COVER:
The cover of Horizons was created using the Apple® Macintosh™ Centris 610 computer, with Aldus Freehand™ v3.1 and Aldus Pagemaker® v4.2 software. The inset photograph was digitally reproduced with Adobe™ Photoshop v2.0 software.

DESIGN:
Jin Su Chang

COVER (INSET PHOTOGRAPH):
This jade sculpture of a New Zealand eagle or a large bird symbolizes the mastery of distances between New Zealand and Hawai‘i. It was a gift to Kapi‘olani Community College by Christ Church Polytechnics, New Zealand. The sculpture has no right angles to it. When it is touched, it is brought to life and it brings life to people.
HORIZONS

A Journal of Asian–Pacific Writing
1994
Volume II

Kapi‘olani Community College, 4303 Diamond Head Road, Honolulu, Hawai‘i 96816
Japanese good luck rake

"Spirit and Symbol: The Japanese New Year" exhibit
Honolulu Academy of Arts
Color Photograph by Moriso Teraoka

Rakes decorated with all the good things a person might desire are sold at the start of the New Year festivities. They “rake in good fortune for their purchasers. At the end of the year, they are burned at shrines.
To the Reader

Welcome to Horizons, Kapi‘olani Community College’s Asian/Pacific Journal. This is our premier issue. However, we owe much to E Huli and to David Kusumoto, its editor. E Huli focused on issues raised by the commemoration of the Overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy, and its success laid the groundwork for this journal which seeks to share some of the writing being done on this campus concerning Pacific and Asian topics and for a broad spectrum of classes.

Among the numerous definitions of horizon in Webster’s Third International Dictionary is this one: “the fullest range or widest limit of perception, interest, appreciation, knowledge or experience.” These words convey something of the spirit so many of us have found here at KCC. The following pieces express in individual voices that spirit and also a reaching out to explore and to share what has been learned at the boundaries of our experience.

We would like to thank all those who submitted work for this edition, and especially the following Kapi‘olani Community College faculty: Lisa Balzaretti, Carol Beresiwsky, John Cole, Jeanne Edman, Bob Franco, Carl Hefner, Ruth Mabanglo, Jill Makagon, Mike Molloy, Jon Osorio, Louise Pagotto, Meena Sachdeva, and Kahi Wight, for their efforts. A special thank you to Wini Au is necessary here, for without her great expenditure of time and energy, Horizons would not exist.

Also our thanks to Ramdas Lamb, Assistant Professor of Religion at University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa for sharing with us his expertise and Barbara B. Stephan and Jessica Rich of the Honolulu Academy of Arts for providing us with photographs and information.

We hope you will enjoy the work presented here and that it will inspire interest and discussion, a broadening of horizons, for us all.

Frances Meserve
Editor
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In the islands of Hawaii, we often see the ceremonial cutting of a maile lei at grand openings for buildings, housing developments, new businesses or at housewarmings. At these occasions, a maile vine or ribbon is strung across the entry way. After the invocation has been given by a minister or kahuna, the maile is severed and the site is declared officially open. It is also customary to invite all those attending to partake of mea' ai (food) or mau pīpū (hors d'oeuvre) to celebrate such an event. How did this practice start?

The kanaka maoli (Hawaiians) constructed their homes in a more permanent fashion than tepees or aboriginal huts. A typical home was erected on the ground and made from poles and pili grass (heteropogon contortus) or perhaps hala (pandanus) leaves. Many people came to help in the erection of a home. Usually one or two master artisans directed the placement and tying of the poles, making sure that certain rituals were adhered to: entrance doors should face east where life and energy came from; no windows should be placed opposite the entrance, thereby preventing evil spirits from coming through and taking life. These and many other rituals were observed in this art. In today’s world, these kāhuna (master artisans) would probably be called general contractors. A hale needed to be able to endure all the harsh elements of nature and the unknown.

Once the hale had been completely thatched and made ready for occupation, the owners began to gather and prepare the mea ‘ai. All those who took part in the construction, as well as family members and friends were invited to share in the celebration.

When all preparations were completed, the house dedication, known as ho'ola'a hale, ‘oki i ka piko, commenced (Pukui, 1971). This cutting of the piko (door) was done by a kāhuna (an expert, usually a priest). A few pū kō (sugar cane leaves) were intertwined with some of the thatching leaves of the hut. These were placed at the entrance to the house. Then the kāhuna, using a ko’i (hatchet), would chop the leaves in half. The following is chant that might be used during such an occasion:

Ke ‘oki nei,       I cut,
Ke ‘oki nei,       I am cutting,
Ka piko o ka hale. The umbilicus of house
(Pogue,1978).

As an added invocation, the kāhuna would stuff the cut pieces of pū kō and thatch above the door so that the occupants would not be plagued by laziness. One who is lazy is a burden on all. Each person, whether a farmer, fisherman, net sewer, or canoe maker, contributed to the welfare of his family, clan, community and chief. Hawaiians were not lazy people. This is a mistaken idea which was advanced by the plantation owners when they could not make Hawaiians work in the fields.

A second chant used in the house warming comes from the Island of Moloka‘i. The protecting thatch was bundled together with poi, which made them tough and resilient, and was called la-ele (root lau, leaf).

A moku ka piko i ele ua, i ele ao,
I ka wai i Ha’akula-nantu lā! E moku!
A moku ka piko o kou hale lā
E Mauli ola!
I ola i ka noho hale,
I ola i ke kanaka kipa mai,
I ola i ka haku ‘āina,
I ola i nā li‘i,
Severed is the piko of the house,
The thatch that sheds the rain,
That wards off the evil influences of the heavens,
The water spout of Haakula-manu, oh!
Cut now!
Cut the piko of your house, o Mauli-ola!
That the house dweller may prosper,
That the guest who enters it may have health,
That the chiefs may have long life.
Grant these blessings to your house,
O Mauli-ola,
To live 'til one crawls hunched up,
'Til one becomes bleary-eyed,
'Til one lies on the mat,
'Til one has to be carried about in a net.
Amen. It is free (Malo, 1951).

So, this is where the symbolism from which the cutting of a ribbon or lei originated. The maile, a sacred vine used in the past on the altars of the goddess Laka, is often used. It is woven in the same fashion as the pūkō leaves of the hale covering the piko (entrance). This vine was a favorite of the chiefs because of its fragrant (kaluhea) leaves. Today, because of its scarcity, it is worn or used only on special occasions.

The pā'ina, the partaking of food with all presents was the second half of a house warming. A typical piau or feast could consist of the following menu: kālua pig, i'a (steamed or raw fish), 'uala (steamed sweet potatoes), poi, fruits, kūlolo, Limu (seaweed), 'opīhi, crab, and other seafood, from the ocean. 'Awa, a narcotic drink, was often served at such gatherings.

The pua'a (pig) was used for payment or sacrifices and often signified wealth. It was the best dish one could present to guests. Usually the main course of the meal, it was given in thanks to all for their efforts, support and good wishes. My grandmother, Angeline Kawaiulani Kea Lenchanko said, “Even if all your money is spent on the pig, no worry. The rest will come somehow. Tomorrow will take care of itself, no worry!” It was typical of a Hawaiian to give the shirt off his back and not worry about it.

Here is a typical preparation (ho'omākaukau) method of the pua'a. After the pig was slaughtered, hot river rocks from the imu (underground oven) were placed throughout the inside the body. It was then closed up with twine, placed on banana stumps that were strewn over the hot rocks and coals, covered with ti leaf and then buried for several hours (depending on size and number of pigs) until cooked.

Often, fish gathered from the loko kūapa (walled fish ponds), were wrapped in lawalu (ti leaves) along with 'uala (sweet potato) and placed in the same imu as the pig. Moa (Chicken) would be substituted if pua'a was not available.

There were many delicacies from the ocean. Wana (diadema), with its spiny needles, were plucked from the reefs with long wooden sticks. They were placed in mau 'eke (bags) and shaken back and forth on the rocks. This caused the needles to break off. Then the shell was cracked with stone and the sweet-tasting innards were gathered. A highly prized dish consisted of wana mixed with slightly cooked or raw lobster. The hā'uke'uke (sea urchin), which looks like a purple sunflower along the reefs, was also gathered for its sweet taste. He'e (squid) was prepared either raw or dried. I'a (fish), chopped into small pieces (poke), was mixed with limu (seaweed) and 'inamona (roasted, chopped kukui nut) and served raw. Today, we have many versions of fish poke. The 'opīhi (limpet) is the most prized ocean delicacy. This is because it not only tastes delicious, but because one must face kai ka make (dangerous waters) to gather it. Many have given their lives attempting to pick the 'opīhi. Only the fearless attempt it. A popular medley sung today, 'Opae E', is based on the following legend which reminds us of the reasons why:

In ancient Hawai'i lived a chief who was in love with the beautiful Kuahine. Also in love with her was the dreaded sea god Puhi (eel). One day as the Kuahine stood on the seashore, the puhi emerged from the sea, captured her and took her to his sea cave. The chief was distraught and invoked several creatures of the sea (‘ōpae, pūpū, kūpe’e and the ‘opīhi) to
help him rescue the woman. All were afraid except the 'opih'i who dived to the puhi's cave, latching onto its back and covering the eyes long enough for the chief to dive and rescue his love.

For its bravery, the 'opih'i has been given the honor of living in the roughest waters where only the fearless can live.

Poi was prepared by stripping the outer skin from the bulbous root and then slowly adding water while poundering it on a smooth board with a pōhaku ku'i'ai (poi pounder) into a smooth pasty texture. Legend says:

The youngest born of Ho'ohōkūkalani and Wakea (first parents of kanaka maoli) was a son named Hā-loa. He was born deformed and died soon after. Their oldest son, Hā-loa-nakalau-kapalili, was shown the burial site of his younger brother and told, "If you take care of that spot, he will feed you for life." From that spot the kalo(taro) sprung.

Since then it has been the duty of the man to take care of the taro patches and to pound the poi. Men also did all the cooking. It is easy to detect which Hawaiian families practice the traditional ways today. Just ask the question, "Who cooks at home?" If the answer is the father or husband, more than likely they observe many of the old customs.

One of these customs was serving poi in calabash bowls from which everyone ate. You may have seen pictures of this and thought, "How disgusting, germs can be transmitted so easily." But you should remember that prior to the coming of the white man, there was very little disease. Hawaiians were very healthy and did not get sick from such practices. The food calabash was the symbol of Hā-loa. If someone outside of the family was presented with a calabash bowl, this was a special honor. It meant that you were welcome and a part of the lives of the family offering it. This is how the phrase "calabash cousins" was coined. It is one of the reasons why calabashes are also given at special events today.

Once everyone had their fill of food and drink, then it was permissible to enter and live within the new house. Practices have not changed so greatly in modern times.

If you are ever invited to a Hawaiian house warming perhaps you will have a deeper understanding of the event. Hopefully, it will be a kanaka maoli house warming. Hawaiians love to use any excuse for a pā'ina. Enjoy all of what is offered to you, for the best way to win a local person's heart is through his (your) stomach.

References

The Magic of Polynesia

On Friday, October 29, I eagerly awaited my turn to enter the Hilton Hawaiian Village Dome Ballroom to see the much proclaimed "Magic of Polynesia" show. Cocktail seating began at 8:00 p.m. As my party was seated, I noticed large groups of tourists, both mainland USA and foreign, admiring the beautiful orchid blossoms floating in their drinks. They were chattering about the weather, their last sightseeing or shopping trip, and the "wonderful Polynesian atmosphere" of the room.

As speakers unintelligibly announced their arrival, and "Tahitian" percussion sounded in the background. (To me, it sounded remarkably like my keyboard synthesizer.) On stage, a magnificent array of orchid plants, ferns, tikis and a trickling waterfall winding through volcanic boulders provided the setting. The young ladies danced enticingly, and soon five young men joined them in their welcome. Though I found the dance interesting, I doubted that the women were comfortable in their coconut bras and bright yellow and pink "grass" skirts. I wondered in which Waikiki ABC store they and their partners had gotten their costumes.

The magic show was very impressive, a multitude of trap doors, hidden wires, slight-of-hand and more. Some of the scenes were set with a "Polynesian" style. In many, the magician was barefoot, and many of his costumes were stylized versions of outfits once worn in the Pacific. Between illusions during costume or secret space changes, those same ten dancers filled the interlude. The women performed dances patterned after the hula, both kahiko and auwana, Tahitian, Maori, and several dances of which I didn't know the origin. The men performed kahiko kāne, a war dance (of which I wasn't able to place the origin), a very sexually suggestive dance behind the swaying women, and a Samoan slap dance.

Midway through the show, a young man performed a dance with flaming sticks. He reminded me of the Polynesian Cultural Center commercials. His moves were both beautiful and terrifying as the flames twirled and leapt: a perfect crowd pleaser. An apprentice dancer also took his turn with two shorter sticks and one close call. (Slightly distracting were the two men on either side carrying fire extinguishers and the large net hung between the stage and audience which showed signs of several repairs.)

Throughout the performance, I tried to note instances when the use of "Polynesia" was intentionally correct and when it was intentionally bastardized. What I was not terribly surprised to see was that most of the references and allusions to some aspect of Polynesia were not only characterized by a tourist-attracting glitzyness, but a rigidity and falseness of feeling. The girls wore plastic smiles, as any performer will, but these smiles were alluded to as the happiness of Polynesian women. The young men wore either leers or grins when with the ladies, or fierce expressions when performing without them. This was supposedly indicative of typical Pacific males: either making war or making babies.

When I interviewed two of our group who are hula dancers, they told me that their halau and most others practicing traditional Hawaiian dance do not smile when dancing, unless the story being related requires it. While they were impressed with some of the dancing, saying it was "very skilled and historically accurate," they, too, scoffed at most of the outfits. The tiki replicas were foam and all identical, while the orchids were of an
enormous variety not found in Hawaii.

Apparently, the *magic* of Polynesia consists of beautiful young girls dancing enticingly in next to nothing, wearing big smiles and dashing young men clad only in malos showing off their fierceness and muscular physiques, all set against a backdrop of lush island greenery and flowers with laser lights and stereo sound effects. Though I am not learned about the various Pacific Islander cultures, I do not believe that this dramatic, garish scene truly displays the essence of their peoples. In the same way a true cowboy would blanch at the sight of Billy Ray in his shiny boots, metal studded, fringed leather jacket, and black silk shirt with sterling collar tips, so might a native Hawaiian, Tongan, Samoan, or Maori be offended by the expropriation of his or her culture for use as a pink cellophane tourist attraction. The rest of my party, when surveyed, agreed that the show was quite entertaining and stunningly masterminded, but not one of them thought that there was any true Polynesian magic at work here. I am afraid that like so many other tourist attractions in Waikiki that offer a glimpse of the "true Hawaii" and the like, this show promotes falsehoods and misconceptions about Pacific Island cultures onto an ignorant and accepting audience.

"Sunset Surprise"
Acrylic on canvas
Connections Art Show, 1994
By David Behlke, Director, Koa Gallery
There are two components in the market principle: the market economy and the marketplace, both of which serve as the base for the buying and selling of goods. While traditional marketplaces are primarily located in the Third World, they can be found within Western cultures as well. In a strict market economy, price is determined purely by supply and demand. There are no special provisions made for good or regular customers; everyone has an equal opportunity to purchase the same item at the same store for the same price. In a marketplace, things work a bit differently. Social distance, ignored by market economies, becomes important in determining the price of goods.

I wanted to find out what effect social distance has on price in a multicultural marketplace. So, on a warm, sunny Saturday morning, I climbed into my car and headed to the Aloha Flea Market. My partners were Jamie, a 28-year-old native Hawaiian, and Andrew, a 24-year-old Caucasian from the mainland who has been here the past year and a half. Once inside the Flea Market, I suggested that we split up to conduct our test.

Jamie went into a booth selling muumuu, where she had done business in the past. She showed interest in one particular dress, and struck up a conversation with the seller. He told her he would make her a great deal and quoted her a price. She told him that she would think about it and come back later. As she was leaving, the seller offered her the dress at an even lower price. She thanked him, but said she wanted to think about it and went on.

About twenty minutes later, Andrew went into the seller’s tent, saying that he was here on vacation and wanted to bring something back for his girlfriend. The special price that the seller gave him was five dollars higher than the price he initially asked from Jamie. Andrew told him that he would keep looking around. We wandered a bit more, then I went into the same stall, fingering a dress exactly like the one Jamie had shown interest in. Being new to the islands, I asked questions as to when and where it is appropriate to wear a muumuu. He told me that I could wear a muumuu just about anywhere; I could wear a regular dress, and quoted me a “great price” that was five dollars higher than the final price he had offered to my friend Jamie a short time earlier.

While not exactly scientific, this exercise seems to reinforce the idea that the greater the distance between the buyer and seller, the greater the price. Jamie, as a native who had shopped there before, showed the best potential for repeat business, while Andrew, a passing tourist represented the least. As for me, I am now the proud owner of a hot pink muumuu with white hibiscus on it. It was the least I could do.

Because the market was not very busy, I was able to speak to a Chinese man who told me that he is semi-retired and runs a stall at the flea market to keep busy, to provide supplementary income and because he likes to watch all the people. He said he gives better prices to regular customers because they seem to expect it and because he likes to do something nice for them so that they keep coming back. But he gets a fair number of higher-paying tourist traffic as well. This seems to fit well with the idea that the sellers in a marketplace, unlike those operating within a fixed market economy, market goods on a part-time basis as a way of generating secondary income. It also stresses the importance of social relationships and distance in determining price. I also spoke with a young Caucasian woman who was raised on the mainland. She said she sets
the same base price for everyone, and her willingness to lower that price depends more on how she’s feeling and how much business she’s doing that day than on how well she knows her clientele. How true this is, I can’t say. I just know that there are exceptions to every rule.

