

nature of annexation since the 1990s, some have argued that the term “annexation” is a misnomer. In his PhD dissertation, Keanu Sai argues that without a treaty of annexation, annexation never took place. Instead, Hawai‘i can be classified as a Military Occupied Territory. And thus, he continues, Hawaiian sovereignty theoretically remains intact. He then outlines the process whereby Hawaiian sovereignty can be transferred back to Hawaiians.⁴⁸ However, since the 1990s other Hawaiian activist groups have fought against and within the colonial paradigm, seeking various forms of restitution, autonomy, and sovereignty. While activist groups often differ in their approaches, most emphasize a need for justice and restitution.

CHAPTER 3



Hui Nalu, Outrigger, and Waikīkī Beachboys

In the decade following the annexation, he‘e nalu surged among Hawaiians, especially in the community of Waikīkī. Although some have attributed this rise in participation to a slow but growing tourist industry, I believe the popularity of surfing increased among Hawaiians because the surf offered escape and autonomy for Kānaka Maoli in an unsettling time. While a number of Native Hawaiian surfers flocked to the waves on a regular basis in the early 1900s, there was also a burgeoning community of haole who learned to surf from Hawaiians during this period. Shortly after being taught he‘e nalu, some of them joined Alexander Hume Ford’s exclusive beach club to promote surfing among its whites-only members. Several of Honolulu’s new political elite joined the Outrigger Canoe Club, many of whom had led the coup against Queen Lili‘uokalani just a few years prior. Like the Hui O He‘e Nalu in the 1970s, Native Hawaiian Waikīkī surfers earlier in the twentieth century were threatened by haole encroachment in ka po‘ina nalu (the surf zone). As the segregated surf club grew, the Hui Nalu directed their attention to preserving Hawaiian control in the surf, keeping it from Outrigger elites in Waikīkī. Pro-annexationist surfers and Native Hawaiians went head-to-head in the water and actively fought over this Hawaiian realm. Through these conflicts Hawaiian surfers maintained control and their social standing in the waves, and helped preserve the ocean as a Hawaiian domain. Although

they maintained historical continuity with their past, Hawaiian identities in the surf continued to be shaped and redefined through their conflicts with Outrigger surfers in the waves.

The Hui Nalu had many distinguished Hawaiians in their ranks. While founder Duke Kahanamoku is at the pinnacle of the surfing world, Jonah Kūhiō Kalanianaʻole was a well-known aliʻi and Hui Nalu surfer in the early 1900s. Prince Kūhiō is a critical and underanalyzed character in Hawaiian history. Arrested in 1895 for attempting to restore his aunt, Queen Liliʻuokalani, to the throne, Prince Kūhiō ardently fought to preserve and restore the Hawaiian kingdom, which he was expected to one day rule. Several months after the Hawaiian Organic Act of 1900 was passed—it restored more voting rights and leadership opportunities to Hawaiians—Prince Kūhiō came out of hiding and resurrected his political career. Among his many accomplishments as Hawaiʻi's representative to U.S. Congress and aliʻi to the Hawaiian people, Kūhiō is best known for returning two hundred thousand acres of Hawaiian lands to Native Hawaiians through his Hawaiian Homes Commission bill. His story not only highlights the spirit of Hui Nalu surfers as advocates for the Hawaiian people during this time, but also represents the kinds of resistant identities spawned from the Waikiki surf zone, or poʻina nalu.

Edward Kaleleihealani “Dudie” Miller, another Hui Nalu surfer, established a profitable concession business on the beach in Waikiki in 1915. Although he employed other Hui Nalu surfers to give surfing lessons to tourists, the Waikiki Beachboys were more than surf instructors. They were glorified as tour guides, musicians, and local celebrities. They were ladies’ men, especially in the eyes of wealthy American tourists, during a time when American miscegenation laws prohibited men of color from marrying white women. Between 1915 and 1941, Waikiki Beachboys regularly and publicly disregarded and redefined colonial prescriptions on how Hawaiian men should behave in the Territory. In contrast to other scholarly assessments of the Beachboys, I argue that these men were empowered in the Hawaiian surf zone—enough to defeat and defy colonial notions of what it meant to be a Hawaiian man.

Hui Nalu versus Outrigger

Among those who frequented the Waikiki waves in the murky wake of the overthrow was Queen Liliʻuokalani’s niece and designated heir to the throne, Princess Victoria Kaʻiulani.¹ The princess surfed most frequently between 1895 and 1899, while living in her two-story ʻĀinahau home in a grove of hau

and niu trees on the beach at Waikiki.² Kaʻiulani made time to surf during a very busy and stressful period of her life. Although she had attended a boarding school in England in the early 1890s, after her aunt was deposed in the 1893 coup she promptly traveled to Washington, D.C., to plead with Congress to restore the Hawaiian monarchy. She continued to carry out various diplomatic missions over the remaining six years of her life in hopes of restoring the Native Hawaiian monarchy.³ In spite of all this, and amid all this travel, she still made time to surf in Waikiki on traditional-style surfboards.⁴ According to William A. Cottrell, a Hui Nalu surfer of Waikiki, the princess was an expert surfer.⁵ The fact that she surfed during a time when many Hawaiian women were discouraged from doing so highlights her character. But she wasn’t the only Hawaiian to grace the waves of Waikiki in the wake of the annexation.

According to Cottrell, Hawaiian surfers of the Hui Nalu, such as the Kahanamoku brothers, the Kaupikos, the Keaweamahis, and many others, were responsible for the rising popularity of the sport between 1903 and 1908.⁶ Although some Hawaiians like George Freeth and Duke Kahanamoku gained more fame than others, lesser-known Hui Nalu surfers were also active and avid athletes who took great pride and pleasure in their tradition of heʻe nalu.⁷ In the early 1900s, as David Stannard has pointed out, sports clubs (like the Hui Nalu), teams, and youth hui were popular throughout Honolulu.⁸ Playing a variety of sports, from barefoot football to boxing, club rivalries were intense, competitive, and exciting. But when a whites-only club made up of annexationist families and other racist haole entered the local competitive arena, emotions, stakes, and Hawaiian sentiments ran high. As the Outrigger defined itself along racial lines, and as the traditionally Hawaiian competitive sport was performed on an unconquered Native domain, this rivalry was vastly different from that of local sports leagues. Ka poʻina nalu became an intense zone where Hawaiians, including politically astute and elite ones, clashed with haole on a battleground over more than simply a Hawaiian sport, but their physical and cultural domain.

The Outrigger Canoe Club was formed in 1908 by a former Chicago newscaster, Alexander Hume Ford. Shortly after he arrived in Honolulu in 1907, Ford immediately took an interest in Hawaiian aquatic sports.⁹ He was described as an “eccentric promoter” who also had been a successful playwright—according to Joe Stickney, he worked with Mark Twain on a New York production of *Tom Sawyer*. He was also a bachelor, a salesman, a writer, a magazine editor, and a “man of energy and imagination.”¹⁰ After he moved into a grass shack that adjoined the old Seaside Hotel in Waikiki, Ford learned

to surf on canoes and surfboards from accomplished Hawaiian surfers/watermen. After describing how amusing and out of place Ford looked in his full-body bathing suit, one local Waikiki surfer, Judge Steiner, reminisced about his first encounter with Ford.

