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**KE KŪ'E KŪPA'A LOA NEI MĀKOU:
KANAKA MAOLI RESISTANCE TO COLONIZATION**

**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF**

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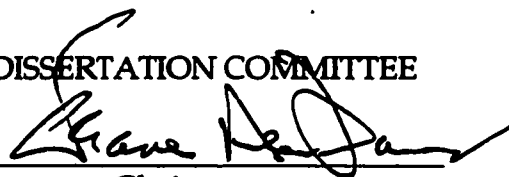
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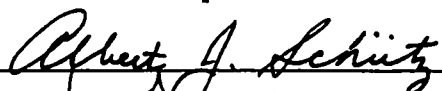
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**This work is dedicated to the memory of my mother,
Betty Claire Decker Williams (1927-1999),
who never doubted the value of resistance.**

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation contests the myth that the Kanaka Maoli (Native Hawaiians) did not resist colonization. Analysis of the political content of nineteenth century Hawaiian language newspapers reveals resistance of many varieties to the political, cultural, and religious oppressions of colonialism. Chapter 2 analyzes the resistance discourse in the first Hawaiian language newspaper free of missionary control, *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, which emerged in 1861 during a period of repression of hula, traditional medicine, and the indigenous religion. I contrast it to the discourse in the other Hawaiian language papers, which were all assisting in colonizing the Kanaka Maoli. Chapter 3 analyzes the emergence of *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* in the era of plantation/colonial capitalism in Hawai'i, which meant a rise to political and economic power for the U.S. missionaries. Through *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, the Kanaka Maoli claimed the power of the press for themselves, affirming their identity as a people/nation, and resisting attempts to convert them into plantation laborers. They reproduced their native, forbidden, culture on the printed page in stories, poetry, and song, and contested the colonizers in political essays. Chapter 4 shows how King Kalākaua built upon this resistance movement by bringing the forbidden cultural practices off the page and into performance and pageantry. He brought history/legends from the oral tradition and enacted them as national narratives. Chapter 5 documents the mass anti-annexationist movement of the 1890s, which included a political organization of over 11,000 Kanaka women that has never before been viewed as important by historians. The dissertation conclusively demonstrates that reading the archive in the Hawaiian language can effectively challenge the debilitating myths and stereotypes of the Kanaka Maoli created by mainstream historiography.

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

‘O Wākea noho iā Papahānaumoku	Wākea lived with island-birthing Papa
Hānau ‘o Hawai‘i, he moku	Born was Hawai‘i, an island
Hānau ‘o Maui, he moku	Born was Maui, an island
Ho‘i hou ‘o Wākea	Wākea made a new departure and lived with Ho‘ohokukalani
Noho iā Ho‘ohokukalani	Born was Moloka‘i, an island
Hānau ‘o Moloka‘i, he moku	Born was Lāna‘i the sacred, an island
Hānau ‘o Lāna‘i ka ‘ula, he moku	The womb of Papa became jealous at its partnership with Ho‘ohokukalani
Lili ‘ōpū punalua ‘o Papa iā Ho‘ohokukalani	Papa returned, lived with Wākea
Ho‘i hou ‘o Papa noho iā Wākea	Born was O‘ahu, an island
Hānau ‘o O‘ahu, he moku	Born was Kaua‘i, an island
Hānau ‘o Kaua‘i, he moku	Born was Ni‘ihau, an island
Hānau ‘o Ni‘ihau he moku	A sacred red is Kaho‘olawe. ¹
He ‘ula a‘o Kaho‘olawe.	

One of the most persistent and pernicious myths of Hawaiian history is that the Kanaka ‘Ōiwi ‘Native Hawaiians’ passively accepted colonization. In 1984, in an article in the *Journal of Pacific History*, for example, Caroline Ralston claimed that the maka‘āinana ‘ordinary people’ made “no outspoken protest or resistance against the series of events which appear to have been highly detrimental to [their] well-being” (Ralston 1984, 21). Haunani-Kay Trask relates a story of sharing a panel with an historian from the U.S. who, like Ralston, claimed that “there was no real evidence for [resistance by Kanaka Maoli]” (Trask 1993, 154-155). Popular historian Gavan Daws dismisses Kanaka resistance in a single paragraph (Daws 1968, 291), even though, in the same book, he continues to document it. He denigrates the efforts of the Home Rule Party to gain political power within the territorial (i.e., colonial) system (Daws 1968, 295) and the resistance to statehood (383). Ralph Kuykendall interpreted

¹Hawaiian text and modified translation from Hālau o Kekuhi, 1998.

King Kalākaua's and Queen Emma's resistance to takeover by the U.S. as anti-haole racism (Kuykendall 1967, 187).

There exists a large archive of Kanaka thought in the form of microfilmed copies of over seventy-five newspapers in the Hawaiian language. In the course of my undergraduate and master's degree programs, I could not help but notice that many of those newspapers are political in nature. When, during a course in post-colonial theory in my doctoral program, I began to read the historiography of Hawai'i "against the grain," as Said says, what I read did not concur with what I had seen in the Hawaiian language papers. Kānaka Maoli hardly appeared in history at all. Trask characterizes Hawaiian historiography as "the West's view itself through the degradation of my own past" (Trask 1993, 153). As Morris (1975) carefully details, historians have studiously avoided the wealth of material written in Hawaiian. It is easier not to see a struggle if one reads only one side, and, since the arrival of Cook, there have always been (at least) two sides of a struggle going on. The Europeans and Euro-Americans sought to exploit the land and subjugate the people, and the people have always fought back in a variety of ways. The archive in English, however, presents a preponderance of material on one side—the colonizers' side—of the struggle. As soon as one reads the Hawaiian language archive, however, resistance to every aspect of colonialism is immediately apparent.

Soon after that first course in post-colonial theory, I was asked to join a committee that commemorates historical events at Iolani Palace. The project at hand was the hundredth anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic of Hawai'i (which was, in actuality, a colonial oligarchy). The committee planned to re-enact the speeches of Sanford B. Dole, William R. Castle, and other members of the oligarchy. I asked about resistance activity by the Kanaka Maoli. No one

on the committee had ever heard of any, so that is where I began my research. It only took deciding which newspapers to look in, using Helen Geracimos Chapin's (1984) classification system, and the date, July 4, 1894. Within minutes, I found several articles about a huge protest rally (five to seven thousand attending) organized by men's and women's political associations, speeches, and resolutions sent to the diplomats of treaty-holding countries. It was an embarrassingly large, visible, organized resistance. At least, it should be embarrassing to the historians who missed it or dismissed its importance.

So began this journey, with the simple question: Were the 'Ōiwi passive and silent as historiography represents us? The "no" answer is long and complex in its details. For every exertion of oppressive and colonizing power there was resistance. From the first page of English language history books, one sees Kanaka resisting: the killing of Cook was resistance to the attempted subjugation of the King of Hawai'i Island.

How do a people come to know who they are? How do a colonized people recover from the violence done to their past by the linguicide that accompanies colonialism? While stories are passed on individually in families (Trask 1993, 147-149), much is lost especially during times of mass death due to epidemics. When the stories told at home do not match up with the texts at school, students are taught to doubt the oral versions. The epistemology of the school system is firmly U.S.-ian in nature: what is written counts. When the stories can be validated, as happens when scholars like myself read the archive and make the findings available to the community, people begin to recover from the wounds caused by that disjuncture in their consciousness. In 1998, for example, an ad hoc committee of community members approached the Bishop Museum in Honolulu with an idea to educate the public about the 1897 anti-

annexation petition, which, during the course of this research I had located in the U.S. National Archives.² Bishop Museum agreed to display a reproduction of all 556 pages of the petition. Because of the publicity generated by the Museum to promote the exhibit, the Kanaka Maoli community throughout the islands suddenly knew of the existence of mass opposition to annexation in 1897. I was just as suddenly deluged with requests to speak at churches, clubs, and family reunions. I received telephone calls from strangers every day thanking me. People kept telling me that they knew or suspected that their grandparents or great-grandparents had been opposed to the U.S. takeover, but that they had had no proof before this. One woman clutched her petition book to her chest and proclaimed, "Now we will never forget again." The petition and the story of the huis that gathered it changed the centennial commemoration in many ways. Activist Keanu Sai proclaimed the slogan of the commemoration to be "We Are Who We Were." The petition, with the names of everyone's kūpuna 'ancestors' on it, gave people permission from their ancestors to participate in the quest for national sovereignty. More important, it affirmed for them that their kūpuna had not stood idly, apathetically, by while their nationhood was taken from them. Instead, contrary to every history book on the shelf, they learned that their ancestors had taken up the honorable field of struggle, as James Kaulia said (see Chapter 5). The commemoration, like the history books, was designed at first to concentrate on the monarchs. Nine ali'i 'nobility' societies were to participate in a ceremony and then lead a procession from the Royal Mausoleum to 'Iolani Palace. Maka'āinana were supposed to wait outside the Royal Mausoleum gates for all the ali'i units to pass by, and then follow behind. But a

²The committee consisted of Dr. Kekuni Blaisdell, cultural practitioner and indigenous rights activist Nālani Minton, community activist Leandra Wai, entrepreneur Maile Meyer and I. We met with Dr. Guy Kaulukukui and Tom Cummings of Bishop Museum Education Department.

new Hawaiian Patriotic League had been formed who reproduced pages of the petition on a large banner. They proclaimed themselves the tenth unit—the makaʻāinana determined to participate. With a steadily growing crowd behind the petition banner, they entered the grounds of the Royal Mausoleum and quietly took part, refusing to be herded outside the gate. For people today, the petition thus represents the political struggle of the makaʻāinana, for though the hui were led by aliʻi and kaukau aliʻi, it was the makaʻāinana collective power—21,269 signatures— that gave it its force.

Besides the Bishop Museum exhibit, the petitions were reproduced in a book, photocopied and bound at print shops around the islands, which has sold in the thousands. It also inspired two plays, one performed at the centennial commemoration, and the other at the Museum lecture series.

The petitions affected not only the centennial commemoration, but spurred continuing political action. They were used as documentation in a writ of mandamus to the U.S. Supreme Court (which the Court, however, dismissed). They continue to be used to educate and organize people who were reluctant to participate in discussions of Hawaiian sovereignty. The Hawaiian Civic Club of Honolulu, for example, said that they inspired the middle-class Kānaka Maoli. The petitions are now (April 1999) on the way with indigenous rights activists to the Hague Appeal for Peace Civil Society Conference.

The un- and half-truths of history have harmed the descendants of the colonizer along with the colonized, though in different ways. As James Baldwin has said, “[I]f I am not what I’ve been told I am, then it means that *you’re* not what you thought you were *either!*” [his emphases] (Baldwin 1988 [1963], 8). Continuing to lie about history creates a kind of madness in the minds of the privileged class. On the other hand, if the curriculum in schools were changed to

reflect the contributions of the colonized and subjugated, “[Y]ou would be liberating not only [them], you’d be liberating white people who know nothing about their own history” (Baldwin 1988, 8).

The story of the *hui* who organized the petition was not written down anywhere in English until now. The contest over language was and is part of the anti-colonial struggle. The *hui* of 1889-1898 communicated with each other in their mother tongue. It was easier that way, because it was harder for the oppressor to decipher. Songs, poems, and stories with the potential for *kaona* ‘hidden meanings’ presented even greater opportunities for expression of anti-colonial sentiments. People made use of these forms, and created and maintained their national solidarity through publication of these and more overtly political essays in newspapers. There is no access to this body of thought except through the Hawaiian language. The Hawaiian newspapers have generally been mined for ethnological information, but their political content has been overlooked. As long as we read the papers that way, the *Kanaka Maoli* of the nineteenth century remain the still and silent objects of ethnology, but when we begin to read their political writings, they spring to life as speaking subjects. The greatest tool in my methodological toolbox, therefore, has been simply to read what the *Kanaka Maoli* wrote. They took great pains to write it all down, foreseeing the need for establishing their presence in history.

This thesis is, then, simultaneously a critique of colonial historiography and, as Foucault puts it, “an insurrection of subjugated knowledges” (Foucault 1980, 81). I focus on the stories and essays, songs and poetry produced in Hawaiian and printed in the newspapers. Edward Said has shown how powerful and important narratives are in both the colonial and anti-colonial projects (Said 1993). Michel de Certeau (1984, 23) has also observed how stories can function as

resistance. As for colonial historiography, Lawrence Levine has observed that historiography itself was for a long time conceived as “narrative storytelling about those whose power, position, and influence was palpable” (Levine 1993, 12). Within that historiography, the ordinary Kanaka Maoli were ignored as insignificant and, worse, portrayed as passive, helpless, and backward people whose colonization was at least in part their own fault (and, paradoxically, to their benefit as well). Following Nandy, I too “reject the model of the gullible, hopeless victim of colonialism caught in the hinges of history. I see [them] as fighting [their] own battle for survival in [their] own way, sometimes consciously, sometimes by default” (Nandy 1988, xv). Foucault demonstrates how power is not simply something static held in the hands of the elite, but how it is mobile throughout society, and that it is always resisted. Although Foucault did not address colonialism specifically, his work has undoubtedly opened up space to effectively contest “the tyranny of globalising discourses” so that anti-colonial scholarship, including this work, can take place (Foucault 1983, 83). Presuming that a history of struggle in Hawai‘i, as elsewhere, was suppressed rather than nonexistent (Foucault 1983, 81-83) allowed me to search it out. Once we turn our attention to the activities, the speech, and the writings of the Kanaka Maoli, we can not help but see they are not “simple-hearted victims of colonialism [but] participants in a moral and cognitive venture against oppression” (Nandy 1988, xiv). That is what I attempt to do in this dissertation.

My theoretical and methodological framework begins with Foucault’s ideas about power and resistance. Instead of studying the institutions of power as in traditional history and political science, Foucault concentrates on the mechanisms of power at the end places where they are exerted (Foucault 1995). He suggests that the study of the links between rationalization and power can be

productive when specific rationales for “fundamental experience[s]” are examined. He lists “madness, illness, death, crime, sexuality, and so forth” (Foucault 1983, 210). In this study, I add colonialism to that list of fundamental experiences, and attempt to illuminate those links through examination of the speech and other acts of the colonized. In the same essay, “The Subject and Power,” Foucault says that “in order to understand what power relations are about, perhaps we should investigate the forms of resistance” (Foucault 1983, 211).

Michel de Certeau and Lawrence Levine point to the ways that subjugated peoples, while appearing to become assimilated into the dominant culture, simultaneously resist that culture and retain and reproduce their traditional cultures. Certeau notes how

the Indians ... often *made* of the rituals, representations, and laws imposed on them something quite different from what their conquerors [the Spanish] had in mind ... They were *other* within the very colonization that outwardly assimilated them; their use of the dominant social order deflected its power [his emphases]. (Certeau 1984, xiii)

Levine “found that, every time [he] focused on a new form of cultural expression that seemed to function as a mechanism for deep acculturation to the larger society, [he] discovered important degrees of cultural revitalization as well” (Levine 1993, 11). Partha Chatterjee found that in the case of India’s anticolonial nationalism, people created their “own domain of sovereignty within colonial society” through “dividing the world of social institutions and practices into two domains—the material and the spiritual” (Chatterjee 1993, 6). The spiritual he calls an “inner domain bearing the ‘essential’ marks of cultural identity” (Chatterjee 1993, 6). In the following pages, the reader will see that the Kanaka Maoli too preserve(d) an inner domain of cultural identity. The Hawaiian language often served as an area from which “the colonial intruder had to be

kept out" (Chatterjee 1993, 7). But hula, mo'olelo 'history/legend,' and especially genealogy contributed to that inner domain that was carefully guarded and preserved so that the Kanaka Maoli of today have a spiritual/cultural identity in which to base their new anti-colonial movement.

Chandra Mohanty (1991), Anne McClintock (1995), Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1994), and Ruth Mabanglo (1997) have shown how valuable it is to notice the ways that women are kept out of colonial and postcolonial histories, and how important it is to search out their contributions. Spivak asked, "Can the subaltern speak?" I have had to grapple with what she meant by that question, as I attempt to represent what the Kanaka Maoli were saying at various times. Spivak concludes that "the subaltern cannot speak" (1994, 104). In nineteenth century Hawai'i, too, women's public writings were fewer in volume than the men's. Like the Kanaka Maoli overall, however, women are always present if we look for them, and so I have attempted to do so. They were active politically in the anti-annexation struggle (Chapter 5), but their activities remain obscure in the earlier decades. Spivak relates a story about the kinds of covert communications that the female subaltern is sometimes forced to engage in. The story is about a young woman who participated in the armed struggle for India's independence. The young woman committed suicide, but waited until she was menstruating to do so, so that her suicide could not be misinterpreted as brought on by illegitimate pregnancy. While the young woman—the subaltern—was unable to speak overtly, her message is clear. Spivak understood her, and recounted and interpreted the details of her death. Kanaka women also engaged in veiled communications, but of other sorts. They composed poems and songs that were published in the newspaper (Chapter 2). Ke Kamāli'iwahine 'Princess' Po'omaikelani headed both the Board of Genealogy and the Hale Nauā for King

Kalākaua (Chapter 4). Women also resisted colonialism by becoming the keepers of the knowledge of hula, by sewing the national flag into quilts (Chapter 5), and by memorizing and telling the mo'olelo of Hi'iakaikapoliopole (Chapter 2). While their communications are, then, harder to discern and to decipher, they are speaking. I would add these to Spivak's question: in the situations in which the subaltern cannot speak overtly, in what ways *are* they speaking? and in what ways are we ever listening?

In this thesis, the Kanaka Maoli, women and men, maka'āinana and ali'i, speak in a variety of ways, some of which are not understood and not meant to be understood by the colonizers. Kaona, as I mentioned, means "hidden meaning, as in Hawaiian poetry; concealed reference, as to a person, thing or place; [and] words with double meanings" (Pukui and Elbert 1986, 130). It is a well-known characteristic of the Hawaiian language. It is generally spoken of in reference to mele 'song; poetry,' but is common in writing and in everyday speech. An awareness of the political functions of kaona, especially the possibilities for veiled communication, helps in analyzing the words and actions of the Kanaka Maoli. If the plantation luna and haole minister did not understand the hidden meaning in a phrase or a song, people could then "express deeply held feelings which ordinarily could not be verbalized" (Levine 1977, 8). As Levine observed among slaves in the U.S., people used "the subtleties of their song to comment on the whites around them with a freedom denied them in other forms of expression" (Levine 1977, 11). Employing kaona, the Kanaka Maoli could use everyday speech and writing to the same ends. Kaona, while useful for such individual expression of feelings, was also useful in creating and maintaining national solidarity against the colonial maneuvers of the U.S. missionaries, the oligarchy, and the U.S. politicians. Without knowledge

of the cultural codes in Hawaiian, foreigners who understood the language could still be counted on to miss the kaona. In the Kalākaua era, as the national narratives were literally put on parade, the haoles were unable to interpret them.

Colonialism in Hawai'i, as elsewhere, is complex. It affected ali'i, kāhuna, and maka'āinana, women and men, and people on different islands differently. Hawai'i's people have never been a homogeneous group, even before European contact. The strategies that ali'i used to resist subordination were markedly different from the tactics used by the maka'āinana (Certeau 1984, xix). Residents of urban Honolulu likewise experienced oppression and resisted differently from those in rural areas. Traditional practices such as worship of the volcano goddess Pele, for example, went on comparatively undetected and undisturbed in the country areas, while newspapers tended to arise in Honolulu, mainly because presses were few and shared. In times of crisis, however, such as the annexation of 1897-1898, ali'i and maka'āinana, women and men, worked together in united resistance efforts.

Colonial historiography, moreover, does not simply rationalize the past and suppress the knowledge of the oppressed. Hawai'i is not a postcolonial but a colonial state, and historiography is but another discourse that justifies the continued occupation of Hawai'i by the United States today. For those of us living with the legacies of colonialism (and the continuing exercises of power that are not post-, but neo-colonial), it is crucial to understand power relations in order to escape or overcome their effects, and further, to understand the resistance strategies and tactics of the past in order to use them and improve upon them. The re-interpretation, or placement, of mo'olelo in the oral tradition as part of a national narrative was a strategy Kalākaua used; this thesis attempts

to add the po'e aloha 'āina and their stories to the national narrative—to create national heroes (female and male) who were formerly unknown.

Resistance and nationalism are intertwined throughout the history of Hawai'i for the last two hundred years. Creating a nation in a form familiar to Europe and the U.S. was a necessary form of resistance to colonization because there was a chance the nineteenth-century Mana Nui 'Great Powers' might recognize national sovereignty. More foreign-seeming forms of government were too easily condemned as primitive and backward, as is attested to by the fate of peoples described as "tribes" rather than "nations." But as Certeau noticed with the Indians (his word), the Kanaka Maoli created their nation in their own ways. The monarchy overlaid a well-functioning ali'i system, in which, in the early days, women still exercised some political power. The pattern we see in the following chapters is one of strategic accommodation to the Western ideas of nationhood and government combined with insistence on the value of Kanaka cultural identity.

In Chapters 2 and 3, I examine the emergence of the first newspaper written, edited, and published by an association of Kānaka Maoli, free of missionary censorship or influence. *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* (1861-1863) shocked the missionary establishment when those they had viewed as rather passive objects of their civilizing attentions suddenly transformed themselves into speaking subjects through this newspaper. The church establishment immediately reacted by condemning the paper in print and from the pulpit. Study of the struggle for voice in print reveals direct and indirect confrontations with the missionary establishment, as well as a rising pride in Kanaka traditions. Mo'olelo and mele that had been suppressed re-emerge to inspire and to bind the lāhui Kanaka 'Hawaiian people/nation' together. Cultural practices that the missionaries tried

to extinguish were enacted again in print. *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* began a tradition of opposition newspapers in Hawaiian that lasted into the twentieth century. As Certeau says, “it is impossible to take speech and to retain it without a taking of power” (Certeau 1997, 32).

Chapter 4 illustrates how King Kalākaua’s cultural revival resisted colonialism’s attempted destruction of Kanaka identity. Kalākaua built upon the groundwork laid by *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, bringing the *Kumulipo* into print and the hula and mo’olelo into public performance, in direct confrontation with the U.S. missionaries. These practices reinterpreted and enacted mo’olelo from the oral tradition as national narratives: the stories of Kawelo, Maui, and Kamehameha emphasized traditional leadership values and the motif of the lesser line ascending to rule. Kalākaua’s cultural activities were valuable and made him more popular, but were not enough. In fact, his increased popularity most likely prompted coercive action on the part of the missionary sons who virtually deposed him.

Chapter 5 is the story of the anti-annexation struggle from Kalākaua’s overthrow to the U.S. military occupation. Aloha ‘āina ‘love of the land’ was the cornerstone of resistance in this era. It expressed the desire that maka‘āinana and ali’i shared for self-rule, as opposed to rule by the colonial oligarchy of settlers or the military rule of the United States. Self-rule necessarily took the form of nationhood, but aloha ‘āina encompasses more than nationalism, and is not an exact fit with the English word “patriotism” that it is most often translated as. Where nationalism and patriotism tend to exalt the virtues of a people or a race, aloha ‘āina exalts the land. It refers to the appreciation of the beauty of this land, of which both ali’i and maka‘āinana have composed hundreds, perhaps thousands of songs. Every island, every district, every valley and stream has

had songs composed lauding its beauty. Aloha 'āina goes beyond love of beauty as well. The Kanaka Maoli have a genealogical, familial relationship to the land. The oli that begins this chapter is a condensed version of the genealogy of the islands, who were said to have been conceived and born like human beings, of the same first parent pair, Papahānaumoku 'Papa who gives birth to islands' and Wākea, the sky father. The po'e aloha 'āina 'people who love the land' adapted their concept of aloha 'āina to the Euro-American concepts and structures of nationhood and nationalism as resistance to colonization, although they knew that it was those very structures that were overtaking them. When threatened with annexation, they organized with an amazing amount of cooperation between the ali'i and maka'āinana, the urban and the rural, women and men. Nearly every Kanaka Maoli alive signed the anti-annexation petitions that, when presented to the U.S. Senate, defeated the annexation treaty. They continued to create and recreate the inner domain of spiritual and cultural identity, even while operating within the U.S. political arena.

Language and translation issues

"Whenever Hawaiian is translated into English, the English words used add cultural connotations to the idea conveyed, while eliminating intended connotations and meanings of the original Hawaiian" (Kimura 1983, 182). Since I am basing my research in the archive in Hawaiian and writing this dissertation in English, I have had to engage in a great deal of translation and interpretation. Much of that translation is unsatisfactory because it is impossible to convey all of the cultural coding that English strips away. I have tried to give more than one translation where it is necessary, and many times I have left words untranslated once I have explained them. "Pono," for example, has a multitude of meanings

including “good; appropriate; balance; well-being,” and many more. Sometimes several of the meanings are intended by the author, so to choose one English word would do considerable violence to the text. Sometimes it is not perfectly clear from the context which or how many of the possible English meanings were intended, so it is better to leave the Hawaiian word so that the reader may ponder the many possible meanings along with me.

I have chosen to use several Hawaiian terms for “Hawaiian person/people” throughout, mainly the term “Kanakan Maoli.” This is an old term seen frequently in the nineteenth-century Hawaiian language newspapers. “Kanakan” means ‘person,’ and “maoli” means ‘real; true; original; indigenous.’ “Kanakan” by itself also means ‘Hawaiian,’ especially when used in contrast with “haole” ‘foreigner.’ (“Kanakan” denotes the singular or the category, while “Kānaka” is the plural). “Kanakan Maoli” was used officially at least as early as 1852 (Pukui and Elbert 1986, 240). Many examples of it occur in the 1861-1863 newspaper, *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* (Chapter 2). Not all of the diverse Kānaka Maoli like to be called Hawaiian because that term derives from the island of Hawai‘i, and it is only because Kamehameha was from that island that the archipelago took that name. Using “Kanakan Maoli” also benefits us by reminding us of our linguistic and familial relationships to other Polynesians, since “Maoli” is cognate with “Māori” of Aotearoa and “Mā‘ohi” of Tahiti. It reminds us that we are centered in the Pacific (and not an appendage of the west coast of the U.S.). “‘Ōiwi” ‘Native’ is another word that I use occasionally, interchangeably with “Kanakan” and “Kanakan Maoli.” “In the animal kingdom, the rule is, eat or be eaten; in the human kingdom, define or be defined” (Szasz 1974, 20, quoted in Nandy 1988, 112).

Ceremony

I will tell you something about stories,
[he said]
They aren't just entertainment.
Don't be fooled.
They are all we have, you see,
all we have to fight off
illness and death.

You don't have anything
if you don't have the stories.

Their evil is mighty
but it can't stand up to our stories.
So they try to destroy the stories
let the stories be confused or forgotten.
They would like that
They would be happy
Because we would be defenseless then.

He rubbed his belly.
I keep them here
[he said]
Here, put your hand on it
See, it is moving.
There is life here
for the people.

And in the belly of this story
the rituals and the ceremony
are still growing.

Leslie Marmon Silko

CHAPTER 2

KA HOKU O KA PAKIPIKA (THE STAR OF THE PACIFIC): VOICES OF KANAKA MAOLI RESISTANCE TO CULTURAL IMPERIALISM

[Stories are] the method colonized people use to assert their own identity and the existence of their own history. The main battle in imperialism is over land, of course; but when it came to who owned the land, who had the right to settle and work on it, who kept it going, who won it back, and who now plans its future—these issues were reflected, contested, and even for a time, decided in narrative.

Edward Said.

Introduction

Kanaka Maoli traditional life was an oral culture. Oral artistry was highly valued; poetry and song ranged from short welcome chants to the *Kumulipo*, a cosmological chant of over two thousand lines. Mo'olelo 'legend/history' ranged from short folk tales to epics described as taking sixteen hours to recite. Oratory was so valued that no music or dance ever developed in classical Hawai'i without accompanying words. Even in the case of musical instruments that are played with the mouth, "Words are formed in the mouth and echoed out with the vibrations of the instrument" (Kimura 1983, 175). A much-quoted proverb in Hawaiian is "I ka 'ōlelo ke ola; i ka 'ōlelo nō ka make. *Life is in speech; death is in speech.* [I.e.,] words can heal; words can destroy" (Pukui 1983, 129). Oral compositions were often given as gifts or offerings.

Into that culture came puritanical missionaries from the U.S. in 1820. Within two years they had created an alphabet for the Hawaiian language. The palapala 'reading and writing' became popular among the Kanaka Maoli immediately:

As soon as the chiefs saw what a good thing it was to know how to read and write, each chief took teachers into his home to teach the chiefs of his household. Ka-'ahumanu [sic] ... when all her household had learned to

read and write ... sent some of them to other islands to teach, and all the other chiefs sent teachers to their lands in other districts to teach the people to read and write. Before the end of the year the old people over eighty and ninety years old were reading the Bible. ... This was why education spread so rapidly. When the missionaries began to settle in the outer districts they found that the people already knew how to read. (Kamakau 1992, 248-249)

The love for the language that was manifested in artistic orature found new expression in the palapala. The first written compositions by Kānaka Maoli concerned their new-found god, Iehova, and were published in the mission publication, *Hawaiian Spectator*. Kānaka Maoli such as the famed Davida Malo provided crucial assistance in the first long written works, the New and Old Testaments of the Christian bible (Arista 1998). Malo also composed essays and sermons. To persuade the people to convert to Christianity during this period, ali'i nui composed essays that were published by the mission press.

For forty years the mission controlled the power of the printed word in Hawai'i. They used this power not just to save souls but to assist in the progress of plantation/colonial capitalism, to control public education, to make government into Western forms and to control it, and to domesticate Kanaka women. What I will describe in this chapter is the moment when a few Kānaka Maoli first collectively dared to claim this power for themselves, to say to the mission, "Enough. We are not children; we have much to say; what we have to say is valuable; and we shall say it and preserve it on paper."

By this time, 1861, the U.S. Calvinist missionaries had created the most successful mission in the world (Hutchison 1987, 69-77).¹ Not only had the missionaries succeeded in converting tens of thousands of Hawaiians, but their particular creed had led them into positions of power, influence, and wealth.