Walking from one booth to the next was like taking a mini vacation. People from many ethnic groups and cultures were doing both the selling and the browsing. (Most people weren’t buying anything, they were just wandering around). A man was using a machete to cut up chunks of coconut, while another bored holes in them for straws so that you could drink the milk from them. There were Asian housewares, toys and fashions next to “All-American” tee shirts and brightly colored African beads. Military and civilian, Asians, Blacks, Hawaiians and Haoles roam the flea market, briefly forming a community that reflects the many cultures that coexist in Hawai‘i.
Lana'i, a Special Culture

Lana'i is the third smallest of the Hawaiian Islands, just 13 miles wide and 18 miles long, with a population of approximately 2,500. It is called the “Pineapple Island” because it used to have many pineapple fields. Approximately 98 percent of the island is owned by Castle and Cook; the remaining 2 percent is privately owned, mostly by the current residents.

The flight from O'ahu to Lana'i takes approximately thirty minutes. Upon approaching the island, I noted its flatness before the small cluster of homes known as Lana'i City, the only city on the island, became visible. There are no tall buildings except for two new hotels, but many tall, beautiful pine trees. As the plane approaches the landing strip, a old tiny building—the airport—comes into view. It has one counter for baggage claim and another counter for departures. Once we have landed, we approach the baggage claim counter, but all the bags are left on the large cart. People remove their bags themselves. After all, this is Lana'i, and the locals don’t expect service; everyone helps each other.

As we approached the “city,” we could see the homes, very old-looking, wooden buildings with dirt-stained walls, many with colored rolled-tin roofs that retain the character of a simple plantation town. It looked like something in the textbooks of old Hawai'i.

Grandma and Dad vividly remember the camps that existed long ago. The city was segregated into C Camp (Chinese), K Camp (Korean), O Camp (Okinawan), and Stable Camp (predominantly Japanese, but Filipino also). Grandma’s family was in Stable Camp. The families lived with their racial groups and did not associate much with families of other camps. Even today, many of the racial groups continue to live in the same areas even though there are no “camps” any more.

The nights on Lana'i are very cool and quiet. At approximately 8:00 p.m. a siren is heard each night. Grandma and Dad said that their life revolved around this siren. Since Lana'i was a plantation town until production was stopped a year ago, the sirens were used to alert the plantation workers (which included almost everyone). The siren would sound as follows:

- 0430 Wake up call for plantation workers
- 01630 Start work
- 1100 Lunch break
- 1530 End of workday
- 2000 Curfew (still in effect today)

At 0430, Grandma would start cooking food to pack for lunch. It was placed in a kau kau tin (lunch pail for plantation workers). However, if there was no siren at 0430, that meant no work due to rain. This was known by the workers as “Whistle Baby”—no whistle, no work. Since people were already up at 0430 waiting for the siren to sound, and had nothing to do in those wee hours of the morning when it rained, they would end up making babies! With the phasing out of pineapple production, the sirens stopped a year ago, with only the one at 8:00 p.m. to alert everyone to go home. It is extremely quiet in the evenings and nights on Lana'i; no stores are open and no activities are held. Making a lot of noise at night is considered out-of-character behavior by the local residents.

Grandma and Dad worked in the pineapple fields many years ago but it is still very fresh in their minds. Dad said they wore canvas pants called haps in the fields. There were three main
jobs: *hoe hana* (hoeing), *pula pula* (planting slips) and picking pineapple. Dad began working at age twelve in 1944 and got paid 30 cents per hour for hoe hana and pula. Grandma worked before she had children picking pineapple. She was paid by the number of boxes she filled up with pineapple. Thirty three boxes of pineapple was called 1 ton. Workers were paid $2.00 for 1 ton, $4.00 for 2 tons.

The plantation operation was controlled by the plantation manager, the "chief." Grandma said he had a lot of power over how things were run on the plantation and over social aspects of the island also. For example, warnings were given if yards were not kept neat. Clothes or blankets had to be hung only at the designated public wash area, not on the porch or in the yard. The manager made his rounds by riding a horse through the neighborhoods. Grandma said this is why she always keeps her yard neat to this day. She said that this is the way it's "supposed to be."

Dad said that when he was growing up, the theater had designated seating for the different racial groups; one race would sit up front, one off to the side, one in the back. It was a very serious matter according to Dad and Grandma. They followed the values they were raised with or they were considered outcasts by their group. Although there is more racial mixing today, some individuals, like Grandma, haven't forgotten those camp days.

There is one Lana'i Elementary, Intermediate and High School, all physically located together on one ground. Mom and Dad were formerly teachers at the elementary school. Dad said that having all grade levels together provided a sense of cohesiveness. Everyone knew everybody since all the teachers and staff were together a total of thirteen years. He feels that this was instrumental in providing a friendly community.

Trust is seen everywhere on Lana'i. In fact, this is the most trusting place I've ever been. I noticed that when Grandma leaves her house to run errands, she doesn't lock her door. In fact, she and Dad said that many residents don't even have the keys to their home. They've been living like this for years and can't conceive the idea of locking all of their windows and doors before leaving. It's too much trouble for them.

Friendship and gathering to "talk story" is a favorite past time for all. Therefore, it is not uncommon for news to travel fast on Lana'i. The grapevine is quite strong. One day Dad went fishing, and it started to rain. Since it was an uphill drive back to the house on a dirt road, he got stuck in the mud. Someone eventually came by to help him. Dad was very embarrassed about this situation since these things "aren't supposed to happen." The next day we went golfing, and a man said to Dad, "Eh, heard you got stuck in the mud, eh?" Dad doesn't even live on Lana'i anymore but everyone knows everybody.

It's quite sad now to see the phasing out of pineapple and the development of hotels. Castle and Cook stopped pineapple production last year and only grows pineapple to supply their needs (i.e., for hotel restaurants). David Murdock, Chairman of Castle and Cook, is heading the development of Lana'i. Grandma and Dad says that Murdock is sort of like the plantation manager they had to deal with. Murdock dictates what happens on Lana'i, and citizens are inclined to follow orders. He has even told some residents to fix up their homes because he says they must take pride in their island and not let their homes get run down. He recently built two massive luxury hotels. Much of this development was frowned upon by Grandma and other local residents. To make them happy, Murdock built a community recreation center with a large swimming pool and is rebuilding the theater which has not been functional for many years. Many of these things don't really benefit Grandma, but the younger generations instead. However, Grandma feels that the development does provide for more employment opportunities for the younger residents, and she feels this is good for the island people. However, Grandma still lives in her world like many others in the community—a simple, no frills lifestyle, a feeling of trust among the people, a place of peace and tranquility, a special place, like no other in Hawai'i.

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Hawaiian Names

The Hawaiian language is one of the most beautiful languages in the world. The words flow like liquid, and sound like music. Many of you may know a Kai, Pua, or Lani, and may think that it is just a name, but that may not be the case. Many places and people’s names are named for things in nature.

Do you know that Kai means water? Not just plain water; ocean or sea water. This name was very important to the Hawaiians because that is where most of their food and essentials came from. The ocean was full of ola, or life, and that was what kept them alive.

Perhaps you knew a Pua back in the third grade. Her name has many meanings, as do many Hawaiian words. Pua may mean flower or blossom, but it could also mean a small child, or to speak or to shine. The reason a small child may be named “flower” is that children are the fruits of their parents.

And of course everyone knows a Lani somewhere. Whether it has a Ka or a Lei, or even a Pua in front of it, Lani still means heaven, heavenly or even chiefliness (royalty). The reason for this double meaning is that the Hawaiians put words they liked with something of nature they thought highly of. A chief was the highest and most adored rank in old Hawaii. They were so high in rank and status that the common people could not even touch them. Such is the case with the heavens. It was considered the highest thing to them, and was adored because that was where the rain and sun lived, and it could never be touched.

Everyone knows that our school is named after Queen Kapi'olani. There is a boulevard and hospital named after her as well. Her name means the sacred arch of heaven, and our newspaper, Kapi'o, means the sacred arch.

Many words in the Hawaiian language have double meanings, which is why in many Hawaiian dictionaries give literal meanings and figurative meanings. The literal meaning gives the definition of the word, and the figurative usually is a double meaning or roundabout meaning. Hawaiians loved to play with their words and sometimes used them out of context or in a satiric way. For instance, the word ipo could figuratively mean sweetheart. Like the names you see in Hawaiian jewelry stores, Ku’uipo figuratively means beloved or my sweetheart. But the name ipo literally means love or lover, and in the verb form, it could mean to make love or have sex.

Names in Hawaiian are often linked to stories about a place, person, or event. Sometimes a whole story can be summed up in a few words and often these stories are involved with the naming of a place. Such is the case in the story about the rolling hills of Nānākuli. The story tells about a giant who, facing towards the ocean, was looking at his knees, thus the name Nānākuli which means “to look at the knees.” He sat with his legs open and knees up, looking and looking. He became so tired that he fell back and went to sleep. Eventually he turned into a mountain and his knees became giant hills with a smaller hill in the center which was named Mauna Kapu. Mauna Kapu literally means the groin area of the giant who fell asleep with his legs open, but figuratively means sacred mountain which, in a sense, it is.

The Hawaiian language is easier to understand if a few rules are followed. The Hawaiian alphabet has only seven consonants and five vowels, not including the ‘okina, or glottal stop, which is the little apostrophe found in words like ‘okiina and Kapi‘olani. The letters p, a, and u can use both the ‘okina and the kahakō, which can change the whole meaning entirely. If the ‘okina is omitted from the...
name Kapi'olani, the meaning becomes the heavenly prisoner, or captive, rather than the sacred arch of heaven.

The kahakō, or macron is a line that stresses the vowel it is placed above, as in the word pahu, which mean a box or drum. With the kahakō, pāhi is to beat or blast. The word pau means finished, pa'u means soot, pā'ū means moist, and pā'ū is a kind of sarong. So just through these small, almost insignificant changes, the words and their meanings can change into something entirely different, often in a funny or embarrassing way.

The Hawaiian language is very beautiful and being able to speak and understand it perpetuates the Hawaiian culture and heritage.
Captain James Cook:  
The Effects of his Pacific Voyages, Death of the Pacific.

Captain James Cook loved the Pacific islands and their cultures. He saw an immense beauty in every island, from the lushness of Tahiti to the barrenness of Easter Island. He was captivated by the power of Antarctica and Australia. He felt a need to know as much as he could about these islands and continents. He longed for them to stay forever the same. Cook had no desire to do damage to the natives of the Pacific, both friendly and non-friendly. He viewed Pacific Islanders much as Rousseau did: as "Noble Savages." However much Cook loved the Pacific, he inadvertently did more damage to its islands and cultures than he could have possibly imagined. He had a scientific mind and gave Europe the detailed knowledge that created a desire to exploit the Pacific. The exploitation of the Pacific was something that Cook feared, unfortunately for good reason. For, in as little as sixty years after Cook landed in Tahiti, the Pacific had been changed completely.

James Cook was not a likely candidate to become one of the best known explorers of history. Cook grew up on a farm in England nowhere close to the sea (from the English point of view). In his mid-teens he left home and school to work for a grocer by the sea. It was there that he fell in love with the ocean's sounds and smells as he lay awake in his bed at night. In July 1746, he decided to leave his life as a grocer and began to work for coal ships at a shipyard in Whitby, England. He rose through the ranks quickly and in 1755 was offered the opportunity to be the captain of his own ship. However, he declined the offer and joined the Royal Navy instead as a lowly seaman. The first ship he served on was known as the Eagle. During the Seven Year War with France he rose through the ranks quickly and by 1763 he was in command of his own vessel. He was found to be an excellent navigator, mathematician, and surveyor, and was soon given the task of undertaking a five-year survey of Newfoundland. His maps and journals of Newfoundland were considered to be outstanding and would be used for years to come. So when a navigator was sought to explore the Pacific, Cook was considered to be one of the best choices.

Both the scientific Royal Society of England and the English Parliament had a great desire to explore the Pacific. There were three main reasons: to determine the distance of the Sun from the Earth by use of the planet Venus, to colonize and exploit new territories, and to discover if rumors of a great southern continent in the Pacific were true. The Royal Society of England knew that Venus would soon come between the Earth and the Sun. They concluded that measurements of the time it took Venus to cross the Sun could tell scientists the distance of sun. Parliament had another reason for exploration; they wanted Britain to obtain the best land in the Pacific before Spain or France could. Spain's claim to the entire Pacific was widely dismissed at this time. Navigators also had a need for better maps of the Pacific because the maps then available were crude and unreliable.

One of the main reasons Cook was sent to explore the Pacific was the belief that a southern continent as big as Europe existed there. They believed that this super continent could supply them with abundant raw materials and provide a place to send criminals and undesirables. So now the purposes were set, and a ship was bought for the voyage.

In all Cook had four vessels during his three visits to the Pacific. The first one was named the Endeavor and was used only during his first trip because it was damaged on Australia's coral reefs.
During the second and third trip Cook took two ships so that if one went were to be damaged the crew could be saved. However, the two ships were often separated for months at a time.

The ships that were chosen were large like the coal ships Cook had sailed. They were slower than the average ship, but could hold much more and take more punishment. The warships of that time could have never made it through the icy waters of Antarctica like the Endeavor, Resolution, Adventure, and Discovery did. The crews were made up of men Cook trusted. They were mainly men Cook had sailed with before during the Seven Year War and survey of Newfoundland. Some of the men would become well known in their own right. John Marra became the well-known author of accounts of the voyages of the Endeavor and Resolution.

**Tahiti**

Otahiti, the first island they landed on, was actually named Tahiti. The O in front of Tahiti signified honor. Tahiti was chosen by the Royal Society since it was a good location from which to observe Venus. Members of a ship known as the Dolphin had come to Tahiti before and had suggested it to the Royal Society. Cook’s crew had among its members sailors who had visited Tahiti on the Dolphin. The Dolphin’s first encounter with the Tahitians had been hostile. Soon, however, the Tahitians realized they were outgunned and that the sailors had many gifts. They became more friendly.

Cook found the Tahitians to be curious and pleasant when he arrived. He thought the island of Tahiti was majestically beautiful. The mountain on big Tahiti could be seen sixty miles away. It was full of vegetation and animals. In short, he found Tahiti to be a very hospitable place.

The Tahitians had a largely peaceful existence before the Endeavor arrived. Their lives consisted of hunting, fishing, and gathering, and their resources were plentiful. Tahitians had abundant leisure time which they spent riding the waves and practicing various arts and crafts. The Arioi were the religious leaders of Tahiti and worshipped a Supreme Being in Marae temples on the island. Other classes also existed on the island. There were three basic classes in Tahitian society; nobility, middle, and lower. Rousseau might have considered their lives a dream, but their society was not completely idyllic.

Wars between big Tahiti and little Tahiti were common and sometimes brutal, and prisoners of war were often sacrificed.

As a result of interactions between the the crew and Tahitians, many sailors fell in love with Tahitian women, and a few even tried unsuccessfully to stay when Cook left the islands. Cook sympathized with these sailors and gave them relatively light punishments for their attempts to desert. He realized that men without a home would probably never be happier than on an island in the Pacific.

On Cook’s second trip he saw the effects of his last visit on the island. Whalers and ships of other nations had visited Tahiti after Cook’s written accounts of his travels had become known in Europe. When he reached the islands he discovered that many islanders had succumbed to foreign diseases and the population had decreased rapidly. Tahiti’s native population decreased from 40,000 in 1769 to approximately 6,000 just sixty years later.

Later, in the same century, a chief named Tu converted to Christianity in the belief that European power could help him defeat little Tahiti. Though Tu was not a devout Christian, he nevertheless helped the missionaries develop a strong foothold in Tahiti. Soon the Arioi leaders were abolished and the Marae temples were destroyed, and, as a result, Tahitian religion began to fade. Shortly after, Pomare, the new queen of the island, was forced to submit to the French, and the Tahitian culture was obliterated. Ironically, Cook had foreseen this juncture long before it occurred. He had warned the Tahitians, “One day, they (the Christians) will come, with crucifix in one hand and the dagger in the other, to cut your throats or to force you to accept their customs and opinions; one day under their rule you will be almost as unhappy as they are” (Moorehead, 1966, p. 43).

**Australia**

The first continent that Cook explored in the Pacific was known as New Holland but was later called Australia, which means southern continent or continent down under, because it was the only habitable continent discovered in the South Pacific. Australia seemed very different from Tahiti. The land was not as lush and the people were not as friendly. Cook thought the dark skinned Aborigines were related to Africans as they definitely
did not look Polynesian. Later it was theorized that Aborigines are of Caucasian descent. Cook also noticed that when he first arrived the Aborigines treated him and his men with indifference as if they did not exist. Some theorists have suggested that the Aborigines did not want the foreigners to exist, so they blocked them from their perceptions. Another theory is that Cook was treated this way because of his white skin; white is the color Aborigines believe they become when they die. It was only when Cook landed on the shore of Botany Bay that the Aborigines showed a reaction to Cook. Two picked up spears and yelled at the Marines until several shots were fired at them and they ran away. Later explorers and colonials would find the Aborigines reacted same way to them.

Eventually a friendship did develop between Cook and the Aborigines that went smoothly until the Aborigines tried to take a turtle from Cook’s ship. A short fight resulted. Communal sharing was the way they lived, and they could not understand this European idea of hoarding food. As had happened in Tahiti, the Aborigines were outgunned and apologized to Cook.

New Zealand was discovered shortly afterward by Cook, and he found it to be a beautiful island. He thought the people of New Zealand, known as the Maori, were similar to the Tasmanians he had encountered: proud, strong, and honest men that were not afraid to fight if threatened.