We were out surfing in a canoe and we saw this fellow standing on the beach. . . . We asked him if he wanted a ride . . . and he said yes. . . . There were very few tourists here then. If one came on the beach he was a spotted man. The idea was to take a stranger and put him up in the front seat of the canoe, take him right through the surf, and when you go through—when the bow went through the wave, and it dropped, why, it's a little discouraging for the front passenger. We thought that would fix this fellow up. Well, he was kind of game.¹¹

After learning to stand on a surfboard, Ford then promoted the sport among other haole residents and visitors. In *Mid-Pacific*, a magazine Ford created to promote tourism in the islands, he chronicled the Hawaiian pastime of surfing and proclaimed that “the white man could learn all the secrets of the Hawaiian [surfer].”¹² While many eventually heeded Ford's call, famous American author Jack London was one of the first to take up the challenge. Shortly after he arrived in the islands while on a tour on board his sailboat the *Snark*, London took notes on Hawaiian surf riding. While he lay sunburned on his bed after his first try in 1907, London wrote, “I joined some little Kanaka boys. . . . I watched them, and tried to do everything that they did, and failed utterly.”¹³ Calling one particular Native Hawaiian surfer “brown mercury,” London marveled at George Freeth. “I saw him on the back of it [a wave], standing upright with his board, carelessly poised, a young god bronzed with sunburn. We went through the back of the wave which he rode. Ford called to him. He turned an air spring from his wave, rescued his board from its maw, paddled over to us, and joined Ford in showing me things.”¹⁴

Months after taking to these lessons, Ford founded the Outrigger Canoe Club to promote healthy outdoor Hawaiian sports and activities among haole in Hawai'i. In 1908 Ford leased an acre and a half of Waikiki Beach (next to the Moana Hotel) from the Queen Emma Estate trustees. After moving two grass houses onto the property, from either the Seaside Hotel or the Honolulu Zoo, he established the club. Ford felt that it was necessary to preserve beach access for surfers—since the Moana Hotel and other private land owners

limited public beach access. By 1910 the Outrigger had built a new two-story bathhouse and locker room with enough space to accommodate a hundred members. Months later they doubled the size of the facility and built an additional bathhouse for women. In these formative years they purchased canoes, built canoe sheds, and made surfboard racks to hold hundreds of boards. Membership was restricted to whites who could pay an annual membership fee of five dollars. As Ford stated in a 1911 article, it was a club “for the haole (or white person).”¹⁵ Although the Hawaiian Queen Emma Estate trustees agreed to lease this property to Ford for the purpose of “preserving surfing on boards and in Hawaiian outrigger canoes,” Ford's club discriminated against actual Hawaiians who engaged in these pastimes.¹⁶

In the beginning Ford claimed to have organized the Outrigger Canoe Club to preserve surfing for the “small boy of limited means,” but as it grew the club quickly became a racially segregated organization for the elite haole in Hawai'i, including those who had ousted Hawai'i's queen only a decade earlier. Membership in this whites-only surf club grew to twelve hundred in 1915, and the names of several Honolulu politicians and businessmen appeared on their roster. In a 1909 article Ford boasted that among the surf riders in his club were “Judges of the Supreme Court in Hawaii with their wives and daughters, ex-Governors and their families, and the greater portion of the prominent business men.”¹⁷ In 1910 a former president of the Republic of Hawai'i, Sanford B. Dole, was elected president of the Outrigger.¹⁸ Other leading annexationists became members of and leaders in this club, such as Lorrin A. Thurston and J. P. Cooke.¹⁹ Though several of the Outrigger's members despised the Hawaiian monarchs and had been active participants in the coup that had ousted the queen in 1893, they nevertheless learned the Hawaiian pastime of he'e nalu in the early 1900s as members of Ford's club.²⁰ Purporting now to be inheritors of traditions they participated in condemning, elite haole were caught in a paradox of negation and appropriation, a paradox that Houston Wood has called the kama'aina anti-conquest.²¹

Wood explains that while the early missionary sentiment toward Hawaiian culture was one of revulsion, haole of the late nineteenth century saw themselves as caretakers of what they believed to be Hawaiian culture. Kama'aina, a word that originally meant “Native-born,” became a term by which they (who were either island-born or simply “Hawaiian at heart”) referred to themselves. Not only had this name “obscured both their origins and the devastating effects their presence was having on the Native-born,” but it supercharged many haole to adopt, adapt, and preserve Hawaiian ways

for an “inferior” and “dying Native race.”²² Thus many haole learned the hula and surfing, and wrote Hawaiian history. They also adorned their homes and hotels with Native arts and crafts. Despite such affinity for Native “things,” the Hawaiian person was still a marginal and detestable character in their eyes. Wood discusses this disparity. “Kama‘āina added Hawaiian tools and artifacts to the décor of their now frequently much larger houses. Hawaiian servants were often employed in these houses, to dust and polish Kanaka Maoli creations few Hawaiians themselves now used or owned. These various tools and artifacts served as memorials to the Native traditions the kama‘āina were industriously displacing.”²³ The adoption of Hawaiian customs like surfing was a way in which haole memorialized a living Hawaiian culture and community. On the other hand, it was also a way of “mystifying Euro-American responsibility for the violent changes associated with that past.”²⁴ But for real Hawaiians like Native Waikiki surfers, these discordant appropriations were simply colonial conquest.

While the Outrigger built beachfront facilities and surfboards and began boasting of their supremacy over Hawaiians in Waikiki waves, Hawaiian surfers of the Hui Nalu were again feeling challenged by haole colonial jostling and racism.²⁵ Although loosely organized originally in 1905, the Hui Nalu club was officially formed under a tree in Waikiki in 1911 for the purpose of preserving he‘e nalu from an exploitative haole constituency.²⁶ Considered a rival to the Outrigger, Hui Nalu was “one composed almost exclusively of Hawaiians or part-Hawaiians.”²⁷ Speaking of Outrigger and Hui Nalu relations, one Hui Nalu member recalled, “Back in the old days, they were not too friendly. The Moana Gang [Hui Nalu] stuck together by themselves. They would not mix with the old Outrigger gang.”²⁸ Many Hawaiians who gravitated to the Hui Nalu resented the prejudice displayed by Outrigger members. William A. “Knute” Cottrell explained that he, along with Duke Kahanamoku, Kenneth Winter, Edward Kaleleihealani “Dudie” Miller, and other Hawaiians created the Hui Nalu after being “disgusted” by offensive remarks made by Outrigger members.²⁹

Unlike the Outrigger, the Hui Nalu did not lease a portion of Waikiki or have a facility of its own; instead, its members regularly met under the hau tree on the grounds of the Moana Hotel—not far from Ka‘iulani’s ‘Āinahau gardens. Club members paid an annual fee of one dollar per year, and because the club needed money, they became exceptional at fundraising. The Hui Nalu used Moana Hotel locker rooms as their bathhouse. Here, black hooks were reserved for Hui Nalu surfers to hang their clothes and towels. They

also had uniforms and club colors. Like the Hui O He‘e Nalu of the 1970s, Hui Nalu surfers wore black swimsuits, but the Hui O He‘e Nalu printed red and yellow stripes on their black shorts, whereas Hui Nalu surfers wore black shorts and black tank tops with a gold or yellow stripe around the waistline, like a wide belt.³⁰ The Hui Nalu prided itself in he‘e nalu with its uniforms and club song.