¹Hutchison says that the ABCFM was interdenominational, but "heavily dominated by Massachusetts Congregationalists." In Hawai'i, they have consistently called themselves Calvinists, "Kalavina," in Hawaiian (Hutchison 1987, 45).

Besides controlling the public school system and the print media, many of them held important government posts in the Privy Council, the Cabinet, the House of Nobles, and the Judiciary, including the Supreme Court. Their ideas that Euro-American ways of life constituted “civilization,” and that their own brand of Puritanism constituted the apex of civilization were more or less accepted or accommodated by the ruling elite of Hawaiian society. Mō‘i ‘King’ Alexander Liholiho (Kamehameha IV), like Kauikeaouli (Kamehameha III) before him, relied on the missionaries to educate Hawaiians about everything Western—from the palapala to etiquette to constitutional government.

In many ways, the Kanaka Maoli welcomed the missionaries; they appreciated education in the palapala, and, more important, they wanted to be “saved.” They had suffered loss of life on a genocidal scale since the arrival of Captain Cook (1778), and the missionaries promised them Ke Ola Hou ‘New Life’ (Kame‘eleihiwa 1986). But after forty years of missionization, mass death from epidemics was still recurring. Kānaka Maoli were concurrently alienated from their traditional lands through legal processes (the Māhele) instigated by the missionaries (Kame‘eleihiwa 1992). While they themselves lived destitute and died young, they watched many of their missionary “saviors” get rich on the fat of Hawaiian land. As the first plantation owners, missionaries were intent on converting Kānaka Maoli into field hands on sugar plantations that diverted water from the Kanaka staple food, taro.

The maka‘āinana ‘ordinary people,’ then, had been the main objects of these civilizing and exploitative attentions. In 1861, together with some ali‘i, they transformed themselves, to the shock and outrage of the missionary establishment, into speaking subjects, proud of their Kanaka ways of life and traditions, and suddenly unafraid to rebel. Their medium was a Hawaiian

language newspaper they called *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* 'The Star of the Pacific.' Thus began a long tradition of nationalist, anti-colonial resistance through the print media.

Without a doubt, the Hawaiian language newspapers had the largest readership of any papers in the Islands. Among these, by far the largest number were opposition papers. A highly literate Hawaiian population read the output of Native Hawaiians and their Caucasian allies who from the 1860s to 1900 produced almost 70 newspapers. (Chapin 1984, 67)

Although definite circulation statistics are unavailable, it is certain that the newspapers were widely read. Chapin wrote that "A vigorous Hawaiian nationalist press emerged in the 1860s It quickly gained and held the largest circulation and the majority of readers until the century's end" (Chapin 1996, 60). Literacy in Hawaiian was "almost universal" (Reinecke 1969, 28). Schools conducted in Hawaiian in 1861 numbered around 266, with a student population of over 8,000 (Reinecke 1969, 70).

Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika, as Chapin pointed out, was the first in a long line of Kanaka nationalist newspapers. I would add that it articulated a particularly anti-colonial nationalism. Hawai'i was not a formal, political colony of the United States until the highly contested annexation of 1898, but many settlers, both missionary and mercantile, colonized Hawai'i from 1820 on. By "colonized" I mean that (mainly) European-Americans came to Hawai'i, settled here, attained positions of power in business and government, and proceeded to establish a capitalist European-American political and economic system that benefited themselves while subjugating and oppressing the Kanaka Maoli. They imposed the English language, a European system of government, U.S. currency, and Christian religion. Kanaka Maoli resisted this colonization in part by developing a nationalism in which their imagined community could be controlled by themselves rather than by the European-American colonizers. *Ka*

Hoku o ka Pakipika played a crucial role in the development of that nationalism, as it was able to provide communication to a community that spanned eight separate islands in an age before the telephone or telegraph (Anderson 1991, 37-46). The missionaries had already created a large reading public through the establishment of the mission press, then *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* utilized that creation to a largely anti-missionary, anti-colonial purpose.

This chapter describes the establishment of *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, the opposition it immediately encountered from various institutions, and the ways these struggles were framed and debated in the several newspapers, including, primarily, *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* itself; *Ka Hae Hawaii*, the government's Hawaiian language paper; *Nupepa Kuokoa*, rival of *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, born out of the controversy; the *Hoku Loa*, the Hawaiian language paper associated with the Hawaiian Evangelical Association (the Calvinist mission); and the *Polynesian*, the government's English language newspaper (which became independent during the controversy). This chapter describes, as well, the content of the four Hawaiian language papers.

The editor of *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*

The editor-in-chief (Luna Nui) of *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* was J. W. H. Kauwahi, while G. W. Mila (Mills) served as general and translation editor. Kauwahi was an attorney practicing in Honolulu (*Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* 1861, Nov. 14), who also served as Luna Maka'āinana (Representative in the House) from 1853 to 1864 (Legislators file, Hawai'i State Archives). Although he is clearly announced as Luna Nui in *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, his name is not mentioned by Mookini (1974) nor by Chapin (1984, 1996) in their surveys of the Hawaiian language press. Their comments center instead on the famed David

Kalākaua, part of the original group who founded the paper, and who took over the editor-in-chief position from Kauwahi sometime between April and July 1862. Kalākaua later became Mō'i, and was the major proponent of cultural resistance from this time, 1861, until his death in 1891. Chapin says that Kalākaua first collaborated with J. K. Kaunamano and G. W. Mila (1984, 67), but according to my reading of the paper, Kaunamano was a writer but not an editor of the paper. Kaunamano described himself as a "mea kakau manao" 'opinion writer' in the July 4, 1862 edition of *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*. There was rarely an announcement of editors and staff in the paper itself, so when the editorial change took place, no official column announced it in the newspaper. Kauwahi, was, however, without doubt, the first Luna Nui, from September 7, 1861 to at least April 3, 1862, the last edition in which an ad appears with his name listed as Luna Nui.

Kauwahi was an early member of the Church of Latter Day Saints. In 1851, he was the first convert of William Farrer on O'ahu: "Kauwahi invited the elder [Farrer] to his home at Laie where he stayed for several weeks, studying the language, talking with the people, and even locking horns with the local minister, the Reverend Mr. John Emerson" (Britsch 1989, 20). Kauwahi's associate, Jonatana Napela was also an early convert to Mormonism (Britsch 1989, 17-18, 25). Both were ordained as elders in the church (Britsch 1989, 29), and both assisted in translation of the Book of Mormon into Hawaiian (Kuykendall 1938, 345). According to Britsch, while polygamy was never promoted as church doctrine in Hawai'i, Kauwahi was charged with violation of marriage laws.

In truth, he had been divorced for several years before he remarried and entered the Church. At the time he was seeking election as marshal of Kauai [sic] and was favored to win. Nevertheless, he was arrested, placed

in prison for a time, tried, fined, imprisoned again, and finally allowed to appeal to the supreme court. The [Mormon] missionaries were convinced that this was all done to discredit one of the most intelligent and influential Hawaiians in the islands because he had become a Mormon. (Britsch 1989, 33)

In 1856, Kauwahi renounced his Mormonism. That same year, two years before being admitted to the bar, he published a legal self-help book for Kanaka Maoli in the Hawaiian language called *Ke Kuhikuhi o ke Kanaka Hawaii*, for which the community was grateful even twenty years later (*Ke Au Okoa* 1870, Mar. 3).

Kuykendall noted that Kauwahi was among the supporters of property qualifications for voters in Mō'i Lota Kapuāiwa's (Kamehameha V) 1864 constitution (1953, 131). Osorio mentions this as well: "No one either in the [constitutional] convention or covering it for the press uttered a word of argument when the delegate Kauwahi insisted that the King was acting properly" (Osorio 1996, 226). At the same convention, Kauwahi voted against an amendment that would "place king, chiefs and people on the same level, [asserting] that such equality did not in reality exist" (Osorio 1996, 229).

In 1867, Kauwahi, Napela, and another Mormon, William Uaua, with others, formed the 'Ahahui Lā'au Lapa'au to investigate the viability of reviving traditional medicine in order to provide care to Kānaka Maoli, who had suffered great losses of life in the smallpox and other epidemics of the 1860s. Lā'au lapa'au was against the law, but these men proceeded in spite of the risk of punishment. According to L. Aholo's report to the 'Ahahui,

Ina paha kakou e manao ana e hapai i ka Oihana lapaau, he kue no ia ke loa ole ka apono ana a ka Papa Ola, o kona mau Luna paha, aka, he hana maikai nae ia, malia paha, e hoola ia no kekahi poe, a e lilo hoi i mea e pono ai ke ola o ka lehulehu, aka ua kue nae i ke kanawai ... [O] ka poe e olelo ana ua kue ia hana, a me na hana like e ae oia ano i ke kanawai, alaila, o lakou ka poe makemake e holo i koke aku i ka lahui Hawaii mai

ko lakou aina aku, a he mau enemi maopopo lakou no keia lahui kanaka.
(Chun 1994, xxiii)

If we are considering taking up traditional medicine, it is against [the law] without permission from the Board of Health or its officials, however, it is a good thing to do, perhaps it will save some lives, and will become something that will benefit the health of the public, but, nevertheless, against the law.... The people saying that this and other similar work is against the law, they are the people who wish to immediately erase the Hawaiian people from their lands, and they are recognized enemies of our people.²

The efforts of the 'Ahahui Lā'au Lapa'au led to changes in the law that allowed for examination and licensing of kāhuna lā'au lapa'au in 1868 (Chun 1994, viii-ix). Kauwahi himself died at the young age of 46 of tuberculosis (*Ke Au Okoa* 1870, Mar. 3).

The 'Ahahui Ho'opuka Nūpepa Kūikawā o Honolulu (The Special Newspaper Publishing Association of Honolulu)

Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika was formed by an organization of Kānaka Maoli in response to a lack they perceived in the available Hawaiian language newspapers. Besides Kauwahi and Mills, members included David Kalākaua, author S. N. Hale'ole, famous for writing the fabulous Hawaiian romance *Lā'ieikawai*, and lesser-known authors Kawaili'ulā and J. H. Kānepu'u. Kānepu'u was responsible for documenting the rise of the association and formation of the paper. According to a three-part account written by him, the Kanaka Maoli desired a paper in their own language that was neither government nor mission controlled (*Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* 1861, Nov. 14, Nov. 21, and Nov. 28).

²All translations are mine unless noted otherwise.

Kānepu‘u wrote that Henry Whitney in 1856 had started such a paper called the *Hoku Loa o Hawaii*, which actually consisted of just a single page in a four-page English language newspaper, the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (Mookini 1974, 15; Chapin 1996, 56). Kānepu‘u complained that the subscription price for readers of both languages was the same, \$6 per year, even though the English readers got three-fourths of “na olelo oloko, ono ke moni aku,” ‘the language inside, that was delicious to swallow.’ After a time, Whitney suspended the paper; when he resumed it, the Hawaiian-language page was gone.

Then, in 1859, the mission started a paper called *Ka Hoku Loa* (The Distant Star), which should not be confused with the aforementioned *Hoku Loa o Hawaii* (see figure 1). The editor was Henry Parker, son of missionaries and pastor of Kawaiaha‘o Church. *Ka Hoku Loa* was published only monthly. Kānepu‘u and others petitioned Parker to publish it weekly, but Parker left to accept a teaching post at Lahainaluna seminary before any such change could take place.

Name	Type	Language	Editor	Dates
<i>Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika</i>	Resistance	Hawaiian	J. W. H. Kauwahi David Kalākaua	Sep. 1861-May 1863
<i>Nupepa Kuokoa</i>	Establishment	Hawaiian	Henry Whitney	Oct 1861-Dec. 1927
<i>Hoku Loa o Hawaii</i>	Establishment	Hawaiian	Henry Whitney	July-Sep. 1856
<i>Ka Hoku Loa</i>	Calvinist mission	Hawaiian	Henry Parker	Jul. 1859-Dec. 1864
<i>Ka Hae Hawaii</i>	Government	Hawaiian	R. Armstrong J. Fuller	Mar. 1856-Dec. 1861
<i>Polynesian</i>	Government	English	A. Fornander	1840-1841;1844-1864
(<i>Pacific Commercial Advertiser</i>)	Establishment	English	Henry Whitney	1856-the present

Figure 1: Hawaiian Newspapers 1856-1861

Classification generally follows Chapin 1984 and 1996, except I have substituted the category “resistance” for her “opposition.” “Establishment” means the paper represents “dominant and prevailing interests” (Chapin 1984, 47). Dates are from Chapin 1984 and 1996, and Mookini 1974.

The following year, *Ka Hae Hawaii*, under the editorship of J. Fuller, considered increasing its size to include foreign and island news, mele, legends, and letters. However, the proposed size increases were never implemented.

It was after the two above failures that Kānepu‘u proposed to G. W. Mila that they establish a new paper altogether,

e pili ole i ka aoao hookahi wale no, aka i nupepa e pili ana i na aoao a pau. Aoao Kalavina, Katolika, Moremona, poe makemake i na kaao, poe makemake i na mele maikai, poe makemake i na Nuhou o na aina e, a pela aku. (*Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* 1861, Nov. 28)

not affiliated with one denomination, but a newspaper concerning all the denominations. Calvinist, Catholic, Mormon, people who want stories, people who want good songs and poetry, people who want news from abroad and so forth.

Out of that proposal, the special newspaper publishing association was born, the ‘Ahahui Ho‘opuka Nūpepa Kūikawā o Honolulu. It consisted of 22 members at first, and then grew.

It is important to note here that in addition to traditional Hawaiian orature (at this time and through this medium transforming into literature), Kānaka Maoli were asking for “news from abroad,” which they felt was being withheld by the policies of both the government and church newspapers. This is a primary lack that the association wished to address in *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*.

Charges of obscenity

The pilot issue of *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* contained a mele ‘song; poem’ in the Hawaiian language called “He mele aloha no ka naauao,” ‘A song of affection for education/civilization.’ Two weeks later, the government

newspaper, the organ of the Department of Public Instruction, called *Ka Hae Hawaii*, 'The Hawaiian Flag,' printed a letter in which the author wrote:

malaila ua heluhelu au i na olelo pelapela, lapuwale, he mea hoohaumia i ka naau o ke kanaka. Hilahila wale kekahi mau olelo i hoolahaia ma ia pepa, he mau olelo i paa i na manao wela o ke kuko, e hoao ana i na kuko ino a pau o ke kanaka. (reprinted in *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* 1861, 26 Sep.)

there I read obscene, worthless words, something to contaminate/defile the minds of people. Some of the words published in that paper were very shameful, they were words held in the burning thoughts of desire, tempting all the evil desires of people.

The author of the letter, pen-named Puni Ma'ema'e, 'Chastity/Purity Lover,'³ went on to worry that this newspaper would continue to publish such "mele pelapela, haumia i haku ia e kanaka moekolohe no ko [sic] lakou mau wahine hookamakama!" 'obscene, indecent songs composed by adulterers for their prostitutes!' Puni Ma'ema'e charged that such obscenity would lead to the death of the Hawaiian youth, and, further, that a newspaper has mana 'power; authority':

He mana nui kona no ka pono, ka malamalama, ame ke ola o keia lahui; a i ole ia, he mana kona no ka ino, ka pouli, a me ka make o ka lahui Hawaii.

It has great power for righteousness, enlightenment, and the life of this lahui 'nation; people'; or it has power for evil, darkness, and the death of the Hawaiian lahui.

Therefore, he protested against the publication of this paper, "ma ka inoa o keia lahui nawaliwali e hooikaika nei e lanakila ma luna o ko lakou mau kuko ino," 'in the name of this weak people struggling to win over their evil desires.' He

³"Ma'ema'e" means cleanliness, purity, or chastity, and is associated with the puritan missionaries.

compared the mele to a tomb, which may be polished, bright and shiny, but still contains death. ⁴

This letter was reprinted in the first numbered issue of *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, along with a reply signed Puni Nūpepa, 'Newspaper Lover.' Puni Nūpepa wrote that the mele does not contain evil, adulterous, or obscene words that would kill the Hawaiian people :

Owau no kekahi i ike, he mele kahiko keia i hakuia no ka naauao, e ke kumu a me na haumana, a ua hana ia no hoi keia ma na la hoike, i ko makou wa e noho haumana ana na J. W. Kaiwi, e noho mai la i ke kai anuanu o Fatuhiva ... Wahi a Punimaemae, ua hanaia ia mele no ke ano hookamakama wale no ... he aha hoi o J.W. Kaiwi, ka mea nana i ao mai, a nana no ka hapanui o na olelo iloko oia mele? (*Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* 1861, 26 Sep.)

I am one who knows, this is an old song composed for education/civilization, by a teacher and students, and it was done for the examination days, when we were students of J. W. Kaiwi who is living in the cold seas of Fatuhiva ... According to Purity/Chastity Lover, this song was made only for prostitution ... what then is J. W. Kaiwi, the one who taught, and the one who composed most of the words of this song?

J. W. Kaiwi was a Kanaka Maoli convert to Christianity who served as a missionary to the Marquesas Islands (the Fatuhiva mentioned is an island of the Marquesas group). Puni Nūpepa then argued that no newspaper is perfect, and even the Bible is not free of the word "adultery." He then challenged Puni Ma'ema'e further:

Ina he haole oe e Punimaemae, e hoohalike kaua i ka hale kupapau, aole nae a'u i ike he hale kupapau ulaula kekahi, ko'u ike he hale kupapau keokeo.

If you are haole (European or white American), let us compare our tombs, I have never seen a brown tomb, what I have seen is a white tomb.⁴

⁴"Ula'ula" is usually translated as 'red,' however, it is the word used to describe the skin color of Kanaka Maoli, so I am translating it here as 'brown.'

Puni Nūpepa thus dared Puni Ma'ema'e to reveal himself as haole, and implied that if death were resulting from anyone's actions, it was from the haole, not from the Kanaka. Puni Nūpepa objected as well to the characterization "lahui nawaliwali" 'a weak people,' by recalling the bloody battles of Kamehameha I, clearly implying that a Kanaka would not make such a characterization. On the same page is an editorial comment asserting that Puni Ma'ema'e is indeed haole, and asking him or anyone to show specifically what language was supposed to be obscene.

The Kānaka Maoli knew that Puni Ma'ema'e was haole because of the way he reacted to the mele. Puni Ma'ema'e knew enough Hawaiian to write a letter, and he knew enough about Hawaiian songs to know that they are replete with metaphor and figurative language. He knew, then, that the mele in question had to have some metaphor in it, but he was unable to understand what it meant. Because of that inability, he was excluded from the communications going on between the Kānaka Maoli in the publication of the mele, and it enraged him. This use of metaphorical language in mele and also in mo'olelo 'history; legend' allowed the Kānaka Maoli to communicate while escaping the surveillance of the missionaries, in ways that have parallels to the African slaves in the U. S. (Levine 1977, 11). The reaction from the missionary quarter was to attempt to silence those communications.

The editors of *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* confronted these missionary "speech police." On November 7, a long editorial charged that when similar mele were published in *Ka Hae Hawaii*, they were not considered shameful or obscene, and the author gives an example. He goes on to say,

Aole nae paha hoi e hihi, o kau mea no i lealea ai, i ka puka ana nae paha mai ka Ilikeokeo ae, a i na no paha na ka iliulaula, olelo no oe, paa iho la ka waha. (*Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* 1861, 7 Nov.)

Perhaps you do not wish to get into an argument about this: that the thing that you enjoy when it is published from the Whiteskin, but if [the same thing] were published by a brownskin, you would say, the mouth should stay shut.⁵

This author was obviously asserting that the issue was not one of obscenity after all, but that the charge of obscenity was being made in order to silence the Kānaka Maoli.

Some Kānaka responded in provocative ways, like this letter that begins in strikingly sexual language, as if to anger Puni Ma'ema'e further:

E ka Hoku o ka Pakipika. —Aloha oe:
E ae mai oe ia'u e hooipo aku me oe, "kuu aikane punana a ke onaona," no keia wahi kumu manao i manao ai au e hoike akea aku i kekahi mea i hana ia ma ke Kulanakauhale Alii. (*Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* 1861, 26 Sep.)

To the Star of the Pacific. —Greetings:
Allow me to make love with you, "my friend, nest of fragrance," concerning a topic that I thought to make public about something that has happened in the Royal City.

It is important to remember that to the puritan missionary sensibility, any non-clinical or non-legal mention of sex in print might be considered obscene and taboo, and sure to provoke repressive action. Such descriptive language, however, is *de riguer* in Hawaiian, and thus not considered obscene. Sex itself was not shameful; it was openly discussed and even taught to children by grandparents, until well into the twentieth century (Pukui et al. 1972, 75-104). Here the seemingly explicit sexual language is a metaphor for something else: the communication of the letter writer's thoughts to the newspaper. Two

⁵The inconsistency in the capitalization of "Ilikeokeo" 'Whiteskin' and "iliulaula" 'brownskin' is in the original, and telling. It is consistent with capitalization practice in the English press, which capitalizes "Caucasian," but not "native."

different world views are thus operating here, so that even though Kānaka Maoli accept and accommodate the puritan demands to varying degrees, some writers seem to be pushing at the boundaries by using this kind of language that is not at all vulgar in Hawaiian, but sure to be contested by the missionaries.

The haole desire for control

The above invitation to love is actually simply an introduction to a letter by J. H. Kānepu'u that described briefly how the paper came to be published. According to this letter, a certain haole man, namely Henry Whitney, wanted to control the publication of the paper. Kānepu'u mā 'et al.' had arranged to rent the government printing press for their new paper, when Henry Whitney bid for a contract to rent them his press. Because Whitney's quoted charges kept rising, Mila, Kānepu'u, and most of the original members voted to remain with the government press. Another letter writer confirmed that the problem was that Henry Whitney wanted to control the paper, rather than just print it:

E noi mai ana e hookuu aku ka Ahahui, ia ia na lilo a pau a me ke poho a me ka puka, a nana pono ka Nupepa, a e lilo ka Ahahui i mea ole ... oia na ano nui oia palapala hoike a H. M. Wini. (*Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* 1861, 26 Sep.)

[His bid] was asking that the [Newspaper] Association dissolve, that the expenses, the losses and the profits, and the Newspaper itself would be his [Whitney's] own, and the Association would become naught ... those were the major points of Whitney's bid.

This was unacceptable to the majority of the Association because it would mean loss of Kanaka Maoli control of the content of the paper. The author of the letter, J. W. Kalaiolele, wrote that the organization then split and "*ke halawai nei ka aoao hina wale aku ma ka aoao o Wini ... A o ka poe i koe; ke kupaa mau nei lakou me ka luliluli ole a hiki i ke ko ana*" 'the side that fell so readily to Whitney's side is

meeting ... and the people remaining; they are persisting with unshakable resolve until [the newspaper project] is fulfilled' [emphasis in the original] (*Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* 1861, 26 Sep.). In other words, some members of the association decided to follow Whitney, who then established *Nupepa Kuokoa* as a rival to *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* under Whitney's ownership and editorial control, while the others remained faithful to their cause.

Another account by J. W. Kalaiolele called "Mokuahana o ka Ahahui Hoopuka Nupepa ku i ka wa o Honolulu," 'Split of the Special Newspaper Association of Honolulu,' elaborates on his letter, and adds an additional charge that the Kānaka Maoli wanted to establish the newspaper for the good of the Kanaka people, whereas Henry Whitney was motivated by a desire for profit (*Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* 1861, 26 Sep.).

The issue was sometimes framed as missionary desire to control the paper, which is related both to the charges of obscenity and to Whitney's desire to control the content of the paper. An unsigned editorial in the September 26 issue of *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* begins:

I ke kui ana aku o ka lono e pai ana kekahi Nupepa *ku i ka wa* ma ka olelo maoli—i Nupepa i kokua ole ia e ke Aupuni, aole hoi ma ka aoao hookahi kana hana—i Nupepa hoi kahi e hiki ai ke kamakamailio no na mea e pili ana i ke Aupuni, na aoao hoomana, ka mahiai ana, a me ka noho ana o kanaka, a kahi hoi i hiki ai i na kanaka maoli ke hoike pono aku i ko lakou mau manao ... ua hoeuia ka manao kue o kekahi, a ke [w]alo aku nei mawaena o keia mau Mokupuni ka pihe o ka uwa kumu ole o ka poe nana i kukulu i keia manao kue. ... Ua nui na hana ino i hanaia i mea e pino ai keia Nupepa iloko o kona wa opiopio; o kekahi poe e ku ana ma na kuahu halepule, ua kapa mai lakou i keia Nupepa he "puahiohio," nana e make nui ai i keia lahui.

When the news went out that a *special* [emphasis in original] Newspaper would be published in the native language—a Newspaper not sponsored by the government, nor by any denomination—and a Newspaper where people could discuss the Government, the churches, farming, and people's

lives, and a place where Kanaka Maoli could adequately express their opinions ... opposition to this was stirred up, and the shouts of the people forming this baseless opposition are resounding all around the Islands. Many bad things have been done to harm this Newspaper in its young days; some people standing at the church pulpits have called this Newspaper a whirlwind [of worthless talk] / something to misinform people/sway people off the right path, one to bring mass death to this nation/people.⁶

The reference to “mass death to this nation/people” is not to be taken literally, but is part of the evangelist Christian discourse that says that puritanical morality guarantees everlasting life, and that swerving off that path means death. We can begin to see here that Puni Ma’ema’e was not alone in his opinions, but was part of the larger church community. This account charged that there was a group of people determined to put the newspaper down, and that some of them were ministers of certain churches. The editorial goes on to say that, “Ua oleloia hoi, ua lilo ka hoole ana o keia Nupepa i kekahi rula o ka ekalesia” ‘It has been said that refusal of this Newspaper has become a rule of the church.’ The editorial then asked a series of questions:

No ke aha la hoi i kua mai ai keia poe i ko kakou pono, e na kanaka Hawaii? No ke aha i hoolilo ia ai na kuahu o na halepule i kahi e hoakea ai i ka Nupepa a Wini (he haole) e pai ia ana? Kainoa ua kukulu ia na halepule no ka hoomana ana i ke Akua, aole o ka hoolaha ana o na mea kuai o keia ao nei. No ke aha la i makemake ai keia poe e waiho ke kukui o ka malamalama malalo o ke poi? (*Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* 1861, 26 Sep.)

Why have these people opposed what is to our benefit, Hawaiian people? Why have the altars of the churches become a place to publicize Whitney’s (a haole) Newspaper that is being published? We thought the churches were built to worship God, not to advertise the sale goods of this world. Why do these people wish the lamp of enlightenment to remain under a cover?⁷

⁶The phrase “he ‘puahiohio,’ nana e make nui ai i keia lahui” seems to be either ungrammatical or to contain a typographical error (the “i” before keia). The translation, therefore, is a bit rough.

⁷The grammatical structure in this and the previous quote for “lilo” as ‘become’ is unusual, but the meaning ‘become’ is the only one that seems to fit.

The answer to the last question came swiftly: "Ua hopohopo paha ko lakou manao e loaa auanei ia kakou ka noonoo ano okoa i ko lakou mea i oleloia mai" 'Perhaps they are worried that we will acquire thinking which differs from what [we] have been told by them.'

In another editorial called "Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika," Whitney was said to have been interested in *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* only until the September 7 issue was out. The paper was immediately decried by the Calvinist missionary community as both a Catholic newspaper, and a paper that would cause misfortune or evil to the Hawaiian people.

Oia no ke kumu nui o ko Wini hooikaika loa ana, me he mea la ua kokua kekahi mau hoahanau haole ia ia me ka paipai e kukulu i pepa, i lilo ka mana hoopuka Nupepa no lakou. Ua akaka lea ko lakou hoino i keia Nupepa a me na kanaka Hawaii, makemake no lakou e puka ko lakou mau manao, a e hoopio i ka Ohana Hawaii. (*Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* 1861, 26 Sep.)

That is the main reason that Whitney worked so hard, it is as if some haole church members assisted him by encouraging him to start another paper, so that the publishing power would accrue to them. Their maligning of this Newspaper and the Hawaiian people is perfectly clear, they wish their opinions to be published, and they wish to extinguish the Hawaiian Family [i.e., the newspaper association].

In other words, when it became clear that the haole missionary community was condemning the paper, Whitney withdrew his offer, and instead founded *Nupepa Kuokoa*, which would be under his editorial control. Shortly thereafter, a convention of the Calvinist ministers (the Hawaiian Evangelical Association) was held at Hau'ula on O'ahu. At this convention, "olelo no lakou i na hoahanau e lawe nui i ka pepa o Wini, a e kiola i *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*" 'They indeed told the church members to take Whitney's paper, and to throw away *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*.' According to this editorial, people became afraid to take *Ka Hoku o ka*

Pakipika lest they be kicked out of the church or lose their jobs as teachers (*Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* 1861, 26 Sep.).

The editorial went on to say that the objection the haole Calvinist community had was that Kānaka Maoli were the ones in control of the content of *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*:

mai na Nupepa mua i hookumu ia i keia aupuni, a hiki mai nei i ka *Hae Hawaii*, na na haole wale no i kukulu, a o *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, ke kahea aku nei au, na na kanaka Hawaii keia hana. (*Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* 1861, 26 Sep.)

from the first Newspapers established in this nation, up until the *Hae Hawaii*, it has been only haole who have established them, but as for *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, I am calling out, this one belongs to the Hawaiians.

An editorial on October 3 identified the problem as paternalism on the part of the missionaries, asserting that perhaps they were attempting to relegate the Kanaka Maoli to an infantile status:

He kanaha makahiki i hala mai ka hoomaka ana mai o keia lahuikanaka e aoia, a e ike i ka palapala a me na mea naauao o keia noho ana, mamuli o ke ao ana a na misionari Amerika; ... ua kanaka makua na keiki ... nolaila ke kukulu ana ... i Nupepa no lakou iho ... ua pau ka noho ana malalo o na makua oia na Kumu, a ua oo hoi, ua paa ka manao e hoonaauao i na makamaka. Aka ke keakea mai nei na makua, me he mea la e olelo ana, aole oukou i hiki i na makahiki e oo ai, na makou ia hana, a ma ia ano, ke hoohuli ia nei i kekahi mau keiki [sic]. (*Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* 1861, 3 Oct.)