Later in the same century, the British government decided to move its criminals far away from England, and Botany Bay in Australia was suggested. However, Sydney was chosen because it had better land and a river that supplied fresh drinking water. The British arrived in Sydney with roughly one thousand people and hundreds of animals. They were not welcomed by the Aborigines. They struggled with the British settlers over ancient territorial rights and resources. In some areas, Aborigines were shot for sport. Even more devastating was the smallpox and other diseases that caused the rapid decrease of the Aboriginal population.

An even greater tragedy occurred on the island of Tasmania situated off the coast of Australia. The British settlers claimed land without the consent of the Tasmanians, who were a proud, strong people. The Tasmanians fought for their land. As brave and ferocious as the Tasmanians were, they were no match for British numbers and firepower. What resulted was genocide, with the last Tasmanian dying in the late 19th century.

The Southern Continent

The second continent that Cook explored is known as Antarctica. He found it to be the coldest place he had ever been, icy and pristine. He concluded that if there was a southern continent, Antarctica was it, and there was no way that it could be inhabitable. One resource he discovered in Antarctica was the abundance of whales and seals. He wrote about the whales saying, “Whales are blowing at every point of the compass and frequently taint the whole atmosphere about us with the most disagreeable effluvia that can be conceived” (Moorehead, 1966, p. 188). When news of the plethora of whales and seals reached the whalers of the barren waters of the Atlantic, a whaling boom occurred. Whales were slaughtered to the point of near extinction due to unregulated whaling.

The Hawaiian Islands

The objective of Cook’s third voyage was to explore the Northwest Passage from the Pacific. On July 12, 1776, he set sail with the Resolution and the Discovery. He landed in Waimea, Kauai on January 18, 1778. He then sailed up the North Pacific coast and returned to winter in Hawaii at Kealakekua Bay on January 17, 1779.

Cook brought venereal disease and tuberculosis to the islands. On his return from the North Pacific coast, he was met off Maui by canoes filled with sick Hawaiians asking him for treatment. The diseases he left in his wake spread rapidly and with devastating consequences.

In Kealakekua, he was believed to be the god Lono because he arrived during the Makahiki on what looked like a sailing island. Lono was a god of peace and good feeling, and so Cook was treated with care. He discovered that the Hawaiian language was very similar to Tahitian so communication was not difficult. When spring came, the Hawaiians made it clear that Cook should leave because the season of Lono was over. Lono did leave on February 4, 1779, to the relief of the Hawaiians.

Only one week after his departure, Cook returned to Hawai’i because of a broken mast. The
Hawai’ians were not pleased that Lono had returned and Cook tried to keep the crew aboard ship as much as possible. A dispute arose between Cook and the Hawaiians concerning barter for food and supplies, and a boat was taken from the Resolution. Cook intended to capture a chief and hold him hostage until the boat was returned (a tactic used successfully in the past), but during a skirmish on the beach, Cook was killed. Shortly after his death, the crew realized that the Hawaiians expected Lono to return. They believed that he was a god that could not be killed. Cook was given a burial at sea as the crew began their long journey home.

Shortly after Cook’s death, more foreigners arrived, bringing more disease that decimated the Hawaiian population. It is estimated that at the time of Cook’s death as many as one million Hawaiians lived in the islands. Today, only a very small fraction of that number remains.

While missionaries did try to stop the spread of disease and the exploitation of Hawaiians by sailors and whalers, they themselves brought measles and other ailments. They also accelerated the decline of Hawaiian culture and spearheaded the prohibition of the Hawaiian language. Today Hawaiians struggle to gain back a sense of their past by piecing together as much of their history, language and culture as is possible. Much of the written past was recorded by Hawaiians who were influenced by the missionaries, so little knowledge of the Hawaiian culture before Western contact survives.

Conclusion

It is ironic that during the skirmish on the beach that lead to his death, Cook shouted at his Marines to stop shooting as he was stabbed. He tried to save the very men who killed him. He had a deep love for Pacific cultures and did not want them destroyed. More ironic is the fact that he had already destroyed the Hawaiian culture, and many others, by making their presence known in Europe. His very presence in the Pacific had begun the process of death and decline. He was killed by a culture that loved him (for he was Lono), and he had inadvertently killed those cultures which he had loved.

In the early 19th century Charles Darwin visited Tahiti and Australia. He found no happy, friendly peoples but, instead, exploited, dying cultures. He referred to Tahiti as, “Otaheite, that fallen paradise” (Moorehead, 1966, p. 83). In Australia, he found another beaten and dying culture as he observed the Aborigines reduced to begging. Darwin wrote, “Deaths seem to pursue the Aboriginal. We may look to the wide extent of the Americas, Polynesia, the Cape of Good Hope and Australia, and we seem to find the same result” (Moorehead, 1966, p. 169).

References


To Her, Our Bard Sings

“Breathes there a man with soul so dead,  
Who never to himself hath said,  
This is my own my native land.”  
—Scott

There are only a few aspects of the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai‘i, which are of unquestionable truth. Among these truths is the fact that the monarchy was replaced by a Provisional Government, which was mainly made up of businessmen, attorneys and merchants. It is also a fact that in mid-January the sons and grandsons of American missionaries to Hawai‘i were at the forefront of the movement to dethrone the Mō‘i wāhine of the kingdom. These foreigners caused a great rift between the residents in the islands: on one side of the canyon were those loyal to the monarchy and, on the other, the Provisional Government supporters.

During the years prior to 1893, the political climate of Hawaii was in a constant state of flux. During the reign of David Kalākaua, the Bayonet Constitution came into being. Kalākaua was coerced into signing the document into law thus limiting his power to that of an ornamental fixture. It also imposed the opinions of the minority upon the majority. The Bayonet Constitution was adamantly opposed by the majority of the native Hawai‘ian population. Lili‘uokalani noticed, upon her return to Hawai‘i from abroad, that although the people were happy to see her and her entourage, “there was an undercurrent of sadness as of a people who had known us a crushing sorrow” (Lili‘uokalani, 1898 p. 175). Politicians from every political party were attacking Kalākaua and these things were taking its toll upon him (Lili‘uokalani, 1898). The “Merry Monarch” passed away, leaving Lili‘uokalani as the heir to the woes and troubles which had befallen the Kingdom.

Lili‘uokalani inherited the national debt of the almost penniless nation as well as the political power struggle. To raise funds for the government, she signed a bill which would allow a lottery. Because of this, and the embarrassments of the former monarch, the men antagonistic to the monarchy seized a golden opportunity to dethrone the rightful sovereign of the Islands.

Many texts were published from each position about the atmosphere of that time. However, two of the most valuable players, one from each side, wrote extensive memoirs on the events which transpired prior to and after the Overthrow. For the purpose of comparing these differing “theologies, “I have used Memoirs of the Hawaiian Revolution by Lorrin A. Thurston and Lili‘uokalani’s Hawai‘i’s Story by Hawai‘i’s Queen.

These are comprehensive texts about the different aspects of the Overthrow and are used as primary sources for debate. Because of the rampant censorship of the press, news articles were carefully printed within the boundaries of the opinions of the dictatorial government. To uncover the underlying cynicism of the reporters critical of the Provisional Government, news clippings from a one year period during the upheaval of the Kingdom of Hawai‘i were researched. The events which manifested prior to January 17,1893 are a great source of debate today: should we believe Thurston’s account or shall we give the Queen the benefit of the doubt?

By the beginning of 1893, the two groups were at extreme ends of the Hawaiian political spectrum. On January 14,1893, Lili‘uokalani gave her cabinet members a new constitution, which her people had requested, to sign. Alarmed by the implications of such a constitution, the ministers avoided signing it with feeble excuses of needing more time.
Two of the ministers ran to the downtown law offices of Thurston, where the formation and meetings of a thirteen-member "Safety Committee" would take place. By enlisting the aid of the United States Minister, John L. Stevens, the Provisional Government overthrew the monarchy with military power. They used insubstantiated rumors of violent outbursts and rioting on the part of Lili‘uokalani’s supporters so that they could utilize the American military machine. After Ali‘iolani Hale was set up as the headquarters of the Provisional Government, and it was recognized by the United States Minister, Lili‘uokalani abdicated her nation, under duress, to the new leaders (Lili‘uokalani, 1898).

**The Provisional Government: A Protagonist View**

There is probably no one who better exemplifies the Provisional Government than Lorrin A. Thurston. Born Lorrin Andrew Thurston to Sarah and Asa G. Thurston, who were part of the early wave of incoming missionaries to Hawai‘i, this “mission boy,” who spuriously claimed to be a Hawaiian citizen, is the antithesis of a (true) Hawaiian. A Hawaiian would not be so vain as to refer to the peoples of his population, be they native Hawaiians or foreigners, as second class citizens (Daily Hawai‘i Holomua, March 4, 1983). According to “It Will Come To Grief!” an editorial from the February 1 edition of the *Natick Citizen* paper of Massachusetts:

The news of the revolutionary overthrow of the Hawaiian Government comes to our people like a thunder bolt out of a clear sky. Queen Lili‘uokalani is dethroned! By her own people? No by “foreigners;”... And these foreigners are—would you believe it? Americans, from the United States! ... Mr. Thurston, head of the commission, was interviewed at the Occidental Hotel, San Francisco, and is reported as saying among other things:

‘Our mission (here) is to secure annexation to the United States. We want no protectorate nor no republic. A republic would be worse than a monarchy; for then the ignorant kanaka would rule!’

In the very next breath he is made to say: ‘I may say the foreigners are unanimous in favor of annexation as the only hope for Hawai‘i.’

I can’t think of a better comment to illustrate how oppressive the mentality of the new government was. Although this statement was made by one individual, and is thus biased, it seems to reflect the growing attitude among the haole population that they were right in abducting our mother country. These men were American nationalists who used the admirable virtue of the United States Constitution as a justification for the debacle of the Overthrow. Instead of protecting the rights and principles of democracy, these desirous leeches depleted the life-blood of lāhui. They stripped the non-Caucasian peoples of their right to vote, tried to suppress the Asian workers (mainly the Chinese people) by depriving them of the right to start and own local businesses (Daily Hawai‘i Holomua, February 23, 1893) and they censored the press.

According to the February 4, 1893 English edi-
tion of Daily Hawai‘i Holomua, Sheldon, the editor-in-chief, remarks that even the editor of the Bulletin had been “harangued” by the Advisory Council for the publication of something disagreeable. He also made it a point to shed light on the fact that Mr. C. W. Ashford, a former Hawaiian League member, was the only editor who hadn’t been harped on, “probably because he is too formidable to tackle and can quote too many authorities on sedition laws.”

While the Provisional Government saturated the population with hype and propaganda, the American businesses were making out like thieves. And why not? The new controlling party consisted of the owners and suppliers connected with these enterprises.

**The Loyalist Point of View**

The English version of the Daily Hawai‘i Holomua, February 4, 1893, definitely outlines the basic theology of the Loyalists:

We are adherents of monarchical principles and we honestly believe the monarchy to be the most advantageous form of government. To expect that we should change our principles as we do our clothes would be both unfair and unreasonable. The political party of which this journal is the organ is composed of a very large majority of the votes of the country and we should sadly fail in our duty to one party and forfeit all claim to manhood and respect if we abandoned the principles of independence and government by the people as advocated and sustained at the polls all over the country at the mere bidding of the Advertiser, or through one, or a hundred, sedition laws. . .

The Hawaiian electors are not alone entitled to a franchise and able to use it, but, we believe that even the Advertiser will admit (however disagreeable the fact may be to it) that the average Hawaiian makes a more intelligent voter than is the average voter in America, Germany or Great Britain.

If the Stars and Stripes are to float over these Islands and we are to become a part of that great nation let us then enjoy the blessings which that flag necessarily must bring and foremost among them stands the great and truly liberal principle, one man, one vote. And when that day dawns upon Hawai‘i, “Where, O, where, will Henry & Company be” and echo answers, “In ze'bouillon.”

Mr. Ashford still wants to know what the Provisional Government’s embassy has been sent to do. Well, we’ll bet him $8500 in Government bonds that the Executive Council are not going to tell him.

“Man proud, dressed in a little brief authority, Does play such tricks before High Heaven As make the angels weep.”

Shakespeare must have known about our advisory and executive Councils and their appointees.

Only an ignorant person would assume that the kanaka maoli would lie down as their country was stolen from them. The Annexationists were not fools, though we cherish the possibility of it, and the loyalists were not sleeping lambs in the path of a hungry scavenger, as a newspaper article pointed out. “So it would seem that the ignorant kanakas are already intelligent enough to have discovered well the difference between their friends and their enemies—between their own people and the horde of rapacious upsurging invaders” (Hawai‘i Holomua, February 1, 1983). Many attempts, some which utilized arms, were made to restore the Mō‘iwi‘ahine to her legitimate position.

The rumors circulating in Honolulu said that Thurston, Colburn, Dole, Peterson, as well as others, were conspiring to abrogate the monarchical governing body of lāhui. Charles B. Wilson, who was appointed marshal and chief of police of the kingdom by Lili‘u‘okalani, paid a visit to the law offices of Thurston in the hopes of discouraging any and all treasonous acts by the group assembled there. “I want you to quit and go home. . . . If it is necessary,’ Mr. Wilson said, “I will undertake personally to lock up the Queen to prevent her doing anything further along those lines” (Thurston, 1936, p. 252).

It may require some thought and a little speculation to find the rationale behind this statement,
but the truth shines through eventually. Mr. Wilson was trying to keep the honor of the throne intact. Because of his close ties to Liliu'okalani, Wilson did not want to see his beloved Queen dragged through an atrocious act of war brought on by these business men. He went so far as to ask the cabinet for permission “to swear out a warrant and arrest the whole lot of you, but the damn cowards would not give me permission. ... They (the Committee) said that, if an attempt were made to arrest the Committee of Safety, Mr. Stevens would take action with the American troops” (Thurston, 1936, p. 253). Wilson’s attempts were destined to fail because many questioned his judgment and loyalty to Liliu'okalani. Others deplored his inclination toward stubbornness. In any event, he was not alone in his sacrifice to the Queen.

A Disastrous Attempt

The loyalist philosophy is one of allegiance to one’s country and one’s people. Although the attempts of Marshal Wilson were unsuccessful, his efforts did not have the disastrous results as those of Robert Wilcox. Wilcox made a tremendous effort to protect the monarchy and to restore to it the power and grandeur it had once had. Although these attempts would ultimately pave the path for the Annexationists, many will be eternally grateful for the courage and bravery he showed in the face of insurmountable odds.

Wilcox attempted to restore Liliu'okalani's sovereignty through armed rebellion. This act, called treason by the Provisional Government, implicated David Kawananakoa and Prince Kūhiō, who were threatened with execution. Until this point, Liliu'okalani secretly held out hope that lāhui would return to her.

Woefully, Wilcox’s actions were connected to Liliu'okalani and thus, the Queen was imprisoned in 'Iolani Palace for about eight months in 1895. Liliu'okalani was protective of her people, and she discouraged her subjects from rallying against the Provisional Government, though many speculate that the Overthrow would have been prevented had Liliu'okalani allowed one small act of violence on the part of Marshal Wilson.

Kanaka maoli adored their ali'i. They would go to the ends of the Earth to safeguard them because their rulers have always nurtured and cherished them. In the darkest hours of the monarchy, the kanaka maoli remaining steadfast in their love for their ali'i, continued to serve their queen loyally and to obey her wishes.

According to Liliu'okalani (1898, p. 288):

...I saw a lady approach the palace until she stood beneath my window; there she stopped, and, looking up, kissed her hands to me. She remained...ten minutes...she raised her veil, and I at once recognized the countenance of the same lady who had been so faithful an attendant at my trial. As I stood watching her friendly attitude, kindly tears of sympathy rolled down her cheeks.”

These were honest and sincere tears, unlike the “crocodile tears” of Mr. A.S. Hartwell at the Palace when Liliu'okalani affixed her signature to documents which ended the kingdom. Even up to the time of their passing, Liliu'okalani and Kaʻiʻulani were held in high regard by their people.

Even with the recommendations of the Blount Report, the consensus was that Hawai'i's sovereignty would not be restored. The French government also expressed “fears that President Cleveland's 'upright and single-minded intentions toward Hawai'i will be paralyzed or frustrated by certain politicians.” They were right, and these magnificent islands, which we call home, were left to a barbarian political party: the very same party whose members had carried two men away, hung nooses at the Honolulu Wharf and led a chant to hang the men (Liliu'okalani, 1898). These are the men who saved us “from arbitrary and unjust government and oppression” (Thurston, 1936, p. xi).

Sovereignty!

Now that the issue of sovereignty is at the forefront of the Hawaiian movement, it is an awakening of sorts. The sovereign nation of Hawai'i is being resurrected. Native and part-Hawaiians are arousing from a disturbing slumber and they're throwing cold water in the faces of their sleeping bedfellows, the off-spring of the Annexationists. Wake Up!

What can we expect? More stalling in the Senate and the House? Surely, the recognition of the heinous acts of these men and of the irresponsibility on the part of the United States of America would
nullify Hawai‘i’s Territorial status and our subsequent statehood. The void that we, as Native Hawaiian and Native American citizens (though we haven’t been acknowledged as the former), feel in the depths of our souls: the loss we feel, even several generations after the fact, has never been addressed. Theolis (chants) haunt us; begging us to right the wrong. “As Israel in ancient times sat weeping by the waters of Babylon listening to the plaintive songs which arose from their singers, so sits Hawai‘i in grief and mourning today, and to Her our bard sings...”(Daily Hawai‘i Holomua, Jan. 28, 1893).

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Queen Lili`uokalani Statue, 1993
B&W Photograph
By Moriso Teraoka
Paint it Pouliuli

Transcultural and cultural retention in post-contact Samoan religion

For behold, darkness shall cover the earth, and thick darkness the peoples; but the Lord will arise upon you, and his glory shall be seen upon you. and nations shall come to your light, and kings to the brightness of your rising.