We love you,
Hui Nalu,
Our club
of the ocean waves.

And we shall
Never cease to
Love our royal colors brave.

Firm friendship
Will entwine you
’Round our hearts
Where ere we go.

We shan’t forget
The fellows
Who adore
And love you so.

[Four strokes on the ukulele, “C” chord]

(Chorus)
Where and when
Ocean waves
Are afore you,
Our fellows are sure to be.

Where the big rollers burst,
And the surf is the worst,
We’ll be there
To yell with glee.

With our surfboards,
We always are ready
To leap in the deep blue sea.

Our royal black and gold
In victory will unfold.

Always on top,
Hui Nalu.³¹

Although Hui Nalu membership consisted primarily of Hawaiian men, some women surfed in Waikiki with the Hui Nalu in the early decades of the 1900s. While women surfers dominate the historical accounts of ancient wave riders, their roles in twentieth-century waves were less prominent. Some women, like my grandmother, Abigail Kaheokalani Cutter, surfed in Waikiki with Hui Nalu surfers, but fewer Hawaiian women surfed than before—perhaps because at that time they were expected to avoid “unladylike” activities, surfing included. This is not to suggest that they all adhered to such social expectations; in fact, women’s involvement in the Hui Nalu suggests otherwise. However, early members were mostly men, often brothers from large families, like the Kahanamokus.

As Duke Kahanamoku’s surfing and swimming skills became world renowned, the Hui Nalu also increased in popularity, particularly among Native Hawaiians. Born eight years before annexation, in 1890, Duke Paoa Kahanamoku, a descendant of Hawaiian royalty, was an expert surfer and swimmer by his early teens.³² At the turn of the century Duke had already mastered the waves near his family’s home in Kālia, Waikiki. By 1912 he was the world’s greatest surfer and fastest swimmer.³³ Between 1912 and 1922 Duke won a total of six Olympic medals (three gold, two silver, and one bronze) and broke several world swimming records.³⁴ But his first love was surfing, and he was unparalleled in wave riding. Still known as the father of modern-day surfing, Duke made history by mastering the largest and longest waves in Waikiki; he also set a new record for the longest ride ever on a massive Waikiki wave (from outside Castles to the beach in front of the Moana Hotel)—a mile-long ride. He out-surfed all of his opponents in Waikiki and pushed surfing skills and techniques to new heights. He invented new surfboard designs, created new maneuvers, and introduced surfing to various beaches around the world (including the East Coast of the United States and

Australia). While Duke helped form the Hui Nalu, he was also their brightest competitor in its rivalry with the Outrigger over the ocean and its surf.

In their battles with the Outrigger in ocean-based sporting events, the Native Hawaiian watermen of Hui Nalu proved to be formidable opponents against haole annexationists. Although most people recognized Hawaiian surfers like Freeth and Kahanamoku as the greatest surfers in Waikiki during this time, in 1911 Ford made bold public claims that Outrigger surfers surpassed the Hawaiians on surfboards and surfing canoes.³⁵ Many local surfers took offense at Ford’s boasting. However, haole surfers did win many Waikiki surf competitions that were hosted by and for Outrigger club members. In an effort to promote his club, his events, and surfing for tourists and other haole, Ford was able to attract crowds of up to seven hundred tourists to these Outrigger surfing contests. In a 1909 article he bragged that a fourteen-year-old “white boy” won the Christmas surfing championships with a headstand maneuver. After holding surfing fairs and exhibitions for American battle-ships and cruisers, Ford said that “the white man and boy are doing much in Hawai’i to develop the art of surf-riding. Games and feats never dreamed of



Hui Nalu Club. (Courtesy of Harry Robello and Grady Timmons)

by the Native are being tried.”³⁶ Though the early events were primarily for Outrigger members only, this eventually changed.³⁷

As more Hawaiian surfers began competing against Outrigger surfers in Waikiki ocean events, a rivalry was born, one that Tom Blake called “intense.”³⁸ As Hawaiian surfers pursued victory over haole surfers, Ford taunted them: “Once again the Native Hawaiians are seeking to wrest the laurels from the white men and boys.”³⁹ By 1918 Hui Nalu and Outrigger surfers were directly competing against each other in surfing and canoe-racing events.⁴⁰ Native Hawaiian surfers and annexationists went head-to-head in the Waikiki surf. One observer wrote that the Hui Nalu surfers were the “favorites in the senior events, as their club has among its members most of the oldest and cleverest riders on the beach.”⁴¹ Although some called it a friendly rivalry, it was in reality a tense arena where Native Hawaiians and elite haole contended with each other over a Native Hawaiian domain.⁴² Ben Finney, a contemporary scholar, explained, “A certain ethnic pride, however, lay at the heart of their competition: haoles vied with Hawaiians in ancient water sports which were considered to be the domain of the latter.”⁴³ In the end, the Hawaiian surfers were victorious. “In this way, the Hawaiians eventually regained their place on the beach.”⁴⁴

These Hawaiian surfers claimed their dominance over ka po‘ina nalu in more than just surfing contests. During this time it became apparent, as John Lind has recalled, that Hui Nalu surfers like John Kaupiko and Duke



Waikiki surfing, sometime between 1915 and 1925. (Courtesy of Bishop Museum)

Kahanamoku “controlled Waikiki.” Lind continues, “There was a pecking order, like chiefs of old. . . . Everyone did what they said.”⁴⁵ Hui Nalu surfers were often seen as intimidating to haole, especially as these Hawaiians stood up for their rights in the ocean. Most Hui Nalu surfers are remembered as physically fit and strong, and several had reputations for being extremely rough—like George “Tough Bill” Keaweamahi, who could open a beer bottle with his thumb, and “Ox” and “Steamboat,” who were remembered for their size and strength.⁴⁶ Although physical battles between Hui Nalu and Outrigger are less frequently discussed today, some historians like Grady Timmons have recorded that fistfights between Hawaiian surfers and haole in Waikiki during this time were common.⁴⁷

Because of their success, Hui Nalu members remained atop the social ladder in the Hawaiian surf. Allan “Turkey” Love remembered Hui Nalu surfers regulating the lineup in Waikiki. For the most part the Hui Nalu prohibited young kids (under age nine or ten) from venturing out into the larger surf. Turkey remembered being told to stay near the Waikiki pier for his own safety. He always followed their instructions. “When I was a kid, they respected the older person. . . . We were afraid we’d get a kick or a slap in the face.”⁴⁸ Hui Nalu surfers were at the top of a social hierarchy in this aquatic sphere, and members of the Hawaiian chiefly class took notice.