Forty years have passed since this people began to be taught to know reading and writing, and the civilized things of this life, under the instruction of the American missionaries; ... [Now] the children have become adults ... therefore the establishment of their own Newspaper ... living under parents, that is the Teachers [missionaries], is over, we have matured, our minds our made up to educate our peers. However, the parents are opposing us, as if saying, you have not reached the years of maturity, it is we who will do this work, and in this way, we are converting some more children.

It would, therefore, be much more to the liking of the missionary community that Whitney control any new so-called independent newspaper, especially since

Whitney was one of their own; he was the son of missionaries of the "Pioneer Company" (the first company of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions) (Hawaiian Mission Children's Society 1969, 199).

In the October 3rd issue (the second numbered issue, and the first issue after the appearance of *Nupepa Kuokoa*), "W. K." wrote a letter charging that missionaries were threatening people with expulsion from the church. He quoted a letter from a delivery agent:

Ua lawe mai au i na kope o ka Hoku o ka Pakipika, ua nui ka poe makemake e lawe ia ia; aka, eia ka hewa, o ke keakeaia e na Kumu a kakou (na misionari,) pela ko lakou manao. Ina he hoahanau (hoahanau ekalesia), e lawe i ua Nupepa la, e hookaawale ia ia, (kipaku mawaho o ka ekalesia). ... aka, o ka manao, aole pau ka makemake i ka Nupepa hou ... No laila, aole i loa ia'u na inoa e lawe i ka Hoku o ka Pakipika. (*Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* 1861, 3 Oct.)

I took the copies of the *Hoku o ka Pakipika*, many people wanted to subscribe, but here is the wrong, it is the opposition by our Teachers (the missionaries), that is what they think. If one is a church member and were to take the paper, they would be separated (kicked out of the church). ... but, the opinion is that they have not stopped wanting the new Newspaper. ... So, I have not obtained the names of subscribers to the *Hoku o ka Pakipika*.

Then in the October 17 issue, a letter from another delivery agent made this charge:

Ke hoiike aku nei au i ka mea hou i puka mai ia'u, mai kuu Makua o ka olelo hoopomaikai, oia o Mr. Rev. W. P. Alexander. Penei:

"O ka Hoku o ka Pakipika, no ka aoao lealea ia, no ka Diabolo la, e imi oe e kinai ia pepa."

Pela mai nei kela ia'u, ma kona Leter [*sic*]. ...

Ua kauoha ia mai nei au e hooikaika e paipai i na kanaka i ka lawe i ka "Nupepa Kuokoa." (*Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* 1861, 17 Oct.)

I hereby show to you what has come to me from my father of the blessed Word, Mr. Rev. W. P. Alexander, viz.:

"The *Star of the Pacific*, it is on the side of pleasure; it is for the Devil; seek you to destroy this paper."

So he said to me in his letter.

I have been commanded to exert myself in urging the people to take the *Nupepa Kuokoa*. (Translation from *The Polynesian* 1861, 19 Oct.)

The Polynesian went on to report that "the Rev. Pastor at Koolaupoko had been catechising and exhorting some of his church members not to take the new native journal, alleging that it was a wicked and bad paper." According to this editorial, nearly all the ministers joined in the condemnation: "We have only heard of two names who have not lent themselves to this unprovoked persecution of a native enterprise" (*The Polynesian* 1861, Oct. 19).

The *Polynesian* was edited by Abraham Fornander, who at this same time, took over the government press in a lease agreement, thereby freeing his own paper from government control. Fornander's editorial of November 23 also presents the controversy as Kānaka Maoli desiring control over their own paper versus the missionary desire to have it controlled by a haole. Here are some excerpts from his editorial:

the greatest opposition ... comes from the Protestant Missionaries, who ... use every endeavor to crush the *Hoku* and stop its circulation ... The editors of the *Hoku* are defending themselves valiantly, and the contest has led to some very plain talking as regards the limits of clerical interference with the political and economical relations of the people. ... the spirit of the conflict seems to be one of mental emancipation ... Every journal hitherto issued in the Hawaiian language has been published by the Missionaries ... and native intelligence and native thought, if admitted to their columns, have been subjected to their scrutiny and elimination. The time has come when the foremost and most talented of the people think that they can edit a journal for themselves without the supervision of the schoolmaster ... The truth is, that there is a mental revolution going on among the native population, which the Missionaries are equally incompetent to comprehend, to master or to avert.

Of Whitney's decision to publish a similar paper, the *Nupepa Kuokoa*, after the start of the controversy, Fornander wrote,

It is true that a foreign publisher ... has offered to issue a journal in the Hawaiian language to supply the intellectual want of the native people,

and that his offer has been most warmly seconded and espoused by the Missionaries, but ... the natives repudiate it ... because it is calculated to drive their own paper out of the field, and because they apprehend that it will not be a true reflex of their own opinions and thoughts. (*Polynesian* 1861, 23 Nov.)

Fornander's views echo many editorials in *Ka Hoku* itself, in which it is proclaimed that the newspaper is the place for Kānaka Maoli to express their true opinions, free of church censorship. Here is an example from the first numbered issue:

No na makahiki he kanaha i hala ae nei, aole o kakou he nupepa nui a kulike hoi me ka makemake o ka lahui Hawaii kahi i hiki ai ia kakou ke hookomo i ko kakou mau manao pono, nolaila, aole i loheia na mea akamai ame na mea lealea, a ko kakou manao i hookupu ai, ua waiho keia mau mea ma ka papa, me ka manao ole ua loa ia kakou kekahi wahi naauao iki, a ua nele loa kakou i ka nupepa ole e hoihoi ai, a ua hoka loa ka makemake o ka poe maa i na manao maikai no kahi ole e hiki ai ia lakou ke hoolaha ae i na manao o lakou. (*Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* 1861, 26 Sep.)

For the past forty years, we have not had a large newspaper as was the desire of the Hawaiian people, a place that we could express our own opinions/ thoughts, therefore, the intelligent things and entertaining things that our minds would give rise to were never heard, these things were left on a shelf (papa), with no idea that we could have had any knowledge/education/civilized opinions at all, and we were thus deprived of any interesting newspaper, and so the people who are accustomed to having good ideas were frustrated by the lack of a place in which to broadcast their ideas.

A letter titled "Ke Kukulu ana o ka Lahui o Hawaii, i Nupepa Kuokoa" 'The Founding of an Independent Newspaper by the People of Hawai'i,' also says that the paper was to be "i wahi e hiki ai ia lakou [ka lahui Hawaii] ke hoopuka i ko lakou manao iho ... Oia no ke kumu o ka hoomaka ana a makou e kukulu i Nupepa Kuokoa" 'a place where they [the Hawaiian people] could publish their own opinions. That was indeed the reason that we established an Independent Newspaper' (*Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* 1861, 26 Sep.).

Fornander was at this time corresponding with King Alexander Liholiho, apprising the King of all of these events. In a letter dated September 17, 1861, Fornander wrote:

I understand that the missionaries are moving strongly to obtain the management of the new native paper, the "Hoku Pakifika" or prevent its success. Whitney is going to issue an opposition whether or not. L. Smith preached against it Saturday last and told his people that Whitneys [sic] paper was the proper thing to support.

Emerson has been trying the same dodge at Waialua. Under these circumstances the original Ahahui ... are determined to checkmate the missionaries and commence the issuing of the "Hoku Pakifika" forthwith (Fornander 1861)

The confidential friendly tone of the letter suggests that the King was also in sympathy with *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*.

We can see here that there was not a simple divide in which all haole were opposed to *Ka Hoku*, and all Kānaka Maoli were for it. *Ka Hoku*, in fact, selected a haole editor (G. W. Mills) as someone to translate articles from English for the paper, but it was understood that "e hana ana nae ua haole nei, mamuli o ka mea i ae ia aku e ka Ahahui kanaka Hawaii" 'this aforementioned haole would do what was agreed to by the organization of Hawaiians' (*Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* 1861, 26 Sep.). In other words, though Mills was an editor, general editorial and publishing control was in the hands of the Kanaka Maoli association, and the Luna Nui was, as mentioned previously, Kanaka Maoli J. W. H. Kauwahi. Furthermore, "Ua kokua nui no na haole i keia Nupepa, ua haneri a oi ae ko lakou nui, no ko lakou aloha i neia hana a kanaka Hawaii" 'Many haole have assisted this Newspaper, there are a hundred or more of them, because of their love or kind feelings for this project of the Hawaiians' (*Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* 1861, 26 Sep.). Abraham Fornander surely was one of them. Just as sure is that one of

the major issues for *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* was supporting a positive Kanaka Maoli identity.

The issue is Kanaka Maoli identity

In a series of editorials and letters in *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, the struggle was cast as defense of Hawaiianness and assertion of positive Kanaka Maoli identity against the foreign missionary onslaught. The first example comes from the September 26 editorial:

Nolaila, e na kanaka Hawaii, i makemake anei oukou e ike i ka olelo maoli ma kona ano nani a me ka pololei, e apono mai oukou i ka nupepa a

NA KANAKA HAWAII!

Therefore, Hawaiian people, if you wish to see the traditional/true/indigenous language in its beautiful and correct forms, you should approve of the newspaper of

THE HAWAIIANS!

In this rather short editorial (less than one column of one page), seven terms were used to denote Hawaiianness: “keiki papa” ‘natives of one place for several generations,’ (once); “kanaka Hawai’i” ‘Hawaiian person(s),’ (seven times); “lāhui Hawai’i” ‘Hawaiian people or nation,’ (once); “po’e Hawai’i” ‘Hawaiian people,’ (once); “kēia lāhui”, ‘this nation or people,’ (twice); “keiki maoli” ‘native or indigenous child,’ (once); and “kanaka maoli” ‘indigenous or native person,’ (once). We also see here the first instance of a variation of the ‘ōlelo no’eau ‘proverbial saying’ “e ike ia kakou e hookanaka,” ‘let us recognize each other as Hawaiians’ (or ‘be Hawaiian’), which subsequently recurs in many of the following issues in both letters and editorials. This was a call for solidarity with other Kānaka Maoli against the perceived oppression coming from the haole missionary establishment.

This next example from an editorial entitled "Olelo Paipai"

'Encouragement' is striking in its emphasis on Kanaka Maoli identity:

E na makamaka huina Hawaii, i hanauia i loko o ka lahui Hawaii nei, e na kupuna hookahi, a kino Hawaii, a ili Hawaii, a olelo Hawaii, a helehelena Hawaii, a keiki papa Hawaii, a kupa Hawaii, a ano Hawaii, na 'lii, na makaa'inana, na makua, na keiki, na ohana, na poe kieke me ka poe haahaa. (*Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* 1861, 3 Oct.)

To our group of Hawaiian friends, who were born inside the Hawaiian people/nation, from a single ancestor, Hawaiian in body, Hawaiian in skin, Hawaiian in speech and Hawaiian in features, Hawaiian natives of one place for many generations, [other] native Hawaiians, and those who are Hawaiian in character, the ali'i, the maka'āinana, parents, children, family, the distinguished and the humble.

The editorial went on to say that the *Hoku o ka Pakipika* itself is just as strongly, even physically, identified as Hawaiian:

i kona hanau ana mai he maka kanaka Hawaii, he poe kanaka Hawaii, he kino kanaka Hawaii, he wawae kanaka Hawaii. (*Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* 1861, 3 Oct.)

when it was born, it was the face of a Hawaiian, it was Hawaiian people, it was a Hawaiian body, with Hawaiian feet/legs.

Another letter on September 26 says *Ka Hoku* is "he Nupepa kanaka Hawaii holo okoa no ia, mai luna a lalo, mai waho a loko" 'it is a Hawaiian person's Newspaper in its entirety, from top to bottom, from outside to inside.'

In sum, the opposition to *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* came from the haole community, and was expressed first as pious concern that the Kanaka population should not be exposed to their own literary forms, which were inherently evil and contaminating. Second, the haole community wished to control the content of the paper, perhaps out of a desire to exercise power over the Kanaka population, or in Whitney's case, an additional desire to tap into a market he had not previously realized was available for profit-making. *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*

itself asserted that it was formed for a variety of reasons. First, the Kanaka Maoli wished to have a newspaper in which they could express their own opinions free of censorship by the government or the restrictive Calvinist church (Hawaiian Evangelical Association). Second, the Kanaka Maoli expressed desires for specific content that was lacking in the available newspapers: classical Hawaiian mo'olelo, mele, and foreign news. Finally, the Kanaka Maoli wished for a newspaper identified as Kanaka Maoli, reflective of themselves in language and world view.

The content of *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*

Kanaka Maoli identity was presented and promoted in *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* as valuable and positive most evidently in the non-editorial and non-news content of the paper, which includes mo'olelo, mele, and informational columns sent in by readers about traditional customs and religion. In this section, we will look at several mo'olelo that reflect pre-European-contact life, one of the informational columns, and mele. We will pay particular attention to the gender roles and sexual behavior described in the mo'olelo that would have been sources of inspiration to the Kanaka Maoli, while serving as an impetus for repressive action by the missionary establishment.

On the front page of the September 26 issue was the first installment of the "Moolelo no Kawelo" 'Story of Kawelo,' a tale from the ancient oral tradition that includes chants and prayers to the old gods. Kawelo is a supernatural youth raised in a family of ali'i 'aimoku 'ruling chiefs.' The important tension in the story surrounds who of several cousins in the family will grow up to "ku i ka moku," literally, 'stand upon the island,' i.e., who will become the single ruling chief of the island of Kaua'i. Unlike Western stories, we are told in the first two

paragraphs that it will be Kaweloleimakua (Kawelo). Tension still builds in the story as Kawelo must develop skills and strategies to win over his physically larger cousins and uncles who might also have a clearer genealogical right to rule. The boy is favored from birth; his grandparents choose him to hānai 'raise.' Kawelo has many adventures. As a youth he travels to O'ahu with his grandparents and learns farming there, while his older cousins learn "mokomoko" 'boxing or wrestling.' He takes a sweetheart there, and begins to train in hula. But while "he wahi waiwai iki no nae, aole nae e ku i ka moku," 'there is some value in it, it would not make him the ruler.' He then goes to learn "ke kaua" 'battle.' His girlfriend, Kanewahineikiaoha⁸, and her father go with him to learn as well. After he masters "ke kaua," he decides to learn fishing, which leads to his adventure with Uhumāka'ika'i, a supernatural fish who drags Kawelo and his fishing teacher to Kaua'i and back. .

It is through prayer to the native gods that Kawelo ultimately kills the fish. It is also through pule 'prayer,' combined with training in his various disciplines, that Kawelo gains mana 'power; authority,' so that, later in the story, when one of his uncles, Aikanaka ('Aikanaka?) dispossesses Kawelo's parents of their land, Kawelo is ready to do battle and win. The power of prayer to the ancient gods is an important recurring theme in this and the other mo'olelo. When messengers are sent by Kawelo's distressed parents, for example, those messengers are delayed and troubled throughout their journey because they failed to pray before eating. Before proceeding to Kaua'i to make war on Aikanaka, Kawelo stops to build a heiau, then "hoouluulu iho la o Kawelo i na akua ona, o Kaneikapualena a me Kulaniehu," "Kawelo appealed to his gods"

⁸Names (as well as pronouns) in Hawaiian are not gendered, but this goes further, in that it is a purposely gender confounding name. I cannot translate the whole of it with any certainty, but the beginning "Kanewahine" means something like "female man" or "feminine man."

(translation from Pukui and Elbert 1986, 370), who are forms of the major gods, Kāne and Kū. He appeals in the form of a paha, a prayer composed for the occasion.

Kawelo's wahine 'wife; girlfriend' plays a crucial role as a messenger in the war preparations, and accompanies him to Kaua'i, as well. In the descriptions of the battle forces amassed, women and children are said to have participated: "o na koa ... elua lau kanaka, aole nae i helu ia na wahine a me na keiki" 'as for the soldiers ... there were eight hundred of them, but women and children were not counted.' In this story, women are reported to travel alone, learn the arts of war and participate in war. These are reported as unremarkable small details of the story, not as unusual events.

The next story is "He wahi kaa no Mokulehua," the tale of another special boy of ali'i ancestry, whose genealogy starts with the cosmological pair, Wākea (the sky father) and Papanuihānaumoku 'Great Papa Who Gives Birth to Islands' (*Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* 1861, 28 Nov., 5 Dec., 12 Dec.). Mokulehua is raised "makua ole" 'without parents' by several young kahu 'guardians.' As is typical in stories of this type, Mokulehua grows up to be handsome. His kahu select one among themselves to go and search for a mate for him, without consulting his parents or grandparents. By magical means, the kahu, Kualanakila (Kūalanakila?) travels to islands west of the known Hawaiian chain, past Ni'ihau, to legendary places such as Kuaihelani. He arrives at an island called Kamohalii [sic] where he finds a beautiful young woman named Pueo. Pueo agrees to become Mokulehua's wahine, but cannot travel immediately because of an illness being treated by a kahuna lapa'au 'medical priest or practitioner; healer.' Details of her treatment are given in the story. Kualanakila leaves her a canoe and instructions on how to find Mokulehua through magic,

but forgets to inform her of the protective kapu 'prohibitions' surrounding the area where Mokulehua lives. Pueo travels to O'ahu and ascends to the ridge called Mau'umae where Mokulehua lives, transgressing the kapu. She and her companions are arrested and taken to the court of the ali'i, Kapaai (Kapā'ai?) who is Mokulehua's sister. Kapaai releases Pueo, who goes to live with Mokulehua, and gives birth to a girl child.

It is matter-of-factly stated that Kapaai's court is made up of women; when Mokulehua's parents find out that a child has been born of this special son without their knowledge,

Ia manawa, kena ae ana na makua ia Kapaai, a me na wahine ona e kii ia Mokulehua e kaili mai. He poe aikane na Kapaai keia poe wahine. (*Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* 1861, 28 Nov.)

At that time, the parents commanded Kapaai and her women to go and get Mokulehua, to seize him. These women were aikane of Kapaai.

"Aikāne" is defined in the dictionary simply as friend, generally of the same sex, but in a ruling chief's court, aikāne held special places as close companions to the ruling chief; a relationship that might also be (homo)sexual (Kame'eleihiwa 1992, 47). If the relationship were sexual, it was described as "moe aikāne," literally, to sleep with a friend. In this context, the meaning is ambiguous; what is clear, however, is that the ruler is a woman surrounded by a court of women.

Pueo does not want Mokulehua to go; she grieves in traditional ways, through tearing off her clothes, allowing rain water to spoil the fine mats in her house, and through a long chant, which is included in the story.

While Mokulehua is traveling to his parents, he meets a man named 'Iwa. 'Iwa has heard of Mokulehua's beauty, and "ua makemake hoi o Iwa ia Mokulehua i aikane nana" "Iwa wanted Mokulehua as an aikāne for himself" (*Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* 1861, 5 Dec.) 'Iwa chants a poem of love to Mokulehua that

concludes “kuu ili kapu, a e noa ia, ia oe” ‘my skin that is taboo, it will be free to you.’ The next line in the story is “la manawa la hoaikane laua nei, aloha aku aloha mai, lilo ae la laua nei a hookahi manao” ‘Then they became aikāne, gave aloha to each other, became absorbed until they were a single mind’ (*Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* 1861, 5 Dec.). In this context, it is possible, because of the love language, to interpret this relationship as romantic and/or sexual. It is also possible (but less likely) to interpret it as a close non-sexual friendship. Again, we see that the category “aikāne” crosses the boundaries that we guard in English between relationships that are sexual and those that are not, rather like the sometimes ambiguous phrase “intimate friend,” which could describe either (Warner and Ka’eo 1998). The ambiguity itself is highly valued in Hawaiian.

Eventually, Mokulehua and Pueo are reunited, but there is not anything similar to “lived happily ever after” at the end of the story.

Like Kawelo, the Mokulehua legend is filled with descriptions of life before missionaries, and uses traditional forms such as oli ‘chant’ from the oral tradition throughout the story. That the sacred district is ruled by women is simply reported; possibly homosexual relationships are also simply reported. The kapu described in the story are not the same kinds of rules over sexual behavior as Christian rules. Mokulehua’s parents were not alarmed that their adolescent son was having a sexual relationship outside of marriage, which, as an institution, did not exist; nor did anyone in the story express any dismay about the aikāne relationships. Those seem to be treated as perfectly natural and harmless or beneficial. The parents are uneasy because of the birth of a child; they are concerned about the genealogy of their grandchild because genealogy determines political status in old Hawai’i (Kame’eleihiwa 1992; Kamakau 1964). This mo’olelo, like Kawelo, weaves the magical together with details of everyday

life. The ali'i portrayed are similar to gods who have magical powers. In fact, in the story of Mokulehua, one of his grandparents is said to have been turned into a god for him, but that event is not explained any further in this version.

Perhaps the most important legend to appear in *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* is "He Moololo no Hiiakaikapoliopole" "The Legend of Hi'iaka in the heart or embrace of Pele," the grand epic of the coming of age of Hi'iakaikapoliopole, the youngest sister of Pele, the volcano goddess. Unlike the two legends described above, this epic is very long, serialized weekly from December 26, 1861 through July 17, 1862. It is signed by the author, M. J. Kapihenui of Kailua, Ko'olaupoko, O'ahu. This was the first publication of the epic (at least five others were published in the Hawaiian language), and the uncredited source for most of Nathaniel B. Emerson's book *Pele and Hiiaka: A Myth from Hawaii* (1978, originally 1915) (Charlot 1998). While Emerson has been credited with saving this knowledge from disappearance (e.g., Barrow in Emerson 1978, xviii), the Kanaka Maoli themselves realized that mo'olelo could be preserved by publication, and chose themselves to do so, prior to and independent of Dr. Emerson's researches and publications. This 1861-1862 serial in *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* predates Emerson's work by over fifty years. In a letter, Kānepu'u predicted that future generations would want these stories, and that the knowledge would disappear along with the people if it were not consciously preserved. He worried that not every bit of the Hi'iaka story and its chants was appearing in print if the editors were cutting out parts for brevity's sake. If they left something out, he asked,

[P]ehea la anei e loa ai na koena i na hanauna hope o kakou, ke makemake lakou e nana[?] ... e hele ana kakou i ka nalowale, e hele ana o Kau ka makuahine o M. G. Kapihenui i ka nalowale. E makemake ana ka hanauna Hawaii o na la A. D. 1870, a me A. D. 1880, a me A.D. 1890, a me A. D. 1990. (*Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* 1862, 30 Oct.)

How will the generations after us obtain the remainder [which is being left out], when they wish to see it? We are disappearing[;] Kau, the mother of [author] M. G. [sic] Kapihenui is disappearing. Generations of Hawaiians in 1870, and 1880, and 1890, and 1990 will want this.

Let us look now at the story. One must know, first of all, that Hi'iaka and Pele are among the most important deities of hula. The mo'olelo begins with a scene in which Pele admires the young beauty Hōpoe dancing hula at a place called Hā'ena on the island of Hawai'i; it is the easternmost point in the archipelago. Pele asks her sisters to reciprocate, but only Hi'iakaikapoliopole does. She composes and chants an oli in tribute to the beautiful Hōpoe and her "hula lea." The word "le'a" is a modifier which means 'pleasing, delightful,' but which has a definite sexual connotation since it also means 'sexual gratification, orgasm' (Pukui and Elbert 1986, 198). Such poetry consciously makes use of double meanings of these kinds of words. Hi'iaka is clearly entranced with Hōpoe in a way that might easily be interpreted as romantic and/or sexual. After her chant, Hi'iaka goes off with Hōpoe to dance hula and surf, an action which is sometimes interpreted as the birth of hula (Charlot 1998). Hi'iaka's sisters go off to fish, and Pele goes into a sleeping-dreaming state in which her spirit follows the sound of a hula drum to the island of Kaua'i. Pele's spirit appears as a beautiful young woman as she approaches the house from which the sound of the hula drum emanates. Inside she sees a young (male) ali'i, Lohi'au, playing the pahu, the hula drum. This house is located at another place also called Hā'ena, but now on the northwest side of Kaua'i, one of the westernmost islands in the archipelago. Now it is Pele's turn to be entranced; she falls in love with Lohi'au. This is a parallel structure characteristic of Hawaiian literature: Hi'iaka is entranced with Hōpoe performing hula at Hā'ena on Hawai'i; Pele is entranced with Lohi'au performing hula at Hā'ena on Kaua'i. Hula is a major recurring element throughout the mo'olelo, as is evinced by its

richness in hula-associated oli, mele, and pule, in addition to this centrality in the narrative.

The main story is about Hi'iaka's travels to fetch Lohi'au for Pele after Pele has to return to the volcano, since she cannot remain in a spirit state indefinitely. Hi'iaka must leave her own new-found love to fetch her older sister's. Pele imposes "kauoha" 'orders, commands': "mai moe olua, mai honi, mai iniki, mai lalau aku, a lalau mai, o make olua ia'u" 'do not sleep together, do not kiss, do not pinch, do not reach for each other/have a sexual affair, lest I kill you two.' The word "iniki" is translated "pinch" but has many romantic/sexual connotations in song. Likewise "lalau" might be either "lalau: to go astray, to have sexual affairs" or "lālau: to seize, take hold of, grasp, reach out for" (Pukui and Elbert 1986, 192). As mentioned previously, these ambiguities are common and intentional in Hawaiian, and constitute a literary device that provides pleasure to the knowledgeable reader (Wong 1997). Hi'iaka imposes kauoha of her own; she wishes to protect Hōpoe from Pele's volcanic rages that destroy the landscape and anything on it: "o kuu moku lehua nei la, mai ai oe ma laila ... o kuu aikane, mai ai oe," 'my lehua grove, do not consume by fire there ... my aikāne, do not consume by fire.' Hi'iaka's aikāne spoken of in this phrase is clearly Hōpoe. Pele agrees to these kauoha, and Hi'iaka sets off on her journey.

She travels on foot, mostly, with young female companions, Pā'ūopala'e and Wahine'ōma'o. Women's lives are the main concern of the legend, first in Pele's community, then in Hi'iaka's heroic epic, a coming-of-age tale in which she explores and exercises her powers as a goddess to heal and to kill. According to John Charlot, professor of Polynesian religion, "Pele, her sisters, and their friends establish a community dominated by strong-willed women, in which men most often play a tangential and even comic role (the name of the principal

love interest, Lohi'au, translates as 'slow')" (Charlot 1998, 58). He observes, "The passions of women for each other — both loving and hating, constructive and disruptive — are often the main motivations of the action. Those passions can be sexual, a clear reflection of the bisexuality common in classical Hawaiian life" (Charlot 1998, 58).

Hi'iaka's epic, like Kawelo and Mokulehua, is full of prayers of various sorts to the indigenous gods, as well as mele, oli, hula, and details of native medicinal remedies. These are all activities that Kānaka Maoli in 1861 are forbidden. An outstanding example occurs when Hi'iaka and Wahine'ōma'o arrive on Kaua'i, and meet with a man named Malaehaakoa and his wife Wailuanuiahoano. The couple are worshippers of Pele. Hi'iaka and Malaehaakoa chant to each other as the women approach, and the lame Malaehaakoa is miraculously able to walk and cut firewood shortly thereafter. He prepares food for the women, and

Ia Wahineomao i ai [sic], alaila, hoomaka o Malaehaakoa e hula me kana wahine, me Wailuanuiahoano, hapai ae laua i keia mele loihi loa, penei. (He hula Pele keia.)

While Wahine'ōma'o ate, then, Malaehaakoa began to hula with his wife, Wailuanuiahoano, they took up this very long mele (This is a Pele hula.)

The couple then indeed sing and dance a Pele hula, the words of which are printed as part of the story. The mele as printed is 234 lines long, and many times refers to Pele as "akua" 'god/goddess' or "akua nui," 'great or important god/goddess.'⁹ Malaehaakoa also refers to Pele and Hi'iaka together as his gods: Hi'iaka asks, "Hana oe i kou hale a maikai no wai?" 'You have made your house

⁹This is in contradiction to the common categorization of Pele as a minor goddess or demi-god, and thus raises a question about the category "akua nui," which consists of four major gods who are all male. Was there a bias favoring male gods in the early years of Hawaiian ethnology? Could that be related to the fact that it was males who were taken seriously as informants, and were the first educated at Lahainaluna school, and therefore created the first body of writing about Kanaka culture?

nice, for whom?" "No o'u mau akua" "For my gods." "No wai?" "For whom?"
"No Pele, no Hiiakaikapoliopole" "For Pele, for Hi'iakaikapoliopole."

Lohi'au has killed himself because Pele disappeared, and he did not know how to find her. When Hi'iaka brings Lohi'au back to life, she must say the correct prayers, and the prayers must be uttered correctly, or Lohi'au will not live:

E hoolohe mai oe i kuu pule, i hoolohe mai oe i kuu pule a i maikai, alaila,
ola ke kane a kaua, aka, i hewa kuu pule, make ke kane a kaua.

Listen to my prayer, if you listen to my prayer and it is good, then, our man will live, but, if my prayer is faulty, the man of ours will die.

The prayer is then printed on the page, and the command and warning are given again before another prayer. As in *Mokulehua*, details of Hi'iaka's healing methods are also given.

Hi'iaka, Wahine'ōma'o, and the revived Lohi'au travel back to Pele's land, having adventures again along the way. Hi'iaka knows from the first that Pele has broken the kauoha, and has consumed the lehua grove and Hi'iaka's aikāne, Hōpoe, in one of her volcanic rages. Near the end, Hi'iaka takes revenge on Pele for Pele's destruction of Hōpoe: she makes love to Lohi'au in Pele's view. There ensues a great battle, during which many "Hulihia" are chanted, and published. "Hulihia" means "overturned; a complete change, overthrow; turned upside down" (Pukui and Elbert 1986, 88). As one might imagine, these chants describe the violence of volcanic eruptions and related phenomena such as earthquakes and thunderstorms. Kapihenui ends the legend there.

Almost all actions in the epic are taken by women, and their "power is specifically female" (Charlot 1998, 57). Along the way, Hi'iaka defeats many

mo'o, which are reptile-like spirits that threaten the well-being of humans. She also heals many humans of various illnesses along the way.