Isaiah 60:2-3

Paint it black.
The Rolling Stones

Albert Wendt is not convinced that all is good in the Light. In Pouliuli he examines Samoan religion and society in the time of the Light, long after Christian missionaries drove away the “Darkness” that was pre-contact Samoan religion. While the Lord may be arisen on the now Christianized Samoan people, Wendt does not see the glory upon them that the Bible seems to promise.

Wendt examines modern Samoan society through the saga of Faleasa Osovae, who by outward appearances would have seemed a beacon of Samoan piety. He is described as:

“the seventy-six-year-old titled head of the Aiga Faleasa, faithful husband of a devoted Felefele, stern but generous father of seven sons and five obedient daughters, and the most respected ali'i in the village of Malaelua...”

However, he is suddenly revulsed by all of the aspects of God, country, and aiga that define his status as a revered matai. His newly-bizarre and offensive behavior, including deliberate and accurate projectile vomiting, convinces his aiga that he is either insane or possessed by an evil aitu.

But the readers know that while he is indeed sick, it is not in the sense of the word that his aiga and his whole village understands it. Faleasa is sick of, not sick with. He is sick of the hypocrisy and selfishness that he sees around him in those who abuse both the Christian Way and the Faa Samoa to benefit themselves unfairly. Among these are his nephew Filemoni, the village pastor, and his cousin Malaga, the district Member of Parliament. Faleasa’s revulsion is compounded by his guilt in having used his own matai rank in the past to help elevate the two to their enviable and profitable positions.

Faleasa finds some respite from his sickness in one of his sons, Moaula, and his childhood friend, Laaumatu. Faleasa’s self-prescribed catharsis is to use the two in a scheme to overturn the misguided “Christian” leadership of his village, thereby atoning for his guilt for helping to install such sinners. Faleasa cultivates the appearance of insanity to provide himself with both a rebellious escape from his rank and his duties, and a convenient screen from behind which he can direct his deft political machinations.

Faleasa’s attempted remolding of the leadership and spirituality of Malaelua is in vain. His plan fails tragically and leads to his most-favored son’s imprisonment for life and the elevation to the Faleasa title of his eldest son Elefane, who repre-
sents a continuation of the hypocritical "Christian" leadership. Faleasa responds by withdrawing from the Light into his own private Darkness of true insanity.

His personal Darkness is reminiscent of that of the old man whom Faleasa and Laumatua had found in their youth, screaming silently at the light of the day in front of the church. Faleasa’s Darkness also like that of Pouliuli, the creature of Malaeluan myth who could hide anyone or anything, by swallowing them into his own Darkness. To Faleasa, Pouliuli represented the welcome concept of an eternal, all-embracing Void that he thought was elemental to pre-contact Samoan religion. This was in contrast to the foreign concepts of Heaven and Hell that Christianity had ingrained into the psyche of post-contact Samoans. Faleasa had come to realize that he was not truly a Christian, but had instead just been using the religion for political gain and psychological reassurance:

... (H)is whole existence as a Christian had meant nothing deeper than the necessity of being a Christian because it was expected of a good leader. He had clung to Christianity too in order to help dispel his fears of the meaninglessness of life ... It didn’t matter now whether he was a Christian or not: he was soon to die and the Void didn’t scare him any more-Pouliuli would embrace him, give him meaning.

Faleasa’s disgust at the self-serving faith of the leaders of Malaelua would seem to imply that he believes that they are merely using Christianity also. They are using the foreign values to enhance and maintain their personal fortunes in an otherwise traditional social system. The pre-contact institutions of the support system of the aiga and the leadership system of the matai continue to hold sway over the lives of the Malaeluans. However, Faleasa sees traditional values being eroded by unscrupulous leaders who use their self-cultivated reputation for extreme (Christian) piety to gain predominance. This is, of course, at the expense of those who do not stoop to conquer but instead follow the Faa Samoa somewhat more faithfully, like the fofo (traditional healer) and Moaula. Moaula fails, and his brother Elefane succeeds because “the new world is for creatures like Malaga and Elefane; they’re everywhere because they’re of the times."

Author Wendt paints a bleak portrait of the Christianized morals and ethics of modern Samoa. He does not seem to be critical of Christianity per se, but rather he seems to be disapproving of the way Christianity and a Calvinist work ethic have been superimposed over an incompatible social structure. To conform their lives to the Christian/Western/Capitalist ideal, Samoans have had to subjugate elements of traditional culture that conflict with a particular interpretation of the Bible (in this village it happens to be that of the Protestant London Missionary Society).

The most telling example of this cultural self-abasement is the denigrated status of the fofo. He is still allowed to practice his art of traditional healing, but only on the periphery of society. In polite and religiously-correct company he is considered not just an embarrassing atavism, but a servant of Satan as well. When his aiga is trying unsuccessfully to exorcise the supposed aitu from him, Faleasa thinks sarcastically that "Filemoni, Christ’s man, had failed; now they were turning to the Devil himself..." by calling in the fofo.

In a scene set in Apia, Wendt uses an allegory of romance to describe the lure of an unattainable Judeo-Christian state of grace to traditional island peoples. Osovae, like a Polynesian Tantalus, is mesmerized by a beautiful Samoan girl with a heavy cast of palagi (white) features in her looks. He seeks her out and arranges a rendezvous, but she never shows herself to him again, which leaves Osovae feeling haunted by her laughter. Apparently, Wendt would have us believe that the yearning of Samoans for things Western, especially a religion that clashes with their own traditional culture, will not yield the promised spiritual bounty.

Wendt does not, however, make a case for a complete rejection of Christianity and a return to strictly traditional Samoan religion. He seems to be leading us in the direction of a native liberalism, wherein Christian values and practices can be retained in such a form and to such an extent that they complement traditional culture. He seems to think that the choice of the particular admixture should be made by the masses of the Samoans themselves, in a more democratic fashion than the oligarchy of the matai council. However, following Wendt’s reasoning one step further, it would seem that so long as the matai continue to supplement
their traditional power with the added weight of Christianity and capitalism, no democratic institutions will arise capable of posing an effective challenge to the status quo. This may sound like an overly pessimistic interpretation of Wendt’s sociopolitical philosophy, but it could help explain his seeming self-exile from his native land to live abroad.

Hopefully he will return to help in what he seems to imply is a needed re-evaluation of the integration of Western religious (and economic) ideals with the Faa Samoa, or Samoan Way. Such a debate is currently underway here in Hawai‘i, and none too soon. Like the Samoan, traditional Hawaiian culture has been painted over with Western patterns of religious, social, and economic institutions. Unlike the Samoan, however, the native Hawaiian culture does not show through the white-wash quite so brightly. For many residents of Hawai‘i, Hawaiian culture provides them with little more than designs for their aloha shirts or amusement for their May Day celebrations.

The relatively greater degree of cultural retention and ethnic homogeneity in Samoa, especially Western Samoa, would probably lend itself to helping ease the pangs of spiritual anxiety that would attend any native-religion renaissance attempted there. On the other hand, however, that same degree of retention and homogeneity may preclude, among many Samoans, the perception of injustice and alienation that helps to drive the current avatar of Hawaiian renaissance, the sovereignty movement.

I share much of Wendt’s cynicism towards the effects of imposing Christian ideals over the substructure of traditional Samoan, or any native, society. While the people devoutly follow Judaeo-Christian beliefs, for many, much of their collective consciousness still lies in pre-contact culture. But, they are deprived of open and free relations with that consciousness by Western precepts of paganism that ascribe to it a derogatory primitivism. The result is a society which at once utilizes and ostracizes its traditional culture. The effect might likely be, in Western terminology, that of mass cultural schizophrenia. I do not claim to be familiar enough with Samoan society (or psychobabble) to make that judgment. But, one can see an example of a similar phenomenon here in Hawai‘i: confused Hawaiians who are brown on the outside but white and Western on the inside.

As for whether the Samoan people should indeed embark on a re-evaluation of their embrace of the Light of Christianity, that is up to them, including Albert Wendt if he should choose to grace his homeland with his presence. If it were up to me, however, I would give much credence to Mick Jagger’s advice: Paint it black.
Villager in Vavau, Western Samoa on the island of Upolu.
Color Photograph
By John Cole

Rediscovering Polynesian Culture

John Cole was group leader of the University of Hawai'i Study Abroad program, “Rediscovering Polynesian Connections” in the Summer of 1993. Vauvau, Western Samoa was one of the places the group visited. In this photograph, the villager is scraping taro. On the ground near him is a pig ready to be cooked in an underground oven.
The group also met with students at Christ Church Polytechnic in New Zealand.
The mural on the opposite page was photographed during that stay.
The Chamorros, Past and Present

The island of Guam is 32 miles long and 8 miles wide, a minute area of land considering the size of the Pacific Ocean. Its ancient inhabitants, the Chamorros, created a complex society that included religion, civil warfare, and a class system. Much of Guamanian history from pre-Spanish times to 1898 has been derived from records of explorers, adventurers, missionaries, and traders who visited the island after its discovery in 1521 (Carano & Sanchez, 1968). In referring to the ancient Chamorros, the term “ancient” pertains to the pre-colonial Chamorros living prior to 1695 when Guam came under the direct colonization of Spain (Cunningham, 1980). Other principal sources of information come from abundant archaeological remains found before World War II (Thompson, 1947). With these records, the life of the early indigenous people of Guam can be pictured.

Compared to other Pacific Islands, Guam has a fair share of natural tropical resources. The island is part volcanic and part limestone and yields garden and forest products of both geological soil types (Thompson, 1947). The Chamorro people cultivated bananas, rice, and taro. From the jungle, they reaped breadfruit, many kinds of roots, as well as the bountiful coconuts (Fritz, 1904). Coral reefs almost completely surround the island, forming good fishing grounds. The oftentimes hazardous, sunlit waters were always abundant with fish (Thompson, 1947). With such resources, the ancient natives were able to build a prosperous, self-sufficient society.

Early Chamorro Society

Though little is known of their origin, from similarities in physical type, culture, and language, it is believed that the Chamorros were part of a great movement of Polynesian peoples who traveled from Asia across the Pacific. It is speculated that the mariners who populated the Marianas Islands by canoe came from the Asiatic mainland through the Philippines and the western Carolines, and probably along the northern route of Japan (Thompson, 1947).

Around the time of Ferdinand Magellan’s arrival, the Chamorros were recorded as a proud people. They were similar to the Polynesians: generally tall, big-boned, muscular with brown skin and long black hair. The women were more delicately built and lighter in skin color than the men. The Chamorros were in good health, and it was not uncommon for them to live to ninety or one hundred years (Thompson, 1947).

According to Laura Thompson, author of Guam and Its People, the ancient Chamorros were ingenious and quick to learn anything to which they applied themselves. In addition, these islanders were easily pleased, well-mannered, hospitable, and tractable when treated considerately. They were boisterous, gay, and enjoyed jokes and bawdery. They also took enjoyment in all sorts of competitions, from games and dancing to bartering and warfare, and they loved to outdo a rival through wit or trickery. However, when sufficiently thwarted, they could turn violent and vengeful.

The men wore no clothing, not even a breechcloth. However, while fishing, they sometimes wore small conical hats and eye shades made of pandanus leaves. Their heads were shaved except for a small tuft of long hair left at the rear of the crown. Some of the women wore grass skirts hung from a cord tied around their waist. Others donned little aprons or “mats” made from palm leaves. All the women wore their hair very long and it was
oftentimes bleached with lime. On occasion, the men and women protected their feet with sandals made of palm leaf (Carano & Sanchez, 1968).

Some of the men, particularly the unmarried ones, carried elaborately carved and colored walking sticks called *tunas*. During festive occasions, the women would wear wreaths of flowers in their hair. Also worn were necklaces of tortoise shell or red spondylus shells, both of which were highly prized. They sometimes donned strands of young coconuts, the size of large acorns, suspended from pandanus belts fitted over grass skirts (Carano & Sanchez, 1968).

Like many of their neighbors of Oceania, the Chamorro people lived in huts made from wood and palm fronds. The huts were placed atop basalt or limestone pillars called *latte*. The latte, a symbolic figure for the island today, also served as foundations for canoe sheds. It appears that the ancient Chamorros preferred to dwell in the island’s ecotome areas where access to the jungle and the ocean or other water sources was easy. Evidence of this is the discovery of latte sites scattered over the best garden lands along the shores and stream beds of the island. The latte sites, which intrigue archaeologists, consist of two straight parallel rows of stone uprights placed in a uniform rectangular pattern: eleven to twelve feet between the two rows and equal distances between the stones in each row (Thompson, 1947).

**Roles of Men and Women**

In Chamorro society, the men and women each performed different daily tasks. The women remained in the home weaving fine-textured mats, baskets, and other things needed in the house. They kept busy with child and household care, cooking, food gathering in the jungle and, on the reef, fishing with hand nets. In addition, they also made cooking oils and pots. Most of the native medicines were also made by the women. The men did most of the gardening and built outrigger canoes, produced wood and stone works, wove nets, and navigated the ocean. Despite all these activities, much of the men’s time and energy were spent in ceremonies, games, and warfare (Murdoch, 1949).

The small outrigger canoes, called *prao*, were a craft of the Chamorros highly admired by European navigators. Because of the prao’s ability to attain great speeds, early writers called them “flying praos.” According to Pigafetta, one of the first Europeans to describe the Chamorros and the prao:

> “Their amusement, men and women, is to plough the seas with those small boats of theirs...They can change stern and bow at will, and those boats resemble the dolphins which leap in the water from wave to wave” (Carano & Sanchez, 1968, p. 27).

The ceremonies of the ancient Chamorros were very social, centering around the exchange of property and food, dances, and chants. The men met to dance, throw lances, run, jump, and exercise their strength in many ways. During these and other festivities, they recounted with much laughter their traditions and stories. They sang their myths, with the best singers competing for who could repeat the most verses. At the ceremonies, refreshments of rolls of boiled rice, fish, fruits, and a drink made of rice and grated coconut were served (Thompson, 1947).

**Chamorro Government**

Although the Chamorros had no king or defined laws, they did have a form of district government. The island was divided into several districts consisting of one or more villages. In each district, the male and female nobles formed a council. The highest ranking male, the oldest noble, was the leader. The inhabitants of each district were highly loyal to their leader and district. Though the ancient Chamorros were described as hospitable, they were intensely jealous and suspicious of those from other districts. As a result, warfare among districts was common (Carano & Sanchez, 1968).

An imagined insult or the slightest harm was sufficient cause for war. However, these wars were of such small magnitude that they can be considered as “tiny wars,” followed by celebrations of peace. For the Guamanians, war was a sort of game in which rival villages would test their strength against each other with a great show of bravado. The primary weapons were slingstones and spears tipped with barbed human or fish bone, both of which were hurled with deadly precision and force. They used strategy instead of extensive fortifications in warfare, in addition to ambushes and hidden pits. Sometimes, the village of the enemy
was burned. When one side had lost two or three men, it would send a turtle shell to the enemy as a sign of submission. A conch shell would then be blown as a symbol of peace. The victorious warriors would celebrate with satirical songs in which they lauded their own feats and made fun of the defeated (Thompson, 1947).

Class Distinctions

Class distinction and a caste system existed in ancient Chamorro society. Rank and class consciousness were important factors on the island (Carano & Sanchez, 1968). Here, political and social status were determined by lineage (Cunningham, 1980). The highest class, called the matua, had the most privileges. They were the principal land owners and controlled most of the island’s wealth. Prestigious occupations exclusively reserved for them included warriors, sailors, fishermen, canoe builders, and traders (Carano & Sanchez, 1968).

The middle class, the atchaot, consisted of the families and close relatives of the matua. Their social privileges were the same as those of the matua, and they were permitted to assist the matua in their honorable occupations.

The manachang, the lowest class, lived almost as slaves. In addition to being segregated from the rest of the society, their lives were governed by restrictions and taboos. The manachang were not allowed to become warriors, sailors, nor canoe builders. Their fishing was also limited to the rivers and streams where they could only catch eels with wooden-tipped spears. Regardless of their skill or ability, they could never rise out of their class. When a member of the manachang passed one of the matua, he had to do so in a crouching position with head lowered and eyes averted. The manachang were also prohibited from coming too close to the house of a matua. If they wished to speak to any matua, they had to do so in a squatting position from a far distance (Carano & Sanchez, 1968).

A Matriarchal Society

In the Chamorro culture, parents preferred girls over boys. Confrontations among men were treated as a personal matter, but those that involved women received action from the entire family. In addition, the women exercised a great amount of social, economic and political power, though they did not take part in the decisions of warfare and navigation. In the home, the mother ruled, and the father dared not to give an order or punish the children contrary to her. In some cases, children took the mother’s name instead of the father’s (Cunningham, 1980).

Religion and Ancestor Worship

Although very little is known of their religion, it is believed that the Chamorros had no organized priesthood, temples, or religious dance (Thompson, 1947). They did, however, believe in creation and the afterlife. One of their beliefs was that the world was made from the body of a god and that man was an offspring of that god, created as a new being for the purpose of populating the earth. They also believed that the souls of those who died violent deaths went to some sort of hell, called Sasalaguan, where a demon dwelled who cooked the souls in a cauldron which he stirred. Those who died of natural deaths were believed to inherit an underworld paradise (Thompson, 1947).

The ancient Chamorros worshipped idols which were carved or painted on trees, though not much is known about their worship or belief in them. However, it is known that some were thought to bring good luck. It is likely that these images were used decoratively as well as ritually (Thompson, 1947).

Ancestor worship was the most important feature of all ancient Chamorro religious beliefs. Their ancestors’ souls, the anite, were revered as sacred and powerful. These invisible guardians were both venerated and feared (Thompson, 1947). They functioned as powerful social sanctions for they were believed to punish those who did not behave properly. The Chamorros venerated the anite by keeping their ancestors’ dried hands, preserving their skulls as a talisman, or by burying the deceased directly below one’s house (Cunningham, 1980). Human skeletal remains and artifacts have been found buried between the two rows of many latte stone formations and frequently between latte sites and the shore (Thompson, 1947).

