

A GENEALOGY OF PUNISHMENT IN HAWAI'I: THE PUBLIC HANGING OF CHIEF KAMANAWA II

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This article traces a historical root of criminalization and punishment in Hawai'i through the public hanging of Chief Kamanawa II, the grandfather of King Kalākaua and Queen Lili'uokalani. Through a political lens, the author analyzes how Chief Kamanawa II's execution intersects with his grandchildren's early education and their later acts as constitutional monarchs. This discussion is augmented by an examination of Kamanawa II's ancestors, the kapu twins Kamanawa I and Kame'eiamoku, and their place on the Hawaiian coat of arms and seal. Through these stories, the author introduces a framework from which to analyze crime and punishment dynamics in Hawai'i. What emerges is the way that punitive sanctions correlate with the loss of Hawaiian lands and the erasure of cultural and political authority.

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INTRODUCTION

The erosion of Hawaiian sovereignty has taken place through many strategies in the past two centuries. These strategies, especially as they relate to land, politics, and law, have been scrutinized by different scholars over time (Kame‘eleihiwa, 1992; Osorio, 2002; N. K. Silva, 2004; Trask, 1999). However, what remains missing in the literature is a thorough examination of how the energetic prosecution of Hawaiians contributes to the erosion of their political sovereignty. Currently, Hawaiians represent the majority population in criminal justice systems, including prisons. Failed discussions as to how and why they have been historically criminalized result in generalized assumptions that Hawaiians are somehow more criminally prone than other groups. Investigating the criminalization and incarceration of Hawaiians from a political perspective provides an opportunity to unravel myths advanced over time about the criminality of Hawaiians. Thus, in this article, I examine ways that carceral networks enable the selective definition and prosecution of Hawaiians as criminals.¹

On October 8, 1840, the first written Constitution of Hawai‘i was signed into law by Kamehameha III (Kauikeaouli).² Fourteen days after the signing, Chief Kamanawa II was publicly hanged at the gallows of the Honolulu Fort, a place originally intended to be used as a prison for unruly seamen and “disorderly foreign residents.”³ One person observed,

[T]he chief Kamanawa [II] and Lonopuakau, were both hanged by the neck upon the ramparts of the fort, before an immense crowd of spectators. The Rev. Messrs. Armstrong and Smith addressed the throne of grace on their behalf. About eight hundred natives, under arms, were assembled.... As they dropped, the colors were half-masted, the bell toiled, and there was a general yell and weeping throughout the village. The chief died a very hard death. (Clark, 1847, p. 180)

The forcing of 800⁴ natives at gunpoint to witness the chief’s lynching was said to serve as an “object lesson to evil-doers” (Emerson, 1900, p. 19). Tragically, two witnesses among the crowd were the chief’s grandsons, 8-year-old James Kapa‘akea and 4-year-old Kalākaua, both of whom were brought by their missionary teachers to watch the execution (Allen, 1994).⁵

Chief Kamanawa II was accused of murdering his spouse, Kamokuiki, in order to avoid banishment to Kaho‘olawe for alleged adultery. American newspapers and missionaries claimed that the chief confessed to the offense and received a fair trial. However, the accuracy of these allegations remains unclear.⁶ What is certain is that the hanging marked the start of a codified legal system used to govern Hawaiians and transform their landscape; the spectacle of the hanging reinforced foreign influence amidst sweeping political changes at the time. Although Kamehameha III signed the Constitution, the document began a formalized process of privileging Western values over Hawaiian traditions by introducing laws that would be increasingly used to govern Hawaiians and, inevitably, to redefine the boundaries of their lands and authority, thus paving the road to more opportunities for greater land grab that was yet to come in 1848 (see Kame‘eleihiwa, 1992; Osorio, 2002).