Prince Kūhiō and the Royal Hawaiian Surfers

In the early 1900s, as haole elite poured into the Outrigger Canoe Club, Hawaiian royalists and political elites joined the Hui Nalu. In my opinion, this suggests that the ocean was a significant space of contestation and that embedded in this rivalry was a core tension, a political one that carried over from the overthrow and annexation. While Queen Lili‘uokalani associated with Hui Nalu surfers, the club’s most active ali‘i was Prince Jonah Kūhiō Kalaniana‘ole.⁴⁹ As a nephew of the queen, hanai (adopted) son of King Kalākaua, cousin of Princess Ka‘iulani, and heir to the Hawaiian throne, Prince Kūhiō had been groomed for leadership from a young age. As was often customary for young ali‘i, in his teenage years Kūhiō attended boarding school overseas—in both California and England. While studying in California, he and his brothers David and Edward Kawanakoa took time from their studies to go surfing in Santa Cruz. The first recorded individuals to surf the cold waves of California (and in the United States, for that matter), these Hawaiian surfers found solace even in waves far from home.⁵⁰

After completing his studies, he returned to a kingdom under siege. As the Bayonet Constitution took government control out of the hands of its monarchs, Prince Kūhiō watched his future as king slip away. However, he did not sit idly by. As did the Hui Aloha 'Āina and Hui Kalai'āina, Kūhiō protested the illegal overthrow and worked to topple the Republic established in 1894. Shortly thereafter, Kūhiō, while hunting on the island of Moloka'i, plotted with his long-time friend John Wise to retake the kingdom by force. Their plan was to smuggle two thousand rifles, two Gatling guns, and one hundred mercenaries from the Pacific Northwest to Hawai'i. Once they obtained these provisions, they would commandeer two interisland steamers, recruit a thousand men from the outer islands, and return to O'ahu to storm Honolulu's government buildings. At gunpoint, they would force the restoration of the Hawaiian kingdom.⁵¹ Although the plan was well thought out and they received three hundred thousand dollars in pledges from other royalists, his aunt, Queen Lili'uokalani, rejected this initial plan. She believed that President Grover Cleveland would uphold his promise to restore her as queen. She was also advised by Senator James Blount not to rise up in armed rebellion, fearing that such actions would sway more congressmen to support an annexation treaty. But the queen's faith in the United States slowly faded, and she eventually turned a blind eye to plots to restore her to power. On January 3, 1893, Colonel Samuel Nowlein, the commanding officer of the kingdom's army, smuggled guns into Hawai'i from San Francisco. Although Kūhiō was part of this plan, he, along with his companions Wise and Wilcox, was thoroughly disappointed by the poor execution of it. Somehow, the opposition got wind of the plot and sent police to shut it down. After a brief exchange of gunfire between the police and Nowlein's men at a Kahala home on January 7, the operation was quickly suppressed. For his involvement in the scuffle Kūhiō was arrested and convicted of misprision of treason and served eight months in a Honolulu prison. The queen was also deposed and held in house arrest for five months. Although protests and petitions continued through 1898, after the so-called annexation a disgusted Kūhiō fled Hawai'i to live in Europe and South Africa for the next two years with his new bride, Kahanu. In 1901 the couple returned to Honolulu—perhaps because of changes in Hawaiian Territory laws and politics.

To the disgust of haole elites in Hawai'i, many Native Hawaiians regained their voting rights after the U.S. Congress passed the Hawaiian Organic Act in 1900.⁵² With more Hawaiians voting, Hawaiian-run parties and Native candidates won the majority of elections in 1900. The Organic Act split

Hawaiian politics into three main bodies: a single delegate to U.S. Congress voted in by the people; a Territorial legislature made up of two houses, with legislators voted in by the people; and a governor appointed by the president of the United States. In 1900 the Hawaiian-dominated Home Rule Party won nine of thirteen seats in the Territorial Senate and fourteen of twenty-nine seats in the Territorial House of Representatives. The Home Rule Party candidate and Hawaiian political activist Robert Kalanihiapo Wilcox also won the delegate seat to U.S. Congress. While in office, this predominantly Hawaiian-run party promoted bills that benefited Native Hawaiians. For example, they pushed for extended voting rights for Hawaiians and the pardoning of previously imprisoned Hawaiians, and they paved a way for the creation of a Hawaiian Homelands (designated lands for many landless Hawaiians). What infuriated haole elite even more was that Hawaiian legislators often conducted their meetings in Hawaiian instead of English.

In 1902 Prince Kūhiō was elected as Hawai'i's delegate to the U.S. Congress and remained for nearly twenty years. Although he was initially a member of the Home Rule Party, he was elected on the Republican Party ticket. Kūhiō's involvement in the Republican Party is, at the surface, perplexing, mainly because the party comprised men who had overthrown his kingdom, imprisoned him for attempting to restore it, and precipitated his two-year exile in Europe. But both Kūhiō and his strange bedfellows consciously used each other. The Republicans wanted representation in Congress, and they knew they needed a prominent Hawaiian to get voted in. And Kūhiō, born and bred to be a king, wanted to lead his people. But even more importantly, Kūhiō knew he could advocate laws that benefited Hawaiians in spite of, and often to the dismay of, his fellow Republicans. As a delegate and a Hawaiian royalist, Kūhiō pushed for Hawai'i's right to govern itself, despite its status as a U.S. territory. But among his many accomplishments as a delegate, Kūhiō is best remembered for the 1921 Hawaiian Homes Commissions Act, finally designating homestead land for Hawaiians.

Prince Kūhiō was more than a politician and advocate for Hawaiians in Washington; he was also an avid and lifelong surfer. In the early 1900s, while living in Waikiki, he often rode a sixteen-foot koa surfboard. The board was so heavy that after surfing, he hoisted it onto his Waikiki pier with pulleys instead of carrying it home after each use.⁵³ Although Kūhiō tolerated some of the Republican annexationists in his political work, he drew a hard line against racists in the Hawaiian surf. While details of his surf experiences are limited, judging from his quick and often harsh responses to white racism

in Europe and the United States, we can surmise that he did not tolerate the Outrigger's racist policies and attitudes. For example, while sitting at a table in a Geneva café in 1900, three Germans complained because a "colored man" was being served. Kūhiō approached Count von Fursteinheim "and without a word, [he] delivered one of his famous uppercuts that knocked the Count out cold and sent him to the floor."⁵⁴ After returning to his seat, Kūhiō was confronted by two of Fursteinheim's friends, who challenged him to a duel. Kūhiō knocked them both out on the spot. On another occasion, a barber in Washington, D.C., refused to serve Congressman Kūhiō and called him a "nigger." Kūhiō grabbed the man by the collar and threw him out onto the street. Lori Kamae explains that Kūhiō never had difficulty getting a shave or haircut in Washington after that.⁵⁵

While Kūhiō had a slippery relationship with haole elite in politics, his participation in the Hui Nalu during its early/tense years of rivalry with the Outrigger perhaps reveals his true allegiances. Kūhiō continued to surf until he died in 1922 at his Waikīkī home called Pualeilani. In the two decades before his death, and in the months when Congress was not in session, the prince regularly returned home to enjoy, among his favorite things, the Waikīkī surf.