Their form of priests, the makana, were a class of professional sorcerers. They invoked the anite on behalf of the living to insure success in warfare, to bring rain, to cure illness, or to obtain a good catch in fishing. The makana did this with the use of an
ancestor's skull which was kept in the home. The skull had no altar, niche, or adornment except for a basket in which it was kept. The basket was left about the house and untouched until the time when the person wanted to ask another favor from the anite (Thompson, 1947).

During Spanish rule on Guam, the religion of the ancient Chamorros gradually faded with their other customs. All that was left of the culture was their language which gradually evolved by incorporating Spanish terminology.

For a little over three centuries, Guam was ruled by the Spanish. In 1898, the island was surrendered to America when Spain lost the Spanish-American War. The island remained an American possession until it fell into the hands of the Japanese during World War II. Almost immediately after its recapture, the process of rebuilding Guam was initiated. However, during the rebuilding process, large tracts of land were claimed by the government of the United States for military use (Carano & Sanchez, 1968).

Today, A Movement for Indigenous Rights

Though the recapture of Guam by the Americans brought joy and relief to the Guamanians of that time, the matter of land ceded to the military is still an unsettled issue for the owners of those properties. Some land owners were compensated, but many are still awaiting the return of the deeds to their land or any type of reimbursement. This issue was one of the sparks which ignited the indigenous rights movement on Guam.

For the indigenous people of Guam, the Chamorros, the indigenous rights campaign started as early as the 1970s. However it wasn’t in the form that it is today. Today’s campaign consists of confrontations, demonstrations, and much legislative lobbying.

The rights movement first began in the 70s as a means of preserving the Chamorro culture through the integration of the local language and cultural festivities in the school system, in addition to highlighting the works of local artists and writers. In the 1980s, the indigenous rights movement turned political as the island’s legislative leaders sought to attain more independence from the government of the United States. Commonwealth status was to be the vehicle to political autonomy. Despite the presentation of Guam’s Draft Commonwealth Bill to Congress, the island remains a territory.

Through the years several small organizations have been formed to deal with special issues and causes not recognized by the island’s political leaders. Among these groups are the Organisation of People for Indigenous Rights, the Guam National Party for Free Association, Protehi I Tano’ta (Protect the Land), Para PADA, and the Chamoru Grassroots Movement. In September of 1991, these groups united to form the Chamoru Nation Traditional Council (the CHAMORU spelling is preferred by the group over the commonly used CHAMORRO). Through the Chamoru Nation’s spokesman, Angel Santos, the organization developed a plan of action to preserve and enhance the Chamorro culture and the island’s environment. Among these plans are the return of ceded lands from the military and the control of immigration.

To express their dedication to the group’s causes, the male members of the group wear their hair in the ancient Chamorro style. Although this form of identification attracted much public attention, it may have caused some people of the local community to view members of the Chamoru Nation as fanatics.

Around May of 1992, the Chamoru Nation acquired islandwide publicity by staging a campground on the front lawn of the governor’s office, threatening not to leave until the governor responded to its needs and requests. After much criticism, slandering, and negotiation on both sides, the Nation’s members broke down their tents and billboards. In 1993, the Nation stated its belief that the Japanese government should pay reparations and give an apology to the Chamorros for the damages incurred during World War II. Santos and his entourage then demonstrated in the island’s airport and on the hotel strip carrying signs telling tourists in Japanese to literally “Get off the island.” This may have caused Guam more harm than good. Today, the number of tourists visiting the island has dropped considerably. This is especially unfortunate because tourism is the island’s largest industry. However, this may not be a direct result of the Nation’s actions. Considering the state of the United States and Japanese economies and the number of natural disasters that have hit the island in the past years, it is difficult to say what caused the tourism slump.

The idea that the Chamoru Nation is aiming for
an exclusive Chamorro island created concern in Guam’s non-Chamorro population, as well as in other Chamorros. In the August edition of Pacific Islands Monthly, Santos called the conception “a myth — propaganda perpetrated by those who do not have a full understanding of what our goals are...Force is not the proper way to promote these concerns. We attest mutual respect of one another.”

A good number of Guam’s residents, Chamorros and non-Chamorros alike, would like to see the rights of the indigenous Guamanians fulfilled. However, many also protest the Chamoru Nation’s methods of acquiring those rights. One may see many similarities in this cause and that of the native Hawaiians, and similarities in the attitudes of those who just observe. One thing is clear: many citizens on both islands are unsatisfied with what their local governments have done in aiding their indigenous peoples. The question here is not who is right or wrong, but what is right and what is wrong.

References


"Itabori"
Fish Storyboard from Belau
Courtesy of Cheryl Udui
The board tells of “Ngemelis,” the egg-laying cycle of the turtle. The cycle is related to the cycle of the moon, which is a cyclical, as opposed to the Western linear notion of time. Some say storyboards developed from Japanese blockprints, which were introduced by the Japanese who colonized Palau.
Yapese men on Belau, 200 miles from home, carve argonite “money” discs, an enduring example of complex connections in the Pacific Islands. Belauan rocks, some measuring thirteen feet in diameter, must be carried on canoes the 200 miles back to Yap.

Charles (Charlie) Gibbons, Belau, (Palau)

Grandson of a West Indian beachcomber, James Gibbons, and a Belauan woman, Charlie Gibbons was a self-trained carver and painter of the Belauan way of life. His work, combining traditional and Belauan modes of presentation with Western influences, is driven by the desire to communicate his deep love of Belauan culture. His watercolors are famous for their attention to detail and abiding charm.

—John Cole
The Plight of the Marshallese

The American government’s response to the deplorable human rights behavior in other nations is one of rebuke and reproach, but inhabitants of the Marshall Islands feel they are an example of ongoing American imperialism. In 1946, the United States government began relocating the Marshallese from their various “home” islands to a handful of neighboring ones within the island chain in order for the United States government to begin its multi-billion dollar plan for nuclear weapons testing in the Marshalls.

The plan called for building twenty missile silo launch sites throughout the Marshall Islands, and included use of several of the islands as targets for long-range missile bombing and nuclear testing. Since then, many islanders have died from cancer. Many others may have contracted, or may be in danger of contracting the disease, which they suspect is related to their exposure to radioactive contaminants from the nuclear testing that went on from 1946 through 1958 on Bikini and other islands. Many of the Marshallese contend that when the Americans conducted bomb testing, they had knowledge of the dangerous consequences, and purposely used the islanders in experiments to determine the effects of radiation poisoning on human beings.

Today, the Kwajalein Atoll is a primary bomb site where an “intermediate” level of bombing is currently underway. This may mean that as many as eighty missiles strike Kwajalein each year. The main bulk of missile launches, which impacts Kwajalein with pin-point accuracy, are fired from California—4000 miles away. Kaua’i is also a launch site, innocently connecting the people of Hawai’i to the plight of the Marshallese, who vehemently oppose United States acquisition of their homeland for the continued purpose of missile testing. Many islands in the Marshalls have been devastated and are buried in debris from the bombings.

The people of Kwajalein Atoll were forced to abandon their islands in 1950 for relocation to the smaller and less-developed island of Ebeye, two miles away, with American promises of provisions and assistance during the re-establishment.

Before the Americans came, the Marshallese lived off the land, using their own natural resources. Today, however, many of the skills needed for their traditional lifestyle have been lost to acculturation. Ebeye, only sixty-six acres, is now one of the most densely populated islands populated by more than 10,000 people. American influences abound on Ebeye: convenience stores carry familiar American products such as Spam, Kellogg’s Frosted Flakes, and C&H Sugar. John Wayne and Elvis movies are favorites among the islanders.

Nevertheless, most of those living on the island live in slum-like conditions. George Allen, an attorney representing the original landowner of Kwajalein, states that people on Ebeye have been treated badly because of national security concerns and because the United States Government has no compelling reason to change the status quo. Allen defended the legal land ownership rights of Handel Grebo when the American lease expired in 1986, transferring ownership rights back to the Marshallese. At that time Grebo and his family moved back to their home island of Kwajalein Atoll to rebuild some semblance of their previous lives.

Many other islanders followed Grebo’s lead, and eventually a full-fledged protest to resettle Kwajalein was underway. Grebo and his people wanted to come to terms with the American government for ownership of Kwajalein. Unless those terms could be met, he said he would not leave the island despite “threats, physical violence, war, or even death, because death for good causes, is life...
itself.” Within six months of the United States lease expiration, the islanders were forcefully removed from Kwajalein by armed guards.

Allen said the reason the United States did not want to negotiate is that when that lease expired, “everything that’s on the land became unequivocally the property of the land owner.” Grebo therefore owns what could very well be between $20 to $50 billion worth of military technology.

The president of the Marshall Islands, Amata Kabua, condemned and seized possession of Kwajalein through the power of eminent domain, and on October 21, 1986, a Compact of Free Association with the United States went into force. Kabua clearly understood that the United States had no intention of giving up its strategic military position in the western Pacific. That same year, a new 30-year lease agreement was signed with the United States, allowing continued bombing of the Atoll until the year 2016. The United States will pay $9 million per year. The estimated clean-up cost of Bikini is $100 million.

Grebo understands the importance of the islands to the American’s testing of weapons systems, but to the Marshallese, land is more important than gold or pearls because without land, one does not exist. “I might not have any money, I might not have anything, but as long as I have land, I shall consider myself a worthy person,” he said. According to the history of the Marshallese people, their ancestors considered Kwajalein to be the “promised land.” A poem handed down by their ancestors says, “I will stand on my land and protect it from any invader. Is this your land, or mine?” Undoubtedly, their determination and hope to someday resettle Kwajalein are deeply rooted in tradition and legacy.

The United States wasn’t the first nation to occupy of the Marshall Islands; the Japanese assumed control of the Marshalls at the beginning of World War I and held them until their defeat by the Americans during the Second World War, in 1944.

Grebo and other islanders remember the Japanese occupation fondly. The Japanese treated them “very, very well,” and schooled them in mathematics, music, language, and writing. Grebo said he had an excellent relationship with both Japanese military personnel and civilian businessmen. He says the Marshallese are very grateful for everything the Japanese gave to them. Grebo said that when the Americans came to take the Islands from the Japanese, the islanders thought they could hide in their bunkers and wait out the battle. They had complete confidence in the superiority of the Japanese, and never imagined that America was more powerful.

This was to be one of many of the islanders’ encounters with the “white man,” and many of the Marshallese were “petrified.” Although they were treated well by the American soldiers, they still remember and miss the Japanese.

Because of what has been done to the Marshallese people as a result of United States bomb testing on their homeland, Americans may never be completely trusted. Grebo expressed his view of Americans: “I don’t understand the Americans because they seem to be the best people in the world, yet they are also the worst.” He said Americans are the richest and most educated. America is unbelievably powerful and influential. “But the bad things she’s doing around the world today are the worst. All this I can’t understand, and I just can’t seem to figure out how America is.”

References


Marshallese money basket
The basket is made of pandanus with a shell fringe. It is used to hold money and is given as a going away gift. Courtesy of Cheryl Udui
Vilsoni Tausie Hereniko’s play, “Don’t Cry Mama,” examines the breakdown of traditional ways of life and family bonds in the Pacific. The characters in the play are Su, a Rotuman living in Fiji, her husband Joe, their two children, Su’s brother Tonu and his wife Marama, and Su’s mother who lives on Rotuma. In the play, Su’s mother decides to visit Su and Tonu, and becomes overcome with tremendous sadness when she realizes that neither of her children lead traditional lives. Conflict arises between family members over foreign goods, and the result is the total disintegration of family ties. Hereniko illustrates through various characters the different stages of evolving attitudes regarding western goods in the Pacific Islands. Although many other subtle political statements may be hidden in the story, I feel that Hereniko’s main assertion is that the influx of foreign goods has created avarice in the Pacific Islands which has and will continue to contribute to the deterioration of traditional cultures and relationships.

From the beginning of the story, he acknowledges the problem of Western goods flooding the everyday lives of islanders. He mentions twisties, shoes, crayons, and, most important in the story, couches. Hereniko points out that some people want these “white man’s” products, and others want foreigners and foreign goods to stay out. He shows, through the story, that greed destroys families, as well as traditions. For example, Su is so obsessed with getting the couch and other things to flaunt to her friends that she doesn’t notice that her husband Joe is falling in love with the more traditional Buna. I think that in Hereniko’s view, people who are consumed with avarice forget the importance of family because they are preoccupied with the pursuit of their material wants.

In this play, it is clear that Hereniko favors more traditional lifestyles. Although Joe is not thrilled to hear of his mother-in-law’s plans to visit, Hereniko cleverly shows how similar the two characters are.

In the scene where Su suggests sending their old furniture back to Rotuma for her mother, Joe says, “They’d be better off sitting on the floor.” A few scenes later, when the mother is in their home, Su has to tell her to let her feet hang when sitting on the couch. Though of different generations, Mama and Joe are nonetheless alike in how they think. This phenomenon is becoming increasingly rare in the Pacific Islands. But, Hereniko is very clever in subtly acknowledging the reality of younger people who are receptive to old customs.

Hereniko offers a method for coping with the deterioration of traditional culture. He suggests that if a person wants to live a more traditional lifestyle, he or she should seek out those who want the same thing. Additionally, I think that if traditional cultures are to be preserved, they must be passed down to the children. In most Pacific Island cultures foreign influence must be accepted as a given and every effort must be made to maintain cultural identity at any cost.

It is a fact that native peoples have been exposed to foreign goods. Furthermore, the addiction to the status and prestige that possessing these goods brings has become more common over the years. Hereniko argues through his play that this addiction is detrimental to families. In the story, Su loses her husband and alienates her children, who she constantly scolds for fear that they will damage the new furniture. Because she is so concerned with her “wealth,” she does not see the effect of her obsession with material goods on her family. On the other hand, when Marama is made to feel insulted and inferior because of Su’s bragging,
Tonu slaps Su and runs after his wife to comfort her. I think it is fair to assume that although Tonu has a nice car, and other desirable things, his wife is far more important to him.

Hereniko illustrates the problems that foreign goods and ideologies create in societies which traditionally have valued humility and group integrity. When wealth leads to avarice in such cultures, families disintegrate and, with them, traditions. He acknowledges several possible attitudes toward modernization that exist in the Pacific. There are people like Su who will risk everything to Westernize, especially if it brings higher social status. There are those who do not mind modernization, but still want to hold on to traditions. Tonu characterizes this attitude. He has Western goods, but nevertheless values his wife and her feelings. Joe symbolizes the group who show their rejection of foreign goods by avoiding them and the people who covet them. And there are elderly people like Mama, who can only cry when they see traditional values being abandoned by their children.

I think Hereniko believes that people like Su will soon outnumber everyone else and, as a result, the Pacific region will change at a faster pace.

It might seem to some readers that Hereniko believes that Western influence has been all bad. However, I feel I can speak for the author in saying that there have been many advantages of colonization, the most important one being education. I believe that in many cases, individuals have used their educations more for personal benefit than to aid their communities.

As a Pacific Islander, I can relate to Hereniko's play. The character of Su reminds me of many people who currently govern in the Pacific Islands, not that these negative characteristics can't be found in people elsewhere in the world. However, the significance of having people in power who hold such values is in the effect their decisions will have on the political futures of Pacific Islanders at this critical time in our history. The saddest part to me, and I am sure Hereniko and many others will agree, is that no one can change the minds of people whose main interests are power, prestige and wealth. Avarice, truly, is the plague of the century.

"Fishing." Fishing for a feast is a communal event for men. A highly prized turtle and parrotfish have already been caught.

Watercolor
By Charles Gibbons
Courtesy, John Cole
A women's ceremony on Angaur celebrates a young woman's first child. Despite colonialism and extensive mining for phosphates on Angaur, many traditional rituals are still carried out today.
A Modern Invention

Racism, defined the American Heritage Dictionary as “the notion that one’s own ethnic stock is superior,” is, in this day and age, so deeply integrated into our culture that I cannot fathom a world without it. In fact I have come to think of racism as an inherent part of our nature, a behavior which mankind has unfortunately always displayed, much as we have always had some form of religion, and as we have always expressed ourselves through art. I recently came to question this assumption, however, and to wonder if this is really true. Or is racism actually something which mankind has very recently learned ... a product of the modern world?

This question arose when I watched a documentary entitled “Africa,” written and narrated by Basil Davidson. In this documentary, Mr. Davidson traces the roots of African culture back to a culture which predated and helped to shape the Egyptian civilization which we so greatly admire today. That in itself was fascinating, but what led me to my question was a statement made by Mr. Davidson in which he says that racism originated with the European slave trade. To many who have studied history, this may be no great revelation, but speaking for myself, it was quite a novel idea, one which I gave serious thought to as I looked at the primary sources which were shown in this documentary.

From Greece, there was a statue with two faces, one black and one white, possibly signifying that the two were different but equal. Then, from Egypt, I saw paintings which depicted people of various races mingling with apparently equal status, and some which showed a Nubian woman being served by a Caucasian one. There were also many paintings dating back to the Middle Ages which showed blacks and whites mingling equally. And lastly, there was a statue of this period which was erected in a German church to honor a knight who had fought in the Crusades, a black knight by the name of St. Morris.

Admittedly, this is scant evidence, but it was enough to make me think that perhaps there was a time when men did not fear those who were different, but rather accepted them. I believe that racism is a misplaced hatred which stems from such fears, combined with the natural human tendency toward ethnocentrism. Thus if our ancestors seemed to have no problem accepting racial differences, the only question remaining would be why they did not feel, as we often do, that other cultures could not possibly be as advanced as their own.

