hawaiian Islands in 1893. Hawaiian aloha for haole suffered another serious setback. The burning loyalty Hawaiians had for their queen and anger over the treachery of the Americans was recorded in the song Kaulana Na Pua. It sings of the "evil-hearted messenger...with his greedy document of extortion."

As events unfolded in the next few years the American-backed, illegal Dole government took over all the Crown Lands and the Hawaiian Government lands and began selling them off. The haole bought thousands of acres of Hawaiian land.

In 1898, when the U.S. took over the Hawaiian Islands as a Territory, the illegal Dole government ceded all the unsold Crown and Government lands to the U.S. Today, Hawaiians who know, see this as an unforgivable insult.

Hawai'i was turned over to the U.S. without the consent of the Hawaiian people--no one bothered to ask the Hawaiians what they wanted. When the Hawaiians elected their first delegate to congress, the winner was the self-proclaimed Hawaiian revolutionary, Robert Wilcox, who ran as a candidate of the Home Rule Party. This alerted the sugar plantation owners, and they made certain that Wilcox never got a second term.

This part of Hawaiian history was not and still is not taught in the public schools. So, most of the population, including Hawaiians, are unaware of how Hawaiians had their lands taken from them, their population reduced to a small fraction of its original numbers, or how they were forced to depend on the wealthy haole for a living. Neither was this history taught at the University of Hawai'i, until very recently. Students of Hawaiian history, and I include myself, had to dig hard and deep to discover the truth. And when we did, we discovered the events that produced the great tragedy of a culture lost, a language lost, a nation stolen. Through our own efforts this tragic history was revealed to us.

The result? The battle cry of the Ethnic Studies Program in the 1970s was "Our History Our Way!" The University administration

put obstacles in our way, but with the help of our multi-ethnic community, the program prevailed.

This university was originally established as an agricultural college to promote the needs of the plantations. The plantation mind-set in which haole bosses control the lives of non-haole workers is difficult to change, and it continues in the minds of some university faculty and is programed into its administration. But their day is over, like it or not. The world is changing; it has changed. Old concepts of the "white man's burden" and "white makes right" are out. The University administration has had to accept an Ethnic Studies Program and a Center for Hawaiian Studies, both of which are strong and healthy and firmly based in our multi-ethnic community and in the history of Hawai'i and its people. After the University was established in the early years of this century it took more than sixty years before Ethnic Studies was allowed on the campus, and it was even longer than that before Hawaiian Studies came into its own.

With the Center for Hawaiian Studies firmly established, and with its strong leadership, more people have not only learned the history of the role of the haole in Hawai'i, they are also beginning to speak up against this anti-Hawaiian racism that permeates the entire university and is being allowed to continue and is apparently even being fostered by the administration.

Today, more Hawaiians are angry and frustrated by the fact that the primary perpetrators of this racism against Hawaiians have failed to admit to any wrong doing and have in fact refused to recognize the racism they continue to practice. When a knowledgeable Hawaiian brings racist haole behavior to their attention, they not only deny it, but they turn it around and accuse that Hawaiian of racism. They refuse to hear the message; they are so threatened by being revealed for what they are, they want the messenger shot. The injustice of this behavior on the part of the perpetrators of institutional racism causes great frustration and anger among Hawaiians--and many non-Hawaiians, also.

Those of us whose culture is haole, or who choose to emulate haole culture, must learn the history behind this anger, recognize it for what it is, and go on from there. We are obligated to share with others, Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian, what we have learned. Hawaiians who have had time to learn this history and to absorb its meaning must be encouraged to take a leadership role. And we non-Hawaiians must let Hawaiians do this. We must not continue to bear the "white man's burden." That day is gone. The world has moved on. Hopefully, the university community has also moved on, although I am less sanguine about this as a reality at this point. Still, we who have skills that Hawaiians have not had the opportunity to learn, or have been prevented from acquiring, we are obligated to share them whenever they are asked for.

It was not very long ago that young Hawaiians were ashamed to admit they were Hawaiian. They had been brainwashed in our educational system to believe that merely being Hawaiian was bad, something to be ashamed of. I've had students in my classes at U.H. tell me that when they were younger they avoided, whenever possible, admitting that they were Hawaiian. This is not the situation today,

and it need never be again. But it is not only Hawaiians that must take steps to eradicate this unhealthy condition. The non-Hawaiian community has a grave responsibility in this regard. And the University is included in this group.

I would like to suggest that the University sponsor forums and lectures on racism. Have guest speakers from other countries, from our own communities and from Native American nations and tribes. It is important for our students to know something about what other minorities have experienced as a result of racism and exploitation of their people and their countries. We need very much to talk about racism, get it out in the open, and investigate its history, the forms it takes, and how to rid ourselves of it.

The thing we must avoid more than anything else is covering it up. We must not outlaw discussion and open forum, or shoot the messenger who brings the bad news that there is blatant racism on the U. H. campus. We need to face this challenge as intelligent social scientists who are aware of the consequences of perpetuating racism.