Michel Foucault (1977) would likely point to the staging of public torture and capital punishment as an event layered in a complex system to protect the sovereign. In the case of Hawai‘i, however, this is only part of the story. Like the Constitution, the hanging was organized by missionaries who came to Hawai‘i in the previous decade to “civilize” Hawaiians, whom they perceived as heathens. Because Kamehameha III signed the order for execution, his power was demonstrated through the hanging. However, the emphasis of foreign ways of disciplinary punishment in the use of the gallows also simultaneously eroded Kamehameha III’s authority. Here, I call attention to the difference between governing crime and governing *through* crime. Jonathan Simon (2007) wrote,

Across all kinds of institutionalized settings, people are seen as acting legitimately when they act to prevent crimes or other troubling behaviors that can be closely analogized to crimes [and] the category of crime to legitimate interventions that have other motivations....It is essential to distinguish “governing through crime” from “governing crime.” (pp. 4–5)

The administration of colonial justice relied on governing *through* crime by making an example of the chief in the presence of 800 witnesses who were forced to watch the hanging. In this case, “a policy of terror to make everyone aware, through the body of the criminal” (Foucault, 1977, p. 49) was intended to politically inscribe foreign power. If punished without an audience, the “crime” itself would have been governed. However, the making of the hanging into a demonstration signified how Hawaiians were going to be governed through Western definitions of crime and methods of punishment.

This kind of governance was supported by the American press. Although Clark (1847) recorded the collective grief and terror Hawaiians experienced as noted in the “general yell and weeping throughout the village” (p. 180), the print media attempted to sanitize the event and support the hanging as a means to deter so-called widespread criminality among Hawaiians. *The Polynesian* reported,

[W]e have been gratified to learn that his Majesty and most of the chiefs of the island have spent considerable time in consultation for the purpose of forming new laws....the government is about to adopt some rules in the form of a Constitution, which will in some degree limit the power, and define the duties of the king, governors and other chiefs. The form of trial by jury which hereto has been adopted in capital offences, we understand is to be extended to all high crimes and to some civil actions. (“Pro Bono Publico,” 1840)

Several months later, *The Polynesian* reported that

The accused were allowed to challenge the jury, which consisted of twelve of the most intelligent Hawaiians, all of high rank. They were allowed to select counsel. The court being organized, the trial commenced... (“Trial for Murder,” 1840)

Finally, the newspaper officially printed a notice to the condemned:

To Kamanawa [II] and Lonopuakau, In Accordance with the sentence of death, passed upon you in the 30th of September, we hereby notify you that the day of your execution will be the 20th day of the present month, at 11 o'clock, A.M. ("Sentence of Death," 1840)

These narratives advance several messages. First, American expertise is privileged by praising the King and chiefs for consulting with outsiders. Second, new legal codes are valued *because* they limit the King's power. Third, American jurisprudence—in this case trial by jury for capital offense—is presented as fair and equitable by highlighting the so-called absence of class distinction. Unsurprisingly, *The Polynesian* served as an "outpost of America" and enthusiastically reported on the American-style Constitution while giving "little space to [the] hanging, a Western-type of execution that was demonstrated almost as well as the imposition of foreign—that is, American—law upon Hawai'i" (Chapin, 1996, pp. 23–24). In stating that Kamanawa II and Lonopuakau willingly and fully participated in a foreign justice system (e.g., jury challenge and selection of counsel) that was formally introduced 2 weeks earlier, the newspaper implies that the process was open, necessary, and just for natives.

An article in the *New-York Spectator* provided a summary discussion of Kamanawa II's trial and sentencing, stating,

[T]estimony of the witnesses was full and ample....they soon will undergo the penalties of law. Such deeds are said to have been quite common in the days of heathenism, but since the introduction of Christianity, this, we believe, is the first case of conviction. ("From the Sandwich Islands," 1841, March 30)

By infusing religious values into the story, the newspaper legitimizes lynching by identifying the entire Hawaiian population as a nation of heathens. Going further, the article says,

Kamanawa [II] is of very high rank by blood, and his trial and condemnation of his peers show in them a commendable determination to assert the supremacy of their laws, however high the rank of the offender. The trial throughout was conducted in a very respectful and dignified manner, and made a favorable impression upon the minds of the strangers present....Sentence of the chiefs sent in writing... [was] published for the information of all people.