Beachboys: Pushing Women and Boundaries

Starting in 1915, Hui Nalu surfers opened lucrative beach concession businesses in Waikīkī. Through them, the surfers found regular and profitable work and became known as Waikīkī Beachboys. The Moana Hotel provided Beachboy founder and captain "Dudie" Miller with a space on the beach and guests from their hotel. The Beachboys were lifeguards, bodyguards, instructors, entertainers, and tour guides for visitors in Waikīkī. For a relatively high price, they took customers out into their Waikīkī surf to ride waves on canoes and surfboards. Fred Paoa recalled making two dollars for a surfing lesson and one dollar per person for a canoe ride in the 1920s. He also remembered giving 'ukulele lessons and selling pineapple-shaped 'ukuleles to tourists for seven dollars and fifty cents.⁵⁶ Another Beachboy explained that "[you] could make as much as five dollars a day. Oh, boy, was that big money. . . . We go out and catch three waves. But we fill the boat up with as much as six paying customers. Six dollars."⁵⁷ The money went to Dudie Miller, who ran the business and owned the canoes, and each Beachboy got a cut.

By the end of the 1920s and into the early 1930s the Beachboy concession had evolved into a bigger business, one that catered to higher-paying customers. Some Beachboys became constant companions and tour guides

for visiting families and made good money for it. As soon as these families stepped off their cruise ships they were assigned, or requested, a particular Beachboy, who not only took them into the ocean for surfing and canoe lessons, but also checked them into their hotels and took them to dancehalls, restaurants, shops, and elsewhere. The Beachboy could stay with this family as a personal guide from two weeks to as long as three months. Sometimes this meant babysitting wealthy children, a job most Beachboys did not enjoy very much. However, the less desirable jobs came with added benefits. For example, one tourist, whom the Beachboys called Honeyman, came every year and brought with him two Cadillacs: one for the family and one for the Beachboy to drive around Honeyman's son. Fred Paoa recalled taking a family "slumming" (bar hopping) in Chinatown in their limousine with a bunch of Beachboys.⁵⁸ He also explained how they took wealthy haole tourists to Hawaiian family luaus: "[*Chuckles*] We bring a gang of tourists. And then, they [Hawaiian families] have this big calabash, you know, in the old days, at the head where the birthday child is sitting with its grandmother or whatever. And everybody [tourists] throw a dollar, [or] five dollars. And everybody gets their dance after, hula dancing and singing. The tourists enjoy it."⁵⁹ Joe Akana remembered escorting the maharaja of Indore and his party of seventeen through the islands. "I could only take care of [him] and his wife. But I picked certain boys out of the Hui Nalu club to take care of his party."⁶⁰ While he made sure they were safe in the water and had plenty of time board surfing and canoe surfing, he also explained, "When the maharaja and maharani went shopping, I went along. When they went in a store, bought things, and went back to the car, I pay. I kept track of everything they spent. I made his interisland itinerary and things like that. They'd go to the different islands. I was the only guy who could ride the same automobile or ride the same elevator with them, the couple. The aide-de-camp and the secretary couldn't even ride the same elevator with them."⁶¹

Instead of charging these tourists for each event, Beachboys were usually given a lump sum at the end of the family's visit. Sometimes Beachboys would get parting gifts from tourists at the docks when they sent the families home. Louis Kahanamoku recalled, "Us boys would go down the ship. And we'd buy leis for them. . . . We come out of there, twenty, thirty, forty bucks by the time we got out, put [*chuckles*] leis on."⁶² On rare occasions, some tourists would try to leave without paying the Beachboys for their services. When that happened, Kahanamoku recalled, "We gotta go down the boat to get our money, you know. Catch 'em before they leave or [*chuckles*] we throw 'em off the ship. You darned right, boy."⁶³

Waikiki Beachboys were revered not only because of their keen knowledge of surfing, canoeing, fishing, and the ocean in general, but because they added flair to their skills. The typical Waikiki Beachboy was also a comedian who occasionally surfed in outlandish costumes or played practical jokes on visitors. As the tourist spotlight shone on them, they reveled in it. Whether surfing with a dog on a surfboard like Joseph "Scooter Boy" Kaopiki or riding a surfboard while seated on a beach chair and playing an 'ukulele like John "Hawkshaw" Paia, the Beachboy was a performer. Grady Timmons felt that Beachboy antics were more than merely comical, but often therapeutic. "The Beachboy provided the world with much needed comic relief (what characters! everyone said). They took anxious, overachieving executives and taught them how to relax. They took their children and taught them how to surf. They took women who were recently divorced and taught them how to laugh and love again."⁶⁴

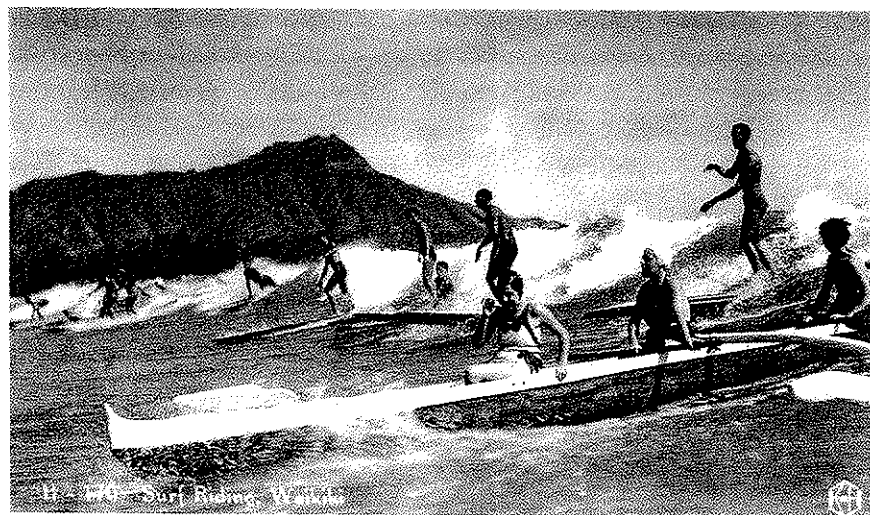
As they flaunted their surfing and social skills, they became local superstars who attracted more than just money. White girls and women flocked to the beach to learn to surf from the Hawaiian Beachboys. "In those days," recalled Louis Kahanamoku, "especially the haole wahines [women], they all went for the Beachboys."⁶⁵ The Beachboys were known for wooing various types of haole women—divorced, wealthy, showgirls, and daughters of wealthy visitors. Joe Akana said that parents would drop their daughters off with them and say, "Take them around Waikiki."⁶⁶ He also remembered showgirls like Carmen Joyce, Hazel Guerrero, and "Peaches" Jackson of the Danny O'Shea Troupe. When they came to Waikiki in 1924 and 1926 they were not only shown a good time by the Beachboys, but ended up marrying a couple of them—Hiram Anahu married Hazel, Joe Akana's brother married Carmen, and Tony Guerrero married Peaches. Although most women saw the Beachboys as romantic surfers, several haole men considered them "a bunch of lazy male prostitutes who made their living off mainland divorcees."⁶⁷