All of the mo'olelo, but Hi'iakaikapoliopole more than the others, contain elements that are anathema to the haole Calvinist establishment. Some missionaries specifically targeted mo'olelo. John Emerson (father of Nathaniel), for example, in the November 1861 issue of *Ka Hoku Loa* wrote that people were afraid of "na akua lapuwale" 'worthless gods.' These words are somewhat ambiguous in Hawaiian, since they are very close to "akua lapu," which means ghosts or spirits. He said the reason people are afraid is because

Ua hai na kanaka kahiko i na kamalii i na kaa, i na mele, a me na moolelo piha i na mea lapuwale e puiwa ai. (*Ka Hoku Loa* 1861, Nov.)

The old Hawaiians told the children the legends, the songs, and the stories/histories, full of worthless/ghostly things to frighten (or startle) them.

He then complained that these things were being published in the newspapers:

Ina i makemake na kanaka naaupo e hai i na mea lapuwale i na keiki a lakou e puiwa ai, no lakou ia; aka, aole pono ke paia ma na Nu-pepa [sic].

If ignorant/uncivilized people wish to tell worthless/ghostly things to their children to frighten them, it is to them; but, it is not right that it be published in the Newspapers.

This is perhaps a good time to notice the words "na'auao" and "na'aupō."

"Na'au" means thoughts or feelings (one's interior self), literally, "intestines, bowels, guts." "Ao" and "pō" are adjectival modifiers; "ao" means light, daylight; "pō" means darkness, night. To be "na'auao" is to be enlightened, educated, wise, and civilized. Although the word "civilized" is not given in Pukui and Elbert as a gloss for "na'auao," "uncivilized" does appear as equivalent for its opposite, "na'aupō," along with 'ignorant' and 'unenlightened' (Pukui and Elbert 1986, 257). An underlying assumption in this discourse is that

Western (haole) ways of life are na'auao, and Kanaka ways are na'aupō; Emerson's task as missionary is to fight all that is na'aupō and replace it with ways that are na'auao.

Emerson used the valley of Kaliuwa'a (now known in English as Sacred Falls, home of the pig god, Kamapua'a) as a specific example, "Owai ke kanaka i makau ole e hele i ka wailele o Kaliuwaa?" 'Who is not afraid to go to the waterfall of Kaliuwa'a?' Nearly everyone, he says, "kanaka naaupo" 'ignorant people' or 'uncivilized Kanaka' as well as "hoahanau" 'church members' take offerings to the old gods there because they are afraid "o huhu mai lakou, a hoolele mai i na pohaku maluna o ko lakou mau poo" 'lest [the gods] become angry and throw rocks down upon their heads' (*Ka Hoku Loa*, Nov. 1861).

At the same time, in the November 14 issue of *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, an informational column signed by M. K. Paliko'olauloa described in great detail "na wahi pana o Kaliuwaa" 'the celebrated (or legendary) places of Kaliuwa'a.' Paliko'olauloa said that this was a place of pilgrimage (māka'ika'i) from ancient times, visited by "na 'lii, na kanaka, a me na malihini mai na aina e mai; a he mau tausani o lakou" 'the ruling chiefs, the people, and visitors from foreign lands, and there were thousands of them.' The column gives the names and descriptions of the places that Kamapua'a grew taro; the cave where his grandmother beat tapa; places where Kamapua'a was followed, caught, and carried by a chief's men after he raided the chief's favorite chicken coop; and rocks and cliffs that were special for a variety of reasons. It includes a list of the gods of Kamapua'a as well. These are given in much detail, with occasional notes like this: "oia kahi e haawi ai ka poe naaupo i na mohai no na pohaku, ma ke alakai hewa a na kamaaina hoomanakii" 'this is the place that

ignorant/uncivilized people give offerings to the rocks, through the wrongful leadership of idol-worshipping natives [of this place].’ And this:

O Kuikahi, he wahi ahua ia e ike aku ai i ke kiowai, oia kahi e hoopau ai i na manao ino, kue, ohumu, i ole e kaa ia e ka pohaku; aole he oiaio.

Kuikahi (Ku’ikahi?) is a mound from which one may see the pond, this is the place to end all bad, oppositional or complaining thoughts, so that [one] is not rolled over by the rocks; this is not true.

When one reaches the pond and waterfall,

O Kekiowai a me ka wailele anoano o Kaliuwaa, kahi e auau ai ka lehulehu o ka poe makaikai, i pau ka wela, a me ka lepo o ke kino, a loa mai ka olu a me ka maha.

The pond and the religious awe (anoano) of the waterfall of Kaliuwa’a, is the place where the crowds of people, the visitors, bathe, to end the heat and the dirt on the body, and to get coolness and rest.

Lest anyone think that Paliko’olauloa believes in this, he (she?) adds,¹⁰

Pela no ka Baibala ... ka wailele kiekie mai ka lani mai, oia ke kiowai olu o ke ola mau loa kahi e maemae ai na uhane, a loa ka maha, ame ka malu i ka inaina wela o kona makua. Malaila e inu wai ai, aole make wai hou aku.

Such is the Bible ... the high waterfall from heaven, that is the cool pond of everlasting life where spirits are cleansed, and rest is obtained, with protection from the hot anger of one’s parent. It is there one should drink water, and not be thirsty again.

It is not clear who “kona makua” ‘one’s (his or her) parent’ might be and what that parent’s “hot anger” is about. It may be a veiled reference to the trouble with the ministers, since Rev. Alexander was called “makua” and he and others certainly seemed to be angry at the time. It might also refer to the Calvinist god, seen as a vengeful, yet just, god.

¹⁰Since Hawaiian names are not gendered, it is possible that any name without a title could be a woman’s; the convention at the time was that women signed their names prefaced by “Miss” or “Mrs.”

While Emerson claimed that people made offerings to the gods at Kaliuwa'a because they were afraid that rocks would fall on them: if they did not, Paliko'olauloa said that one must just banish bad thoughts from one's mind before entering the pool to avoid the falling rocks. (Rocks falling from the sheer cliff above the pond are a common occurrence until today at Kaliuwa'a.)

Of note as well is a column in *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, previous to both of the above and possibly a catalyst for Paliko'olauloa's epistle, titled "Rula o ka poe maikai" 'Rules of good people/polite society.' It includes this sentence in the opening paragraph:

I ka wa i kaapuni ai o ke lii wahine, mea hanohano Pauahi (Mrs. Bihopa), a me ka mea hanohano L. Kamakaeha, a me na mea hanohano, Mr. Bihopa, J. Kamaki (Dominis), D. Kalakaua, ma koolau o Oahu, ua hele lakou i ka makaikai ma Kaliuwaa. (*Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* 1861, 3 Oct.)

When the ali'i, the honorable Pauahi (Mrs. Bishop), and the honorable L. Kamaka'eha [later known as Mō'iwahine Lili'uokalani], J. Kamaki (John Dominis), D. Kalākaua (later Mō'i 'King'), traveled to the windward side of O'ahu, they toured Kaliuwa'a.

The word translated as 'toured' is "māka'ika'i," which in the context of Paliko'olauloa's column, Charlot characterizes as 'pilgrimage' (Charlot 1993-1997). The point of the paragraph actually is that this group of ali'i were greeted with proper ancient protocol by a woman at the house of the Christian minister, the Rev. Kuaea, and that such protocol was good and valuable knowledge and behavior. The point of the whole column is "he mea maopopo, aole i ka hale kula kahi e ao ia ai ka ike wale no, mawaho ae no kekahi" 'It is understood, the school house is not the only place where knowledge is taught, it is outside as well.' Schools were transmitting mainly Western knowledge at the time; "outside" is Kanaka knowledge, such as classical protocol.

Let us turn now to mele. Various kinds of mele were published in *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* in addition to those within the mo'olelo, which were also abundant. From September 26 to December 26, 1861, thirteen issues of *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* were published. Fifty-one mele were published in those thirteen issues, not counting the ones inside mo'olelo. Twenty-one of those were in traditional style, thirteen were kanikau 'chants of mourning,' also a traditional form, fourteen were composed in honor of the newspaper, three were of modern song type, and one was a German song translated into English. Some of the traditional songs were love songs and some were mele inoa 'name songs,' usually composed for ali'i.

Those who submitted songs from the oral tradition often included notes asking readers to submit corrections or knowledge from other versions. In the October 3 issue, for instance, a rather long letter accompanied "He Mele no Kauikeaouli" a traditional song, asking readers for such assistance. The author, Simona Kaai, opined that Kanaka Maoli do not understand all the words in the mele anymore because classical knowledge was fading with depopulation and the growing popularity of English language schools. He then went on to suggest that the way to save the language is to force it on weaker peoples, such as the ones being missionized in the Marquesas. He wrote that all the Marquesan mission reading material should be produced only in Hawaiian and after a generation or two the Marquesans would forget their own language, but they would have Hawaiian, which is better. No'eau Warner, professor of Hawaiian language, is confident that this is a warning about the fate of Hawaiian being replaced with English, issued in the form of satire (Warner 1998). Further support for the idea that this is satire is that the place he suggests this be carried

out he calls Pekuhiwa, after the real places Nukuhiva and Fatuhiva. “Peku” means “kick” in Hawaiian.

Mele are the only writing signed by women in these pages. Women composed love songs, kanikau, and traditional mele, and co-composed kanikau and traditional mele inoa with men. Apparently, the Kanaka Maoli were accommodating to some extent the Western injunction against women participating in the public sphere, since opinions and news written by women did not appear. I must reiterate, though, that names in Hawaiian are not gendered, and that practice may have allowed women to write and publish by simply omitting the gendering title before their names. There is no way to be certain that the stories and articles were not written by women. In fact, for the Hi’iaka story, Kānepu’u acknowledged that Kapihenui got the story from his mother, Kau. We can be certain, however, that women published poetry in these pages.

To summarize this section, *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* published opinion pieces, letters, informational columns about the ancient customs and religion, such as “Na Wahi Pana o Kaliuwaa,” mele, and most important, both long and short mo’olelo. Mo’olelo were important to the editors:

O ka moololo ... he mea ia e hoao ai i ka manawa, no ka mea, o na mea i hanaia i na wa kahiko oia wale no na mea e maopopo ai ka maikai a me ka hewa o ka kakou hana ana. (*Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* 1861, 17 Oct.)

Mo’olelo (stories; histories; legends) are the things that illuminate the heart (manawa), because the things that happened in ancient times are the only things by which the right or wrong of our actions are known [in advance].

The paper also published news from around the islands and around the world, as well as local political information, such as town meetings. Both the mix and

tone of the contents of *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* differed immensely from its rival, *Nupepa Kuokoa*.

The content of *Nupepa Kuokoa*

Nupepa Kuokoa [Kuokoa] was Henry Whitney's newspaper created to compete against *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, and endorsed by ministers of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association (HEA). Whitney was already publishing the most popular English language newspaper in the islands, the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*. For *Kuokoa*, Chapin says, "Whitney hired capable Hawaiian editors, such as Joseph Kawainui, S. K. Mahoe, and J. M. Poepoe, who published what turned out to be materials of the greatest importance to Hawaiian history" (1996, 56-57). *Kuokoa* was popular because of its rich content, and in spite of Whitney's attitude of superiority over the Kanaka Maoli.¹¹ Chapin quotes him as writing in the *Advertiser*: "Though inferior in every respect to their European and American brethren, they [Kanaka Maoli] are not to be wholly despised. ... They are destined to be laborers in developing the capital of the country" (1857, 5 Mar. 5 in Chapin 1996, 57).

Whitney's idea was that the Kanaka Maoli should learn to live more like the haoles in order for colonial capitalism to develop. *Nupepa Kuokoa* would provide crucial assistance for this colonizing project. Its objectives were published in Hawaiian in *Ka Hoku Loa*, the aforementioned HEA paper; a slightly different version was published in *Kuokoa* itself. Here is an excerpt:

A eia na mea e paiia ma keia pepa.
Akahi. —O na Nu hou mai na aina e mai, na mea e ao aku, a e hooluolu i na kanaka.

¹¹*Kuokoa* is still the most popular Hawaiian language newspaper for researchers because of its wide variety of rich content and its long life.

Elua—E hoolaha na *manao haole* [sic], ko lakou noho ana, maa ana, oihana, a me na hooikaika ana; i mea e hooponopono, hoonui, a kaikai i na manao o kanaka; i like auanei na kanaka me na haole.

...

Elima.—E ku paa no keia pepa ma ka aoao o ka *Oiaio a me ka pono*; aka, aole ia e kokua i ka paio ana o kela aoao haipule keia aoao haipule.

...

Ehiku.—E hoike hoi keia pepa i na Nu hou no keia pae aina. E imi no e hoomakaukau i na mea heluhelu i kela hebedoma keia hebedoma, e hooala mai, a e hooakea i na manao o kanaka, a e kokua i ko Hawaii poe e noonoo, a manao, a hana, a noho elike me na haole (*Ka Hoku Loa* 1861, Oct.).¹²

Here are the things to be published in this paper.

One.—News from abroad, things to be taught, and to please people.

Two.—To publicize *haole opinions/ideas/beliefs*, their way of life, customs, trades/professions, and endeavors, in order to correct, increase, and lead the thoughts of Hawaiian people, so that the Kanaka will be like the haole.

...

Five.—This paper will be steadfast on the side of *Truth and righteousness*; but it will not support the struggle of (amongst) all the religious denominations.

...

Seven. —This paper will also tell News of these islands. It will seek to prepare the readers each week, to awaken [them], and to broaden the minds of people, and to assist Hawai'i's people to think, feel, act, and live like haole people [emphases in the original].¹³

I have translated the word “kanaka” as people in the above, but it is important that Whitney is addressing Kānaka Maoli, not the foreign population, who are not thought to need the same kind of educating. *Kuokoa*'s purpose, then, is clearly directly at odds with *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*; *Ka Hoku* is identified strongly as Kanaka, with a clear mission to value Kanaka identity, traditions, and thought. *Kuokoa* expressly wishes to replace that identity, those traditions, etc. with foreign (haole) ways and thoughts.¹⁴

¹²A complete text of the version published in *Kuokoa* itself can be found in the appendix. A comparison of the two is of interest, but unfortunately would make this chapter overlong.

¹³I made use of *Kuokoa* 1861, Oct., and Johnson 1975 for this translation

¹⁴For the content review of *Kuokoa*, I am grateful to Rubellite Kawena Johnson and her translation classes that produced *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa: A Chronicle of Entries October 1861 – September 1862*.

In keeping with this idea, *Kuokoa* published various mo'olelo, mostly of European rather than Hawaiian origin. Three major fairy tales were translated into Hawaiian from the German, from the seventh edition of *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* by the Brothers Grimm, 1857 (Schweizer 1998). The translator only signed initials "J. W." The first is the nightmare-like tale called "He Kaa no Kekahi Ohana Keikikane He Umikumamalu" 'A Legend of a Family of Twelve Sons,' known in English as "Twelve Brothers" (*Kuokoa* 1861, Dec. 2). In this tale, a king and his wife have twelve sons. When the woman is about to give birth to the thirteenth child, the king tells her that if a girl is born, he will slay the twelve sons, and the girl will inherit the kingdom and its wealth. The twelve sons leave home, vowing to kill any woman they might encounter. They live in an abandoned run down house in the forest. The youngest, Beniamina 'Benjamin,' the only character with a name, takes on the feminine tasks of cooking and housekeeping while his elder brothers hunt for food. A girl is indeed born; when she is growing up, she finds out about her brothers and travels to find them. Beniamina saves her from being killed by the other brothers, and they all live happily together for a short time. The boys want to give the girl a gift so they go to pick lilies for her, whereupon they are cursed and turned into birds. An old woman tells the girl that the only way she can save her brothers is to remain silent, no talking or laughing, for seven years. This she does, and is also taken away and married by a prince, all in silence. After a time, her evil mother-in-law persuades the prince that the girl must have done something very wrong, been banished to the forest, and so would not speak or laugh. A fire is lit and the girl is tied to a stake to be burned. As the flames lick her clothing, twelve birds appear, fall on the ground dead, and spring up again as her twelve brothers. She

is spared, and the evil mother-in-law is put to a horrible death in a vat of hot oil and snakes. Apparently the brothers take no revenge against the prince.

The Twelve Brothers is a story about powerless women in a European world that predates or is outside of Christianity. No god intervenes; only proper sacrifices can break evil spells. The mother is never a queen, though she is wife to the king: she does domestic chores, and is quite powerless to prevent his infanticidal plan. The little girl takes action, but is ultimately required to sacrifice her *power of speech* in order to save her brothers. She becomes heroic in the story when the reader realizes she is willing to sacrifice her life: she would burn rather than speak a word to save herself at the expense of her brothers. The one woman who does speak is the evil mother-in-law; her speech has terrible consequences and the reader is led to feel that her death is just. These are stock European characters: the beautiful girl perhaps more beautiful because she is more submissive in silence, the powerless domestic mother, the evil mother-in-law (the woman who dares to speak).

This story also strangely mirrors the newspaper struggle itself. In the story power is held in the hands of ruling males, the king and the prince. The power of the press at this time was held in the hands of ruling male missionaries. Women in the story must be submissive, self-sacrificing, and, above all, silent. The missionary press ardently wished for the silence of the budding Kanaka nationalist press. The one vocal commanding woman in the story suffers a violent death: an ugly nightmare perhaps corresponding to an unspeakable wish.¹⁵

Two other fairy tales were published soon after: "He Kaa No Kahaunani" 'A Legend of The-Beautiful-Snow' (Snow White) was published on December 16

¹⁵I am indebted to Jorge Fernandes for this insight.

(Johnson 1975, 26), and "Ka Moo Alii" 'The Chiefly Lizard' (The Frog Prince) appeared on January 11, 1862, in the same issue with "The War of the Ancient Romans" (Johnson 1975, 35). Other issues contained histories of Napoleon, and other French stories, and the history and side stories of various aspects of the U. S. Civil War.

Kuokoa also ran a few classical Hawaiian mo'olelo such as "He Moolelo No Umi, Kekahi Alii Kaulana o Ko Hawaii Nei Pae Aina" 'A History of Umi, One of the Famous Chiefs of the Hawaiian Islands,' by Simeon Keliikaapuni (Johnson 1975, 40, 54). However, many more European and U.S. histories and stories were published in *Kuokoa* than Hawaiian.

Reports that old traditions and practices were continuing were published in the paper, for example,

'Pau Ole Ke Kuhihewa' [Superstition Continues]. Christian moralizing follows words from Kimo [James Dawson] that old Hawaiian religion and 'superstition' is still practiced. Some Hawaiians are reported to be feeding a mo'o kupua [ancestral lizard] [*sic*] residing in a fish pond. (Johnson 1975, 57)

Kuokoa published such articles as "He mau mea hoonaauao i keia lahui Hawaii" 'Some things to educate/civilize this Hawaiian people.' This article is "he papa hoike i na mea a ke Akua i papa mai ai, aole e pono ke mare pu" 'a list showing the things that God has forbidden, [who] should not be married together.' It was being republished (it was apparently originally published some years earlier) because "I keia manawa, ua malama ole ia na mea a ke Akua i papa mai ai" 'Now the things which God has forbidden are not being kept.' The list of thirty people whom a man may not marry follows, starting with his own grandmother, and including his sister, and the "wahine a ke kaikaina o kona makuakane" 'the wife of the younger brother of his father, and "wahine a ke kaikaina o kona makuahine" 'the wife/girlfriend of the younger sister of his

mother,' his father's wife, the younger sister of his own wife, and so on. The list is repeated for whom a woman may not marry.

Letters were published in *Kuokoa* asserting that the Hawaiian Evangelical Association did not condemn *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, at least not at the meeting of the HEA at Kaumakapili Church in Honolulu (Johnson 1975, 66).

In December 1861, *Kuokoa* announced that it would replace *Ka Hae Hawaii*, which was ceasing publication (Johnson 1975, 20). *Kuokoa* was not a government paper, nor was it affiliated with the Department of Public Instruction, as *Ka Hae* had been. Their missions, however, had something in common: to educate the Kanaka to become Euro-American in thought and behavior, to ho'ona'auao, to civilize them. Whitney's announcement was protested by W. Pilihaw[a]ii.

Pilihawai'i first quoted Whitney:

ke kaheaia'ku nei ka poe a pau e lawe ana i ka Hae, e pono ia lakou ke lawe i ka Nupepa Kuokoa, a malaila oukou e ike ai i na mea hou a pau; a e loaa hoi ia oukou ka pepa maikai hookahi i paiia ma ka olelo Hawaii. (*Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* 1861, 26 Dec.)

All of the people taking *Ka Hae* are called, they should take *Nupepa Kuokoa*, and there you will see all the news, and you will get the single good paper published in Hawaiian.

Then he articulated his protest:

Ke pane aku nei au ia oe e Ke Kuokoa, he mea palau oe, hoopunipuni maoli oe, kupanaha loa, hookahi wale no ka pepa maikai ma Hawaii nei, o ka pepa o Wini wale no. ... Ua manao wau ea, he mea noonoo oe e Wini, aka, kuhihewa loa wau.

Olelo mai oe e Wini ia makou, "hookahi wale no pepa maikai ma ka olelo Hawaii." He pepa misionari kalawina ka! ka mea maikai? Auwe! mai kuhihewa oe, a noonoo ole aole hoomanaoio makou ia oe; no ka mea he alapahi keia olelo.

I am answering (saying to) you, O *Kuokoa*, you are a liar/exaggerator, you genuinely lie, [it is] so amazing, [you say there is] only one good

paper here in Hawai'i, only Whitney's paper. I thought you were a reasoning person, Whitney, but I was quite mistaken.

Whitney, you are telling us, "There is only one good paper in the Hawaiian language." The one good one is a Calvinist missionary paper? Auē! [Derisive interjection.] Do not be mistaken, think not [that we believe you]. We do not believe you because this statement is a falsehood.

Like *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, *Kuokoa* printed mele. During the same time period discussed above for *Ka Hoku*, September 26 to December 26, 1861, five issues of *Kuokoa* were published. (Note that two pages are missing on the microfilm copies, as well). In those issues, eleven mele were published, five of the traditional type, two kanikau 'songs of mourning,' one in honor of the paper, two church songs and one Tahitian chant. *Kuokoa*, then, does appear to be responding to the demand for mele, but not in the quantity that *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* does in the same period. *Ka Hoku* averaged four mele per issue; *Kuokoa*, two to two and a half. Only one of the mele in *Kuokoa* appears to have been signed by a woman, the ali'i Ruth Ke'elikōlani. The Tahitian chant was performed by the Kuhinanui 'Regent' Victoria Kamāmalu Ka'ahumanu. Besides these two, it seems that *Kuokoa* provided less of an opportunity for women to publish poetry than *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* did.

Readers of *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* considered *Kuokoa's* printing of any traditional mele supremely hypocritical, since mele was the first reason given newspaper readers to condemn *Ka Hoku* and take *Kuokoa* instead. A letter from S. K. Kuapu'u to *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* is headlined "Maemae! Maemae!!" 'Purity/Cleanliness! Chastity!!' Mr. Kuapu'u says that he enjoys *Nupepa Kuokoa*, but it should be a different kind of paper, as there are different kinds of birds. Some birds eat clean food and some eat unclean food (carrion). The birds that eat clean food know to stay away from the carrion. So should it be with newspapers;

if those condemning *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* consider mele to be unclean, they should keep to their cleanliness,

O aha? O maemae ole hoi paha auanei ka nupepa maemae, ina aole hooko ia keia, ke olelo nei au, maemae ole! maemae ole!! Kainoa hoi i hewa hoi ka *Hoku o ka Pakipika* i ke komo o na mele o na kanikau, a he aha ka hoi ka mea o ka owili pu ana aku ia ope hookahi, ke pilau la hoi kela ia mea (*Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* 1861, Dec. 26).

Or what? Or perhaps the clean newspaper will become unclean, if this is not done [keeping mele out], I am saying, unclean! unclean!! I thought it was wrong for the *Hoku o ka Pakipika* to include mele and kanikau, and so what is the reason for the twisting together [of these contradictions] into a single bundle[:] [your paper] is being contaminated by this thing.

In sum, *Kuokoa* published mainly European and U.S. stories, histories, legends, and fairy tales; and a few mele. It also published quite a lot of political news with opinions on elections and laws, a function it shared with the government paper, *Ka Hae Hawaii*.

The content of *Ka Hae Hawaii*

Ka Hae Hawaii was founded in 1856 under the Department of Public Instruction, with J. Fuller as editor, but controlled behind the scenes by Richard Armstrong, a missionary serving as Minister of Public Instruction (Chapin 1984, 52). Its purpose was “e kokua mai ma na mea e holo mua i keia aupuni,” ‘to assist progress in this nation.’ The newspaper was dedicated to “progress,” as we can see in this sentence from the same statement of purpose: “Mai ka wa ia Lono a me Kamehameha nui, ua holo mua ia kakou; aole nae i pau ka hemahema a me ka naaupo” ‘From the time of Lono [Captain Cook] and Kamehameha the Great, we have progressed; but incompetence/lack of skill (hemahema) and savagery/ignorance are not over.’ The paper hoped to assist progress by supporting farming, and to a lesser degree, trade and the schools. The

government was paying Fuller's salary, so the price of *Ka Hae Hawaii* was only \$1 per year "no ka pepa, a me ka inika a me ka pai ana" 'for the paper, the ink, and the printing' (*Ka Hae Hawaii* 1856, 5 Mar.). A letter from ka Mō'i Kamehameha ('King' Kamehameha IV, Alexander Liholiho), endorsed the newspaper:

I ike na keiki o ka aina, i ka Hae Hawaii, e komo ana iloko o kela hale keia hale, e paipai ana i ka palaualelo e hana, e kahea aku ana i ka naaupo e naauao, a e hoohuli ana mai ka hewa 'ku a i ka pono.

So that the children of the land will see *Ka Hae Hawaii*, entering into every house, encouraging the lazy to work, calling the ignorant/uncivilized to learning/ civilization, and converting from sin to righteousness.

Ka Hae Hawaii instructed its readers, these "children of the land," as it would children, although the readership was surely adult and literate. It contained descriptions of foreign countries and peoples that are similar to children's encyclopedia articles. An article on Persia, for instance, described its location, its landscapes, climates, form of government, language, crops and religion. It is critical and judgmental of both Persia's people and their leaders. Of the people, *Ka Hae* said, "aole i akamai i na hana, he ike iki no nae kekahi poe i ka palapala, aole nae i naauao loa" 'not skilled in work, some are somewhat literate, but not well educated/very civilized.' As for the leaders, "E noho hookano wale mai ana no na 'lii, a me ka poe waiwai, aole imi i na mea e pono ai ka aina," 'The rulers/royalty and the rich live arrogantly, they do not seek for things that will benefit the land' (*Ka Hae Hawaii* 1861, 18 Sep.).

In a short article, *Ka Hae Hawaii* contained this description of women soldiers:

...[H]e puali koa wahine ko ka Moi o Dahomei, ma Aperika, he 3,000 lakou. He mau wahine ano hihui a ino loa, me he mau Leopadi ke ano i ke kaua ana. Ua aahu ia lakou i na lolo wawae, he palule a me ka papale koa, a o ko lakou mea kaua, he pu me na pahi nui. He akamai ko lakou i ka hana paikau, a ma ke kaua maoli he ikaika loa no, me he poe Daimonio la ka hana ana. (*Ka Hae Hawaii* 1861, 25 Sep.)

The King of Dahomey, in Africa, has women soldiers, 3,000 of them. These are rather wild and very evil women, like Leopards when they fight. They are dressed in pants, shirt, and soldier's hat, and their weapons are guns and large knives. They have skill in marching, and in true battle they are very strong, they are like Demons in their actions.

Here skilled and strong women are compared to animals and demons.

The depiction of the strong Dahomey women is in stark contrast to the picture of proper behavior for women and girls described in this paper. One such article starts with a list of the faults of Kanaka women:

[N]ui ka hemahema o na wahine Hawaii. ... [N]ana au i ka wahine, he pelapela ke kino, aole kuonoona ka lauoho, a me kahi lolo aole maemae. Pela no hoi ka hale, he pelapela, huikau kela mea keia mea o ka hale. (*Ka Hae Hawaii* 1956, 19 Mar.)

Hawaiian women have many failings ... [When] I look at the woman, her body is dirty, her hair is not well-kept, and the dress, not clean. It is the same with the house, it is dirty, and everything in the house is mixed up.

The anonymous author continued with recommendations, and further fault finding:

O ka ka wahine hana ia, o ka malama i ka hale, a maemae. Eia nae paha ka hewa nui, o *ka noho wale o na wahine*; aole hana ma ka lima, moe wale no i ka moena. ... Aole pela na wahine o na aina naauao, i ao pono ia. (*Ka Hae Hawaii* 1956, 19 Mar.)

The woman's work is to care for the house until it is clean. This is perhaps the greatest fault, *it is women just sitting*; not working with the hands, just lying on the mat. ... Women in civilized countries, who are well taught, are not like that [emphasis in the original].

According to this article, housework has other benefits, as well:

Ua maemae hoi ke kino a me ka hale o ia wahine naauao, a makemake loa kana kane ia ia. Aole lilo ka manao o ke kane i ka wahine e, no ka mea, he wahine maikai kana. (*Ka Hae Hawaii* 1956, 19 Mar.)

The body and the house of the civilized woman is clean, and her husband likes her a lot. The mind of the husband is not on other women because he has a good woman.

Some articles were about events in Hawaiian history, but generally from a missionary point of view, such as "Ka wa ia Kaomi" 'The era of Kaomi,' (1833-1834) (*Ka Hae Hawaii* 1861, 11 Sep.) Kaomi was a male lover of Kauikeaouli (Kamehameha III), despised by the missionary establishment. According to this article he was half Tahitian, half Hawaiian. He was literate, and had served as a minister in Queen Ka'ahumanu's court. He later (re)turned to alcohol and adulterous affairs with women. He left preaching, and when Ka'ahumanu died, he became close to the young Kauikeaouli. According to historian Kamakau,

He became a favorite of the king ... because he knew ... the art of healing ... [and] had learned ... how to diagnose a disease by feeling the body of a patient and could prescribe the proper medicine to cure it. (Kamakau 1992, 335)

Many missionary-inspired laws were openly transgressed while Kaomi was an intimate of the king, "fighting, murdering, adultery, prostitution, plural marriage, disregard of the marriage law, drunkenness and the distilling of liquor went on all over Oahu" (Kamakau 1992, 337). According to the newspaper story, "O ka haunaele nui oia mau makahiki, no Kaomi ia, oia ke alii o ka haunaele ana" 'All the disturbances of those years were related to Kaomi, he was the king of disturbance.' Among the disturbances, "ua puhia ka okolehao, ua hulaia na hula a puni ka aina ..." 'ōkolehao [a liquor] was brewed, hula was danced all around the land.' The effect of this was

Ua haaleleia hoi ka mahiai, a nahelehele a wi loa na aina, a lilo na makaaainana mamuli o na lealea a na hulumanu, a oki loa ka aina a pau i ka pololi a me ka ilihune. (*Ka Hae Hawaii* 1861, 11 Sep.)