Despite earlier comments praising the King for consulting with American foreigners and commendations regarding the limitation of the King's power through foreign codes, in the context of putting Kamanawa II of "very high rank by blood" to death, responsibility falls on Hawaiians for instituting "their" supreme law. On the one hand, Hawaiians are chastened for heathenism and regarded as inept leaders in need of foreign laws and counsel. On the other hand, Hawaiians are extolled for following through with the legalized execution of Lili'uokalani and Kalākaua's grandfather, a man of great standing in Hawaiian society.

In these ways, the newspaper accounts represent the criminalization and punishment of Chief Kamanawa II as seamless in transition between kingdom and foreign ways, thus suggesting the absence of any internal or external conflicts. There is no mention of the profound changes occurring in the islands as a result of cultural tensions and political conflicts within and between Hawaiian and foreigner communities. Nor is there mention of the trauma inflicted on Kamanawa II's family and his people as a result of the hanging. If not for Clark's (1847) details about how Kamanawa II was hanged before a forced audience of 800 who yelled and wept at the sight of the chief's execution, we would be left with a much different account of the event and not know that the chief's death was harsh or that the hanging profoundly affected his people. The press's account of fairness in American jurisprudence is made suspect by Clark's written observations. As an eyewitness to the event, Clark offers greater detail as to what happened at the hanging and calls into question possible motives for making the execution into a public spectacle (Keahiolalo-Karasuda, 2008).⁷

Why would Kamanawa II's execution leave such a mark? For one, Kamanawa II was not just *any* man. Chief Kamanawa II's standing in Hawaiian society can be traced back to his great-grandfather, Kame'eiamoku. Kame'eiamoku and his twin brother, Kamanawa I,⁸ were both appointed by Kamehameha I as "secret advisors (hoa kuka malu) and counselors (hoa'aha'olelo)" (Kamakau, 1992, p. 126), and they played an integral role in the sovereign's victory to unite the islands of Hawai'i. Endeared as makua kāne (father, uncle, elder male) by Kamehameha I, Kame'eiamoku and Kamanawa I were well-respected and sought-after protectors of the King. Rewarded for their loyalty and superior ability, Kame'eiamoku was given the ahupua'a (a traditional land district typically extending from the mountains into the sea) of Ka'ūpūlehu on Hawai'i Island, while Kamanawa I was gifted with the adjacent ahupua'a; thus, further elevating their status in the kingdom. Kamehameha I regarded the twin chiefs as sacred or kapu twins, because of their ability to navigate between the chiefly lines of Maui and Hawai'i. It was this strategy that contributed to victory in Kamehameha I's conquest of the Hawaiian Islands.

By all accounts, because of the kapu twins' excellent service to Kamehameha I, they enjoyed long and prosperous lives, as might have been expected for their descendants (see C. Silva, 2002). Lili'uokalani (1898/1990) explained this tradition:

Kamehameha...founder of Hawaiian unity, and worthy of the surname of the Great...owed his selection for the monarchy to the chiefs from whom the latest reigning family, my own, is descended. This indebtedness was fully recognized during the life of that monarch. (p. 2)

Contrary to this fact, however, the first legalized and public lynching of Chief Kamanawa II under the 1840 Constitution instead engendered a not-so-subtle message to Hawaiians, which was that the reach of colonial rule and punishment was far and wide and no one, regardless of rank or genealogy, was exempt. The hanging as a deterrent to behaviors defined as criminal was secondary to underscoring a foreign message that the reach of rebuke extended well beyond any cultural or political tradition practiced before. Here, Foucault's (1977, p. 47) statement is apropos, "The public execution is to be understood not only as a judicial, but also as a political ritual. It belongs, even in minor cases, to the ceremonies by which power is manifested." The public lynching of Chief Kamanawa II

was tragic, but the fact that the spectacle of his death intersected with the early childhood education of his grandchildren makes the situation all the more disturbing and complex.⁹

THE EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION OF THE CHIEF'S ROYAL GRANDCHILDREN

David La'amea Kamanakapu'u Mahinulani Nalaiaehuokalani Lumialani Kalākaua was placed in the High Chiefs' Children's School when he was 3 years old. The boarding school was under the direction of Amos Starr and Juliette Montague Cooke. Although the Cookes were not familiar with Hawaiian customs and values, they did understand that most of their students belonged to the Kamehameha line. They recognized that the King "had power to give or withhold land, supplies, or moneys from the school" (Allen, 1994, p. 7). The teachers' lack of knowledge about Hawaiians combined with a sense of racial and religious superiority unfortunately resulted in educational methods that largely resembled methods of disciplinary control and punishment often found in detentionlike settings.