I see two feasible answers to this. For one, the early civilizations did not differ from each other nearly as much as they do now. There were no First World countries verses Third World countries, and no advanced technology for the select few. Secondly, and more importantly, man did not really begin to evaluate his society in comparison with others until the Enlightenment movement of the 18th century, which came on the heels of the scientific revolution.

Knowledge is a double-edged sword. It is a good thing, of course. But, on the other hand, the man who has spent years studying for a Ph.D. may have a tendency to regard himself as more educated, more accomplished, more worldly, and therefore somewhat superior to the average blue-collar worker.

If you’ll recall, the latest paintings depicting blacks and whites as equals were from the Middle Ages. I now believe that this is no coincidence, and that racism is, in fact, a modern invention, not only due to the European slave trade, but also because Europeans saw themselves as ‘enlightened’ and therefore superior to blacks and others, whose cultures were perceived as primitive in comparison.
La diosa del espíritu de Aloha
(The Goddess Of The Spirit Of Aloha)

Un día en la primavera, mis amigos y yo dábamos un paseo en el Valle de Manoa. Nuestras madres habían preparado comida para nosotros y esperábamos tener un buen picnic. De repente, empezó a llover a cántaros, y corrimos para buscar un lugar para resguardarnos de la lluvia. Yo encontré un árbol muy alto y grande, y corrí hacia el árbol.

Debajo del árbol estaba cómoda porque muchas hojas verdes del árbol cortaban la lluvia fuerte. “¿Dónde está todo el mundo?” Ya que llovía fuerte, no podía ver nada y decidí esperar hasta que parara de llover.

Mientras esperaba, encontré un gran hueco en el tronco del árbol. “¿Qué es esto? ¿Qué hay en este hueco? ¡parece muy hondo!” Yo era una niña muy curiosa y no pude evitar entrar en el hueco.

El hueco era muy hondo, pero inesperadamente, me caí lentamente por él como flotando en el aire. Por fin, llegué al fondo que era muy suave. Allí había una fuente de agua pura, y una mujer linda estaba sentada junto al riachuelo. “¿Dónde estoy? ¿Quién es usted?” le pregunté. La mujer me dijo que era la diosa del espíritu de Aloha y estaba provveyendo unas semillas de amor al agua de Hawaii aquí en el fondo del mundo.

“¿El amor de la diosa de Aloha?” le dije sorprendida. “Mi abuela me contaba muchas historias sobre el espíritu de Aloha. Me dijo que las personas se ayudaban antes más que ahora.” La diosa asintió con la cabeza y me parecía que estaba muy triste. Me dijo que hoy en día la gente vivía una vida muy ocupada y se olvidaba de cuidar de otras personas. “Yo estoy proveyendo unas semillas de amor, pero si la gente no se los da a los demás, el amor no será un gran árbol y no podrá esparcirse,” la diosa continuó y cogió mis manos. “Niña, tienes un corazón dulce, por eso tú puedes esparcir el amor de Aloha, ¿Sí?”

Yo no sé si creéis mi experiencia extraña, y quizás penséis que solamente soñaba, pero yo creo que la diosa del espíritu de Aloha vive en el fondo del árbol y nos provee el amor todos los días. Yo nunca pude encontrar el mismo árbol o el hueco, pero la sonrisa de la diosa y sus palabras están vivas en mi corazón.

Translation
One spring day, my friends and I hiked to Manoa Valley. Our mothers had prepared lunch for us, and we were looking forward to having a wonderful picnic. Suddenly, it started to rain cats and dogs, and we ran for cover. I found a high and huge tree and ran toward it.

It was comfortable under the tree because the thick leaves of the tree covered me from the strong rain. “Where is everyone?” As it was raining hard, I could not see anything and I decided to wait until the rain stopped. While I was waiting, I noticed there was a big hole in the trunk of the tree.

“What’s this? What’s inside the hole? It seems very deep!” I was a curious child and I could not resist diving into the hole.

The hole was very deep, but unexpectedly, I was falling slowly as if floating in the air. Finally, I felt that my body touched the soft bottom. There was a fountain of spring water, and a beautiful woman sat by the stream of water. “Where am I? Who are you?” I asked her. The woman told me that she was the goddess of the Spirit of Aloha and was putting seeds of love in the water of Hawaii here at the bottom of the world.
“Love from the goddess of Aloha?” I said surprised. “My grandma used to tell me a lot about the Aloha Spirit. She told me that people used to help each other more in ancient days.” The goddess nodded and she seemed very sad. She told me that nowadays people had busy lives and they forgot to care about others. “I’m providing seeds of love, but without sharing it with others, the love won’t grow to be a big tree and spread,” she continued, taking my hands. “Little girl, you have a warm heart. Don’t you think you can share the love of Aloha with others?”

I do not know if you believe my strange experience or not, and you might say that I was just daydreaming, but I really believe the goddess of the Spirit of Aloha still lives under that tree and provides love to us everyday. I could never find the same tree and the hole again, but the gentle smile of the goddess and her words live in my heart forever.
Enactment of the nativity at Hawai‘i Plantation Village in Waipahu.

Participants included the Tagalog 201 class at Kapi‘olani Community College. Christmas, 1993. The Procession is led by the cast and Silangan Singers. Mary is played by Analyn Timosan, KCC student. Joseph is Amado Cacho, a member of the UH Mānoa Philippine Languages and Culture Club. Holding the microphone is James Caddali, president, Filipino-American Club at Kapi‘olani Community College.
Kung Ibig Mo Akong Makilala
(If You Wish To Know Me)

Kung ibig mo akong makilala
Lampasan mo ang guhit ng mahugis na balat,
Ang titig kong dagat-
Yumayapos nang mahigpit sa bawat saglit
Ng kahapon ko’t bukas.

Kung ibig mo akong makilala,
Sunduin mo ako sa himlaya’ng dilim
At sa madlang pagsukol ng inunang hilahil
Ibangon ako at saka palayain.

Isang pagibig na lipos ng lingap,
Tahanang malaya sa pangamba at sumbat
May suhay ng tuwa’t kaluwalhatia’y
Walang takda—
Ilay mong lahat ito sa akin
Kung mahal mo ako’t ibig kilalanin.

Kung ibig mo akong kilalanin,
Sisirin mo ako hanggang buto,
Liparin mo ako hanggang utak,
Umianglang ka hanggang kaluluwa-
Hubad ako roon mula ulo hanggang paa.

If you wish to know me,
Go past the form of shapely flesh
And my sea-stare—
It enfolds tightly each moment
Of my then and soon.

If you wish to know me,
Fetch me from my swaddlings dark
And from the the fetters of my fetus-skin,
Raise me; set me free.

One love that is pure tenderness,
A home free from care and blame
Where joy sustains and glory
Knows no finity—
Offer me all these
If you love and wish to know me.

If you wish to know me,
Dive deep into my bone,
Fly far up to my brain,
And soar till my soul—
There, I am bare from crown to sole.

1988
Dito ninyo ako iniwan,
Dito rin mababalikan—
Sa dilim, sa mga suluk-sulok, sa mga mesang
Nanggigitata sa amoy ng beer, upos,
Lansa ng hininga at dura,
Pulutan at pabangong mura.
Tapat ako sa mga parke at paradahan—
Isang pag-ibig sa gitna ng daan.

PUTA
(Prostitute)

Here is where you left me,
Here, too, is where you return:
In the dark, in dingy corners, on tables
Clammy with the stench of beer, cigar stub,
The fishiness of breath and spittle,
Appetizers and cheap perfumes.
I stick to park and parking lots—
Love on the other side of the road.

Nangongolekta ako ng karanasan,
Gunitang ibig kalimutan;
Lumilikom din ng mga hinunos na kamusmusan,
Binabalatkayuhang katandaan,
Sa konting kindat at sayaw,
Konting halik at lamas,
Konting diit at pakikipagtalik,
Saka pakikining,
Maraming pakikining.

Iba-iba ang kanilang mukha:
Aking ama, aking anak, aking kapatid, aking kaibigan,
Aking asawa.
Lahat na’y naghahandog ng kasal—
Lihim at hayag,
Sandali’t matagal.
Pinanonood ko lamang sila:
Nagnanasa, nalulungkot, nangungulila;
Balisu, natatatot, nababanas,
Habang ako’y naaagnas,
Natutuyo,
Natutupok,
Nang walang seguro, gamot,
Plano sa retiro
O pamburol at pampuntod.

They have different faces:
My father, my son, my brother, my friend,
My husband.
All offer marriage—
Open and secret,
Momentary and lasting.
I can only watch them:
Desiring, lonely, longing,
Confused, fearful, bored,
While I wither,
Dry,
Decompose
With no insurance, medicine,
Retirement plan
Or money for my burial and niche.
Dinadalirot kahit disgustado,
Sa aki’y pilit pinalilibak
Ang magulong kahapo’t bukas na walang tiyak...
Isang pag-ibig sa kabila ng daan.

Isang pag-ibig sa kabila ng daan.
Ulit-uliting ibig nila akong pakasalan:
Ako at ang aking mga hangad—
Payak at may tawad:
Isang tahanan at malinis na himlayan,
Paminggalang may laman at salapi sa lukbutan.
Gayunma’y sakim sila’t mapaghanap.
Pati ngiti ko’y may bayad.
Isang minahan ako sa tanawan:
May ginto sa balakang,
Hinog ang sinapupunan.
Nalalangoy ko ang kadiliman
At natatakbo ang orasan.
Naiiba ba ako sa karanwan?
Isang pag-ibig sa gitna ng daan.

I am caressed though abused,
I am forced to mock
My troubled past and certainless future—
Love on the other side of the road.

Love on the other side of the road.
Assure me that they all offer marriage:
Me and my desires—
Simple and compromising:
A home and a clean bed,
A cupboard full and a purse that is not empty,
Even my smile is priced.
I am a mine on sight:
Gold in my hips,
A womb that is ripe.
I can swim through darkness
And travers time.
Am I different from the rest?
Love on the other side of the road.

Translation by Marra Lanot and Jovy Zarate
Tagalog 201 students
Kuru, Sorcery, and Cannibalism
Among the South Fore of New Guinea

How did kuru, sorcery, and cannibalism intertwine in the South Fore population of New Guinea? The South Fore are located in the lower forests of the Eastern Highlands of Papua New Guinea. The North and South Fore are separated by a low mountain range that still allows contact between the two groups. The South Fore populate the lands southward from the mountain range. They number approximately 8,000 people, and it is among this population that the incidence of kuru was the highest.

What is kuru? Kuru is a sub-acute degenerative disorder, primarily indigenous to the Fore of New Guinea, that affects the central nervous system. Kuru was originally defined by the Fore as meaning trembling or fear. The disease starts with headaches and extremity pain, followed by a loss of coordination, balance, and involuntary muscle twitching. Its initial stages usually go unnoticed by others. The first stage soon progresses to the second with decreased control of muscle activity, bouts of laughter with no apparent cause, and shivering. The third stage brings complete incapacity of motor functions, starvation, deep ulcerations found on bony prominences, seizures, pneumonia, muteness, unresponsiveness, and finally, death within a year.

The people of the Fore and Western researchers did not agree about the origins of kuru. The highest incidence of kuru was seen between 1957 and 1968, when over 1,100 Fore died from this disease. Some cases were still being seen between 1976 and 1977 in the Fore region. The Fore believed their society was coming to an end. Their numbers were declining with women suffering the highest mortality rates. Low birth rates were also being seen because the women who were dying were usually under 20 years of age. The Fore were aware that the disease was striking this group hardest. They believed that sorcerers were the cause for the population decline, through the practice of kuru sorcery.

Fore women tend to be the primary victims of kuru, though it was found in elderly men and adolescents. Many people first called it negi negi, meaning, silly or foolish person, because women afflicted with it laughed in sporadic spurts. When women began dying from the disease, they began to think it was more serious than originally believed.

This increase in the mortality of women caused major shifts in the social roles of men and women. Because women were unable to walk without support or were dying, the men had to take on chores that belonged to the women. The men learned how to garden, cook, and care for the children in order for the society to continue. Along with these roles, men had to maintain their own roles as warriors and hunters. Kuru played a major role in the decrease of the Fore population. Approximately 80 percent of the deaths in the population were attributed to kuru.

The early 1960s were years for great concern. The Fore sought healers to defeat this deadly disease. The Fore believed that kuru was caused by sorcerers, who would gather some form of personal belonging and bury it in a bundle of leaves with pig fat in mud. The sorcerer would then say a name after burying the bundle and the person whose name was mentioned would contract kuru. It was believed that the only way to cure kuru was to find the sorcerer and ask for forgiveness and/or pay him or her for the location of the bundle. One could then locate the bundle and set it out in the air.
to dry. This would reverse the spell. This belief in sorcery was so strong that even when the actual cause of kuru was found by Western observers, the Fore still believed sorcery was the cause. Initially, Westerners who observed the people who had contracted kuru thought it was a psychological disorder. They thought it was directly associated with the fear and threat of kuru sorcery. A second theory proposed that it was passed on genetically from one generation to the next because of the advanced neurological damage kuru caused to the central nervous system. It was found, however, that it could not be genetically transmitted because of the incidence of kuru in families related only through marriage. Changes in age and sex distribution had altered the form and original incidence of kuru.

The first clinical description of kuru stated that it resembled a similar degenerative neurological disease, known as scrapie, found in sheep. The National Institute of Health conducted experiments on chimpanzees by injecting brain material from Fore victims of kuru into their brains. It was then discovered that after incubation periods of up to fifty months, some of the chimps developed clinical symptoms similar to that of human kuru. It was then deduced that kuru was a viral disease with a long incubation period.

Robert Glasse and Shirley Lindenbaum gathered evidence that showed how the Fore contracted kuru. They reported the Fore had been cannibals since the late 1800s, which is approximately the time the first case of kuru appeared. In the Fore, kuru was found in elderly males, women, and adolescents. This was found to be due to the scarcity of protein in this society. The men claimed the preferred form of protein, wild boar and pigs, while the women’s protein came from insects, frogs, small game and dead humans. Those women who assisted with childbirth ate the placentas for protein.

According to Glasse and Lindebaum, upon the death of an individual, body parts were distributed primarily to the maternal kin. Women who died were only eaten by other women and children. Elderly males refused to eat their women kin because of they feared that eating women would diminish their prowess. Not only were women cannibalistic because of protein shortages, they also believed that through the eating of departed loved ones they remained close to them. The flesh was rarely cooked long enough to destroy microorganisms. This increased the possibility of bacteria and viruses being transmitted.

After the arrival of the Australian government, patrol posts were established in the Fore region. Government officials, who were repulsed by the practice, made cannibalism a punishable offense. Those who practiced it were frequently jailed if caught. The Fore, who were eager to adopt European customs, soon began to abandon their native customs. Through 1957 to 1959, cannibalism was still being encountered in remote hamlets of the Fore. By 1960, it was gone except for a few rumors of some older women who still carried on the practice. Between the 1960s and 1970s, when the government built roads through the villages of the Fore, cannibalism ceased to be practiced and kuru began to disappear.

References

Aborigines, A Minority in their Own Land

Aborigines have inhabited Australia for approximately 40,000 years. Archeologists tell us that they used ground-edged tools 10,000 years before such tools were developed in Europe. For most of those forty thousand years, they existed as hunter-gatherers who roamed the land within territorial boundaries. These territories reflected ancient ties to ancestral lands and to the spirits that resided within them. Each clan consisted not only of human beings but also included animals that shared the land with them and as well as certain natural features that embodied the spirits. Each clan bore the name of one of the animal members of the clan.

Between five hundred and six hundred tribes, speaking hundreds of languages, inhabited Australia in the late 1700s when they were discovered by white explorers. Although there was some contact between tribes, a centralized political structure never developed in Aboriginal society. After English settlers were brought to Australia, Aborigines suffered the loss of their homelands, the ravages of foreign diseases, and the destruction of their traditional culture.

Efforts are underway to restore some of the lands taken from the Aborigines. At this time, The Aboriginal Commission has been given title to some eight percent of Australian land. Most of this land, however, is in barren areas or bordering atomic test sites. Like the native Hawaiians, Aborigines want the return of homelands and political autonomy. Because of the importance of land in their traditional beliefs, a resurgence of Aboriginal culture will be difficult, if not impossible, without the land that sustains them.

The Dreamings

According to Aboriginal religious beliefs, in the beginning, the world was a flat, formless, featureless place. It was the Dreamings, the ancestral spirits, who created the Earth and gave to it its contours. They breathed life into every rock, every feature of the landscape. They created man and animals, and all were contained in the web of life. The Dreamings live on in Dreamtime, the abode of the soul after death. Aborigines believe that when they die, they enter the Dreamtime and from there, return again to life.

Grass Seed
Representation of an ancestral spirit (Dreaming)
Aboriginal Art on exhibit at the Bishop Museum
B&W Photograph
By Phyllis M. Stine
Each tribe's ancestral spirits created land to sustain life, and so each tribe was related to its territory, and the spirits and animals that dwelled there, through its Dreamings. Aborigines believed in the necessity of harmony with nature, and in the balance between the seen and unseen world.

The Dreamings are revered and even their representations are sacred. The right to use and create images of ancestral Dreamings are passed down according to laws of inheritance.

**A visit to Australia**

In the fall of '91, I had the opportunity to visit Australia and meet many Aboriginal people. As an ethnically mixed black American woman who was educated partially in southern Missouri during segregation, we related to many issues. Alcoholism, drug addiction, family dysfunction, unemployment, segregation, education, and so on; the issues are the same. Progress is slow, but changes are being made.

One of the most popular Aborigine performers, Yothu Yindi, comes down from the Outback once a year to perform in the city. While I was there, I had the privilege of watching this wonderful man. In 1992, he was thrown out of a bar because he was black. In 1993, he was named Man of the Year.