Farming was abandoned, until the lands were overgrown and famine-struck, and the people were lost because of the entertainments of the court favorites, all of the land was devastated by hunger and poverty.

In the end, Kaomi was abandoned by the young king, deserted to wander, ill and destitute, until he died (*Ka Hae Hawaii* 1861, 11 Sep.). The story is meant to be a lesson in Calvinist morality.

Readers would assist in the civilizing/educational process by reporting on fellow Kānaka Maoli who practiced traditional customs. Here is an excerpt from one of these letters:

He wahi hana naaupō.

... O ka lawe ana o kekahi poe i na iwi kupapau i ka lua o Pele, i mea e hoomana ai ia Pele, i akua no lakou. O ka hana mau keia a kekahi poe e noho nei ma kai o Puna(*Ka Hae Hawaii* 1861, Aug. 28)

An uncivilized activity.

... [Being] some folks' taking of bones to the crater of Pele, in order to consecrate Pele as a god for them. This is the persistent activity of some people living near the coast of Puna.

The letter writer, K. W. Kawaiahao (probably Kawaiaha'o), described the people's search for the proper "kaula Pele" 'Pele prophet/seer' who would join them on the journey to the crater, ensuring that they were taking the proper offerings: "kahi moa keokeo, he wahi luau no hoi; he puua paahiwa no hoi" 'a white chicken, a bit of young taro leaf, of course, and a completely black pig as well.' Kawaiaha'o described their journey, in what order they walked, and that the kaula chanted before the bones were put into the crater at the spot designated. He then ended:

Kainoa paha ua pau ka pouli ma Hawaii nei, eia no ka ke hele pu nei me ke aupuni o Kristo. Auwe! ... E hoi hou anei kakou i na hana o ka pouli?
(*Ka Hae Hawaii* 1861, Aug. 28)

I thought the darkness was ended in Hawai'i; but here it is traveling along with the government of Christ. Auē! Shall we return to the ways of darkness?

Ka Hae ran both short and long mo'olelo, one of which was classical Hawaiian (discussed below), and others, like "He mooolelo no Kalaipahoa"

which characterized the ancient practices as evil, and congratulated the people that they were now abandoned. (*Ka Hae Hawaii* 1861, Sep. 18)

Ka Hae ran the first written version of the classical Hawaiian legend, *He Moolelo no Kamapuaa* 'A Story of Kamapua'a,' the aforementioned pig god. The story, written by G. W. Kahiolo, ran for fourteen weeks, and included many chants (*Ka Hae Hawaii* 1861; Kahiolo 1978). Kamapua'a is a trickster god. Translators of this text said of Kamapua'a: "He was racy, but not without a certain charm; he was earthy and crude, but it was all part of his appeal. He was Kamapuaa, a destructive hog demigod of ancient Hawaii about whom many tales were told. ... Women are his great delight and he is always chasing them" (Mookini et al. in Kahiolo 1978). Joseph Emerson (son of John, the missionary, and brother of Pele chronicler, Nathaniel) wrote of this mo'olelo:

The legend requires sixteen hours to repeat, and is perhaps one of the best commentaries on the ineffable depths of impurity in which some heathen delight to wallow. In general, the more vile, obscene, and hateful the god, the more ready were the deluded people to render him worship. (Emerson 1892, 14)

It may have been this very mo'olelo of Kamapua'a that prompted Joseph Emerson's father to remonstrate against mo'olelo.

Other content besides "Kamapua'a" was also seemingly at odds with *Ka Hae*'s civilizing mission, like "He Buke Lapaau, i kakaui mai ka olelo waha mai o Kekaha Kahookano a i komoia ma keia Buke e S. P. Kalama. Na G. P. Judd i ka makahiki 1837 paha" 'A Book of [Kanaka] Medicine, written from the spoken word of Kekaha Kahookano and entered into this Book by S. P. Kalama. For (By?) G. P. Judd, circa 1837.' This medicine book contains the prayers and genealogies used by the traditional kahuna lapa'au 'medical priest' (*Ka Hae Hawaii* 1858, 8 Dec. 8).

The paper ran news, primarily from the U.S., mainly concerning the U.S. Civil War. News from other foreign countries was published, but was skimpy. For the two month period of September through December 1861, there was a single mele published in *Ka Hae*, outside of the Kamapua'a story and the chants in the medicine book. It was a kanikau 'mourning song' for the newspaper, which was ending (*Ka Hae Hawaii* 1861, 25 Dec.).

Ka Hae Hawaii, then, can be seen to be primarily engaged in civilizing discourse: urging Kānaka Maoli to work, denigrating them and other native peoples, and attempting to domesticate Kanaka women. This project of civilizing the Kanaka Maoli belonged even more to the Calvinist mission, to whose newspaper we now turn our attention.

The content of *Ka Hoku Loa*

Ka Hoku Loa was the paper associated with the Hawaiian Evangelical Association, the semi-autonomous administrative board for the mainly Calvinist U. S. missions in Hawai'i. The missions had previously been administered by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (the ABCFM). The HEA had been formed in 1854 as part of a policy change to "to make the American missionaries and their families permanent members of the Hawaiian body politic" (Kuykendall 1953, 99). The reasons for starting *Ka Hoku Loa* were expressed in its first issue, among them:

[U]a ulu nui ka hewa ma kela wahi ma keia wahi, iwaena o na mea he nui; kakaikahi nae ka poe i ku e kinai i ka hewa, a e kokua i ka pono. ... E papa aku ana ia me ka wiwo ole i na hewa i hanaia ma na wahi kiekie, a me na hana kolohe i hoopukaia iwaena o ka lehulehu, a e hoike aku ana me ka makau ole, ka hopena weliweli o ka lahuikanaka, a me ke aupuni i makau ole i ke Akua. (*Ka Hoku Loa* 1859, 2 Jul.)

Sin has increased everywhere, among many people, and few are those who have stood up to extinguish sin and assist righteousness. [This paper] will forbid, bravely, the sins committed in high places and the naughty behavior among the people, and will show without fear the terrible end of a people and a government who have no fear of God.

It is clear from the above that the missionaries consider their own morals and mission to allow them to stand in judgment on even the king. The king may rule the government, but the missionaries judge and instruct.

Editors of the *Hoku Loa* used war metaphors to describe their mission to convert and civilize the Kanaka Maoli in an article called "Ke Kaua Ma Hawaii: Na aoao elua" 'The War in Hawai'i: The two sides' (*Ka Hoku Loa* 1861, Mar.). The anonymous article asserted that there are two sides in the war, and that everyone, like it or not, is on one side or another because the Lord said, "O ka mea aole me au nei, o ko'u enemi no ia" 'Whoever is not with me is my enemy.' It then exclaimed, "Auwe ke aupuni i lilo i enemi no ke Akua!" 'Alas the nation who becomes an enemy of God!' The article then condemned two recently enacted laws. The first was the law that regulated and licensed hula shows, rather than banning them, a political loss for the Hawaiian Evangelical Association who had drafted and submitted the original bill to ban hula. The other was a law that regulated rather than banned prostitution, for public health reasons, another political loss for the Association.

The paper contained many articles remonstrating against Catholicism, and at least one against Mormonism (*Ka Hoku Loa* 1861, Nov.). The editors wrote that men became Mormons not out of the fear of God, but so that they could have many wives; therefore, "ua hewa lakou, ua haumia, ua paumaele, a ua hoopailuaia" 'they sin, they are defiled, they are sordid, and they are loathsome/an abomination.'

Each issue had a mele on the front page, every one with the same title, "No ka Hoku Loa" 'For the *Hoku Loa*.' There were no classical Hawaiian mele or mo'olelo.

The paper printed letters from Kānaka Maoli missionaries in faraway places like Salmon Falls in El Dorado County, California and Micronesia, and from U.S. and English missionaries in Persia and elsewhere (*Ka Hoku Loa* 1861, Jul., Sep.). It is clear that missionaries from the U. S. and England were covering the globe at this time; there were missionaries in New Zealand, Burma, India, Mesopotamia, Africa, China, as well as the smaller Pacific Islands (*Ka Hoku Loa* 1862, Jan.). It appears that the places *Ka Hae Hawaii* printed descriptive articles on are the same places missionaries were stationed. *Ka Hoku Loa* also appealed to more Kānaka Maoli to become missionaries to places like the Marquesas, in which the U.S. missionaries had been unsuccessful (*Ka Hoku Loa* 1861, Nov., Dec.; Alexander 1934).

Ka Hoku Loa urged people to celebrate the U.S. holiday of Thanksgiving, which happened to fall on November 28 that year. November 28 was a national holiday celebrating Hawaiian independence and sovereignty, called *Lā Kū'oko'a* 'Independence Day.' While Kānaka Maoli apparently did not want to say that they did not want to be grateful to the Christian god, they were interested in keeping their national holiday. The missionaries were at pains to persuade them to abandon their own national holiday for a U.S. national holiday. This struggle recurred whenever Thanksgiving happened to fall on November 28, as it did in 1895 (*Ke Aloha Aina* 1895, Nov.-Dec.; 1896, Jan.).

Each issue contained various reports of the HEA or other related missionary associations. The September 1861 issue contained an editorial explaining that 383 church members had been expelled in Hawai'i in the year.

The editorial gives six reasons for the expulsions. The number one reason was “o ka hana ole i ka hana maoli, kekahi hewa no ia” ‘not doing real work, which is a sin.’ Some “kanaka” go from island to island, making friends, staying with different people, “a hala ka makahiki paha i ka noho wale ana” ‘until a year passes of just sitting/living.’ It quoted passages from Romans and Thessalonians, and asserted that “Mai loko mai o ka noho molowa ana i ulu ai ka moekolohe, ka ona, ka piliwaiwai, a me na hewa e ae he nui wale” ‘Out of laziness grows adultery, drunkenness, gambling, and a great many other sins.’ The other reasons included not going to church; drinking; “na hana haumia” ‘defiling/impure actions,’ mainly not keeping the marriage laws; and not keeping the Sabbath, on which one was not to sit around, nor go visiting: “i hookahi wale no huakai hele i ka Sabati, oia hoi ka huakai hele i ka hale o ke Akua” ‘there should be just one journey on the Sabbath, the journey to the house of God.’ Another was “ka hoomana kii,” ‘idol worship,’ which included Kanaka Maoli medical practices, because that included prayer to the ancient gods. The article specifically mentioned prayer to the female gods Hi’iaka and Kapo.

In October 1861, it published a full page condemnation of Kanaka Maoli medicine, calling it idolatry, falsehood (“wahahee”), and murder. People also wrote letters reporting that they had seen lapa’au ‘medicine’ being practiced, and urging others to instruct their families to give it up (*Ka Hoku Loa* 1861, Dec.). These are in contrast to such fillers as “Lapaau ana” ‘Healing,’ a short retelling of the story from the bible in which a woman is healed by merely touching Jesus’s robe (*Ka Hoku Loa* 1862, Jan.).

Mo’olelo in the paper resembled sermons or parables, or were stories taken from the bible. *Ka Hoku Loa* reported on the U.S. Civil War, but carried almost no other foreign news.

Conclusion

One notices that all of the newspapers except *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* were related to or controlled by U.S. missionaries: *Ka Hoku Loa* was the paper of the missionary organization, *Ka Hae Hawaii* was created and produced under the supervision of missionary Richard Armstrong, and the independent newspaper, *Kuokoa*, was owned and operated by missionary son Henry Whitney, and received the endorsement of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association. *Ka Hae Hawaii*, *Ka Hoku Loa*, and *Nupepa Kuokoa* were thus all part of the colonizing process to attempt repression of traditional Hawaiian cultural forms, and especially, to convert the Kanaka Maoli into hard workers. They respectively represented the government under missionary influence, the Calvinist mission, and the wealthy business class made up of missionary sons like Henry Whitney. All three papers were replete with discourses of work and industry, woven together with the discourses on purity, salvation, and civilization.

Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika was a rebellious voice claiming to represent all the Kanaka Maoli, even those of the despised religions, Catholicism and Mormonism. It fought the Calvinists both overtly and covertly, in both plain and veiled language. Its authors and editors dared to profess pride in their traditions and culture for the first time in print. As Fornander said, there was a “mental revolution” going on, a revolution meant to cast off the yoke of puritan control over every aspect of Kanaka lives, a revolution where ink rather than blood flowed. The revolution took place largely in the reflection and recreation of the oral tradition. The mental revolution also meant overt resistance to the domestication of Kanaka men by contesting the representations made of them as weak, lazy, and uneducated and to the domestication of Kanaka women by

presenting mo'olelo and mele in which women in traditional society wielded power and lived adventurous lives. It provided space for Kanaka Maoli writers to write their own history, as well. S. N. Hale'ole, for example, wrote several historical pieces, in addition to many legends.

Traditional practices such as hula and lā'au lapa'au, with the ancient religion, had been outlawed. *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* reproduced these traditional practices in print form so that they could be communicated among the Kanaka Maoli of the time and preserved for the benefit of future generations. This was in direct opposition to the project of "civilization." It thus laid the groundwork for the movement that developed some years later under Kalākaua, "Hawai'i for Hawaiians" and provided a foundation for the cultural renaissance of that era (see Chapter 4). The information thus preserved is crucial, as well, to the reconstruction of Kanaka Maoli identity today as a distinct people and separate nation.

Finally, the Kanaka Maoli were desirous of foreign news because it was essential to preserving sovereignty. The sovereignty of the Kingdom of Hawai'i had already been seriously threatened by France, Britain, and, more covertly, by the United States. The Kanaka Maoli knew that much of their fate depended on the actions of these Mana Nui 'Great Powers.' Then, as now, they needed to be informed of world events in order to conduct their political and economic lives wisely. The withholding of foreign news from the general populace was another infantilizing strategy of the missionary establishment. *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* strove to provide the news from abroad necessary for an informed and politically involved citizenry in a sovereign nation. As Helen Chapin said, *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* was the first of a long series of Kanaka Maoli nationalist newspapers. For the first time, Kānaka Maoli in rural areas and neighbor islands were

connected to the center of anti-colonial nationalist thought on a weekly basis. The Kanaka nationalists learned from the government and mission presses how to produce and distribute a newspaper. The Hawaiian language then became a threat to the ongoing colonial project; it had the potential to become a "language of power," as Benedict Anderson puts it (Anderson 1991, 45). The language of the almost universally literate maka'āinana class bound them together as a nation. For the colonizers, the communication between this comparatively large "imagined community" was dangerous in part because many of them could not understand Hawaiian. The administrative language was often English; interpreters were used when necessary in government or business. As the century proceeded, demands for government and other business to be conducted in English became more frequent and strident. *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* thus played a crucial part in the formation of anti-colonial nationalism amongst the Kanaka Maoli. It became a model for the nationalist Hawaiian language press for the next forty or fifty years and just as important, it provided space for anti-hegemonic voices at a time when U.S. hegemony in Hawai'i was still in question.

CHAPTER 3 THE STRUGGLE FOR HEGEMONY

Introduction

The Puritans were a daring lot, but they had a mean streak.

Ishmael Reed

The political situation in which *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* emerged might be described as a struggle for hegemony. In Hawai'i, Europeans and European-Americans had been trading since 1778 or so and missionizing since 1820. They wished to impose a foreign structure on Hawai'i that would make their lives easier, and more fully ensure their exercise of power. These attempts to recreate European/American institutions and strengthen haole power together with the resistance to those attempts are what I mean by the "struggle for hegemony." By 1860, the Hawaiian kingdom was on its second European/American-style constitution, and, while the ali'i were firmly in charge of the throne, a colonial two-tiered structure was developing across the main institutions of the land, with the white Europeans and Americans on the top tier and the Kanaka Maoli at the bottom. When the land tenure system was converted to private property, Europeans and Euro-Americans began purchasing large tracts of land. The maka'ainana, at the same time, were alienated from their traditional lands by these political and economic processes. Europeans and Euro-Americans were considered by the monarchy to be knowledgeable in the workings of government and so were often appointed to positions of power within the kingdom. In the judicial system, most judges were haole, especially at the top levels. Most of those judged were Kanaka Maoli. Land agents for the government were often haole; their applicants (or supplicants) Kanaka Maoli. The churches were controlled by haole; haole ministers were reluctant to give up

control over even small village parishes. Schools were divided into two types: select and common:

Select schools, besides being, as the term implied, of better quality than the common schools, had various special objectives: to qualify their students for positions above the level of the common laborer, to teach them the English language, to supply teachers for the public schools, to train girls to be good housewives and mothers. ... English was the medium of instruction and a tuition fee was charged. (Kuykendall 1953, 110)

Common schools were conducted in Hawaiian and rather than “qualify their students for positions above the level of the common laborer,” they were part of the project of transforming Kanaka Maoli into common laborers. Because of language and the availability of cash, most haole were able to send their children to select schools and most Kānaka Maoli had to be content with common schools. At the same time, on the developing plantations, the owners and luna ‘foremen’ were haole, while the field laborers were Kanaka Maoli or Asian immigrants. In this chapter, I will analyze *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* as one site of Kanaka Maoli resistance to this rising colonial capitalism, which was bolstered by U.S. Calvinist missionaries, and both opposed and sometimes facilitated by the Hawaiian monarchy. To do so, I will first describe the establishment of the large plantations, detailing the involvement of the Calvinist missionaries, and reviewing some of the discursive strategies used to subjugate and convert Kānaka Maoli into field hands. Then I will briefly examine the politics of the throne of King Alexander Liholiho and how it attempted to retain control of the state while responding to demands from the increasingly powerful plantation oligarchy, as well as fending off threats to its sovereignty from the Mana Nui, the ‘Great Powers.’ With that context established, we will then look at selected sites of engagement where the struggle for hegemony was taking place, in order to understand the Kanaka Maoli resistance, reflected in the discursive practices of

Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika, as based in particular spiritual and cosmological identities, and in that way, anticolonial and nationalist in character.

The rise of the plantation economy

The plantation economy would have been impossible without the Māhele of 1845-1850. While promoted at the time as a change that would benefit the makaʻāinana, who would then each control his or her own parcel of land rather than live at the mercy of konohiki 'land steward' and aliʻi, in the end, it resulted in the alienation of nearly all Kānaka Maoli from the lands their ancestors had inhabited for millennia. In the definitive study of the Māhele, Kameʻeleihiwa found that "only 9 percent of the population, at the very outside, actually received any 'Āina ['land'] in the *Māhele*" (1992, 297). The Māhele instead led to foreigners being allowed to buy large tracts of land destined to become sugar plantations.

Noel Kent explains that sugar plantation economies are large scale production enterprises, and in the mid-nineteenth century, were located in colonies or other areas with populations vulnerable to exploitation: the Caribbean, the U. S. South, and Hawaiʻi nei (Kent 1993, 36). Furthermore,

Sugar societies thus generally came to be characterized by a series of interlinked phenomena: a heavy concentration of political and economic power in the hands of those in control of the plantation apparatus, a sharply stratified class structure with a strong racial and/or cultural component, and a concentration on one export to the metropolitan areas of North America and Europe. (Kent 1993, 36)

The hands in control, says Kent, were those of a diverse group of businessmen, including some old whalers, but many were also missionaries and their sons (Kent 1993, 36). Among the missionaries were S. N. Castle, Amos

Starr Cooke, William P. Alexander, Edward Bailey, Elias Bond, and William H. Rice..

Missionaries had also been active agents in the Māhele and in the subsequent alienation of the Kanaka Maoli from the land in several ways. When Robert Wyllie, Minister of Foreign Affairs, sent out a survey to determine the state of the people and the land in 1846 and again in 1858, he sent it to “all Christian Missionaries, Planters and Graziers upon the Islands” (*Polynesian* 1858, Apr. 17). Wyllie’s survey asked for census information, but also these questions:

- **Daily wages paid to laborers computed in cash, not including provisions.**
- **How the moral and physical labor of the natives is affected by excessive unpaid labor exacted of them.**
- **What are the best means of abolishing that indolence and indifference and introducing habits of general industry continuously pursued.**
- **Have the natives any means for buying land or cattle, that is, can they pay for them.**
- **Best means of preserving and improving the native race and rendering them industrious, moral and happy.**
- **If capitalists should apply their capital to any considerable extent to the purposes of agriculture, could they depend upon a sufficiency of native labor, and at what wages per day. (*Polynesian* 1858, Apr. 17)**

Wyllie further asked not whether, but “how far the native chiefs oppress the natives,” and not whether, but “what moral or improving effect upon native females ... has their marriage to white men.” He wondered, “Would it be practicable and beneficial to introduce the English language entirely?” (*Polynesian* 1858, Apr. 17). Missionaries were the primary information gatherers for this enterprise, which is no doubt linked to the Māhele, and to the acquisition of land by foreign capitalists. An undergirding of white supremacist thinking is clearly discernible in the questions. For Wyllie, and his missionaries and planters, “natives” are presumed to be indifferent and indolent; “chiefs” oppress the people; “native females” must experience a range of “moral or improving

effect[s]" from marriage to white men. This survey is strikingly similar to one described by Benedict Anderson:

Note also alongside the condescending cruelty, a cosmic optimism: The Indian is ultimately redeemable - by impregnation with white, 'civilized' semen, and the acquisition of private property, *like everyone else* [emphasis in the original]. (Anderson 1991, 14)

In agreeing to gather this information, the missionaries in effect became government agents, and complicit in the establishment of colonial capitalism. This kind of demographic surveillance is precisely the type that Foucault noted arose in the nineteenth century as one of many new techniques of power. "[T]he emergence of demography, the evaluation of the relationship between resources and inhabitants" contributed to the development of what Foucault calls "bio-power," without which capitalism could not have flourished. Capitalism would not even have been possible, he says, "without the controlled insertion of bodies into the machinery of production and the adjustment of the phenomena of population to economic processes" (Foucault 1990, 140-141).

Missionaries and their children and grandchildren became a large part of the bourgeois class of planters. Many of them were able to buy large enough tracts of land for the plantations because of their privileged positions and/or contacts in the government. Edward Bailey, for example, arrived in Hawai'i in 1837, and left the mission in 1850 to start a sugar plantation. He "conducted the earliest manufacture of sugar at Wailuku ... He also had an active part in starting the Haiku Sugar Company" (Hawaiian Mission Children's Society 1969, 34-35). Richard Armstrong, the same missionary who became Minister of Public Instruction, "as early as 1840 ... had tried to start the sugar industry at Wailuku" (Alexander 1934, 456). Other missionaries, including William P. Alexander, assisted in the project by surveying the land: "Measures are in progress towards

sugar works at Wailuku. In reference to it, I am requested to survey all the King's land north of Wailuku River" (Alexander 1934, 456). Alexander himself with his son James, started a plantation in 1862 (Alexander 1934, 457).

Alexander's other son Samuel became a partner in the large sugar concern Alexander & Baldwin, which, along with Castle & Cooke, are members of the Big Five that controlled Hawai'i's economy for many decades.

Sometimes, the line between mission work and planting became indistinguishable. In Alexander's report of his mission activities for 1860, he included,

We have hundreds of acres of fertile soil that might easily be irrigated by our perennial streams that burst forth from our mountain glens, yet we produce almost nothing but *kalo*: whereas we ought to produce and export a thousand tons of sugar annually. (Alexander 1934, 454)

Kalo 'taro' was the staple of the Kanaka subsistence economy. It is still a staple food for Kanaka Maoli today, though scarce and expensive as a result of the change to the sugar and pineapple cash economy.

It was missionaries who facilitated the start of the first plantation at Kōloa, Kaua'i, in face of protests from both Governor Kaikio'ewa of the island and the maka'āinana living there. Plantation owners procured a fifty-year lease of the entire ahupua'a of Kōloa, and "the whole-hearted endorsement of their enterprise by the American missionaries undoubtedly helped the partners in obtaining their lease, for it was not easily obtained" (Alexander 1937, 4). When "the jealousy of the petty chiefs, in seeing their lands thus alienated, proved, for some time, a great obstacle to their success" (Alexander 1937, 4-5), it was intervention by missionaries that generally resolved the troubles.

We can see, then, that the missionaries commanded a powerful influence over government officials, as well as working as government agents, in the era

of developing plantations. They and others, using their positions of influence and their capital, bought land previously farmed by maka'āinana for subsistence, and turned that land into the cash crop, sugar.

Politics, the economy, and the King

In the 1850s and 1860s, Kānaka Maoli were still in control of the throne, although subject to pressures from the missionaries and planter bourgeoisie for economic development. Alexander Liholiho (Kamehameha IV) had ascended to the position in 1854, following the death of Kamehameha I's last son, Kūikeyouli. Liholiho's brother, Lot Kapuāiwa, held a position in the House of Nobles and served as Minister of the Interior. Both the House of Nobles and the House of Representatives, however, were increasingly being occupied by foreigners (Osorio 1996, 152-199). For many years, from the beginning of the constitutional system, in fact, haole, often missionaries, had occupied positions in the Privy Council and the Cabinet.

From the start of his reign, the planters were exerting pressure on King Alexander Liholiho to assist them with their two most pressing difficulties: selling their sugar in the U.S. duty-free and ensuring a supply of cheap labor. Both of these presented threats to Hawaiian sovereignty. The first because one obvious way of guaranteeing the duty-free market was to be annexed to the U.S., and the other because the declining population of Kānaka Maoli left the Kingdom vulnerable to the colonizing powers (Beechert 1985, 61). Beechert says that "the question of sovereignty and the welfare of the sugar industry were never separate questions in the political maneuvering of the nineteenth century" (Beechert 1985, 61). Haole planters exerted power in the government, in the Cabinet as well as the House of Nobles and House of Representatives, toward

the increase of the sugar economy, while the ali'i nui, including the Mō'i Liholiho, tried to accommodate them without sacrificing the sovereignty of the kingdom. It was during this period that discussion of a reciprocity treaty with the United States as a substitute for annexation was revived.

In 1861, the Civil War in the United States started. Liholiho, most likely against the wishes of the missionaries, declared Hawai'i's neutrality. Most of the Calvinist missionaries were New Englanders and abolitionists. Missionary sons Samuel Armstrong and Nathaniel Emerson, for example, interrupted their studies at Williams College to accept commissions in the Union Army. The King, however, had to attend to the continued independence of the country, which required neutrality lest the nation be held hostage by warships from one side or the other (see Kuykendall 1953, 65-66). The U.S. Civil War was, moreover, a boon to the sugar planters who gained new markets when sugar production in the U.S. South ceased because of the war.

It was during this time that a series of tragic events gripped King Liholiho's life and eventually caused his death. The first was the shooting of Henry A. Neilson, the King's secretary in 1859. Kuykendall writes that "the king's mind had been poisoned against Neilson by some means—idle or malicious gossip ... the queen's name was somehow involved." The young King "sought out Neilson, and shot him with a pistol at close range" (Kuykendall 1953, 86). Liholiho apparently never recovered from his remorse and grief; Neilson died two and a half years later. It was at this time that King Liholiho requested the Episcopal (Anglican) Church to establish a mission in Honolulu, another move which no doubt angered the U.S. Calvinists. In fact, the ABCFM protested the king's request directly to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to no avail (Kuykendall 1953, 93). The first important act of the Anglican mission was

the baptism of the only child of King Liholiho and Queen Emma, Albert, the Prince of Hawai'i. The four year old prince, heir to the throne and the bearer of the hopes of the nation, died a few days after this baptism (Kuykendall 1953, 94-95). Kuykendall quotes one of the newspapers as saying, "The death of no other person could have been so severe a blow to the King and his people" (Kuykendall 1953, 95). The King himself died just one year later of grief and despair.

It was into the center of this political and economic maelstrom that *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* sprang. The missionaries had become a relatively uncontested moral force that enjoyed influence over King Kamehameha III in his later years, after two decades of resistance (Sinclair 1976). They had engineered the Māhele and the political structure of the newly formed kingdom. They had moved into positions of power in the Cabinet and Privy Council. But King Liholiho and his brother Ke Kamāli'i Lota Kapuāiwa constituted a new force in politics, who did not accept or appreciate that the Calvinist missionaries' ideas should reign. King Liholiho in fact removed Richard Armstrong from his Cabinet by reducing his title from Minister of Public Instruction to president of the Board of Education (Kuykendall 1953, 106-107). Missionaries were thus gaining power in the economic arena while experiencing losses in the political because of the King and powerful Prince Lot. Other educated Kānaka Maoli stepped into the fray wielding *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*. It was in the newspaper that these Kanaka Maoli, outside the court and legislature, waged a discursive battle for Kanaka power against the encroaching hegemony of the U.S., most saliently represented by the missionaries.

Plantations and the discourse of work and civilization

The government's and planters' concern over the indolence of the "natives" that we saw in Wyllie's survey is related to missionary discourse of an earlier time that persisted into this era, and well into the twentieth century. Max Weber (1958) detailed the links between Calvinist ideology and the development of capitalism. Although Weber did not address the imposition of capitalism in the colonial situation, his study is most illuminating here. Ideologically, for the puritan missionaries, work was of the utmost importance: "Waste of time is ... the first and in principle the deadliest of sins" (Weber 1958, 157). Even "contemplation is ... valueless, or even directly reprehensible if it is at the expense of one's daily work" (Weber 1958, 158). "Unwillingness to work," for them, "is symptomatic of the lack of grace" (Weber 1958, 159). This discourse fit seamlessly into the planters' language: the planters desired workers willing to labor for long hours with little pay. When the Kānaka Maoli refused to do so, they were called lazy and extortionate (Beechert 1985, 59-60).