One year after Kalākaua was enrolled at the boarding school, the Cookes took him to the gallows to witness the hanging of his grandfather. In her diary, Juliette Cooke noted that "a man" who was to be hanged had summoned Kalākaua to the old fort (Allen, 1994), but it is quite curious as to why she and her husband kept the 4-year-old at the gallows to witness the execution of his grandfather. Allen surmised that the Cookes's decision was likely based on a disregard for Kalākaua's genealogical standing in relation to the Kamehameha legacy. However, according to documented excerpts from the Cookes's journals, it is probable that their disdain for Hawaiians influenced their decision as well (see Richards, 1941). What's more, historical records indicate that Chief Kamanawa II had asked to see his grandsons and not for his grandsons to see him be put to death.¹⁰

The execution left an indelible impression on the minds of Kalākaua, who never forgot the traumatic incident, and Lili'uokalani, who shared in the pain of knowing about her grandfather's capital execution.

At the same time, the children were faced with similarly difficult experiences at the school. For example, Lili'uokalani wrote,

[W]e were sent hungry to bed....A thick slice of bread covered with molasses was usually the sole article of our supper, and we were sometimes ingenious, if not over honest, in our search for food: if we could beg something of the cook it was the easier way; but if not, anything eatable left within our reach was surely confiscated. At a last resort, we were not above searching the gardens for any esculent root or leaf. (Liliuokalani, 1898/1990, p. 5)

Although Kamehameha III made ample provision to the school on behalf of the children (see Liliuokalani, 1898/1990), the interplay between food and discipline at the Cookes's boarding school signified who was and was not in power. By limiting or confiscating food from the royal students, the Cookes were making the point that they, not the ali'i (the chiefly class), were in charge.

Though not commonly associated with power, the significance of food extends to cultural tradition in Hawai'i. For Hawaiians and their ali'i, the use of food as an instrument of control was foreign, since food was viewed as a cultural symbol of alliance-building and loyalty, celebration and spiritual reverence. In this way, the rationing or withholding of food by the Cookes was contradictory to the royal children's heritage, symbolizing "overt and covert food-related techniques" (Godderis, 2006, p. 258) often found in punitive settings. External control over the youngsters through the use of food exerted the Cookes's power to take away, not provide enough, or serve food unfit for consumption (see Smith, 2002). One only need consider the ancestral connection that Hawaiians have to food. In the *Kumulipo* (a Hawaiian creation story), Hawaiians are born of the same family as *kalo* (taro). Likewise, the significance of food in Hawaiian society was later expressed during Kalākaua's reign, where nationalist resisters named themselves "ho'opili mea 'ai (clinging to the food)" (Osorio, 2002, p. 196). Despite Kamehameha III's direction that the children were to be supplied "with food and fish (meat)" and no one was "allowed to ill-treat the other" (Kamehameha III, 1840, July 4), the Cookes's failure to comply set the stage for and prompted protest among the young learners.

Viewed by the Cookes as a collective of ignorant, sinful, and unruly lower citizens, the royal children were treated as delinquents rather than as students (see Richards, 1941). In fact, some of the Cookes's journal entries read like a prison log. For instance, journaling her belief that the children needed to be controlled lest they go to destruction, Mrs. Cooke wrote,

We were thought best to undertake it, but it is not without many fears....The children have been so badly managed that we shall have considerable difficulty in bringing them under proper discipline....They are a set of little tyrants....I would rather teach the poor, the wandering, and ignorant than these proud spoiled princes. (Richards, 1941, pp. 180–181)

In a later entry, Mr. Cooke wrote,

Yesterday I became a little more stern... & had to discipline Moses to make him mind. Today punished Alexander, & Moses replied *he keiki a ke alii oia nei* [he was a child of the chief]. I replied *I was King of the school*. (Richards, 1941, p. 181)