There are now many grassroots groups working on equal rights that are united together through the National Coalition of Aboriginal Organisations. Because of informal segregation and the difficulties Aborigines often encounter in cities, many are returning to the Outback to be closer to their roots. They no longer accept being enslaved in their own lands.

Like the Hawaiians, the Aborigines want their sovereignty and original ownership of their continent recognized.

**References**

On September 18, 1993, I attended a very special event here Hawai‘i. An Indian (Asian) friend of mine conducted a religious ceremony at her home on the Windward side of the island. The ceremony coincided with a traditional celebration called the Ganesha Festival, which typically occurs in mid-September and lasts until the beginning of October.

The time of this ceremony was established in India long ago according to the lunar calendar.

Ganesha is a deity in the Hindu pantheon who is depicted as a very robust personality adorned with the head of an elephant and four hands of various attributes. He is brilliant red in color, is adorned with numerous colorful flower leis, and wears the mark of the crescent moon upon his forehead. He is the son of Lord Shiva and the goddess Parvati and is venerated as the remover of all obstacles. Ganesha is described as the god of good luck, prosperity and wisdom, who rides upon the back of a mouse to signify his humility and simplicity. The ritual of worshipping this deity occurs most frequently during the Ganesha Festival.

My participation in this ceremony, or puja, for the first time since leaving India ten years ago, brought back many fond memories of experiences during my childhood. Some of my most vivid recollections are associated with the special places which were created for these ceremonies, and the efforts of my friend in this regard were no exception. She had carefully designed and constructed a miniature altar in a wooden temple with beautifully painted gold trim and solid brass fixtures, all elaborately articulated to give an ornate appearance. The fragrance of fresh flowers and handmade incense permeated the room, and ethereal music soothed the spirit.

Within the beautifully crafted temple was placed a marble statue of Ganesha, replete with crown and other traditional ornaments. Ganesha was seated upon the marble figure of a mouse, his typical conveyance, and miniature oil lamps cast a beautiful diffuse glow upon the entire scene.

The Indians believe that by worshipping this deity the principle of innocence within each of us is awakened. As a child, each of us is born with this innate quality of innocence, but as we grow into adulthood this quality becomes smothered by the bombardment of media. By pleasing this deity we awaken this child-like (not childish) quality within us. Ganesha depicts that very principle in his size and stature. His rather plump belly signifies the joyous, carefree and happy nature of a child who lives always in the present. The past or future do not really exist other than in our minds, and that is essentially the underlying principle of innocence.

As adults, we all crave in our quiet moments the stress-free, joyous state of a child. We long to feel at one with nature and flow with the rhythm of life in an effortless way. It is because of these qualities that this deity plays a very important role in the life of an average Indian. This almost universal respect for Ganesha’s principal attribute of innocence can perhaps explain one of the most typical of Indian traits, a rather amiable and flexible nature.

Puja

To proceed with the actual festival, we began with a puja. Puja simply means “to worship.” The ceremony began with all present sitting cross-legged on the floor in quietude for approximately 20 minutes. This put everyone in a meditative state to enable each to reap the full benefits of the puja. Then the pujari (or priest) began by reciting an invocation of this deity. Mantras describing the power of the deity and the benefits adherents achieve through his worship were chanted in a
slow cadence. As this portion of the puja was rendered in Sanskrit, I can only convey the meaning by loose translation as follows:

Salutations to lord Ganesha.
It is you who is the beginning of all beginnings.
It is you who supports all things that are supported.
It is you who protects all things that are protected.
It is you who is complete, all pervading spirit, God's divine energy.
You are all knowledge and you are the use to which the knowledge is put.
You exist until the end of all things and after the end of all things, You are.

While this prayer was being chanted, the pujari was going through the ritual of applying a scented paste of sandalwood and kumkum (a type of turmeric) on the forehead of the statue. This paste is said to please the deity, and soon its fragrance filled the room. This was followed by ringing of the bells hanging by the side of the temple to awaken the deity and to attract his attention to us, the devotees. During this entire ceremony, the pujari was directing different people to do several things. I got the honor of offering a lei to the statue. More leis were offered by various people, and fresh flower petals were laid at the feet of Ganesha. Several mouth-watering delicacies were then offered, and these varied from baked goods to traditional Indian sweetmeats. One of my favorite was the ladoo, which is made from graham flour, brown sugar, sesame seeds, etc. Ganesha is known to like ladoos, and I can see why! They are simply scrumptious!

The last offering was that of a lighted oil lamp which was waved in a circle around the figurine. Fire is said to purify all evil influences and negativities around us. This ritual is known as the aarti. At this point a devotional song was sung, and we all participated in its rendition. My 8- and 4-year-old daughters thought that this was by far the best part of the ceremony as they had to sit quietly throughout all of the earlier portions. This active portion of the ceremony made them feel more a part of all that was happening, and they especially enjoyed the nonstop eating following the offerings of ladoos, pastries and other delicacies to Ganesha.

I heard one of the 7-year-olds attending this function exclaim, “Mommy, we should have this party at our house too!”

After stuffing myself with enough sweets to last me until the next Ganesha Festival, we all departed for our homes. The entire event lasted over three hours, but time seemed to pass quickly and, before I knew it, it was all over until September of next year. The experience proved to be a truly enjoyable event which transported my spirit back to the bosom of India and re-established a link to the richness of my past.
Sati
The Sanctity of Sacrifice

Near Willendorf, Germany, the first images of women in religion were found dating back to 25,000 B.C. The round full-breasted fertility goddess that could be held in the palm of one’s hand was perhaps indicative of women’s status—the giver of life, the mother of Earth. Many years later in the classical age of Greece, we find one of the most architecturally perfect buildings on earth dedicated to the goddess Athena. As the history of man progressed and ground rules were established in the great religions, women began to hold a lower and lesser position. In Genesis, it was stated that Eve’s disobedience forced her and Adam from the Garden of Eden, possibly the first example of woman being intensely desirable and intensely dangerous. In the New Testament, Jesus took no women for wife or otherwise, and chastity became de-rigueur (Woman, 1932). Though many religions have relegated women to an inferior status, it is among certain orthodox Hindus (less than twenty percent of the population of India) that women are subjected to the most adverse conditions: blaming the wife’s karma of the wife for the death of her husband, forcing her to be a good wife under any and all conditions a husband could demand of her, and placing her value well below that of not only males, but of India’s sudra caste, the untouchables. Upon the death of her husband, such a Hindu woman might prefer to die on the funeral pyre of her betrothed in the much disputed though very sacred act of sati or self immolation.

While traveling in India a few years ago, I came upon the town of Chittorgarh in the district of Udaipur in northwestern India, an ancient stronghold of the Sesodia Rajputs. The Rajputs are a warrior race who trace their ancestry to the nobles who invaded northern India in the time of Christ. The walled fortress town built some 500 feet above the surrounding plain existed in the 8th century A.D. Within the walls, there are many Jain and Hindu temples where today Langer monkeys wait impatiently for handouts from curious tourists. There is also a splendid palace where the Rana Bhiinsingh lived with his wife, Padmavati. Padmavati’s beauty was legendary, and a Moghul sultan from Delhi, hearing of the woman, became obsessed with seeing her. After much negotiation with the sultan, Rana Bhiinsingh finally allowed him to see only his wife’s reflection in a palace wading pool. It was enough to bring the sultan back to the hilltop town with such great forces that Chittor fell to the Moghuls, and an estimated 800 women, including Padmavati committed suicide by walking into a fire roaring within a cave. In 1534, a second siege was conducted by the Shah of Gujurat. In the ensuing battle, 32,000 Rajputs lost their lives, and 13,000 women committed jauhar, or collective self immolation, rather than submit to the Muslim invaders (Chittorargh, 1973). Extraordinary as it may seem, women willing to die upon the deaths of their husbands are not exclusive to India.

The act of widow sacrifice has been practiced in Egypt, the Pacific Islands, China and Africa since ancient times. According to Irish texts about Celtic burial customs, “Wives of heroes deserved to be buried at once with their husbands” (Celts). It was also reported by Julius Caesar that in Celtic tribes, “all things dear to a man... were consumed on the funeral pyre.” And Mela wrote of “those who of their own free will cast themselves on the pyre of their relatives, hoping to live along with them” (Celts). In 922 A.D. an Arab traveler witnessed the immolation of a girl in young Bulgarian chief’s funeral pyre. She appeared to have been wedded
to the dead youth before she was sacrificed (Death). Although it developed separately in different parts of the world, the act of self immolation of widows was most commonly associated with India and has been present there for the longest period of time (Suicide, 1897).

The term suttee is first alluded to in the Mahabharata and Ramayana, great Sanskrit epics of India. The Rig-Veda, India's oldest scriptural record, does not suggest the act of suttee anywhere. Mention is only made that "a widow merely lay down beside her deceased husband," then rose up to take the hand in marriage of his brother (Bendamn, 1930). Certain orthodox Hindus believe that a woman cannot attain salvation as a woman, but only through being reborn as a man. For these Hindus, sati guarantees not only the widow's rebirth as a man, but blessings for her husband's family for the next 35,000 years. An Indian woman according to the scriptures, must treat her husband as if her were a god if she wishes to be considered virtuous. Among the earliest accounts of sati in India are those of Alexander the Great 327-325 B.C. who makes references to the self immolation of widows (Cavendish, Man, 1983).

The word suttee, or more correctly sati, literally means "chaste wife." The custom of immolating a woman along with her husband is known as sahamaruna; immolation soon after death is known as anumaruna. In this case a wife is often burned along with her husband's shoes, an acknowledgment of complete subjugation to him, and jauhar is the term used when a husband dies in battle (Suttee. Encyclopedia, 1973).

Practices Differ in India

The practice differs not only in name, but also in the way it was performed. In some parts of India, the wife sat beside her husband's body in a straw hut built atop his funeral pyre. The hut collapsed, quickly enveloping her in flames. Elsewhere, she lay down beside the deceased, and if she had second thoughts, men stood near with the fire with long poles of bamboo in Bengal, or swords in Rajasthan, to pin her in. In southern India, a fire was built in a pit and the widow leaped into it (Cavendish, Man, 1983). All women, in any case, were dressed in their wedding clothes and treated to much pomp and circumstance upon approaching the pyre. To become sati was, and still is, a title of great honor, an honor somewhat along the lines of the western idea of sainthood. As a widow approached her husband's funeral pyre, it was believed that she had great powers. She was feared for her curses and valued for her blessings. Her hands were often covered with vermilion, or henna, which she might press upon a nearby stone. Soon after she committed herself to the fire, the impression of her hand might be chiseled out, and the spot made a memorial. The earliest memorial to a sati was dated 510 A.D. (Cavendish, Man, 1983).

In spite of the 1829 law passed to abolish sati, instances continue to be recorded. In 1843, at the funeral of a Raja, 300 concubines and ten wives ascended the pyre. As recently as 1987, Time published an article about the sati Roop Kanwar titled, "Fire and Faith: Out of Immolation, a Goddess" (41). In the northern district of Jaipur in a small village, 18 year old Roop Kaniwar ascended the funeral pyre of her 24-year-old husband of less than eight months. She led a procession of some 4,000 people to her husband's pyre dressed in her red bridal finery with her hands covered in the traditional vermilion. She ascended the pyre, laid her husband's head on her lap, and requested the fire be lit. Police arrived in the village during the cremation, but made no arrests until the press broke the story. At that time, police arrested Roop Kanwar's 15-year-old brother-in-law, who had lit the pyre. As a result of Roop Kanwar's act of sati, a small temple was erected at the site, and thousands of people made a pilgrimage to the village seeking blessings of the sati who would now be referred to as devi, or goddess. They arrived with offerings of coconuts and incense, a show of respect to a woman of divine strength. As the crowds grew to an estimated 3,000,000 over the next few weeks, over 800 wayside shops sprang up selling pictures of the couple aflame, coconuts, snacks and various other souvenirs. Over $150,000 U.S. was donated to build a commemorative shrine. Roop Kanwar's father-in-law, the priest and two other people who participated in the event were arrested within two weeks (Narasihm, 1992).

There have been sightings of women trying desperately to escape the fire. In 1835 five ranees were dragged to the cremation ground despite their protests. It is believed that a woman who changes her mind after committing herself to the act will bring bad luck; therefore, women are detained
within the fire in the various ways mentioned previously. But, for as many stories that there are of involuntary sati, there are an equal number of those which are voluntary. In this century, one 65 year old woman in Calcutta, whose family forbade her to die with her husband, stood by the banks of the Ganges for four days with neither food nor water in protest. For well over 500 years, the belief that a wife should have her ashes mingled with those of her dead husband has been passed down from mother to daughter.

Among certain castes and in certain areas in India, an Indian widow’s life is far from enviable, especially for widows without children. It is both lonely and degrading. She may never marry again. She does not wear jewelry. Her hair is shorn, and she may no longer eat betel nut (Bendamn, 1930). Once a woman’s husband dies, she really has no reason to live; she in fact, becomes invalidated.

On October 1, 1987 an ordinance was passed making the glorification of sati through the observance of public rituals... a criminal offense” (Narasimhan 4). The early fines for the offense of sati were around 20 rupees. The penalties today are one to five years in prison for accessories and fines of between 5,000 and 25,000 rupees, or roughly $150 to $600 U.S.

There are many cases reported in the last century that indicate that not all incidences of sati are the sole decision of the widow. Oftentimes a widow is literally forced to commit sati by her husband’s family, who are either unwilling or unable to support her. As an example, in the district of Gujarat, heavy cartwheels were placed on the woman and her limbs tied to them. (Narasimhan, 1992).

In all of India, the folklore people of Rajasthan in northwest India is most deeply entrenched in the concept of honor and death. The quality of a true Rajput is his willingness to give up his life for a worthy cause, and it is here in the land of the Rajputs that sati is most common. Hand in hand with the concept of honor are India’s ancient scriptural texts declaring sati a “privilege for the Hindu woman” (Narasimhan, 1992, p. 133). It is thought that the concept of widow sacrifice was introduced to the Rajputs by the Scythians of central Asia. They, perhaps, took the custom from the Thracians and they perhaps from the Celts in a long unending and nearly untraceable history of death’s protocol (Narasiinhan, 1992). In whatever way it was passed, it is a custom that has transmigrated the globe from ancient times to the present. Its origins could be in the rise of patriarchal societies or even man’s own inner fear of woman’s ability to give life. In any case, whether it be 500 years ago or five years ago, a widow’s decision to commit herself to death by self sacrifice is based on two important factors, a position of denigration upon the death of her husband and her steadfast loyalty to the ancient rituals of her religion.

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Why Do I Talk Konna Whu Ni (This Way)?

Code-switching or code-mixing is a norm for bilinguals. As monolinguals will try to use the most appropriate words to express themselves, so will bilinguals try to use the most appropriate words to express themselves, only the words may be in another language. The predominant element of switching or mixing codes between sentences, or even within a sentence, makes the words unique and therefore subject to varying interpretations. This paper will primarily focus on Japanese-English code-switching and its various functions. It will include an analysis of sentences to help support the motivational uses of code-switching and to clarify any misunderstandings associated with code-switching.

Many bilinguals switch from one language to the other in their daily interactions. A Japanese-English bilingual will alternate his or her language depending on the situation. Conversing in English with English speakers or in Japanese with Japanese speakers is the ordinary choice. However, what would the typical language choice be for a bilingual communicating with other bilinguals? Language choice in this situation will depend on the type of conversation, formal or informal; the location where conversation takes place; the participants' proficiency in the languages in question; and identification with the culture represented by the language. These and many other factors influence the code choice of bilingual speakers. For an English speaker in Hawai‘i, he or she may have a choice between using standard English, Hawaiian pidgin, or both, depending on the situation. Japanese-English bilinguals also have the option of mixing the two languages in a conversation. Kamwangamalu (1992) defines language mixing as the “alternating use of two or more languages or varieties of language in the same speech event” (p. 173). Code-switching (CS) and code-mixing (CM) are the mixing of two or more languages in a bilingual's interaction. Example (1) is an instance of CS, while (2) illustrates CM. Note that throughout this paper Japanese will be presented in italics and the translation will be in quotation marks.

1. CS (Japanese-English)
   "Ah, onaka ga suita."
   "What are we having for dinner?"
   Oh, stomach is empty.
   "What are we having for dinner?"
   "I'm hungry. What are we having for dinner?"

2. CM (Japanese-English)
   "Nichiyobi made ni."
   "I have to finish this.
   Sunday by I have to finish this.
   "I have to finish this by Sunday."

As illustrated in examples (1) and (2), and as described by Kamwangamalu (1992), (CS) is “where the alternating use of two or more languages is intersentential” (between sentences), (CM) is “where the alternating use of two languages is intrasentential” (within a sentence) (p. 173). In example (1), the switch from Japanese to English takes place between the sentences, “I'm hungry,” and “What are we having for dinner?” In example (2), Japanese and English is mixed within the sentence, “I have to finish this by Sunday.” Also important is the distinction between CS/CM and borrowing (B). Speakers often borrow words to express something that is semantically more appropriate, or if they lack or do not recall a particular word in the language they are using. In Hawai‘i, the influence of Japanese
culture has led to a significant amount of borrowing Japanese words into our lexicon. For example, the words bento for boxed lunch, musubi for rice balls or hibachi for 'fire grill' occur in the following conversation:

3. B (Japanese-English)
   Speaker A: “What are you bringing to the picnic?”
   Speaker B: “I was thinking of making bento (boxed lunch)
   Speaker A: “That’s a lot of work. Why don’t you make
   musubi (rice balls) instead?”
   Speaker A: “Okay, and who’s bringing the hibachi (fire grill)?”