Examples of this discourse are found in the Hawaiian Evangelical Society's 1857-1859 attempts to legally ban hula. It might be assumed that the missionaries objected to hula on grounds that it threatened the Christianizing of the people, or that it was licentious and therefore evil. But the discourse throughout the move for the ban reveals that the HEA was more worried about labor than about religion, or, at the very least, the two were inextricably intertwined. In 1857, for example, the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* editorialized for the ban. The editor says that

natives care little for anything else than witnessing [hula] by day and night. They are in fact becoming a *nuisance*, fostering indolence and vice among a race which heaven knows is running itself out fast enough, even when held in check with all the restraints which civilization, morality and industry can hold out. (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser* 1857, 2 July)

The danger as represented in this editorial is that Kānaka Maoli will not work. It goes on to claim that “so infatuated do males and females become under [the hula] that it will be vain to urge them to industry to any efforts to raise them above brutes (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser* 1857, 2 July).

The Hawaiian language version of the bill proposing the ban listed four reasons for the ban, three of which have to do with work and laziness:

1. He kumu ia no ka palaualelo. No ka lilo loa i ka hula, aole hana na kanaka he nui wale; waiho wale ka aina, a nahelehele loa. Pela hoi na hana e ae, a na kane, me na wahine.
2. He kumu ia no ka nele. No ka hana ole, lilo nui i ka lealea, ilihune, wi pololi, a pela aku.
4. O ka hula Hawaii he mea ia e make hewa ai, a keakea nui hoi, i kekahi mau hana maikai a ke Aupuni, a me kekahi poe aloha i ko Hawaii nei. ... (Hawai'i Legislature).

1. It is a reason for laziness. Because of the complete absorption in the hula, many people do not work; the land is abandoned until it becomes complete wilderness. Just so the other occupations of men and women.
2. It is a source of deprivation. Because of not working, they become absorbed in amusements, become poor, starving, and so on.
4. The Hawaiian hula is something that is without profit (e make hewa ai), and it greatly obstructs other good works of the Government, and of some beloved people of Hawaii [emphasis in the original].

The English version (not a translation) is perhaps even more clearly concerned with work:

...the native hulas ...are a very great public evil; tending, as we believe, to demoralize the people very rapidly ... to divert them from all industrial and intellectual pursuits; to lay waste their fields and gardens by neglect, as is actually the case in some places; to interfere materially with the prosperity of the schools; to foster idleness, dissipation and licentiousness (Hawai'i Legislature)

The remark that the hula “interfere[s] materially with the prosperity of the schools” is also about labor. Students in the common schools were expected “to pay their own way by the sweat of the brow ... in digging taro or planting potatoes” (*Polynesian* 1858, 1 May). In addition to contributing to the material

prosperity of the schools, this practice was no doubt part of training students for a life of labor in the fields. And it was the labor of the maka'āinana that enriched the missionary planter.

Although editors of *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* charged the missionaries with hypocrisy for becoming wealthy, the Calvinist missionaries experienced little or no anxiety about accumulating wealth. Weber shows how the Calvinist commitment to work in a calling led its practitioners to wealth in capitalist economies (Weber 1958). It was not against the Calvinist code to accumulate wealth, except as wealth might lead to "the consequence of idleness and the temptations of the flesh" (Weber 1958, 157). The puritans' asceticism led them to limit their consumption of luxuries, while continuously working and saving, of which Weber says, "the inevitable practical result is obvious: accumulation of capital through ascetic compulsion to save" (Weber 1958, 172).

In Hawai'i, the missionaries turned these values to immense profit-making through the plantation economy. Their ideology necessarily included a firm conviction of their own superiority, and so they saw little contradiction in becoming the owners of the land and overseers of the production, while the people they had come to save labored, and lived in poverty. Weber observed that

This thankfulness for one's own perfection by the grace of God penetrated the attitude toward life of the Puritan middle class, and played its part in developing that formalistic, hard, correct character which was peculiar to the men of that heroic age of capitalism. (Weber 1958, 166)

The values that resulted in such economic power contributed to the missionary-planters' ability to convert that economic power into social and political power, as well.

The discourse of work justified subjugation and conversion of Kānaka Maoli into laborers. Samuel N. Castle, for example, said that he advocated the sugar plantations, not for his own profit, but “to benefit workless Hawaiians” (Kent 1993, 28). Labor would help elevate the savage to civilization. This is a similar discourse to certain rationalizations of slavery in the U.S. that claimed, for example, that “negroes were changed from barbarians to a degree of civilization under the coercive power of slavery” (Tillman 1907 in Baker 1998, 75). In fact, the defense of slavery often depended on this very same discourse, as Winthrop Jordan so carefully details. Jordan quotes Representative William Loughton Smith of South Carolina insisting on the necessity of slavery at the U.S. Constitutional Convention in 1787: “It is well known that they [Negroes] are an indolent people, improvident, averse to labor: when emancipated, they will either starve or plunder” (Jordan 1974, 129).

Missionaries even used the power of the pulpit to enforce the compulsion to work. We saw that the mission paper reported that the first reason Kānaka were expelled from the church was because of laziness (*Ka Hoku Loa* 1861, Sep.)

Resistance to this discourse can be found in the pages of *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* both symbolically and in castigation of unethical activity by missionary planters. The symbolic was expressed, for example, in the one song that appeared in the paper in English, called “Oh, Come, Come Away.” Here are the first three lines:

Oh come, come away, from labor now reposing,
From busy care awhile forbear,
Oh, come, come away. (*Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* 1861, Nov. 28)

Edward Bailey, the aforementioned planter of Maui was chastised in the pages of *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* for abusing his power as a former missionary. According to the story in the paper, his cattle ran into a Kanaka neighbor’s yard, destroying

some property. When he was confronted by the neighbor and asked to pay for the damage, it was reported that he retaliated with a peculiarly chilling death threat to the Kanaka farmer. Bailey reportedly told the farmer that he had written down the names of the publishers of *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* and sent the paper to God; two of them died shortly thereafter. Bailey suggested that, since the farmer was also seen with the evil newspaper, he could add his name to the death list (*Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* 1861, Oct. 31). Editors of *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* asked (and answered):

Aole anei oia ka mea i kauohaia ai e ka Haku mai hoahu i ko oukou waiwai ma ka honua? No ka puni waiwai ia manao i ulu mai ai; a ua makemakeia e ike na mea a pau i ke ano o ka poe a lakou i hilinai ai. (*Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* 1861, Oct. 31)

Are they not the ones commanded by the Lord not to accumulate wealth on the earth? It is because of love of wealth that this has arisen; and it is desired that everyone should know the character of the people that they trust.

Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika, like *Ka Hae Hawaii*, advocated farming as a way of life and a means of livelihood, but, as the above example demonstrates, resented and resisted the authority of the missionaries who had become plantation owners, and were attempting to subjugate Kānaka Maoli by intimidation. *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* provided effective means of talking back to the haole planters.

Working hand in hand with the discourse of work were the discourses of race and civilization. By 1861, Euro-Americans in the U.S. had developed a particularly racialized worldview. Lee D. Baker, an anthropologist whose work analyzes the construction of race, demonstrates how “the institutionalization of slavery and scientific ideas of racial inferiority were critical steps in the evolution of the formation of a racialized worldview” (Baker 1998, 13). He explains that scientists “fused their aesthetic judgments and ethnocentrism to form an

elaborate system to classify the races into a rigid, hierarchical system," which was then used in North America "to [buoy] existing power relationships, political goals, and economic interests, which in turn institutionalized racial inferiority" (Baker 1998, 13). Scientific studies were used to "explain that Negroes and Indians were savages not worthy of citizenship or freedom" (Baker 1998, 14).

Related to this was the discourse of civilizing the savages. For the Calvinist mission, to "civilize" the Kānaka Maoli was to lift them up to enlightenment from what the missionaries often called their "degraded" status. The missionaries were charged with raising "an entire people 'to an elevated state of Christian Civilization'" (Hutchison 1987, 70). That the Kanaka Maoli were an uncivilized race was the primary assumption of the first and each succeeding company of missionaries. It justified the appointment of missionaries, the bearers of civilization, to their positions of power. Later, after eighty years of missionization, the same discourse was deployed to justify U.S. political takeover of Hawai'i: the uncivilized were said to be incapable of self-government.

Furthermore, by 1861, the discourse of civilization was already a long tradition in the United States. Spanish explorers had represented the indigenous peoples of the New World as savages. The English elite borrowed the discourse and, as Baker says, imposed it on the "wild" Irish (Baker 1998, 12). Then "the same traits used to depict the Irish as savage in the seventeenth century were used to classify African Americans and Native Americans as savages during the following three centuries" (Baker 1998, 12). The discursive hierarchy of savagery, barbarism, and civilization was used to rationalize colonial policies that displaced and destroyed the indigenous peoples and enslaved Africans.

This discourse was then reinforced in the eighteenth and nineteenth century by scientific studies that asserted the natural inferiority of certain uncivilized races. In the U.S. the idea of "race" is inextricably linked not only to the imagined "scientific" hierarchy of peoples, but also to missionary ideology. It has its antecedents "not in the science of race but in the theology of heathenism, the saved, and the damned" (Baker 1998, 12). Slavery itself was justified as "a means of converting the heathen" (Gossett 1963, 31).

The Kanaka Maoli were (and are) not from the U.S. and did not share this history nor this worldview, although it is precisely this, among other issues, that they were confronting and resisting. Neither race, gender, nor class are constructed the same way in the Hawaiian language and worldview as they are in English/Euro-American. The Kānaka Maoli writing in *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* in 1861 were struggling against the encroaching hegemony of Euro-Americans, sometimes using "us" versus "them" categories, such as "kanaka maoli," "kēia lāhui," "keiki papa," etc. versus "haole." These categories, however, are not the same as "race" is understood in the U.S. The Kānaka Maoli called themselves, at times, "kēia lāhui," which a strictly dictionary translation would render as "this race." Translations generally use the word "race" as equivalent for "lāhui," but to accept this simple equivalence would be a mistake. "Lāhui" can mean a particular people or nation, but, and this is most important, does not include the hierarchical scheme just described. After the first importation of Chinese laborers, for example, "it is certain that the Hawaiian worker reacted strongly to the pressures" (Beechert 1985, 70). Yet the Kānaka Maoli did not employ the racist discourse that might have been expected by (and of) the Euro-Americans: "the Hawaiians in general did not accept notions of racial superiority and clearly did not pursue the questions of racial competition which so occupied other

groups" (Beechert 1985, 70). Neither does "lāhui" include the broader racial categories that developed in the European and U.S. traditions. For example, in English, a Polynesian race is often referred to, but that category does not exist in Hawaiian: Māori from Aotearoa, Sāmoans, Tongans, and Mā'ohi from Tahiti are all different lāhui in Hawaiian. As late as 1906, Joseph Poepoe, writing in Hawaiian about Fornander's work on the "Polynesian Race," had to translate "lahui Polunesia" into English to make the phrase understandable for his Hawaiian readers (Poepoe 1906).

The Kanaka Maoli fought the racist discourse that depicted them as savages or barbarians, i.e., the uncivilized. The writers and editors of *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* demonstrated that Kānaka Maoli had mastered the technology of the haole (the printing press and the palapala), and then went further to show off their skills in both traditional literature and modern political writing. They countered the hierarchical racism by refusing to grant it any validity, and by valuing their own language and culture to a high degree. Their language about themselves reveals pride in their heritage: "kanaka" was not yet an epithet. In other words, to some extent, they agreed that they had become civilized. For the Kanaka Maoli, however, agreeing to become civilized had more to do with retaining their independence as a sovereign nation, than with acceptance of the racial or cultural hierarchy. Sally Merry (1999) shows how Hawai'i's continued independence hinged on proving itself as a member of the exclusive club of civilized nations. The peoples who could not show themselves to be "civilized" were being taken over by the Mana Nui 'Great Powers' all over the world, including in the Pacific.

For many Kānaka Maoli, to be na'auao 'civilized' meant literacy and the education to conduct business and politics, but not the missionary idea that

traditional arts and customs should be condemned to a dark, soulless past. This is one of the central issues that *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* is presenting. *Ka Hoku* is continually arguing that Kanaka traditions are valuable, and that the Kanaka Maoli can be both na'auao and Kanaka at the same time. This anti-hegemonic stance was one of several that were causing the Calvinists considerable anxiety as they tried to retain and increase their power in Hawai'i nei.

Church: a site of missionary anxiety

Missionaries at this time were feeling threats of loss of control in their traditionally secure arena, as well as in others. For many years they had been the predominant advisors to the crown; they had succeeded for a time in making their brand of Protestantism the state religion for the Kingdom of Hawai'i; they had succeeded, as well, in persuading the crown that the Kingdom's laws should be "God's laws" (Merry 1999). It was a missionary, William Richards, who taught political economy to the ali'i. By 1861, though, the missionaries were in competition with other foreigners, and increasingly, with Kānaka Maoli, over various of their domains. Richard Armstrong, long the Minister of Public Instruction, died in 1860; he was replaced by the ali'i, Governor Mataio Kekuanaoa, father of Alexander Liholiho and Lota Kapuāiwa (Kuykendall 1953, 107). Abraham Fornander, through the *Weekly Argus* and then the *Polynesian*, critiqued the missionaries from a position of credibility as an educated, civilized European who was not a Calvinist. Both the Roman Catholic Church and the Church of Latter Day Saints established popular missions, drawing Kānaka Maoli away from the first missions, now perhaps beginning to be seen as too severe. In the church, the government, the public schools, and popular opinion, then, the control of the missionaries was slipping, if only slightly.

At the same time, the newspapers were reporting that Kānaka Maoli were sliding back into their traditional ways. As we saw in the last chapter, reports were made that Kānaka Maoli were practicing hula, worshipping their old gods, and practicing their traditional medicine. *Ka Hoku Loa* said they had established the paper because “ua ulu nui ka hewa ma kela wahi ma keia wahi, iwaena o na mea he nui” ‘sin has increased everywhere, among many people’ (*Ka Hoku Loa* 1859, Jul. 2). Kānaka Maoli had to be reminded to obey marriage laws as well, as we saw in the *Kuokoa* article mentioned in the last chapter. Meanwhile stories and legends like Kawelo and Hi’iaka depicted lives of relative sexual freedom before the arrival of constricting, foreign marriage laws. These same legends pictured Kānaka Maoli worshipping Pele and other gods. All of this combined to make the missionaries anxious about just how permanently converted the Kanaka Maoli were.

When the ABCFM, who, for many years, had been exhorting the Hawaiian Evangelical Association to turn control of the churches over to Kanaka Maoli ministers, again made this demand, the HEA continued to resist. There had been controversy within the mission enterprise for many years over the issue of civilizing and colonizing, and the question of native pastors was at the center of the controversy. Rufus Anderson, senior secretary of the ABCFM, did not agree that the missionaries were to engage in civilizing activities; he ordered that they restrict their activities to preaching, and refrain from introducing the English language and other facets of foreign life. Anderson was opposed to the missionaries establishing schools, particularly English language schools, because he did not see any relationship between acquiring English and converting to Christianity. He feared, too, that the civilizing activities would “denationalize” the people, and alienate them from their communities (Hutchison 1987, 83). But

“these arguments against civilizing motives and functions encountered immediate opposition” (Hutchison 1987, 84). In 1854-55, he led an inspection tour of some foreign missions. His team of inspectors were to “ask why the missions were finding it so difficult to ordain native pastors and to induce natives to build their own churches” (Hutchison 1987, 85). Anderson found that in Hawai‘i, “Native preachers had been trained, but the missionaries on the scene ... had been egregiously unwilling to grant them pastoral responsibilities” (Hutchison 1987, 86). Anderson was also horrified, at one point, when he realized that the HEA “was composed entirely of American-born members” (Hutchison 1987, 87). It was not until Anderson made a personal tour of the Hawaiian mission in 1863 that some parishes were turned over to Kanaka Maoli ministers, but even then, the missionaries reserved control over “the important centers” for themselves (Kuykendall 1953, 100).

The missionaries, persuaded of their own innate superiority and anxious over backsliding Kānaka, thus had great difficulty in sharing power with Kanaka Maoli ministers and missionaries. When the letter writer in *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* asked, “He aha hoi o J. W. Kaiwi?” “What then is J. W. Kaiwi?” he pointed to this very problem. Rev. J. W. Kaiwi may have been an ordained minister and leader of the mission to the Marquesas, but he was Kanaka Maoli, and therefore, irredeemably suspect. It did not matter that the mele was a Sunday school hymn because it was in Hawaiian and had emanated from a Kanaka Maoli. That alone qualified it as obscene, or at least possibly so.

Home: attempting domestication of the Kanaka Woman

Foreign practices had indelibly altered women’s lives in Hawai‘i. Through the imposition of Euro-American constitutions, laws, and churches, women’s

public voices and previous paths to power became increasingly limited. The process of depriving Kanaka women of voice and power took place on these many fronts, as well as in the home, which became the focus of the missionaries.

Patricia Grimshaw has said of the missionary wives :

They came to Hawaii believing that Hawaiian women were sunk to the lowest place of abjection; they came to enable these women to 'lift up their heads' and enjoy the fruits of a higher social status. In fact, mission wives attacked and undermined those very aspects of Hawaiian culture which offered Hawaiian women some measure of autonomy in their own system. Meanwhile they were powerless to recreate for Hawaiians the conditions which gave American women the degree of informal power which they themselves knew. (1989, 156)

After the initial failures to make Kānaka Maoli behave like New Englanders, missionary wives came to feel that "the main thrust of the reform endeavor should be shaped around the family life of Hawaiians. ...The main reliance, then, would be upon instilling 'moral and religious culture' in the females" (Grimshaw 1989, 161). But the ali'i immediately presented a problem: "The delicate balance involved in the definition of submissiveness of wife to husband almost defied explanation in terms of chiefly Hawaiians. Missionaries had no choice but to accept the enormous power of chiefly women" (165). Even among commoners, "some women continued to spend time swimming and surfing, in card playing, gambling, 'furious' horse riding, dancing, and traditional games of skill and chance" (167).

In Chapter 2 we saw that in Richard Armstrong's government paper, *Ka Hae Hawaii*, articles were published designed to domesticate Kanaka women. One of the articles said, "O ka ka wahine hana ia, o ka malama i ka hale, a maemae," or 'The wife's job is to keep the house clean' (1856, 19 Mar.). It goes on to say that in "na aina naauao" 'enlightened/civilized lands', women work at sewing, taking care of children, cleaning, and teaching school. Then, life is

comfortable. If their bodies and their houses are clean, their husbands do not look for other women. In the following week's edition, the ali'i Kapi'olani is described as being a model woman. Her house was clean and furnished just like a haole house. Her body and her hair were also neat and clean. She attended church every Sunday as well. "Ina me ia na wahine a pau, pomaikai ka aina" 'If every woman were like her, the land would be blessed' (1856, 26 Mar.). Right next to the article about the model woman is an editorial about why girls should be sent to school along with their brothers: so that they can learn English in order to teach their sons "keia olelo momona" 'this rich language.' English will spread much quicker this way, it concludes. It was a way to encourage the use of English language schools toward socializing the population in haole ways, with the emphasis, however, on men—women were to be the tool whereby men would learn.

As women lost places from which to launch resistance or counter-hegemonic strategies, they increasingly relied on tactics (see Certeau 1985), some of which were the literary ones we see in *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*. The ancient legends in this newspaper offer us a glimpse into how gender was constructed in Hawaiian discourse. Tales and legends are informative, as well, as Certeau says, because "they are deployed, like games, in a space outside of and isolated from daily competition, that of the past, the marvelous, the original. In that space can thus be revealed, dressed as gods or heroes, the models of good or bad ruses that can be used every day" (1985, 23).

The most important legend to look at for this purpose is that of Hi'iakaikapoliopele (Hi'iaka). As I detailed in chapter two, Hi'iaka is the youngest sister and favorite of Pele, the volcano goddess. Both, but especially Hi'iaka, are patron goddesses of the hula. In the legend, Pele sends Hi'iaka from

the most eastern point in the islands, Hā'ena, Hawai'i to the most western point of the large islands, Hā'ena, Kaua'i, to fetch a lover she met while in a trance or dream state. Hi'iaka's mission is to bring the handsome Lohi'au to Pele without succumbing to temptation along the way. (Pele promises that after she has had Lohi'au for five days, Hi'iaka may then take him for a lover as well, but not before then.)

The representation of women in the Hi'iaka epic is quite different from the picture of womanhood the Rev. Armstrong was trying to convey. Pele is demanding, jealous, angry, unpredictable, and vengeful. The other young women engage in meaningful and pleasurable activities: they fight off evils, they outsmart rapists, they chant and dance hula, they surf, they practice medicine and religion (one and the same at times), they have loves and profound relationships, especially with each other. They are not cooking, cleaning house, or worrying about husbands. They are not domesticated; rather, they are adventurous. The legend instructs a different moral code. Hi'iaka loves men, while remaining entirely independent of them. She punishes a man for hitting his wife, as well. Blind wifely submission to husbands is not part of the code.

We should look again briefly at the legend of Kamapua'a, the pig god, that was published in *Ka Hae Hawaii* in this same era. This is not a woman-centered story like Hi'iaka, but the representations of women in it are just as remarkable. Kamapua'a is sometimes a pig, sometimes a handsome young man (and has several other kinolau 'multiple body forms' as well). Kamapua'a engages in a relationship with Pele that is part battle and part love affair. It begins when Pele apparently beckons to Kamapua'a in his dreams. Then, when he appears at her volcano crater home in his handsome man form, she denounces him as a pig. There ensues a verbal battle which rapidly escalates to

violence. At one point Kamapua'a is nearly defeated when Pele's sisters and then Pele herself expose their genitals to him. As part of the peace treaty, she agrees to become his lover. Here again, it seems that she desires him as well. Kamapua'a, always excessive, does not give Pele any rest from his love-making. She is on the verge of death when she is saved by one of her brothers who dangles bananas in front of Kamapua'a. In other versions, Pele is saved by her younger sisters' persuading the pig to stop. She is simultaneously helped by one of her sister goddesses (Kapo) who distracts Kamapua'a with her detachable flying vagina (Kahiolo 1856; Kame'eleihiwa 1996 [1891]).

In the later version which was published in a resistance paper, Pele is saved by women's power: the verbal skills of her sisters, the mysterious female genital power of her sister, Kapo. Kapo's female power was deleted from the missionary-influenced paper, after all, Joseph Emerson had called her, "the obscene Kapo, a conception of impurity too revolting to admit of description" (1892). But instead of just substituting something not so "revolting," the author also chooses to replace female power with male power. In Armstrong's paper, it takes a man to save Pele. Even with the taming in that version, and the dilution of female power, the women in the Kamapua'a legend are anything but domesticated. Pele is still unruly, difficult to understand: did she want him or not? In both versions, when Pele finally does submit, it nearly kills her.

While it is difficult to determine exactly the effects this discourse had on women and their resistance tactics, I think it is fair to surmise that these images of women as strong, independent, intelligent, resourceful and unruly were at the very least an inspiration, and a relief from the tensions and demands associated with trying to live an alien and restrictive lifestyle. They contributed to an alternative, positive, identity formation by Kanaka women. Rather than

identifying with the Americans who considered themselves superior, women were able to form and/or reinforce a separate Kanaka Maoli identity, which was also reinforced in practicing the dance, speaking the mother tongue, and in relationships with each other and with Kanaka Maoli men. This is similar to what Judith Rollins discovered in a study of African-American domestic workers. The domestics did not suffer from internalizing racism in identification with their employers; rather, they constructed their identities through family, church, organizations, and place in the community (1996, 236). For the ali'i this strong sense of Kanaka Maoli identity, separate from the haole colonizers may explain in part how women in the 1890s were able to take part in anti-annexationist political activities while married to haole men (see Chapter 5).

The legends were no doubt read and interpreted differently by ali'i and maka'āinana. It seems to me that ali'i women, especially the large land-holders, were more likely to marry haole men. The racism of American "society," by which missionaries were punished for marrying Kanaka women (Kimura 1983, 192), was often overlooked when the women were associated with royalty and owned substantial amounts of land. Charles Reed Bishop married Bernice Pauahi, John O. Dominis married Lili'uokalani, and James Campbell married Kuaihelani Maipinepine. Such wealthy high-ranking ali'i women were subject to much more social pressure to conform to haole standards of behavior because the court was increasingly conducted along the lines of European royalty. On the other hand, in the histories which were also published regularly in newspapers during this period were images of real, powerful ali'i women of the past with whom they could identify. These legends, along with chants, songs, and genealogies, were part of their education as ali'i from an early age. Knowledge of their powerful mothers and grandmothers was part and parcel of

their consciousness of who they were, and surely gave them strength for fighting domestication.

According to ethnomusicologist Amy Stillman, it was the *maka'āinana* who more effectively resisted:

Christianized Hawaiians who advocated a Victorian style of living and an American Puritan work ethic provided a sharp contrast to those Hawaiians, largely rural *maka'āinana*, who perpetuated the Hawaiian culture and social mode of living. ... Those Hawaiians for whom upward mobility was gained by adopting Western status symbols and adapting to a Western lifestyle formed a new emerging bourgeois class in Honolulu, and stood in contradistinction to rural Hawaiians who preferred to continue to live in a Hawaiian lifestyle. (Stillman 1982, 28)

Maka'āinana women also read these papers, and no doubt also drew inspiration from the images of powerful women. The *maka'āinana* in rural areas were indeed the ones to continue learning and performing hula in violation of the licensing law (Silva 1996). They would have been able to read the tacit approval of Kalākaua and certain other ali'i in *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, not only through the publication of *Hi'iakaikapoliopole*, and traditional mele, but also through reports that hula was performed at the funerals of certain ali'i in Honolulu.

Conclusion

Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika provided a venue for the voices of Kanaka Maoli resistance in an era of encroaching foreign hegemony, where the forces of colonial capitalism paired with inducements to cultural imperialism. While English was increasingly being seen as a tool for material and mental enrichment, *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* celebrated ka 'Ōlelo 'Ōiwi (Hawaiian). While the other newspapers glorified European/American culture, *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* insisted on regaling readers with a glorious Hawaiian past. *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*

offered women (and men) relief from the strange constraints being imposed on them in the fields of labor and in their own homes. *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* provided a way for Kānaka Maoli to talk back to their oppressors, especially the missionaries.

The missionaries along with other would-be colonizers in the government, asserted themselves as powerful rulers through their acts of prohibition. The HEA continually attempted to ban hula, traditional medicine, and when *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* came out, traditional Hawaiian language forms. Any success they might experience in prohibiting speech would accrue more power to themselves. At the same time, many missionaries, their sons, and other condemners of traditional speech such as Thomas Thrum (of the *Hawaiian Annual*) relished the pleasures of these stories and mele for themselves (Foucault 1990). Two missionary sons, Nathaniel and Joseph Emerson, studied and then published papers and books on Pele and Hi'iaka and the traditional Hawaiian gods (Emerson, N. 1965 [1909]; 1978 [1915]; Emerson, J. 1892). Another missionary named Bicknell wrote a series of articles detailing Hawaiian religion (Bicknell 1890;1892). Other examples abound. All of them engage in acts of repression and prohibition against Kānaka Maoli. In order to conduct such studies, these evangelical Christian men must interview various Kānaka Maoli and persuade them to tell the damning secrets of the mo'olelo and mele. They are then able to experience the pleasure that, as Foucault says, "comes of exercising a power that questions, monitors, watches, spies, searches out, palpates, brings to light" (Foucault 1990, 45). While attempting to silence the Kānaka Maoli, these representatives of "civilization" reserved the power of speech for themselves: "things were said in a different way; it was different people who said them, from different points of view, and in order to obtain

different results” (Foucault 1990, 27). Bicknell’s articles were published just before the overthrow of the Kingdom and were likely used as justification to take political power away from a “savage” people. Nathaniel Emerson’s studies were commissioned and published by the Board of American Ethnology, which played a substantial role in the scientific justification of American racism (Baker 1998, 26-53).

The attempts to ban the speech of Kānaka Maoli were also part of the struggle for hegemony especially in the progress of a certain economy. It would be advantageous to the European-American hegemonic project if the Kānaka Maoli believed that the cash, plantation economy was the best possible, even the only one possible. As we have seen, the plantations, churches, schools, courts, and even home were sites where European-Americans (especially) were subjugating Kānaka Maoli, and coercing as well as persuading them to live within the colonizers’ economic system. The newspaper was anti-hegemonic in that it published stories that evoked a past in which the people lived without money, clocks, and sexual restrictions. In a world controlled more and more by foreigners, *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* allowed imagination of a nation controlled by Kānaka Maoli. Its evocations of positive Kanaka identity aroused a certain kind of nationalism, an anticolonial one that made a crucial distinction between “Kanaka Maoli,” a ‘true Hawaiian’ and the Hawai’i born but still foreign missionary descendant.

In its recitations of traditional mele, mo’olelo, and mo’okū’auhau ‘genealogies,’ *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* was reflecting and communicating a specifically Kanaka national identity. This national identity was based in the ancient cosmology and the realm of the sacred that the haole did not share. This

is similar to the anticolonial nationalism that Partha Chatterjee describes in colonial India. Chatterjee says that anticolonial nationalism in India

divid[es] the world of social institutions and practices into two domains—the material and the spiritual. The material is the domain of the ‘outside’ of the economy and of statecraft, of science and technology In this domain, then, Western superiority had to be acknowledged and its accomplishments carefully studied and replicated. The spiritual, on the other hand is an ‘inner’ domain bearing the ‘essential’ marks of cultural identity. ... [N]ationalism declares the domain of the spiritual its sovereign territory and refuses to allow the colonial power to intervene in that domain. (Chatterjee 1993, 5)

Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika reinscribes and reinvokes the ancient cosmology as its sovereign territory, so to speak. Many Kānaka Maoli did not experience the conflict between the ancient beliefs and their Christianity that the missionaries expected or wanted them to experience. Kānaka Maoli often reconciled conflicts by comparing people and events in the ancient tradition with the ones described in the Christian bible (eg., in Ho’oulumāhie 1906, Hi’iaka is compared to Abraham). As Ku’ualoha Ho’omanawanui jokingly says, “The Hawaiians had four hundred thousand gods. One more was no big deal.” Through *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, the Kanaka Maoli were able to create a new kind of sacred space in which the ancient gods and traditions lived again. One reason the resistance takes place in such a sacred space, rather than a political one, is that it *can*. While the economic system is driven by ali’i colluding with colonial capitalist power, and political sovereignty exists at the mercy of great states with warships, rifles, and cannons, the Kanaka Maoli are a people small in number and unable to raise up a great navy. They can, nevertheless, retain a sovereign identity as a lāhui, through preservation of their language, stories, songs, dance, and cosmologies. They do have themselves, a collective identity, rooted in an ancient, sacred past.

Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika then may not have been radically anti-hegemonic, in that it did not urge its readers to take up arms and oust the maha'oi 'intrusive' foreigners who were controlling their lives, in order to establish a more completely Kanaka society. Its editors understood well the dangers that a small nation faced in the imperial century. Instead they focused on the possible: a strengthening of pride in heritage, the preservation of valuable traditional knowledge, and the provision of a space to contest the more grievous acts of the colonizers. *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* laid the foundation of cultural resistance that its most famous editor, David Kalākaua, built on when he reigned from 1874-1891.

What She Said:

The only cure
I know
is a good ceremony,
that's what she said.

Leslie Marmon Silko

CHAPTER 4

THE MERRIE MONARCH: GENEALOGY, COSMOLOGY, AND PERFORMANCE ART AS RESISTANCE

The foundation of the Hale Naua is from the beginning of the world and the revival of the Order was selected and the base levelled [sic], the outer and inner pillars erected, the beams and scantling attached, the rafters bound with cord, the roof plated and thatched, the erection of the Iku Hai's mansion completed in the month of Welo (September), on the night of Kane, in the reign of His Majesty Kalakaua I., the 825th generation from Lailai, or 24, 750 years from the Wohi Kumulipo (the beginning), and Kapomanomano (the producing agent), equivalent to 40, 000, 000, 000, 024, 750 years from the commencement of the world and 24, 750 years from Lailai, the first woman, dating to the date of the present calendar, the 24th of September, A.D. 1886.

Preamble to the Constitution of the Hale Nauā.

As we saw in the last two chapters, in the early 1860s, the print media emerged as one of the primary weapons for Kānaka Maoli engaged in nationalist resistance to the colonial maneuvers of the U.S. missionaries. Newspapers from that time on served to consolidate the lāhui (meaning both 'people' and 'nation'), allowing people to communicate with each other from Hawai'i island to Ni'ihau. As Anderson (1991) has observed, the print media in the vernacular contributed to the imagining of the nation among people who did not know each other personally but now shared that large community. The lāhui was also created in the collective imagination by Kānaka Maoli grouping themselves as alike, sharing a language and culture, albeit with regional variations, and in opposition to the haole. That opposition was not simply an othering based on differences in color and language, but an attempt to fend off U. S. and various European colonial advances. Hawai'i, the nation or the lāhui, did not exist as a singular entity before the arrival of the haole; it was, rather, Hawai'i, Maui, O'ahu and so on. Moreover, newspapers and literacy introduced the Kanaka Maoli to similar anti-colonial struggles around the world.

This chapter will examine some of the resistance strategies and tactics that King Kalākaua devised in the area of reenacting and revitalizing the traditional culture. In the previous half-century since the arrival of the puritan missionaries, Kanaka traditions had suffered serious erosion: the hula had been banned by church edict, as had lapa'au 'medicine.' Any vestiges of the ancient religion were fervently condemned. To accomplish these ends, Kalākaua expanded on the work of *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, in which the ancient religion and dance were (re)presented in literary forms. During his reign, he brought the ancient traditions forward even further, off the page and into public performance. The old religion, dance, mo'olelo, mele, and mo'okū'auhau were like the iwikuamo'o 'backbone' for the lāhui; without their own traditions they could not stand up to the colonial onslaught. Alexander Liholiho and Emma had rebelled against the U.S. missionaries by inviting the Anglicans to establish a church in Hawai'i, as was mentioned in the last chapter. This has often been analyzed as both Anglophilism and anti-Americanism (e.g., Kuykendall 1953), because Hawai'i's sovereignty struggle of the 19th century has often been cast as a struggle between the U.S. and Britain. But Kuykendall also says that "'The Episcopal Church, while supplying a religious need, was also expected to serve as a safeguard of the Hawaiian monarchy'" (Kuykendall 1953, 84). Lota Kapuāiwa, Kamehameha V, allowed, and most likely encouraged, the semi-private performances of hula at funerals and engineered the weakening of the legal ban on hula, changing the proposed ban to a licensing requirement (Silva 1996). Kalākaua, following in his footsteps, went much further. He defied the missionaries' rules by arranging for public performance of the hula, publishing the *Kumulipo*, and the other activities that we will review in this chapter. The revitalization of these ancient ways armored people against the pernicious effects of the constant denigration of their

culture by the U.S. missionaries and their descendants. It allowed them to know themselves as a strong people with a proud history. This knowledge directly contradicted, and thus effectively contested, the discourse that represented them as backward savages incapable of self-government. The genealogical prayer, the *Kumulipo*, that connected the reigning monarch to the creation of the universe assured the people that the nation was in the proper hands. The enactment of the *mo'olelo* through dance and various exhibitions was revolutionary in that it overturned and forever ended the missionary prohibition against such activities. Just as important, the public performances played a crucial role in the development of Hawai'i's national narratives, which are essential to the creation and survival of nations (Said 1993, 272-273). For Kalākaua and the *lāhui* these worked simultaneously as official narratives of the nation and underground narratives that the *haole* community did not understand. In that way, they functioned to constitute the nation as the *lāhui Kanaka Maoli*, excluding those they were resisting.

In the historiography of Hawai'i, King Kalākaua, who reigned 1874-1891, may be the most reviled and ridiculed of the monarchs. He was caught by the demands for profit and economic well-being on one hand, and the necessity of retaining the sovereignty of the *Kanaka Maoli* on the other. He acceded to the *haole* clamor for the Reciprocity Treaty, which bound Hawai'i tightly to the United States, and which represented a significant loss of sovereignty in its prohibition against the Hawaiian government leasing any land in the Kingdom to any other nation (Osorio 1996, 312). He made other unpopular decisions, such as miring the nation in a large debt. His closest associates were often people that the puritanical establishment despised: the opportunistic man from the U.S. with grandiose ideas, Walter Murray Gibson; the suspect Italian, Celso Caesar

Moreno; and the shrewd capitalist who maneuvered the entire ahupua'a of Wailuku, Maui out of the Kingdom's hands, Claus Spreckels. It was also his misfortune that the sons of the first missionaries came fully of age during his reign. Unlike their parents, the sons had no constraining influence such as the ABCFM to deter them from overthrowing the government. Exhibiting the same arrogant attitudes of superiority, and making use of the same discourses of civilization and savagery, they determined to establish full colonial rule over the Kanaka Maoli. Some Kānaka Maoli, who later became heroes in the anti-annexation struggle, assisted them for a short time. Joseph Nāwahī and G. W. Pilipo, who disagreed particularly with the loss of sovereignty incurred with the Reciprocity Treaty and with the dangers of the large national debt, temporarily assisted Lorrin Thurston and the others who sought to overthrow Kalākaua—but only until it became clear that Thurston mā would never consider them equals, but were holding meetings of their political party to which the Kānaka were not invited (Osorio 1996, 431).

During Kalākaua's time, Western hegemony meant, in part, that the people consented to the structure of government in the form of a nation-state. As Osorio says, they came to believe in their nation as a reality, while the haole settlers and their children did not: "The *haole*, even those born in the Islands, had their own 'native' countries whose existence and viability was more real to them than was the Kingdom" (Osorio 1996, 285). Both Kalākaua and Emma used the slogan "Hawai'i for Hawaiians" as an emblem of nationalism that also resisted haole rule. This resistance to colonial second-class status for their people has been interpreted as racism (e.g., Kuykendall 1967, 187). But while racism works at subjugating another class or race of people, this slogan was part of a larger effort by the Kanaka Maoli to forestall their own subjugation.

The enactments of tradition that Kalākaua undertook that strengthened the identity of the Kanaka Maoli as a people proud of their past and of their achievements made him more popular. His legacy of national pride has persisted to this day. To practitioners of hula and traditional religion, who call him the Merrie Monarch, he is possibly the most revered of the monarchs. For example, Jennie Wilson (née Kini Kapahukulaokamāmalu McColgan), a dancer in Kalākaua's court and hula performer at the Chicago World's Fair in 1893, attributed all contemporary knowledge of hula to Kalākaua's revival efforts (Keali'inohomoku 1962). Elizabeth Tatar has written, "King Kalākaua ... was, perhaps, the monarch who was the most insistent about 'perpetuating and preserving' traditional Hawaiian music and dance" (Tatar 1982, 29).

Kalākaua was not a Kamehameha, and that fact contributed to much of the cultural renaissance that he fostered. Kaeppler says that Kalākaua "was interested in demonstrating his high rank and status according to Hawaiian tradition" (Kaeppler 1993, 24). Rule over the nation had remained the exclusive domain of Kamehameha I and his descendants from the formation of the kingdom until the death of William Lunalilo. When Kalākaua was elected after Lunalilo's death, it was against the wishes and beliefs of many Kānaka Maoli, who thought that Queen Emma had a greater claim to the throne because she was a descendant of Kamehameha I's younger brother, Keli'imaika'i and was the widow of Alexander Liholiho (Kamehameha IV). Kalākaua was descended from another ali'i nui, Keaweaheulu, Kamehameha I's cousin and close adviser (Kame'eleihiwa 1992, 52). Before the deciding vote in the Legislature, there were public arguments over the genealogical claims of both Emma and Kalākaua, each side trying to minimize the claim of the other. When Kalākaua's election was announced, a group of "Emmaites" rioted, attacking only Kanaka Maoli

legislators (Osorio 1996, 290-291). The legitimacy of Kalākaua's presence on the throne was contested from time to time throughout his reign, and continued even after his death. Sanford B. Dole's biographer wrote of Queen Emma's death: "The old Hawaii of wise, far-seeing *alii* had passed. The ruler of Hawaii in 1885 [Kalākaua] was one to whom his princely heritage ... meant little or nothing except as exploited by ... glitter of crown and throne" (Damon 1957, 186-187). But, according to George Kanahēle, "[Kalākaua] believed strongly that the political survival of his kingdom depended upon the cultural and spiritual revitalization of the Hawaiian people" (Kanahēle 1979, 201). Though these actions of Kalākaua have been interpreted in the past as political maneuvers to retain power against threats from other ali'i nui, those identical actions functioned as resistance to cultural destruction and loss of sovereignty for the lāhui. Osorio says that "these were highly assertive of the glory and vitality of Hawaiian traditions and affirmed the cultural distinctions between Native and foreigner" (Osorio 1996, 412). They constituted, as did their literary forms, a core of identity for Kanaka Maoli, grounded in the realm of the sacred. The *Kumulipo* in this context can be read as a political text, i.e., it is a narrative of the lāhui from the beginning of time. Kalākaua brings it forward during his reign in order to legitimize his right to rule, but it functions doubly to legitimize the existence of the nation itself. The nation's sovereignty was unstable in ways that were parallel to his own instability on the throne. Kalākaua's activities were aimed at constituting and strengthening the nation through reenacting the traditional cosmology, which could not help but strengthen his position. He attempted to use tradition as resistance to colonization in many ways, including establishing the Papa Kū'auhau o Nā Ali'i Hawai'i 'Board of Genealogy' and the Hale Nauā to document traditional knowledge; arranging for the public performance of hula

at the Poni Mō'i 'Coronation'; and arranging hula and dramatic performances of national narratives at the Jubilee, his fiftieth birthday celebration.

Genealogy and Cosmology

In Kanaka Maoli tradition, the right to rule was primarily legitimated by mo'okū'auhau 'genealogy.' In her study of the *Kumulipo*, Martha Beckwith noted that "Position in old Hawaii both social and political, depended in the first instance upon rank, and rank upon blood descent—hence the importance of genealogy as proof of high ancestry" (Beckwith 1951, 11). According to mid-nineteenth century historian Samuel Kamakau (writing circa 1865-1876), power could also accrue to a (male) ali'i because of his skill at war: "Sometimes the hereditary chief lost his land, and the kingdom was taken by force and snatched away by a warrior, and the name of 'chief' was given to him because of his prowess" (Kamakau 1964, 4).¹ Even in this case, however, in order for the ali'i to retain power, "He then attached himself to the chiefly genealogies, even though his father may have been of no great rank (*noanoa*), and his mother a chiefess" (Kamakau 1964, 4).

According to Kame'eleihiwa, the premier scholar of Kanaka genealogy:

The genealogies *are* the Hawaiian concept of time, and they order the space around us. Through them we learn of the exploits and identities of our ancestors. ... Even though the great genealogies are of the *Ali'i Nui* and not of the commoners, these *Ali'i Nui* are the collective ancestors, and their *mo'olelo* ... are histories of all Hawaiians, too. (Kame'eleihiwa 1992, 19)

Kame'eleihiwa goes on to how explain how the stories of the ancestors' courage inspired people of the nineteenth century and continue to do so today, and how they serve(d) as models for behavior, then and now. She notes that "Genealogies

¹Kamakau wrote only in Hawaiian; this and the following quotes are from Mary Kawena Pukui's translation, *Ka Poe Kahiko: The People of Old*. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1964.

anchor Hawaiians to our place in the universe and give us the comforting illusion of continued existence" (Kame'eleihiwa 1992, 20). This was especially important in Kalākaua's time when depopulation was a serious threat, and foreigners "cruelly predicted the complete demise of the Hawaiian race as inevitable" (Kame'eleihiwa 1992, 20).

In Kanaka genealogies and cosmologies, both male and female forces are always present.² Dualisms are abundant, and pono is created and maintained by the balance of complementary forces. For example, Wākea, the sky father, does not create islands, but mates with Papahānaumoku, the earth mother, and she gives birth to the islands. Women's names are always included in the mo'okū'auhau, from which their mana, just as powerful as men's, is derived. This cosmology provided a traditional and spiritual basis for Kanaka women to accept and exercise political and other kinds of power in the Kalākaua era and later in the fight against annexation (see Chapter 5).³

Ka Papa Kū'auhau o Nā Ali'i a me ka Hale Nauā

In 1880, the Papa Kū'auhau Ali'i o Nā Ali'i Hawai'i 'Board of Genealogy of Hawaiian Chiefs' was established by act of the legislature, initiated by Kalākaua. Kalākaua appointed Ke Kamāli'i (Princess) Po'omaikelani, an older sister of Mō'iwahine Kapi'olani, president of the Board. Po'omaikelani prepared a report of the Board that was published in 1884 in both Hawaiian and English. According to the English version,

²Some creation stories of the nineteenth century (e.g., Kepelino) report that Kāne alone created life, but these accounts are acknowledged to have been accommodations to the overwhelming demands of Christianity of the time.

³This is not to assert a complete and unproblematic equality between men and women in the traditional world, but only to explain that women were not automatically excluded from the realm of the political. For examples of island rulers who were women, see Kame'eleihiwa 1992, 79-80.

The principal duties of the Board shall be, viz.: 1.— To gather, revise, correct and record the Genealogy of Hawaiian Chiefs. 2.— To gather, revise, correct and record all published and unpublished Ancient Hawaiian History. 3. — To gather, revise, correct and record all published and unpublished Meles, and also to ascertain the object and spirit of the Meles, the age and the History of the period when composed and to note the same on the Record Book. 4. — To record all the tabu customs of the *Mois* and Chiefs. (Papa Kuauhau Alii 1884, 3)

One of the main reasons for doing all of this was to identify the ali'i nui and verify their genealogical claims, which constitute claims to leadership, such as appointments to the House of Nobles. In this era, the acknowledged members of the royal lines (Kamehameha and Kalākaua) were lacking in progeny, so it was necessary to determine other genealogical lines that could be verified as ali'i nui. Those considered for high positions had to have genealogies that went back to the origin of the world; their genealogies thus are indistinguishable from traditional cosmologies, as we shall see in the discussion below. Ali'i nui are "the link between the community, the gods, and the cosmos, and their mutual harmony depends on [them]" (Charlot 1985, 1).

The projects performed by the Papa Kū'auhau Ali'i that we will review were done for specific political reasons; it was not a case of knowledge for knowledge's sake.⁴ The reason for determining the ali'i nui and reaffirming the sacred in tradition was to keep the rule of Hawai'i in Kanaka Maoli hands. The identification of ali'i nui and transcription of mele and mo'okū'auhau worked to define the nation as the lāhui Kanaka, and began the development of national narratives. This functioned to interrupt the discourse that said that "progress" meant becoming more and more like the U.S., i.e., ruled by Euro-American immigrants. Viewed in this way, these activities can be seen to be direct resistance to colonization.

⁴In Kanaka epistemology, knowledge tends to have a purpose. See Meyer 1998.

The report lists one hundred twenty-eight mele “Song, anthem, or chant of any kind; poem, poetry” (Pukui and Elbert 1986, 245) that were used in the genealogical studies, along with their approximate ages. In the list of mele we see that the Board, representative perhaps of the educated ali’i and kahuna (spiritual adviser) classes, is operating in this context within ancient Kanaka epistemologies. The first mele is the *Kumulipo*, said to be “ke Mele kahiko loa” ‘the most ancient mele.’⁵ Some of the mele are given actual dates; others are noted to be from a time the modern West would call historical, such as *Kamauli [sic] o Ku*, from the “time of Kaumualii.” Others are what we might now call legends such as the *Kau o Hiiaka*, from the “time of Pele,” and the *Kau o Kawelo*, from the “time of Kawelo.”⁶ But no distinction is made between the historical and the legendary. Likewise, all of them are called “mele,” from the cosmogonic, genealogical prayer *Kumulipo* to the many hula songs listed.

The Board derived these mele and other genealogical information from sources listed in the report, including “na buke kuauhau” ‘genealogy books’ of experts such as David Malo and Kamokuiki, who both trained under ‘Auwae, “the great genealogist of Kamehameha’s last days” (Poepoe, in Beckwith 1951, 2).⁷ The report notes that the Board would not attempt to “hooponopono i keia mau buke a me na moololo i kakau ia e ka haole” ‘edit these books nor the histories written by foreigners,’ since they had so much work to do just to verify genealogies for certain persons that were listed in the Kanaka sources (Papa

⁵My literal translation; the English version says “Very Ancient.”

⁶The Hawaiian version gives a ditto mark under “I ka wa o” ‘Time of’ and then lists the name Kawelo, but the English version gives two ditto marks, implying “Time of Pele” rather than Kawelo; I believe that should be regarded as an error, and as an example of the confusion that can arise when only the English text is used for this kind of research.

Kawelo, in addition to being a supernatural person in the legend, is a real person in the genealogy.

⁷Kamokuiki is the name of Kalākaua’s paternal grandmother, but Beckwith does not say whether or not she was the genealogist whose book was used. I think it is likely because that is where the *Kumulipo*, the Kalākaua genealogy, was recovered from (Lili’uokalani 1990, 407; Beckwith 1951, 2).

Kuauhau Alii 1884, 8). This indicates that the Board did not feel a compelling need to rely on foreign historical sources to validate this part of their work; the genealogical information from the private books of the Kanaka experts was sufficient for verification. In fact, part of their work was to contest the historical accounts written by foreigners.

Another project of the Board was to locate the bones of certain ali'i nui. It was the practice in ancient times to carefully prepare the bones of the dead, wrap them in special wrappings such as fine tapa or specially woven baskets, and hide them inside caves so that they would not be disturbed by sorcerers or anyone else. For a bone to be chipped at or otherwise mutilated was the worst desecration an ali'i could suffer after death, so the bones were hidden and the secret of their location usually carefully guarded. The Board, however, claims to have located the bones of some of the most important ali'i, and arranged to have them even more carefully hidden or moved for better preservation. They also recovered an artifact that Western science would relegate to the realm of mythology or legend: "Ka Ipu Makani a Laamaomao," 'The Wind Gourd of La'amaomao.' This gourd was said to contain winds that could be called upon by a properly trained chanter to create favorable sailing conditions (or unfavorable, for one's enemies). The possessor would obviously have a great advantage in racing and in war. The Board wrote "O ka loa ana o keia ipu kaulana kahiko, he mea nui no, oiai ua pili keia ipu kahiko me kekahi o na moolelo kahiko kaulana o ka wa kahiko" 'Obtaining this ancient famous gourd is very important because this ancient gourd is associated with famous histories/legends of ancient times' (my translation) (Papa Kuauhau Alii 1884, 9). Again, we see that the Board does not make distinctions between the mythological and the historical in the categorical way that we would expect if it

were operating within a Western epistemology. Rather, it seems to be saying that the physical existence of the recovered gourd validates the ancient stories.

Recovering and properly caring for sacred items was of utmost importance in the consciousness of the nation. All of this was done with the view towards affirming that the lāhui had a long and proud history prior to and without reference to the West. Showing that the sacred items of tradition were valuable and cared for were acts that resisted the discourse that called Hawai'i's pre-contact history the "brutal and degraded past" (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser* 1886, 15 Nov. in Mookini n.d., 12-13).

The remainder of the Board's report concerns ocean measurements being taken at the time by the government surveying office. The purpose of receiving such information was "e pau ai ka pohihihi o kekahi mau kumu hoopaapaa i hoopukaia e ka poe kakau i ka moolelo o na lahui kanaka o ka Moana Pacifica nei" "of great value to the Board in solving many points and theories already advanced by writers of the history of the Polynesian races (Papa Kuauhau Alii 1884, 12; Board of Genealogy of Hawaiian Chiefs 1884, 11). The Board was trying here to verify some of the genealogical information with the geological information being gathered at the time. They state again that they have not used histories produced by foreigners, but only relied on "na moolelo kahiko o Hawaii nei a me na mea i hoike ia ma na mele" 'the ancient histories/legends of Hawai'i and what is said in the [various] mele' (Papa Kuauhau Alii 1884, 15). Kanaka Maoli share with other Pacific Islanders theories about the migrations around the Pacific that are significantly different from those proposed by scholars such as Abraham Fornander. It was mainly the migration theory, preserved in genealogies, that the Board was hoping would be verified by the ocean soundings. They were no doubt acutely aware that traditional epistemologies

were dismissed by the Europeans and Euro-Americans, and hoped to use the scientific tools available to contest that dismissal by showing that science proved what they had always known. Kalākaua and the Papa Kū'auhau o Nā Ali'i, especially Po'omaikelani, also used the *Kumulipo* to demonstrate that mo'okū'auhau and mo'olelo constituted valid knowledge.

Kumulipo

By far the work with the most far-reaching consequences, and the most ambitious work accomplished by the Board of Genealogy was the collection and transcription of the *Kumulipo* 'Source of Deep Darkness.' The *Kumulipo* is a cosmological chant/prayer that describes the genesis of living things on the earth, including humankind, and links them to the genealogy of Lonoikamakahiki, which then leads directly to Kalākaua. It is the only one of its kind preserved in its entirety. It exemplifies an important type of "genealogy that links the chief to his illustrious, perhaps now deified ancestors; to the first humans; sometimes to the gods; and backwards in time through the animals, plants, and elements to the beginning of the universe" (Charlot 1985, 1). Valeri observes that,

Native exegesis reads it at once as the description of the origins of the cosmos, of the life of an ali'i from infancy to maturity, and of the formation of a new dynasty. These interpretations are not mutually exclusive, for the conception, birth, and development of an ali'i or dynasty reproduce the cosmogonic process and thereby aid in reproducing natural and social distinctions (Valeri 1985, 4).

We will examine aspects of this genealogical/cosmological mele/pule at length, as a political text, because of how it figures in the national consciousness of the lāhui, and thus, how it continues to function as resistance to colonization and the attendant project of assimilation. The collection and transcription of such a chant certainly served its narrow political function of the time, i.e., it

validated Kalākaua's claim to the throne. But the *Kumulipo* also functioned then, and continues to function now, as "ideological resistance" (Said 1993, 209). Its recovery and transcription were part of Kalākaua's "rediscovery and repatriation of what had been suppressed in the natives' past by the processes of imperialism" (Said 1993, 210). Its age and its artistry were and are sources of pride and identity for the Kanaka Maoli. Lili'uokalani undertook her translation of it while imprisoned by the colonial oligarchy in 1896, and published it in 1897 as a way of explaining to the people of the United States that the Kanaka Maoli were a people with a very long history. That was, among, other things, one of her attempts to counter the discourse that disparaged the Kanaka Maoli in order to justify annexation and the military occupation of Hawai'i. The *Kumulipo* was the basis for much of the work of the Hale Nauā, and for a genealogy committee in 1904. It inspired published works by other Kanaka scholars, such as that of Joseph L. Kūkahi in 1902, Joseph M. Poepoe in 1906, and Rubellite Kawena Johnson in 1981. It is still being used today. Martha Beckwith's 1951 and Lili'uokalani's 1897 translations are both still in print. Kame'eleihiwa began her 1992 book with a quote and discussion of the *Kumulipo*.

Hawaiian identity is, in fact, derived from the *Kumulipo*, the great cosmogonic genealogy. Its essential lesson is that every aspect of the Hawaiian conception of the world is related by birth, and as such, all parts of the Hawaiian world are one indivisible lineage. Conceived in this way, the genealogy of the Land, the Gods, Chiefs, and people intertwine with one another, and with all the myriad aspects of the universe. ... Today we Hawaiians use genealogical relationships to establish our collective identity Our shared genealogy helps us define our *Lāhui* (nation) as an entity distinct from the waves of foreigners that have inundated our islands (Kame'eleihiwa 1992, 2-3).

The text of the *Kumulipo* as published by Kalākaua in 1889 is called *He Pule Hoolaa Alii* 'A Prayer to Consecrate (an) Ali'i.' The title can be read two ways, as

consecrating one particular ali'i (Lonoikamakahiki), but also as consecrating "ali'i" as a system of government, which Kalākaua, Lili'uokalani and the lāhui were trying to preserve. It consists of 2102 lines, divided into sixteen wā 'eras.' The first seven wā are the times of pō 'darkness' and the last nine are times of ao 'daylight.' The use of the words pō and ao in the *Kumulipo* text is important at several levels. Previously, we saw that the missionaries appropriated the words ao and pō to designate civilization and savagery, respectively. The *Kumulipo* predates the missionaries, probably by hundreds of years, but in recorded history by at least thirty: Lili'uokalani says that the *Kumulipo* was sung to Captain Cook (Lili'uokalani 1978, ix). It thus reflects pre-contact conceptions of pō and ao, which Kalākaua and Lili'uokalani recuperate. The first seven wā belong to the akua 'gods' and are described as taking place in Pō 'Night; darkness.' The prologue to the first wā is an ode to darkness.

O ke au i kahuli wela ka honua	The time of change, the earth was hot
O ke au i kahuli lole ka lani	The time of change, the heavens turned over
O ka au i kukaiaka ka la	The time the sun stood in shadow
E hoomalamalama i ka malama	To illuminate the moon/To allow the moon to shine
O ke au o Makalii ka po	The time when the Pleiades was dark
O ka Walewale hookumu honua ia	There was an earth-establishing slime
O ke kumu o ka lipo i lipo ai	The source of the darkness that made it dark (Or: The reason for the darkness was to be dark)
O ke kumu o ka Po i po ai	The source of the night that made it night (Or: The reason for night was to be night)
O ka Lipolipo, o ka lipolipo	The deep darkness, the deep darkness
O ka lipo o ka La, o ka lipo o ka Po	The darkness of the Day, the darkness of the night

Po wale ho—i
 Hanau ka po
 Hanau Kumulipo i ka po he kane

 Hanau Poele i ka po he wahine

 (He Pule Hoolaa Alii 1889, 1-2).

Only night
 The night gives birth
 Kumulipo gives birth to [in the?] night, a male
 Pō'ele (Dark night) gives birth to [in the?] night, a female.⁸

The first through seventh wā end with the line “Po—no” ‘Indeed/Still Night/Darkness.’ Pō in the *Kumulipo* does not mean the time of ignorance and barbarism before enlightenment and (Western) civilization arrived, but the time of the gods before the first human, and out of which humanity arose. Pō is positive rather than negative in this context: to be “Mai ka pō mai” ‘From the pō’ is to be descended “from the gods; of divine origin” (Pukui and Elbert 1986, 333). “Po—no” can, moreover, be read in another way: as the word “pono,” with the dash signifying a lengthening of the sound the chanter would make. It is, in fact, more ambiguous because of the presence of the dash in the text. If “indeed night” were the only meaning, it would be more clear without the dash. The two words, pō ‘night’ and nō ‘indeed,’ would be distinctly separated. In the same way, if the word “pono” were the singular meaning, it would be more clearly one word without the dash. The technique of using the dash to signify length of sound was common, and is used later in the eighth wā, “A—o—,” (24) and the “lala no ka wa umikumamalu” ‘branch of the twelfth wā,’ “Pu—ka” (58). In these two examples, however, only one word can be meant, “ao” ‘day; daylight’ and “puka” ‘came out; emerged.’ This strengthens the idea that “Po—no” can be read as one word as well as two. Many other examples can be found, for instance, in the text of *Ka Moolalo o Hiiakaikapoliopole* in *Ka Leo o ka Lahui* (1893, 5 Jan. to 12 Jul.). The word “pono” has many meanings, almost all them positive.

⁸My translation with some assistance from Beckwith 1951.

According to Pukui and Elbert, some of the meanings of pono are “Goodness, uprightness, morality, excellence, well-being, fitting, proper, in perfect order.” Pono is also used for “resources, assets” (Pukui and Elbert 1986, 340). “Po—no,” then, means not only “it is indeed night,” but also “it is right,” or “it is good.”