These two short examples along with other similar journal entries reveal that the school resembled the tensions situated in penal settings. In addition to their disciplinary methods, the Cookes's spatial arrangement of the school was not only sanitized of all things Hawaiian but also set up for the teachers to readily surveil, control, and punish the students (Richards, 1941). The school was

a long, two-story frame building with a large dining room and separate sleeping quarters for the children and for the Cooke family. There was also a New England parlor, furnished with handmade and treasured furniture sent from home, and with much brought from China. It resembled nothing Hawaiian in its appearance nor its atmosphere. (Allen, 1994, p. 7)

The school did not represent a place that was organized for productive and intellectual stimulation. Rather, it was a space where tense battles over culture, race, and politics took precedent and where the regulatory techniques of isolation, deprivation, and physical abuse were used to forcefully thrust new identities onto the royal students. Designed to control movement, the school

was well-suited to constant observation and supervision.... The Cookes and their advisors sought to create at the school an environment conducive to learning in which they could have maximum control and permit the minimum amount of “bad” external influences. They attempted to do this not only through the design of physical space, but also by limiting contact with the outside, regulating the use of time, imposing rules of conduct along with penalties for violation, and prescribing the types of activities allowed. (Kanahele, 1986/2002, p. 26)

Discussions between the Cookes and ali'i parents likely gave the impression that the royal children were being developed as moral leaders and rigorous scholars. In actuality, cultural and ideological conflicts were erupting, often resulting in the teachers' punishment of the children. This pattern, in turn, facilitated the normalization of the students' identities as delinquent criminals. Ann Ferguson (2000) would likely caution us to think about the dynamics of power in this situation. In discussing how teachers view and treat African American students at an urban school, Ferguson explained,

The range of normalizing judgments for African American males is bounded by the image of the ideal pupil at one end of the spectrum and the unsalvageable student who is criminally inclined at the other end....The concept of “at-riskness” is central to a discourse about the contemporary crisis in urban schools in America that explains children's failure as largely the consequence of their attitudes and behaviors as well as those of their families. (pp. 90–91)

For obvious reasons, there are limitations to using Ferguson's analysis in this case. However, though not explicit, similar categories of delinquency and at-riskness were applied to the royal children by their instructors who considered them to be spoiled tyrants. As a result, the Cookes's attitudes and behaviors prompted protest among the learners, despite their young ages.

Alexander Liholiho (Kamehameha IV) appropriately responded to Amos Cooke in his reminder that Moses was a child of a chief, not to be treated contemptuously. The ensuing years would reflect similar battles between the Cookes and the royal children, which progressed from verbal contestations to ongoing lockdowns, physical cruelty, ideological violence, and expulsion from the school (see Richards, 1941). Moses became the recipient of "bruises and even broken bones, sometimes inflicted by the stern disciplinarian Amos Starr Cooke" (Allen, 1994, p. 8), as did Kalākaua, who "had been badly injured when Amos Starr Cooke had struck him in a moment of anger. He had fallen and dislocated his shoulder" (Allen, 1994, p. 11). Nonetheless, the students refused to relinquish their identities as ali'i. Holding "indignation meetings" (Allen, 1994), the young future rulers of Hawai'i and their 'ohana (family) came together to regularly and collectively strategize against and challenge their teachers' ill-treatment of them. This continued well into their adult years, as the ali'i battled not with their teachers, but with the sons of missionaries and others seeking to diminish, criminalize, and erase the political authority of Hawaiians. More than a century of examples exist, some more obvious than others. In the next section, I conclude this article with one more story relating to the chiefly line of Kamanawa II, which centers on the Hawaiian coat of arms and seal. Here again, we see how criminalization and political erasure work to undermine Hawaiian sovereignty.

THE HAWAIIAN COAT OF ARMS AND SEAL

Two years after the public hanging of Chief Kamanawa II, British military representatives attempted to overthrow the kingdom of Hawai'i, but Kamehameha III reclaimed national sovereignty on July 31, 1843. In celebration of the restoration, the King declared, *Ua mau ke ea o ka aina i ka pono*¹¹ and adopted a Hawaiian Kingdom coat of arms and seal adorned with the images of Kame'eiamoku and his twin, Kamanawa I, in perpetuity.