The Beachboys impressed the ladies in Waikiki by surfing with them on the same waves. When teaching women to surf, the Beachboys preferred to ride tandem, or share the same surfboard. Often, they would lift women up on their shoulders and glide with them across the glassy, turquoise waves. Louis Kahanamoku explained that the Beachboys especially liked to surf with girls on their shoulders because tandem surfing invited exciting and intimate maneuvers.⁶⁸ While paddling back out for another wave, some Beachboys would ride up on haole girls' 'ōkole (behinds) as they lay face down on the front of the surfboard. Another Beachboy recalled teaching a client's daughter

to surf. She was a "nice, cute girl, oh God. Nice figure and everything. And she liked me. We got along swell. We joked and we have fun surfing. After I get her on my shoulders and the wave dies off, I push—I grab her legs like that and throw her off in the water like that."⁶⁹

Beachboys were also responsible for protecting their clients from the sun. If a tourist got sunburned under the watch of a Beachboy he got a mark against him.⁷⁰ Thus they would lomi (massage) women with oil on a regular basis to prevent sunburn. Joe Akana fondly remembered massaging one of his most memorable clients before taking her out for a tandem surf. "Jinks Falkenberg, she was a model of models. Nationwide. Jinks Falkenberg, oh, my. . . . She came looking for me. . . . I had to see that she didn't get burned. We did all that, you know, lomi, and took care of them as far as protection was concerned."⁷¹

In the evenings the Beachboys swept haole girls off their feet with music and sharp outfits. Most of them were gifted singers who played an array of instruments and wore tuxedos. Joe Akana said, "You never heard anybody sing until you hear the old Beachboys. They used to habituate the Moana pier on Sunday nights. And people used to wait for 'em, you know, on Sunday nights. The pier used to be so crowded, you'd think it would go down."⁷² On other nights they congregated at the beach, the pier, or the stone wall to sing, dance hula, or play 'ukulele. Beachboy songs, like traditional Hawaiian music and dance, were often seen as seductive. The lyrics of one Beachboy song seems to prove this.



Beachboys canoe surfing in Waikiki. (Courtesy of Bishop Museum)

Won't you
Come teach me
How to swim,
How to swim

I'd like
To swim with you.

I'd like
To have you hold me.

And that's all
You need to do.

Won't you
Come teach me
How to swim,
How to swim.

'Cause I don't want
To swim alone.⁷³

For the second verse of this song they would substitute the lines "how to swim" with "how to surf," and in the third verse they sang "how to 'ami" (a hula move where the dancer rotates and sways at the hips), and the fourth verse was perhaps too explicit for Akana to say; instead, during the interview he burst into laughter and said, "Oh, God. Oh, gee."⁷⁴ Other songs, like the following, written by Hiram Anahu, were sung to girls at the end of summer vacation.

Hold me, dear
And follow me, dear,
And just let me
Be with you.

In your arms,
The world seems mine,
But I can't believe
It's true.

Don't say I'm wrong
If I go away.
You never gave me
Your heart.

When you say,
"I love you, dear"
And just let me be
With you.

After their musical gatherings on the pier, at the hotels, or on the beach ended, Beachboys were escorted home by seemingly mesmerized females. One Beachboy explained, "When the moon was up and the pier music was going on, oh, God. When the thing broke up at night, when it was all over, one Beachboy he went this way, one went this way with his wahine, and they all go in their different directions. [*Laughs*] Oh, chee. Boy."⁷⁵ As seen in the following story, where William "Ox" Keaulani took a girl out for a midnight tandem surf, some Beachboys even returned to the ocean for their moonlight after-parties.

It was a warm summer night, and as they paddled out into the darkness on his tandem board, Ox surreptitiously slipped off his bathing suit. Out near the reef, they caught a small but well-formed wave. When Ox told the woman to stand up on the board, she stood up. Suddenly, she turned and saw him, framed in the moonlight. "Ox!" she screamed, a look of horror and excitement crossing her face. "It fell off!" he shouted, laughing above the roar of the surf. Then, putting his arms around her waist and pulling her close, they rode the wave toward shore.⁷⁶

Through such interaction, Waikiki Beachboys violated social rules of an American society governed by anti-miscegenation laws and threatened haole hegemony by conquering engendered, and privileged, property.⁷⁷ But this also highlights the fact that Hawaiians battled over property, especially ones that surfers had access to. In many ways sexual encounters with white women in the surf became a mark of identity for these men, because it meant they, too, could participate in engendered conquests. However, such Hawaiian conquests were rare and point to the unique nature of the surf and those Hawaiian men who reigned there. While the tourist industry promoted the

islands as a “woman” to conquer, Hawaiian men were not marketed as sex objects in the way female hula dancers were. Thus these Hawaiian men were not playing into or accommodating tourist expectations of sexual conquest; rather, they were defying them.

A similar conflict over engendered properties can be seen through tension between Beachboys and haole military men in their Waikīkī boarder land. Prior to World War II, the Hui Nalu/Beachboys were involved in several brawls with haole soldiers in Waikīkī, many of whom were stationed at nearby Fort DeRussy.⁷⁸ One Hui Nalu surfer, Kālia resident, and Kahanamoku relative explained that drunken soldiers would often trample through the yards of Hawaiian families in Kālia, Waikīkī.

You see in those days, in order for them [soldiers] to catch the rapid transit [short cut], they had to walk up Kālia Road, right? Kālia Road, come up ‘Ena, to Kalakaua. . . . So on payday nights, after midnight when they’re coming home drunk, you know, the usual thing. Yelling, or they’ll come in the yard and go to sleep, things like that. You got to expect it. Got to get the MPs down there. That’s the kind of trouble we had. It’s the new batch of soldiers who come in to DeRussy that get this way.⁷⁹

When drunken young soldiers caroused, trespassed, and chased Hawaiian girls, Hui Nalu surfers confronted them. According to Akana, fights between Waikīkī Hawaiian surfers and American servicemen were common because the soldiers were “cocky people” who “came down in our neighborhood and sometimes got nasty with our girls.” He continued, “So we always protected our girls.”⁸⁰ By most Hawaiian accounts, the soldiers were opponents quickly vanquished.⁸¹

In one such account, Hui Nalu surfers beat a group of German sailors from the cruise liner SS *Great Northern* in Waikīkī. Eighteen to twenty of the all-German crew marched down Kalakaua Avenue and provoked a fight with Hui Nalu surfers. Louis Kahanamoku said that once they approached the Hawaiians, “the head guy gave a whistle. He yells, ‘Charge!’ But we were ready. And we were fast. Bam. Bam. Bam. The whole thing happened so fast. Pretty soon the head guy gave another whistle, retreat!”⁸² According to this account, the sailors fled because the Waikīkī surfers had overcome the Germans. Though Hui Nalu surfers were generally characterized as lovable and generous, they fearlessly and fiercely protected themselves and their beaches when necessary.