A speaker is able to borrow these words to express certain cultural concepts that are not available in his or her language. However, Lipski emphasizes that CS/CM “is possible even where both variants are available” (cited in Paradis, ed., 1978, p. 250). As in examples (1) and (2), the concepts “hungry” and “Sunday” can be equally conveyed in both Japanese and English therefore, these are not to be confused as borrowing. Borrowing may occur in the speech of monolingual and bilingual speakers alike, whereas CM and CS occur in the speech of bilingual speakers only” (Kamwangamalu, 1992, p. 174).

Why do bilinguals choose to switch? Bilingual speakers do switch when they lack or do not recall a specific word, but also there are other motivational purposes in CS/CM. Languages such as Japanese and English differ in word order. Therefore, many studies are conducted on the grammatical rules for CS/CM. However, to understand the bilingual’s motivational purposes of CS/CM, the focus here will be on the general functions of CS/CM and not on the grammatical constraints. According to Myers-Scotton (1990), communication of “shared and simultaneous membership in two social identities” is carried out by “the overall pattern of using two languages” and not by the specific location of the switches (p. 334).

Appel and Muysken (1987) differentiate the functions of CS/CM into referential, directive, expressive, phatic, metalinguistic, and poetic (p. 118-120). Emphasis will be placed on the first two functions to help explain some of the reasons why bilinguals switch between two or more languages.

Referential function implies the use of one language over the other language depending on the subject of the conversation. [Appel and Muysken (1987) point out that “all topic-related switching may be thought of as serving the referential function of a language” and is “the one [function] that bilingual speakers are most conscious of” (p.118.)] Bilinguals may prefer to use words or sentences in a particular language to accomplish more than just conveying a message.

Example (4) demonstrates what the speaker achieves by CS/CM.

4. CS/CM (Japanese-English)
   Two sisters are talking about work.

   Sister A: I had to do zangyo today.
   “I had to work overtime today.”
   Sister B: Doshite? Are you that busy?
   “Why?” “Are you that busy?”
   Sister A: I had a lot of letters to translate,
   sore ja nai to okyakusan ni maniawanai.
   “I had a lot of letters to translate, if not the clients won’t receive them in time.”

   Sister A chose the words zangyo and okyakusan because they were more suitable in revealing the cultural meaning associated with the words. Japanese culture places great emphasis on loyalty and service to one’s own company and its clients. Japanese companies often require their employees to remain on the job after regular working hours. Zangyo literally means “remaining task.” Okyakusan or customer is highly regarded in Japan and deserves the best service possible. By using these words, sister A was able to communicate not only the information but her commitment to her work. Levelt’s “communicative intention” explains that for speech to be effective, the listener must be able not only to understand the sentence but also “to recognize the speaker’s intention to communicate this information” (cited in Myers-Scotton, 1993, p. 98). Therefore, sister A’s inten-
tion of portraying herself as a dedicated and conscientious worker is effectively transmitted to sister B by using the specific Japanese words and because sister B shares the same cultural identity through the Japanese language.

As seen in the referential function, the "communicative intention" stresses the importance of the listener's role. In CS/CM the listener must be bilingual to understand the meaning of the sentence and the speaker's intention of communicating the particular sentence. This type of speech is effective with participants sharing the same level of proficiency and cultural identity of the languages involved. However, most of the conversation a bilingual engages in takes place outside the home or community, where there may be listeners who don't share the same repertoire. In school, at work, or other social events, bilinguals are constantly switching to accommodate various speakers and listeners. Therefore, a need to "direct" the speech arises.

Monolinguals will perceive this type of switching as negative because they do not understand what is being said. However, just as a monolingual will decide who to converse with, a bilingual will switch to converse with whom he or she wishes to. Appel and Muysken (1987) define this directive function as "to exclude certain persons present from a portion of the conversation" or "to include a person more by using her or his language" (p. 119). This function is very common even within a monolingual's conversation. For example, speaker A is talking to speaker B about surfing, using terminology that only surfers understand, while listener C, a non-surfer, who doesn't share the same interest, remains in the conversation. If speakers A and B continue in their conversation, this will definitely exclude listener C from the conversation. However, if either speaker A or B makes an effort to change the topic of the conversation to something listener C shares, listener C can take part in the dialogue and become speaker C.

Another example is in observing an adult talking with a child. Often the adult will bend over or even kneel down to talk with the child. This gesture represents the adult's way of directing his or her speech to the child. By lowering his or her body position, the adult is trying to identify with the child. Similarly, a bilingual will alternate his or her speech to distance himself or herself from others or to accommodate the other participant(s).

The functions of CS/CM reveal to us the diverse reasons why bilinguals switch. There are many other factors influencing CS/CM, such as the community it takes place in, the status the languages hold, the cultural predominance, and many others. However, we must acknowledge that CS/CM are just other ways of communicating for bilinguals. It is no different from the other languages used by monolinguals around the world. The only difference is that bilinguals can call upon the full communicative resources of both languages.

NOTE

REFERENCES
attended my sister’s wedding in Japan last year. It was the first wedding I attended as a member of the bride’s family. The wedding ceremony and reception were held at a hotel. Originally couples used to wed at a shrine, but nowadays they prefer to marry at hotels. The primary cause for this change is the convenience. It is easier for the guests who have to travel long distances to stay at the same hotel in which the wedding is held. Also, hotel owners have been encouraging people to have their weddings at their hotels by providing chapels in each hotel.

This wedding was held in the Japanese Shinto style. Although the western Catholic weddings are becoming popular, the Shinto weddings are still more common in Japan.

The groom and the bride dress in traditional Shinto wedding ceremony costumes. The bride’s costume is entirely white, symbolizing purity. The groom is dressed in a black costume that is the equivalent of a western tuxedo.

At the Shinto wedding ceremony, only the immediate members of the bride and groom’s families and the elder members of their kin family are allowed to attend. Each family member stands in a line according to his or her relationship to the groom or the bride. For instance, they may line up in this order: the groom, his father, his mother, his older siblings, his younger siblings, his grandfather, his grandmother, his oldest uncle or aunt and his youngest uncle or aunt.

When entering the ceremonial room, each person stops at the door and bows to show respect to the spirit that watches over the ceremony. The groom and the bride sit in the center of the room facing the front of the room. Each family sits at the sides of the room facing each other. The priest sits in front of the groom and the bride, facing them as he blesses the couple. Toward the end of the wedding, the groom and the bride swear infinite love to each other and then exchange their wedding rings.

This ring exchanging custom never existed until the other religious wedding ceremonies influenced the Shinto ceremony. However, this custom now plays a part in the formal Japanese wedding ceremony. To conclude the ceremony, each individual takes a sip of Japanese alcohol (sake), which is poured by the priest into the provided bowl. There is no physical contact between the groom and the bride during the ceremony except at the time of the ring exchange. It may seem unusual to the people in the American culture, but the Japanese culture considers it inappropriate to have unnecessary physical contact in a sacred place.

The reception is held after the wedding ceremony. Friends and other relatives of the groom and the bride are invited to this event. The average number of guests at the reception is seventy. In my sister’s case, about a hundred people were invited. In contrast to the ceremony, the reception was held in the western style. The meal was served at western style tables, and most people were dressed in formal western attire. The groom and the bride remained dressed in the traditional Japanese wedding costumes until they changed their clothing to western attire during the reception.

The purpose of the reception is to announce and celebrate the marriage of the new couple. This is also the time to enjoy the reunion of the family, as well as the socializing and interacting between the two families. I had many people to socialize with since I had been away from Japan for quite a while. I went to give my regards to all of my sister’s friends, all of my parents’ friends, and as many relatives as possible. We have our own way to greet...
others in Japan. When people gather for the rituals, we pour a drink, usually beer, into the others’ glasses. This indicates one’s respect and is also a greeting. I saw many people carrying beer bottles while they were socializing. In our custom, even the teenagers are allowed to have sips of beer or sake in family rituals.

The reception seemed to be the highlight of the day. A modern couple expects to spend most of the wedding budget on the reception. This includes the purchasing and preparation of gifts for the guests in order to show appreciation to them for joining the happy event. The funds for the wedding are provided by the couple, their parents, and the contributions of their guests. It is our custom to bring some money to contribute to the couple whenever a person is invited to a wedding.

During the reception, both groom and bride remain at their table which is placed in front of everyone. There are usually constant speeches from the guests; therefore, the groom and the bride are obligated to stay at their seats throughout the reception. After they change their costumes, they visit each guest table to light the candles. Then they cut the wedding cake. This is usually a recyclable plastic cake except for the layer that is cut by the groom and the bride. In this way, they can economize, and hotels also make more profit by reusing the plastic cake. After they cut the cake, the bride and groom give bouquets of flowers to their parents to show appreciation. This flower-presentation event has become common recently.

After the reception the couple and their parents stand in a line at the door of the reception room. They often give a flower to each guest. However, since my sister is a professional cartoonist, she handed out her comic books instead. The gift giving provides an opportunity for each guest to congratulate the bride and groom.

Japanese weddings are a ritual between the two families. It acquaints the members of both parties and establishes a bond between them. This wedding was very special to me. It gave me many new experiences. I found out a lot about traditional and modern Japanese weddings.
Chanoyu: the Japanese Tea Ceremony
The Aesthetic of Wabi and the Influence of Zen

On Wednesday, April 28, 1993, I participated in the chanoyu (literally “hot water tea”) ceremony at the Hawai‘i branch of Japan’s most famous school of tea, the Urasenke Foundation. To the Japanese, the ceremony represents much more than just a pastime—it is the culmination of their artistic aesthetics and ideals. According to the Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan, the chanoyu ceremony, is a “union of artistic creativity, sensitivity to nature, religious thought, and social interchange” (p. 360). While the chanoyu ceremony is not set in the context of a specific religion, such as the Catholic mass or the hajj of Islam, it is steeped in the tenets of Zen Buddhism and evokes many of the same feelings and emotions that other religious rituals produce: wonder, awe, beauty, fellowship, and the comfortable assurance of repetition.

Chado, literally “the way of tea,” has long had cultural relevance in Japan. The term itself illustrates that the preparation and serving of tea is not just one component of life, but a way of life for some. The root -do stems from the Chinese word Tao, or “way,” and suggests the “totality” or “all-encompassing” nature of life. Indeed, for some, like the family behind the Urasenke Foundation, the chanoyu ceremony itself defines Japanese culture.

The use of tea in Japan has a long history. Since the introduction of Buddhism from China during the Nara Period (710-794 A.D.), tea has been used by monks in a number of ceremonies. The founder of Zen (Ch’an in China), Bodhidharma, promoted the drinking of tea for its medicinal and stimulative qualities. In the later Heian Period (794-1185 A.D.), Japan’s own independent society began to assert itself against its Chinese model and create its own cultural niche. By the end of the Heian Period, tea became part of the general culture of the Japanese. The imperial household and the aristocracy elevated tea-drinking from the domain of Buddhist monks and peasants to an elite social custom. The elite reveled in serving tea with fine lacquer utensils in their ornate summer pavilions.

Over the next 600 years, as power in Japan shifted drastically from the emperor to the warring provincial daimyos, tea remained as a stable, cultural constant—even the socially-crude, militaristic shoguns embraced the significance of the chanoyu ceremony. It was during this feudal period in Japan’s history that the tea ceremony’s most famous proponent, Sen no Rikyu, perfected chanoyu into an artform. Rikyu became the tea master and political confidant to Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi, two of Japan’s most historically important shoguns. By refining the chanoyu ceremony Rikyu redefined it in a wholly-Japanese context. He applied the ideal of wabi—roughly translated as rustic charm—which favored simple, sparse, and natural tones in the ceremony over the more lavish Chinese-influenced style of ostentation and extravagance. The chanoyu ceremony, Rikyu held, could help people discover beauty in unexpected forms, whether it be in a simple flower arrangement or a small, unassuming cup of tea. That, it can be said, is the essence of Zen.

Unfortunately, court intrigue and the rise of Japan’s most famous shogun, Tokugawa Ieyasu, forced Rikyu to commit seppuku, or ritual suicide. His great-grandson, Soshitsu, continued to promote the chanoyu ceremony and founded one of the great chado families of Japan; it is this family that the Urasenke Foundation represents, so it is probably safe to say that the ceremony I attended was legitimate.

The ceremony itself is a vastly complex ritual...
with infinite levels of meaning and sophistication. It not only involves tea, but also calligraphy, flower arrangements, and many other artistic forms. Behind the complexity, however, is a deceptively simple message reflecting a Zen point of view: perfection of one's existence naturally, and without self-indulgence (Kodansha, 1983).

In addition to the central theme of wabi set forth by Rikyu, the chanoyu ceremony embraces four basic principles. The first is *tea*, or harmony. As found in many other Asian religions like Taoism and Confucianism, a balance in harmony is essential to the ceremony. Balance entails harmony between guest and server, guest and guest, guest and his surroundings, and guest and tea. The second ideal is *kei*, or respect, which must be paid to all things and comes from sincere feelings of gratitude for their being. To the adherents to the way of tea, deep respect is even conferred upon the tea utensils and bowls, which some may interpret as having "Buddha-nature." The third ideal, *sei*, is defined as purity. Purity, both physical and spiritual, is a great part of chanoyu ceremony and manifests itself in the symbolic wiping down of the utensils. Lastly, *jaku*, or tranquility, is the peace of mind that comes with the realization of the first three principles. Jaku may be interpreted as a form of enlightenment that arises out of simplicity of action and silence. The tea ceremony itself, can be seen as a method of meditation—a path to achieving a degree of enlightenment or a higher state of mind.

The ceremony I attended was "abridged," lasting only an hour; proper chanoyu can last up to three hours. First, our group was escorted into the *chashitsu*, or tea house. This is usually a small hut set off in a grove of trees with a small pond accenting the mood of seclusion from the outside world. Inside the hut, tatami mats lined the floor, with a small aperture for the charcoal brazier in which boiled the tea water. In the *tokonoma*, a small altarlike recess in the corner of the room, a simple arrangement of flowers stood and over it hung a monochromatic calligraphy painting. The effect of the immaculate room coupled with the austere silence that enveloped it evoked the same mood one might have upon entering a cathedral. It seemed otherworldly.

After we admired the decor for a while the *chajin*, or "tea-person," entered the room to begin the ceremony. Clad in traditional kimono, her soft, gentle voice and polite demeanor exemplified the traditional Japanese notions of feminine beauty. *Senbei*, sweetened rice crackers, were served as an appetizer and as a counterbalance to the somewhat bitter green tea. Then, almost in a pantomime, as if she were re-enacting some ancient No drama, the chajin began the various stages of the actual preparation of the tea. The attention she gave to every subtle movement was truly poetic.

The charcoal in the brazier was evened out to allow the water to boil properly and quickly. After the water had been set, a ceremonial wiping down of the utensils was performed. She then meted out the powdered green tea into the *chawan* (tea bowls) and ladled in exactly-proportioned amounts of water, with utter detachment and grace. The tea was then mixed into a froth with a bamboo whisk and presented with a bow and formal greeting. After returning the honor and accepting the bowl, I uttered the traditional phrase, "Osaki ni"—"I apologize for preceding you"—to the person on my left.

I picked up my bowl and admired it for a few seconds before drinking. The ideas to pause before drinking in order to really grasp the natural beauty of the bowl—the actual action of drinking the tea is not as important as the ritual surrounding it. Chawan bowls are usually plain in color and design, favoring earth tones and muted textures. Some are even deliberately malformed, reinforcing the element of wabi.

Before taking a sip, I gave the bowl three and a half turns counterclockwise—it is considered impolite to drink from the "front" of the bowl lest that side wear down quicker. The tea itself was drunk in three slow gulps, with a punctuated slurp accenting the third. With attention to *sei* (cleanliness), I wiped the lip of the bowl and spun it back to its original position. It was then placed back on the tatami mat in front of me until the chajin accepted it with customary humility. The bowls and utensils were once again cleaned, and the ceremony concluded.

Nothing about the chanoyu ceremony seems forced or hurried. Indeed, the deliberate pace seems to be its goal. Beginning a fire or preparing a bowl of tea, two unarguably very simple acts, can illustrate truths about the simplicity of things. This kind of thought is pure Zen in form. Noted Japanese historian A.L. Sadler (1962) paraphrased a poem written by an anonymous Zen monk to illustrate this point:
"How miraculous and how supernatural! I draw water and I carry brushwood"
(Sadler, 1962).

The chanoyu ceremony is terribly complex, with its stylized motions and perfection of action, but behind the form is a basic message of simplicity in complexity, a gem of Taoist thought that must have had a great impact on Zen Buddhism. In the words of the 15th Grand Tea Master Soshitsu Sen, in the Chanoyu Quarterly (1988):

"A bowl of tea...is a ritual developed to meet man's need for inner tranquility."

A ritual serving self-awareness and inner peace; if that isn't a definition of religion, then I don't know what is.

References

Wabi Cha (Tea Bowl)
Ceramic
By Kauka De Silva, Art Instructor

The Tea Bowl and the Tea Ceremony

The tea ceremony is a ritual that places the participants in harmony with themselves and the world around them.
The founders of the tea ceremony felt that use of tea bowls that are unpretentious and austere are the key to the ritual of drinking tea and its goal of enlightenment. Thus the tea bowls used in the ceremony are rough and asymmetrical, yet beautiful in simplicity and humility. These qualities embodied in the tea bowl become the metaphor for a spiritually rewarding life.

—Kauka De Silva
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BACK COVER:
Shimenawa (sacred rope) at the entrance to a priest's residence in Izumo, Western Japan. This shimenawa is similar to one displayed at the Honolulu Academy of Arts as part of its exhibition: "Spirit and Symbol: The Japanese New Year" January–February, 1994. The shimenawa displayed at the Academy is a gift to the Izumo Taisha Kyo Mission in downtown Honolulu.
Color Photograph by Barbara B. Stephan