In its original design, the coat of arms and seal is adorned with the ancient flag of Hawaiian chiefs who hold two crossed spears, indicating kapu or a place of refuge; the Hawaiian crown; Kamehameha III's proclamation *Ua mau ke ea o ka aina i ka pono*; and Kamanawa I and Kame'eiamoku dressed in the traditional feather cloaks and helmets reserved for those with highest ranking. Individually and collectively, the symbols represented the sovereign Hawaiian nation. In this earliest rendition, the kapu twins are turned inward and facing one another, perhaps to signify the protection of and service to Kamehameha I in unifying the islands. Following the original design and under the direction of Kalākaua and Lili'uokalani in the 1880s, several changes are made, including the shifting of Kame'eiamoku and Kamanawa I to face outward rather than toward one another. This frontal stance is as if to watch, guard, and protect against further foreign invasion. Throughout their tenure as monarchs, Lili'uokalani and her brother ensured that the memory of their kūpuna (ancestors), the sacred twin chiefs, were honored through the coat of arms and seal. As with the story of Chief Kamanawa II's death and the impact the event had on the Hawaiian people, attempts to symbolically erase Kame'eiamoku and Kamanawa I from the coat of arms and seal have taken place.

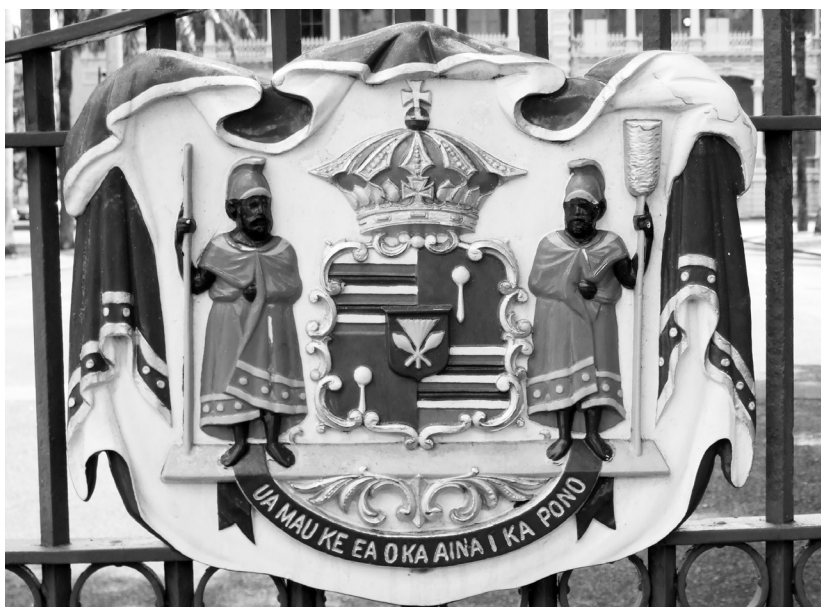
In the years following the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian kingdom in 1893 and annexation of Hawai'i in 1898 and into the U.S. Admissions Act of 1959, American agents attempted to emblematically erase Hawaiian sovereignty (and by extension, Hawaiian collective identity) by removing the sacred twin chiefs and replacing them with Kamehameha I and the Goddess of Liberty (see "Coat of Arms," 1999, July 6; Thrum, 1896). The design in its current form attempts to expunge not only ancestral truth but self-determination as well by adding a phoenix to the coat of arms to signify the death of the Hawaiian kingdom and the birth of U.S. democracy in Hawai'i. A star replaces the monarchical crown to signify the admission of Hawai'i as the 50th state of the union (see Figure 1).¹² The carceral state's attempt at erasure continues to be contested: One only need walk through the gates of 'Iolani Palace, a site of Hawaiian resistance and sacredness, to see this failed attempt. At every entrance of the palace grounds, the sacred twin chiefs stand guard in the original form commissioned by Kamanawa II's grandchildren, Kalākaua and Lili'uokalani (see Figure 2). Efforts like this—to efface Hawaiian sovereignty both symbolically and physically—is indicative of a continued legacy of political and social violence perpetuated against the kapu twins' descendants, Chief Kamanawa II and his grandchildren, and their people.¹³