Tandem surfing at Waikīkī in the early 1900s. (Courtesy of Bishop Museum)

While Hawaiian surfers often justified these fights as acts of protection (over their Hawaiian women), their motives appear paradoxical—since many whites may have had the same motive. While such protective acts, on both sides, were mutual attempts to preserve engendered property, Hawaiian surfers still wanted both: to preserve their property and conquer someone else’s—a position usually associated with colonial entities. By defining themselves as both protector and conqueror, Hawaiian men traversed a unique course, one that positioned them as entitled, even over colonial entitlements. Few Hawaiian men defined themselves in this way in the early 1900s. Po‘ina nalu was indeed a unique place.

Crashing Boundaries and Academic Models

Hawaiian surfers, and the Beachboys in particular, indeed subverted colonial imaginations of Hawaiian men as passive and submissive, but their story also complicates scholarly arguments about media and tourist representations of Native Hawaiians. Over the last two decades, scholars like Haunani-Kay

Trask, Elizabeth Buck, Houston Wood, and Jane Desmond have rightfully criticized the commodification of Hawaiian culture and the sexualization of Hawaiian women by the tourist industry.⁸³ Most effectively, Trask has argued that the tourist industry uses sexualized images of Hawaiian women to promote Hawaiians as ideal natives for tourism. She said this was not only a ploy to entice visitors, but to "disparage Native resistance."⁸⁴

In this picture, island women are sexually alluring to white men, and Native Hawaiian men are airbrushed out. Analyzing early twentieth-century images of Hawaiians on postcards and stereoscopes, Jane Desmond states that "Native Hawaiian males were rarely pictured, and when they were, almost never with Hawaiian women."⁸⁵ The reason for this, she concludes, was that the Hawaiian male disrupted the tourist industry's ideal native equation: Hawai'i = woman = sexual availability.⁸⁶ More recently, Ty Tengan has argued that Hawaiian men have been repeatedly emasculated through Euro-American media. Such representations helped to justify colonial dominance and maintain the idea that Hawai'i was a place of white male consumption—the U.S. military and the tourist industry being the primary utensils for this feast.⁸⁷ Although these views have some truth, the Waikiki Beachboys do not fit this representation. Rather than emasculated and underrepresented, these Hawaiian surfers were popular, sexual, and active agents in a colonial history.

While some, like Desmond, have accurately noted that representations of Waikiki Beachboys were uncharacteristic, few have explored the relationship between such imagery and the autonomy and empowerment of these Hawaiian surfers. Describing the Beachboys' image as "striking," Desmond rightly notes that unlike representations of other Hawaiian men, the Beachboys were pictured as "strong, competent, completely in control of the situation."⁸⁸ However, by simply suggesting that such representations reflected a tone of "celebratory primitivism," and because surfers were "at one with the forces of nature" in these portrayals, they were "akin to the hula girl" and became objects of tourist desires.⁸⁹ However, when analyzing the Waikiki Beachboys from the vantage of *ka po'ina nalu*, we instead see empowered Hawaiians who broke free from colonial discourse and were actively engaged in pursuing their own interests. Far from being lifeless objects laid out for tourist consumption, Beachboys were pleasure seekers, romancers, athletes, watermen, and Hawaiians. When looking at their history, it is not difficult to see the Beachboys as empowered agents. In *ka po'ina nalu*, they defied tourist portrayals of Hawaiian men as passive, nearly invisible Natives. Rather than being exploited victims of tourism, the Beachboys defied rather than

bolstered common stigmas. Instead of forcing them into a model that insists on the prevalence of colonial discourse over Hawaiians, I argue that there are examples, like the Beachboys, where Native peoples successfully forged their own identities in contrast to colonial categories.

Despite racist American laws and people, the Hawaiian Beachboys broke barriers. Though noted for their kindness and their attractiveness to women of various national and ethnic origins, they were also empowered, successful, and popular. They also worked to preserve their surfing culture, space, and Hawaiian identities. Instead of sexualized primitives of nature, the Beachboys were respected athletes of their aquatic domain. Rather than exploited laborers who commodified their own surfing culture, they operated their own businesses in the 1920s and 1930s as historical agents who made a decent living in Waikiki, often at the expense of *haole*.

The Massie Affair and World War II

Although business for the Beachboys was at an all-time high in 1930 and 1931, things took a turn for the worse after 1932. As tourism grew, Hawaiian families were increasingly pushed off their Waikiki land. As property values increased, taxes went up, and many Hawaiians were unable to keep pace with the rising costs. Hawai'i law at the time allowed speculators to pay the back taxes and confiscate these properties. This is how many *haole* took Hawaiian land in Waikiki. Alan "Turkey" Love lamented such losses and explained that many of his friends were victims of this system. One of them was "Tough Bill" Keaweamahi (and family), who lost his home on Hobron Lane to the *haole* Magoon family, who claimed the property after paying the delinquent tax on it. Love explained, "Plenty Hawaiians lost . . . their land because of that law. . . . My uncle Joe, he lost his land too."⁹⁰

Although land speculation harmed many Beachboy families, the Massie affair of 1931 and 1932 damaged the Beachboy business. In September 1931 Thalia Massie accused five local men (two Hawaiians, one Hawaiian-Chinese, and two Japanese) of raping her. In the trial, defense attorney William Heen proved that given the evidence and time frames of the accused, these men could not have raped Massie (later, the Pinkerton Report determined that she was not raped at all). The case ended in a hung jury. Shortly after the trial, Massie's husband, Tommie, her mother, Grace Fortescue, and two soldiers kidnapped and murdered one of the five men, Joe Kahahawai. Even after being caught red-handed with Kahahawai's body in the back of their

car, Fortescue and her associates were found guilty only of manslaughter. Pressured by military and haole business elites, Governor Lawrence Judd reduced their sentences to a mere one-hour lecture in his office. Their whiteness, augmented by American racism, contributed to this unjust verdict. Despite the evidence, in the early 1930s haole spread rumors that Hawaiian men were sexual predators. As American racist discourses of black men as sexual predators were transposed onto Hawaiian men, the Waikiki Beachboys became a target. While the affair itself exposed the horror of American racism and white insecurities about interracial relationships in Hawai'i, the racist media found a scapegoat in the Beachboys. Writing a commentary on the trial, actress Dorothy Mackaill pointed her finger at relationships between white women and Beachboys in Waikiki. "The Beachboys . . . have had many romances with rich American women, who have gone to the islands as tourists. . . . These affairs have been invited by the white women visitors . . . [who] lie on the beach . . . in abbreviated bathing suits and permit the 'beach boys' to rub them with coconut oil so they will receive a good tan. . . . What can we expect of these people when they see Kanakas openly receiving the attentions of American white women?"⁹¹ The Outrigger Canoe Club then stepped in to control the situation. In 1934 its board of directors, made up of members of Hawai'i's top business and political haole elite (then called the Big Five), were brought together by Outrigger president and annexationist Lorrin Thurston to address the Beachboy "problem." They hired William Mullahey—a Hawai'i-raised haole who had previously established a beach patrol and lifeguard service at Jones Beach in New York—to take over the Beachboy concessions and create a beach patrol near the Royal Hawaiian Hotel. Mullahey explained the reasons for this.