FIGURE 1 State of Hawai'i coat of arms and seal



2009, ROZLYND VARES

FIGURE 2 Hawaiian coat of arms and seal commissioned by Kalākaua and Lili'uokalani



2009, RAEDEEN KEAHIOLALO-KARASUDA

CONCLUSION

The intersection of Chief Kamanawa II's execution with his grandchildren's early education and their later years resisting attempts to strike his kūpuna's story from the record in Hawai'i's coat of arms and seal posits three important lessons. First, the staging of the public execution before a forced crowd of 800 natives was meant to politically inscribe foreign power in the islands. Second, carceral strategies are not confined to prison punishment. As evidenced by Kalākaua and Lili'uokalani's boarding school experiences, carceral networks operate in other settings in ways that similarly normalize notions that Hawaiians are a criminally inclined group. Third, the work of governing Hawaiians through crime continues to persist today in many ways, including through symbols such as the Kingdom coat of arms and the State of Hawai'i seal where subtle and not-so-subtle incongruities surround the legacy of Kamanawa II.

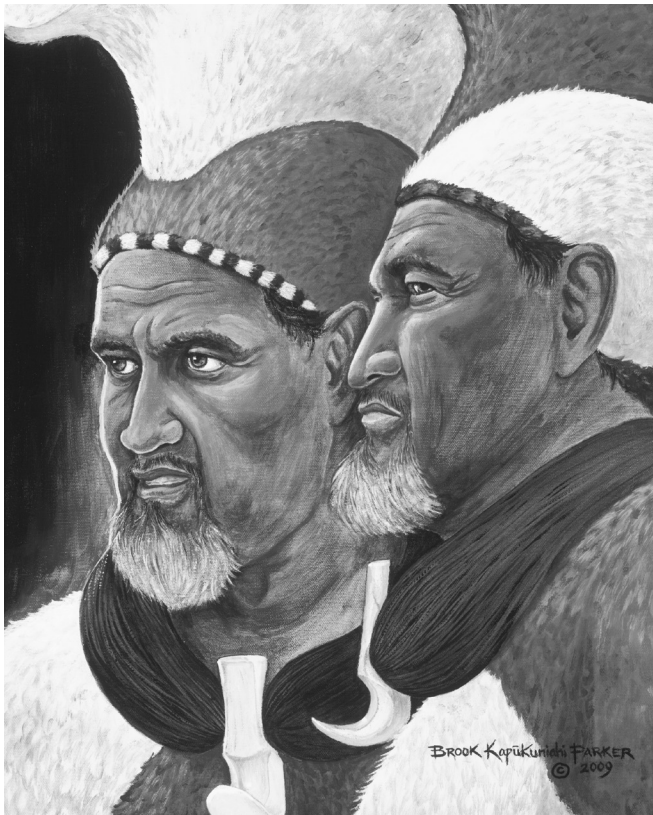
FIGURE 3 Rendition of the Hawaiian coat of arms and seal



2010, BROOK KAPUKUNIAHI PARKER

The stories of Chief Kamanawa II, his kūpuna, and his grandchildren are a few of many that offer a powerful framework from which to analyze crime and punishment in Hawai'i. Reexamining Hawaiian experiences in the past and current justice system through this lens allows us to see the political ramifications of incarceration and other forms of punishment, and to know that the criminalization of Hawaiians is neither straightforward nor simple. Hawaiians have a long history of being disparately harmed through punitive systems. Given the systematic efforts of various agents to displace, dispossess, and disenfranchise them, the trend of punishing Hawaiians remains highly suspect. It is my hope that this article will provoke new discussions that lead to counterstrategies addressing the Hawaiian experience in carceral systems.¹⁴

FIGURE 4 Portrait of the kapu twins, Kamanawa I and Kame'eiamoku



2009, BROOK KAPŪKUNIAHI PARKER

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NOTES

1 Carceral networks operate through various forms of power. In this article, I concentrate on one fundamental form of power: domination. In *Political Networks: The Structural Perspective* by Knoke (1994, p. 4), domination or coercive power is defined as “a relationship in which one actor controls the behavior of another actor by offering or withholding some benefit or harm.” Sanctions, in this instance, can be physical or may also involve symbols, such as the redesign of a flag. Using this as a base for examination, I analyze how the criminalization of Chief Kamanawa II and his grandchildren functioned in ways to create and enable a Hawaiian criminal identity. Additionally, I use the term genealogy broadly and metaphorically. This is intended to signify the reality that the criminalization of Hawaiians is rooted in a particular history.