The reason being that the Massie case, which was very much in the news and there were all sorts of rumors about Natives jumping out of the bushes, attacking school teachers, and a lot of rumors that were probably untrue but still were a concern to the beach. So Lorrin suggested that we establish one place to clear all beach activities and buy up all of the equipment that was then being used by a number of individual entrepreneurs on the beach who had canoes, surfboards, umbrellas, chairs and did lomi-lomi and gave swimming instructions and gave surfboard lessons and then took out canoe rides and so on. And in order to consolidate the entire beach front into one organized unit that could be responsible and that could allay any fears that there were about the beach boys' attacks on visitors.⁹²

With five thousand dollars they bought all the equipment on the beach (umbrellas, canoes, chairs, etc.) from Kūhiō to the Halekulani (or the larger part of Waikiki Beach). They even gobbled up Dudie Miller's Hui Nalu concessions. Then, Mullahey tightened his control over the business by micromanaging the operations. He created a central office, made a booklet that outlined guidelines and procedures for all the services offered—from swimming and surfboard lessons to how to massage tourists. Using the racist rhetoric from the Massie case and the members' whiteness to its advantage, the Outrigger colonized a Hawaiian industry and asserted itself over a Hawaiian domain.⁹³ Desperate and out of work, many Hawaiian Beachboys began working for Mullahey's beach patrol. Alan "Turkey" Love was one of them. He switched over, he said, because business was not good for the Beachboys in 1932 and 1933. Perhaps business was slow because of recent local events like the Massie affair, but the Great Depression was also crippling much of the world's economy. However, not all Hui Nalu members jumped to join Mullahey. While some tried to freelance, others simply left the beach. Perhaps working for the Outrigger was simply too much to bear. Although Hui Nalu and Outrigger members worked together for the first time, divisions between the Hawaiians and haole persisted. The most notable division hinged on pay. Several of the Hawaiian Beachboys complained that the Outrigger paid them very poorly.

During World War II Waikiki was barricaded with barbed wire and the beaches shut down. Beachboy services were nonexistent during this time, and many Hawaiians left Waikiki to find other work. Love explained that after the war was over only a small percentage returned. Although Waikiki Hawaiian surfers were no longer center stage on the Waikiki tourist scene during the war, some Hawaiians revived the Beachboy business after the war. In 1964 the Outrigger moved near Diamond Head and the Outrigger beach patrol was no more. With many of the old haole elite marginalized politically after the war by local Japanese, and the club increasingly criticized for its racist agendas, Outrigger influence diminished in the Waikiki surf.⁹⁴ Some Hawaiians created new concessions during this time, such as Earl Akana's Hale Auaua Surfboards, among other freelancers. However, as the tourism boom gradually turned Waikiki into a concrete jungle, the beaches became overcrowded with visitors, and the diverted streams changed the quality of the surf, the ocean seemed less like a sanctuary. While a younger generation of Hawaiian Beachboys still brought in money for surfing lessons, by the 1950s many Hawaiian surfers turned their attention toward other beaches, like O'ahu's west side—at breaks like Mākaha, where young surfers like Buffalo Keaulana

quickly climbed to legendary status. In the 1960s the North Shore became the next proving ground, a place where surfers like Kealoha Kaio dominated the largest surf ridden since ancient times.

Although the spark of the old Beachboy days seemed to fade in the latter part of the twentieth century, the Beachboys are still in Waikiki today. Their rent to the Department of Land and Natural Resources has gone up a thousandfold, and the spotlight cast on them is not as bright as it used to be, but they are nonetheless very visible, usually busy, and often popular with the ladies. Today, while from the beach the Waikiki surf zone looks chaotic, filled with myriad tourists and other beginning surfers, surprisingly there are still local and Hawaiian surfers who maintain their positions atop the social hierarchy in Waikiki waves. While some things change, others remain the same.

The conflict between the Hui Nalu and Outrigger was a continuation of the political battle that had taken place on land a few years prior. But this battle had a different outcome. Because Outrigger annexationists were unable to snatch this Hawaiian space from the firm grip of Hui Nalu surfers in the early 1900s, Hawaiians continued to reign in ka po'ina nalu. Meanwhile, Hawaiian surfers simultaneously redefined colonial boundaries and themselves through their resistance. Because of their successes in the surf, the Hui Nalu-turned-Waikiki Beachboys defined themselves in direct contrast to films, books, and other Hawai'i marketing paraphernalia. By the 1940s haole hegemonic authority in the Territory of Hawai'i insisted that Native men be submissive and nonresistant American subjects.⁹⁵ Although contemporary researchers like Noenoe Silva have more recently shown that Hawaiian resistance to American colonialism was much more pronounced and active than portrayed by twentieth-century historians, the reach of U.S. colonialism lengthened in the early 1900s. In spite of this, Hawaiian surfers defied colonial categories that insisted on Native passivity. In fact, they directly fought against those who authored such colonial discourse. In resisting haole elites, Hui Nalu surfers disregarded and subverted colonial boundaries placed upon Hawaiian men. But these Hawaiians were not merely fighting colonial discourses; rather, they were fighting for Hawaiian autonomy in the surf. In the next chapter, I explore further the historic implications of these imagined and colonial categories.

CHAPTER 4



Unmanning Hawaiians

*Producing "Ideal Natives" via Tourism,
Hollywood, and Historical Writings*

Throughout most of the twentieth century, Hawai'i's tourism industry has over-promoted Hawai'i as a safe place for visitors to experience paradise. Unfortunately, they accomplished this by emphasizing docile and sexualized Native bodies. Most commonly, Hawai'i's tourism industry used sexualized images of island women to sell the islands. Over time, such tourist and Hollywood images (most commonly Native women as hula girls) became so popular that they still are synonymous with Hawai'i. These images were especially popular in the middle of the twentieth century, when American postwar politics heralded global decolonization and Hawai'i was incorporated as the fiftieth U.S. state.¹ During this time, popular imaginations of Hawai'i and the Pacific Islands were widely circulated by tourism advertisements, postcards, Hollywood movies, and even educational historical narratives. This feminized island image did more than simply denigrate individuals; it also confined the persona of Hawai'i in a gendered metaphoric trap, a fairy tale where the islands became a distressed woman in need of a nation in shining armor to rescue her from her savage past.² While Hawai'i's tourist-driven society constantly portrayed the islands with, and as, a sexualized woman in the twentieth century, the Hawaiian man was simultaneously rendered nearly invisible. Thus Hawaiian men rarely took center stage in tourist and

Waves of Resistance

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