2 See the document at <http://www.hawaii-nation.org/constitution-1840.html>

3 What is certain is that the public execution of Chief Kamanawa II set in motion a written system of “justice” that transformed Hawaiian society in profound ways. Also clear, but not necessarily apparent, is the continued significance of the chief's story in Hawaiian society today. This less-than-obvious connection between past and present speaks to the health of lāhui (the nation) when political erasure is resisted. For these reasons and more, I am more concerned with analyzing how the spectacle of the execution normalized the disciplinary power of foreigners and the ways that ali'i (the chiefly class) resisted such efforts.

4 According to Chapin (1996), ten thousand witnesses were present at the execution.

5 See Liliuokalani (1898/1990), Allen (1994), and Kamakau (1992) for more information on the lineage of Chief Kamanawa II.

6 It is noteworthy that certain behaviors were criminalized and enforced while others were not during this period and beyond. At the height of missionary efforts to convert Hawaiians to Christianity, sexual crimes such as adultery were the focus. For more detail, see *Colonizing Hawai'i* (1999) by Sally Merry and *Dismembering Lāhui* (2002) by Jonathan Osorio.

7 Original research is cumulative, especially when related to Hawaiian history and genealogy. Details regarding the story of Chief Kamanawa II have evolved over the course of my research. At the time this article was on its way to print, I was introduced to a descendant of Kamanawa II, Brook Kapūkunihi Parker. Through Brook, I learned of a critical distinction between Kamanawa I and Kamanawa II, which I was not aware of when I wrote my dissertation.

8 I refer to Keame'eiamoku's twin brother as Kamanawa I to distinguish him from his great-grandnephew, also named Kamanawa and whom I consequently refer to as Kamanawa II.

9 Divorce and trial transcripts were not kept until after 1848. Therefore, credence to the charge brought against Kamanawa II remains unclear. A study of Hawaiian newspapers might produce a greater understanding in this regard.

10 Kamanawa II requested to see his 8-year-old grandson, James Kapa'akea, who was also taken to the old fort. Some sources refer to Kapa'akea as Kamanawa II's grandson (see Allen, 1994 and Richards, 1941). However, evidence suggests that Kapa'akea may have been Kamanawa II's son (see McKinzie, 1991).

11 While this phrase is commonly translated today as "the life of the land perpetuated in righteousness," Noenoe Silva (2004, p. 12) explained that "it is impossible to convey all of the cultural coding that English strips away, and equally impossible to avoid the Western coding that English adds" (Keahiolalo-Karasuda, 2008).

12 In 2009, the state spent more than \$340,000 to refurbish the seal as part of its \$1.7 million makeover at the State Capitol (see Hao, 2009).

13 Summed up, one source represents the state seal as “a symbol of authority and sovereignty of the state” (see <http://www.theus50.com/hawaii/seal.php>, retrieved July 27, 2009).

14 The stories in this article focus on events and experiences of genealogical relatives, both preceding and following Kamanawa II. While writing this article I had the honor of speaking with Brook Kapūkuniahi Parker, who is a descendant of Kailaupule, a sister of the kapu twins Kamanawa I and Kame’eiamoku. Through artwork depicting Hawaiian ali’i, Brook keeps the stories of his ancestors alive and portrays the deep love and adoration he has for his kūpuna. Their legacy is extended in a very literal sense in the names chosen for Parker’s own twin children: Kamanawa and Kame’eiakomu. These contemporary examples demonstrate the strength of ancestral ties and the permanence of cultural tradition in disallowing political erasure.