Ao, from the eighth wā on, designates the eras of human beings, but, again, its meaning is free of the connotation of Western civilization. Its use here, in fact, acts as resistance to that discourse. As we have seen in the previous chapters, Kānaka Maoli had been countering the discourse of civilization and savagery since at least Kalākaua’s newspaper in 1861–1862. The use of these terms in the *Kumulipo* asserts the presence of ao thousands of years before the arrival of the missionaries. This may be related to the aforementioned attempt to validate Kanaka traditional knowledge through the science of the day. They are similar gestures that assert that the traditional philosophy, religion, and ways of life are as valuable as the “civilization” of the West.

It is worth noticing the dualism in the structure of the chant—which is characteristic of Hawaiian poetry—and, as I mentioned earlier, also characteristic of Hawaiian cosmology: besides pō and ao, the excerpt above pairs earth and heavens, sun and moon, stars (Pleiades) and slime, male and female. The origin of the earth takes place in the context of these balanced pairs, as opposed to the Judeo-Christian singular, male, creation. Creation and reproduction of life require both male and female.

The male role in reproduction is symbolized by Kamapua’a, the pig god, who makes an appearance in the fifth wā. This wā celebrates the establishment of taro agriculture through the symbol of the rooting pig, which is, at the same time, “an erotic symbol for the function of the male in the founding of a new family branch upon the old stock” (Beckwith 1951, 80). Beckwith concludes that

the fruitfulness of the cultivated earth symbolizes “the rise of a fertile new branch on the family line multiplying over the land,” an interpretation consistent with Kalākaua’s position as founder of a new Hawaiian dynasty (Beckwith 1951, 82). Although the Kamehameha line had died out, the *Kumulipo* was important in reassuring the lāhui that the nation continued on in a state of pono ‘balance; well-being’ through this new genealogical line.⁹ This is also linked metaphorically to Kalākaua’s concern over depopulation and his efforts towards repopulation, which he called “Ho’oulu Lāhui” ‘Increase the Lāhui,’ or more literally, ‘Cause the Lāhui to Grow.’

Besides Kamapua’a, kalo ‘taro’ is important symbolically to the identity of the lāhui in another way. Wākea and Papa, appearing in the twelfth wā, have a daughter named Ho’ohōkūkalani. Ho’ohōkūkalani becomes pregnant by Wākea twice. The first child, named Hāloa, is stillborn. It is buried and from its burial place grows the first kalo. Since Ho’ohōkūkalani’s second child was a Kanaka also named Hāloa, the kalo is a virtual kaikua’ana ‘older sibling’ to Kānaka that is owed filial love, loyalty, and care (Kame’eleihiwa 1992, 23-33). This story of Hāloa is often invoked to symbolize the Kanaka belief in a familial relationship to the land, and opposition to ownership over land. Beckwith quotes a document from the Hale Nauā thus: “Now you must understand that the children born from Hāloa, these are yourselves” (Beckwith 1951, 119).

Other plants besides kalo appear in the genealogy as well. In the middle of the twelfth wā are the lines: “Hanau Kihalaupoe he Wauke, Hanau o Ulu he Ulu” (*He Pule Hoolaa Alii* 1889, 51) ‘Born was Kihalaupoe, a Wauke plant, Born was Ulu, a breadfruit.’ The fifteenth wā tells of the mysterious akua/wahine

⁹For a full discussion of the importance of pono to the continuance of the nation see Kame’eleihiwa 1992.

'goddess/woman' Haumea who disappears into a breadfruit tree. The chant explains poetically that the breadfruit is one of her many physical forms:

O kino ulu o pahu ulu o lau ulu ia nei,
He lau kino o ia wahine o Haumea,
O Haumea nui aiwaiwa (*He Pule Hoolaa Alii* 1889, 62).

Breadfruit body, breadfruit trunk, breadfruit leaves,
One of the body forms of this woman Haumea,

Gods, plants, animals, even stars appear in the *Kumulipo*. The presence of all of these within the genealogy of human beings expresses belief in the familial relationship of Kanaka Maoli to all the other life forms in their environment. This genealogical world view gives rise to the particular form that love of nation takes in Hawai'i, which is aloha 'āina 'love of the land.'

Haumea, Papa, and La'ila'i are symbolic of the female role in creation and reproduction. Their stories recur many times in this second half of the *Kumulipo*. Haumea "underwent strange renewals of youth to become mother and wife of children and grandchildren" (Beckwith 1951, 99). La'ila'i likewise gives birth countless numbers of times, by both the god Kāne and the human man Ki'i. Papa, as we have said, is the symbolic earth mother. All three are powerful and mysterious. Their prominence in the *Kumulipo* means that women are not effaced in the consciousness of the lāhui; both men and women take their parts in the creation and reproduction of life, and in the mo'olelo that follow.

Another aim of the Board of Genealogy, mentioned previously, was the validation of Kanaka knowledge. The first human being in the *Kumulipo* is the La'ila'i, whose life story Martha Beckwith calls "myth." But the Board and the Hale Nauā treat La'ila'i's life as historical fact, both mo'okū'auhau 'genealogy' and mo'olelo 'history/legend.' They both use La'ila'i as a starting point for constructing other dates in history. They arrive at her date in years by following

the genealogy using a generational interval of 30 years (Annual Report 1887). Hale Nauā uses La'ila'i's birth as a year 0, counting their own date from the number of generations since La'ila'i (as in the epigraph that begins this chapter). In the same way, Wākea and Papa are not just Father Sky and Mother Earth in mythology, they are real people in the genealogy: "At the time of foreign contact Hawaii ... counted its stock from Wakea and Papa as the official parent-pair. Their names occur on the earliest genealogy of the race [written] ... in 1838 They are quoted by Malo and incorporated into the report made in 1904 by a committee of native scholars ..." (Beckwith 1951, 117).

The story of the god Maui is also told in the *Kumulipo*. The sixteenth, and last wā, is a genealogy that begins with Maui and ends at Lonoikamakahiki, ancestor to Kalākaua and Lili'uokalani. Fifty generations separate the god Maui from Lonoikamakahiki (also known as Ka'i'iamamao and Kalaninui'iamamao). Beckwith notes that "the name song of Maui ... tells the story of the struggle for power of a younger son born into the family through an alien alliance, one entitling him to a higher-ranking status than the natural heir" (Beckwith 1951, 128). This is much like the theme of the younger or lesser branch of the family becoming the ruler that recurs in the Kawelo and the Kamehameha narratives. It reinforces Kalākaua's own position by likening it to Maui, Kawelo, Kamehameha (and the similar story of 'Umi, which we have not yet mentioned). When placed in the genealogy of stories, Kalākaua's ascension to the throne in spite of being of a lesser line seems natural.

This *Kumulipo* thus links Kalākaua and Lili'uokalani, and, by extension, the entire lāhui, genealogically to the god Maui, and further, to the goddess(es) Haumea/Papa, the god/first man Wākea, the taro Hāloa, the plants of the earth, and the stars in the heavens. If Kalākaua and the Papa Kū'auhau had not done

this work, such a consequential cosmological chant might never have been transcribed. There were few persons left with such knowledge even in the 1880s. It is disheartening to realize that this is “He Kumulipo no Ka-I-I-Mamao” ‘A Kumulipo for Ka’i’imamao,’ meaning that this is one of a class of such cosmological chants, but there are no others like it preserved. This work of the Papa Kū’auhau did at the time and continues to function as effective resistance to cultural erosion and support for anticolonial nationalism by bridging the present to the past, and by providing a basis for self-definition of the lāhui as those who are connected to the ‘āina genealogically. This explains in part why so many Kanaka Maoli are researching family genealogies today. Although it is said that only the ali’i classes have genealogies preserved, nearly all Kānaka Maoli now living have reconstructed family genealogies. That is because, as we saw previously, ali’i and maka’āinana are related. Genealogy continues to provide a way to clear confusion about claims to being “Hawaiian.” In the context of Kanaka genealogy, such claims as being “fifth generation Hawaiian” (heard recently on television) are clearly understood as being made only by those of immigrant or colonizer descent and never by Kanaka Maoli, to whom such a phrase is meaningless. As Anne McClintock puts it, genealogy works to “distinguish between the beneficiaries of colonialism (the [descendants of the] colonizers) and the casualties of colonialism (the [descendants of the] colonized) (McClintock 1995, 11).

This important work of the Papa Kū’auhau o Nā Ali’i was expanded on by the Hale Nauā, a society of ali’i nui whose genealogies were verified by the Papa Kū’auhau. The Papa Kū’auhau thus laid the foundation for development of the Hale Nauā. Both were necessary to Kalākaua’s constituting the nation as the lāhui Kanaka Maoli.

Hale Nauā¹⁰

The Hale Nauā was established in 1886 and, according to Mookini, “had genealogical studies as [its] basis” (Mookini n.d., 2). Earlier, Kalākaua formed a committee of nine women and one man to plan a society “to further the humble and careful way of life as nurtured by our ancestors from the beginning of time, so that it will never be forgotten” (Hale Nauā Record Book, in Mookini n.d., 6).¹¹ Shortly thereafter, officers for the organization were elected; four of them were women, including Mō’iwahine Kapi’olani, and one man, John Baker, served as treasurer (Mookini n.d., 6). After it was formed, Princess Po’omaikelani, head of the Papa Kū’auhau, served as president. Hale Nauā was called a “secret society,” basing some of its organizational structure on those of the Masonic societies (Lili’uokalani 1990, 114). The involvement of women in the creation and life of the Hale Nauā is an important difference from the Masonic societies. The Masonic societies are based in the Western cosmology in which male power is dependent on the exclusion of women from the centers of power. In Genesis, the Judeo-Christian god is able to create the whole universe with no female force evident. The Hale Nauā, on the other hand, was based in the Kanaka cosmology, in which excluding women would have been unthinkable; pono, balance and well-being, as we saw in the discussion of the *Kumulipo*, requires both male and female forces. While the “outer domain,” as Chatterjee terms it, i.e., the political structure, is Western and thus excludes women, the Hale Nauā is an organization of the “inner domain,” that which is recreating the traditional sacred space. Kanaka women are able to serve here and to be recognized for their genealogical

¹⁰I am indebted to Esther Mookini for much of the information in this section, which is drawn from her unpublished paper, *The Hale Naua of David Kalakaua*, n.d.

¹¹Mookini’s translation from the Hawaiian.

place, as well as their work in genealogy and other traditions. Of the list of the first seventy-one members, at least twenty-four were women.¹²

The creation of the Hale Nauā provoked an onslaught of the discourse of civilization and savagery, as the missionary establishment expressed their outrage at the existence of an organization from which they were banned by virtue of their genealogies. Mookini quotes from the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*:

... the membership appears to be presently limited to native Hawaiians. ... it is a retrograde step [F]rom its constitution the country has a right to expect that any attempt to revive and vitalize the customs and usages of the barbarous and savage past would be promptly put a stop to. ... No country can afford to abandon the light of contemporary civilization for the gross darkness and ignorance of a brutal and degraded past (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser* 1886, 15 Nov. in Mookini n.d., 12-13).

We can see very clearly here that traditional Kanaka practices were threatening to the project of colonization, which continues to be equated with "civilization." It is clear as well that the editor(s) of the *Advertiser* thought of Anglo-American culture as belonging to an enlightened present and future, while Kanaka culture, although actually concurrent in time, belongs to that "brutal and degraded past." This is also a discursive strategy that makes use of the developing theories of progress and evolution that propose that all peoples will eventually "progress" to resemble Anglo-Americans. McClintock calls this the trope of "anachronistic space" in which

the stubborn and threatening heterogeneity of the colonies was contained and disciplined not as socially or geographically different ... and thus equally valid, but as *temporally* different and thus as irrevocably superannuated by history (McClintock 1995, 40).

¹²Because Hawaiian names are not specifically male or female, I am unable to determine the sex of every member from the list of names.

This was related to the categorization and hierarchical classification of colonized or colonizable peoples according to their state of primitivity or advancement, which in turn contributed to creating the idea of “race” in biology and anthropology (Baker 1998; McClintock 1995, 36-39). Such categorization then conveniently justifies Euro-American rule over “primitive” peoples.

The *Hawaiian Star*, known for its hyperbole, contributed to the discourse by calling attention to the Hale Nauā’s possible political function: “The practices of sorcery are intimately connected with the worship of heathen deities ... they are also allied to political tyranny Kalakaua undertook to propagate this unholy terror [Hale Nauā] in order to establish his own corrupt despotic power” (in Mookini n.d., 14). In its first year’s annual report, Hale Nauā answered these charges: “...there is nothing derogatory to reason or common sence [sic]. Nothing impure or indecent; but, [our] principal aim is to elevate the mind to high philosophical truths so that we may follow [our ancestors’] wise teaching and precepts, and learn more of nature and this world” (Annual Report 1887). The Annual Report thus refuted the charges of barbarism and unholiness, but sidestepped the question of political power. Kalākaua never accrued enough power to be truthfully called despot or tyrant, but there can be little doubt that Hale Nauā increased his prestige through its continuance of genealogical work, and by expressing pride in Kanaka traditions, allowed his people to think more highly of themselves and him.

The Hale Nauā’s constitution lists degrees of membership along with areas of study for each degree. These areas include astronomy and meteorology, agricultural science, mechanical sciences, “the signs of Aliis,” ancient priesthood, and “Christian Order of Knighthood” (*Constitution and By-laws of the Hale Naua* 1890, 17). The constitution of the “secret society” was published twice—at its

inception, and in pamphlet form in 1890. Hale Nauā also sponsored lectures that were open to the public, generally on topics in science.

Besides science, Hale Nauā played an important role in the preservation of traditional knowledge. Mookini says, "Historically, the Hale Naua society was ... the most reliable native source for ancient practice" (Mookini n.d., 1).

Kalākaua's Hale Nauā wished to preserve the existing knowledge of ancient practices. In their use of traditional methods of keeping historical time, they were able to escape, if only a little, the cultural dominance of the U.S. that surrounded them in daily life. Every member, for example, had to memorize the Hawaiian moon calendar (i.e., nights of the month were named, rather than days of the week). They honored the traditional way of counting time by generations rather than by years, in a continuous stream unbroken by the birth of a religious figure on a continent far away.

As members collected and recited incidents from the mo'olelo kahiko 'ancient history,' they contested the discourse of savagery and civilization (Annual Report 1887). The annual report contains a narrative of Hema and Kaha'i, father and son who voyaged on canoes to Tahiti and back. According to the report, "The ability of the men who planned and carried out these expeditions shows that they cannot be regarded as leaders of a barbarous Race" (Annual Report 1887). The Hale Nauā also contested the representations made of Kanaka Maoli by the first missionaries, who described them as half-beast and the missing link in evolution. The annual report says that this representation was "applied in a spirit partial to their interests so that their work would have the justification for taming, civilizing and christianizing [sic] these wretched creatures" (Annual Report 1887). This is clearly direct resistance to the colonial

actions of the missionaries through revealing the hegemonic functions of their discourse. Historiography was also contested by the Hale Nauā:

the historian [as representative of the West] had reached a point which he considered far in advance of the state of the Islanders. Upon comparing these conditions it was natural for him to express and emphasize his self[-] congratulation; but it would have been far better if his utterances ... carried more of a spirit of philanthropy, than that of intolerance and bigotry. Such being the spirit in which the character of our people was measured [,] we can dismiss the reverend historian and look upon his comments as coming from a source irreverently ignorant. (Annual Report 1887)¹³

The Hale Nauā was essentially an urban organization of the ali'i who attempted to preserve traditional knowledge, validate that knowledge with contemporary science, and counter the discourses of race, civilization, and savagery deployed by the haole elite in efforts to subjugate them. The works of the Papa Kū'auhau and the Hale Nauā, especially the genealogical work, were confined, however, to the small circle of ali'i. As the 'ōlelo no'eau says, "I ali'i nō ke ali'i i ke kanaka" 'An ali'i is an ali'i only because of the people who follow her/him' (Pukui 1983, 125). It was thus necessary to make the mo'okū'auhau and mo'olelo real to the maka'āinana publicly. Kalākaua did so through two festivals, the first of which was the Poni Mō'i 'Coronation' of 1883.

The Poni Mō'i 'Coronation'

After touring the world and being received as the King of Hawai'i by the heads of other sovereign states, including Japan and many nations in Europe, Kalākaua decided that a coronation of himself and his Mō'iwahine Kapi'olani

¹³The Annual Report never gives the name of the "reverend historian," but the references to Kanaka Maoli as half-man half-beast are made in [Rev.] Hiram Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-one Years in the Sandwich Islands*. (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle. 1981 [1847]).

would arouse feelings of nationalism in the Kanaka Maoli and help to consolidate his power. Lili'uokalani described it this way:

[T]he coronation celebration had been a great success. The people from the country and from the other islands went back to their homes with a renewed sense of the dignity and honor involved in their nationality It was necessary to confirm the new family '*Stirps*'—to use the words of our constitution—by a celebration of unusual impressiveness. There was a serious purpose of national importance; the direct line of the 'Kamehamehas' having become extinct, it was succeeded by the 'Keawe-a-Heulu' line It was wise and patriotic to spend money to awaken in the people a national pride. (Lili'uokalani 1990, 104-105)

The coronation ceremony took place at the newly rebuilt 'Iolani Palace on February 12, 1883. Festivities continued for two weeks thereafter, including feasts hosted by the King for the people, and nightly performances of hula. Kalākaua had arranged for various kumu hula 'hula masters' to bring their hālau 'troupes' to Honolulu for public performances for the coronation. The performances were carefully arranged in advance. It was on this occasion that the hula style known as hula ku'i came into being; it was a blending of traditional dance with new steps and/or new musical styles (Stillman 1982). Elizabeth Buck notes that the hula ku'i "was an important vehicle for expressing Hawaiian royalist sentiments about Hawaiian nationalism during the 1880s and later the overthrow of the monarchy and annexation of Hawai'i by the United States" (Buck 1993, 113).

A program called *Papa Kuhikuhi o Na Hula Poni Moi* was printed for the occasion. It included the order of the performances (although the date of each is not given), the name of the kumu hula, the titles of the oli and mele, and what type they were. Lyrics to the mele and oli were not printed in this program, just the titles.

The missionary establishment denounced the program as obscene, and illegal under the statute against public nuisances. William R. Castle, son of missionaries Samuel and Mary Tenney Castle, demanded that the printers of the document be arrested and charged. William Auld and Robert Greive were then arrested. The *Daily Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, at this time owned by Kalākaua's close associate, Walter Murray Gibson, reported:

The community has been stirred a good deal recently by the discussion of an alleged obscene publication, a programme of Hawaiian hulas or dances ... mainly because William R. Castle, Esq., made a mistake in supposing that the *Advertiser* office had printed the programme and not the *Gazette* office. He has admitted that he made this mistake. If he had known that the friends of the opposition [the missionaries] had printed it, he would not have written the letter on the subject published in that paper. (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser* 1883, 12 Mar.)

According to Gibson, then, Castle was attempting to hurt Gibson and Kalākaua politically through the charge of obscenity. Regardless of the public admission of his error, the court case proceeded. Robert Greive claimed that he did not understand Hawaiian and so did not know what he was printing. Greive merely received an order from the Palace and filled it without question. In fact, even the prosecutor did not understand what was printed. He had to bring in several Kānaka Maoli willing to testify against Greive and Auld. The first was G. W. Pilipo, a Kanaka politician who would later be associated briefly with the Reform party composed of anti-Kalākaua haole. Court was conducted in English (First Circuit Court Criminal File). Pilipo testified, in part, "I have seen the word 'mai' ['genitals'] used in hulas before, this is not proper for children to peruse [;] children advanced would understand these sentences" (First Circuit Court Criminal File). Two other Kānaka gave similar testimony. Then Kānepu'u testified, apparently for the defense. Kānepu'u, it will be remembered, was a founding member of the 'Ahahui that created *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*. He was also

a member of Hale Nauā. His testimony appealed to the ambiguity of the words; he never agreed that the publication contained any obscenity. He said in part, "the word 'mai' has many meanings, the common meaning is sickness [...] When I was young people called things by proper names but since we had a written language things are called by other names" (First Circuit Court Criminal File). Auld and Greive were found guilty and fined \$15 each plus court costs. Greive appealed and won an acquittal. William Auld, a Kanaka Maoli and conversant in Hawaiian, remained convicted. Auld remained in close association with Kalākaua, joining the same Masonic societies. In the annexation battle of 1897-1898, Auld was selected as one of the four delegates to travel to Washington, D.C. to present the people's protest there (see Chapter 5).

It may not have been only other Kānaka who were willing to explain the "obscene" nature of the program to the prosecution. One of the surviving copies of the *Papa Kuhikuhi o na Hula Poni Moi* belonged to Nathaniel B. Emerson, and is preserved with his handwritten notes on it. As mentioned previously, Emerson studied and published two books on hula and its orature and literature. Some of his notes have to do with the meanings of the names of the songs, or information about the places mentioned in the names. But he also noted that he considered one song, "Ko mai kiliopu," "smut," and another version of the same song "lewd" (*Papa Kuhikuhi o na Hula Poni Moi* 1883, 4 and 6). A "hula puili" he noted was performed by two girls and was "innocent, calisthenic" (*Papa Kuhikuhi o na Hula Poni Moi* 1883). Castle and Emerson surely knew each other since both were missionary sons in a small society of missionary families; it is likely, then, (but not proven) that Emerson communicated his knowledge to Castle for the purpose of prosecuting the printers of the program.

"Ko mai kiliopu" is no doubt a hula ma'i, "a song in honor of genitals, as of a chief, as composed on his or her birth" (Pukui and Elbert 1986, 221). Elbert and Mahoe characterize these songs as "an eminently sane and healthy realization of the importance of the sexual aspects of life, and perhaps a wish for future vigor" (Elbert and Mahoe 1970, 67). These hula were important to Kalākaua as part of the reenactment of the traditional cosmology/genealogy. The Kanaka Maoli had suffered depopulation caused by epidemics of foreign disease and also by childlessness. The prayers to the Christian god seemed to work only for the haole; the missionary families were large and healthy, while the Kanaka continued to die *en masse*. One of the basic values of a genealogical world view is that it places people in a great chain of being: it links them not only to the past, but to the future through children and grandchildren. The hula ma'i invoke the old ways of spurring fertility against the seemingly merciless refusal of Iehova. In this world view, hula ma'i are not obscene; they are essential to the continuance of life. Another important aspect of hula ma'i is that they are "always lively and fun" (Elbert and Mahoe 1970, 67), and thus contributed to the air of celebration of Kanaka tradition. It was, of course, anathema to the missionaries to associate procreation with anything lively or fun.

Besides the hula ma'i, other types of hula included on the program were coronation hula, composed especially for the occasion; hula pahu, important ancient drum hula, including " 'Au'a 'ia," discussed at length below in the section on the Jubilee; mele inoa 'name songs' for Kalākaua, such as "Eia Davida o ka heke o na pua"; and many hula Pele, for the volcano goddess, Hi'iaka, and the lover, Lohi'au (*Papa Kuhikuhi o Na Hula Poni Moi* 1883).

No one was arrested for the actual performances of these hula. And while the English press reported on the court case, of far more interest to the Hawaiian

press was the genealogy battle that the *poni mō'i* had reignited, and that the Hawaiian language newspapers waged among themselves. It may have been the performance of the *mele* and *hula* that started this more serious trouble. Many *mele* listed on the program were "*mele ko'ihonua*" 'genealogical chants.' (The word "*ko'ihonua*" also refers to the style of chanting used to make sure the genealogical information in this kind of chant was clearly understood (see Kamakau 1867 in Roberts 1926, 59).) Kamakau wrote of the *ko'ihonua*:

A *ko'ihonua* *mele* is one which relates to the forefathers of the Hawaiian people and to the history of the kings and their accomplishments In the *ko'ihonua mele* of Kualii'i, the Kumuali'i and the Kumulipo were preserved, and in the *mele* of Peleiholani [sic] the genealogical tree of Ololo and Haloa was given ... (Kamakau 1867 in Roberts 1926, 59).¹⁴

The recitation of such *mele* and the *hula* in public performance bring the cosmology and genealogy to physical life; public performance enacts the traditional spiritual beliefs of the Kanaka Maoli. The meaning and significance of the *mele* and *hula*, especially in Kalākaua's time when there had been no public ceremonial performances for decades, were incomprehensible for the most part to the foreigner. In a more explicit way than the published *mo'olelo* or *mele*, the ceremonial performances of *hula* over that two-week period bound the Kanaka together "in the inner domain of cultural identity, from which the colonial intruder [was] kept out" (Chatterjee 1993, 7).

Since the original article that started the argument over Kalākaua's and Emma's genealogies has apparently not been preserved, the origin of the controversy remains a mystery. At the time of the controversy, three newspapers were being published in Hawaiian. *Ka Nupepa Elele Poakolu* was owned by the aforementioned Walter Murray Gibson, a close associate of King Kalākaua. *Ko*

¹⁴Translation by John Wise.

Hawaii Pae Aina was edited by Joseph U. Kawainui, who later would edit *Nupepa Kuokoa*, still owned by Henry Whitney. The *Kuokoa* was the third, at this time edited by Thomas Thrum, a haole opponent of Kalākaua. The main argument was between *Ka Nupepa Elele Poakolu*, on Kalākaua's side and *Ko Hawaii Pae Aina* on Queen Emma's side. *Kuokoa* chimed in occasionally against Kalākaua.

The first article I could recover is from June 1883; I do not know how long before that the controversy was going on. It lasted until at least December of that year, after which no copies of the newspapers have been preserved. At the very least, it went on for six months in nearly every issue of the two papers. In *Ko Hawaii Pae Aina*, it was usually on the front page (e.g., *Ko Hawaii Pae Aina* 1883, 16 June). Interestingly enough, mele in fragments, sometimes short, sometimes quite long, were printed as part of these arguments, but no one was arrested for it. Most of what is preserved is from *Nupepa Elele Poakolu*, which always refers to the ongoing debate with *Ko Hawaii Pae Aina*. It is unfortunate that nearly half of the argument is lost. Although we cannot review the arguments in their entirety, it is important to notice what significance this had for Kānaka Maoli at the time. The court case against William Auld was relatively insignificant compared to the genealogical battle. Kānaka Maoli, at least those running newspapers, were far more concerned with the composition of the nation and the identity of the sovereign, an identity that depended on the ancient cosmology and his or her genealogical link to it. The nation's sovereignty and the offices of monarch and nobles were at stake in these discussions, whereas the obscenity trial, while symbolic of the struggle for hegemony, was more simply a case of an attempt to embarrass the Crown, which went itself embarrassingly out of control. The genealogy discussion had far greater potential to significantly embarrass or

elevate any of the ali'i nui. For Emma, it might mean winning the crown for herself, and for Kalākaua, it could mean the loss or gain of legitimacy.

The Jubilee

Three years after the poni mō'i, hula and feasting celebrations were again held at Iolani Palace in honor of King Kalākaua. This time it was his fiftieth birthday celebration. For nearly two weeks various celebrations took place at Iolani Palace and other locations in Honolulu. On November 16, 1886 there was a "grand reception at Iolani Palace" and a torchlight procession by the fire department. Saturday, November 20 brought a parade. On Tuesday November 23, "The Royal Luau" was held, at which hula was performed. A birthday ball, haole style, was given on November 25. Finally, on November 27, in celebration of Lā Kū'oko'a, "historical tableaux" were performed, including some hula.

The parade in Honolulu on November 20 contained the first of the significant public performances of the Jubilee. "O keia ka la i hooholoia no na hana hoikeike o ke au kahiko" 'This was the day decided on for the exhibitions of the ancient times' (*Nupepa Kuokoa* 1886, 27 Nov.). Those displays included hula: "He poe hula Hawaii olapa aku me na ipu hula iluna o ke kaa loihi i hoowehiwehi ia me na lau nahele" 'Hula dancers danced with hula gourd drums atop a long car decorated with the greens of the forest' (*Nupepa Kuokoa* 1886, 27 Nov.). Most of the parade consisted of floats in the shape of canoes depicting scenes from various mo'olelo kahiko. One float showed "ke ano o ka hana ana o ka upena luu a me ka laau ona ia e ka i-a, oia o Makalei" 'the manner of using deep sea nets and the intoxicant ingested by fish, known as Mākālei.' This was a representation of the story of Mākālei, a magical tree whose roots attract fish. Others represented the soldiers of Kamehameha, especially his war generals,

Keaweaheulu (Kualaku) and Kameeiamoku (Namahoe), both ancestors of Kalākaua (Lili'uokalani 1990, 407). "Wa'a peleleu," long canoes used in battle, were displayed. Another canoe represented Keawenuia'umi, with two kāhili 'feather standard' bearers on the sides and twelve paddlers. Yet another represented Kaumuali'i, undefeated ali'i nui of Kaua'i and ancestor of Queen Kapi'olani. Some of the ali'i nui represented on the various wa'a wore traditional feather cloaks. Another float represented the story of Kawelo and the supernatural fish, Uhumāka'ika'i, along with a mermaid. The story of Pāka'a and Kūapāka'a (represented by J. H. Kānepu'u) was told in another. One float demonstrated a method of casting for bonito, "hi aku." Another told the story of the god Maui hooking an ulua fish named Pimoe. The Royal Hawaiian Band and school marching bands also participated in the parade (*Nupepa Kuokoa* 1886, 27 Nov.). These descriptions all come from *Nupepa Kuokoa*, edited at this time, as previously mentioned, by Thomas Thrum, not a supporter of Kalākaua, but part of the colonizing class. He was interested in Hawaiian lore, however, and would have been able to interpret the representations. These descriptions may have been written by him or by an anonymous Kanaka staff writer, which it was the *Kuokoa's* practice to employ.

By contrast, the English language daily, *The Daily Bulletin*, described the same parade, but without any of the aforementioned names except "Maui." The writer did not know the mo'olelo being represented or the significance of the carefully selected representations. Of Kawelo and Uhumāka'ika'i, for example, he wrote:

Next came another canoe, with mermaids, and at the stern ...was mounted a huge model of a black skinned fish labelled "Makaikai" whether meant for a shark, whale or dolphin, no one seemed to know. (*Daily Bulletin* 1886, 20 Nov.).

The writers in the Hawaiian press knew, but apparently no one close to the writer for the *Daily Bulletin*. This same report says "The natives in the procession were all curiously costumed in imitation of ancient times." Their costume seemed curious only to the English language paper written by a foreigner who did not understand it. At this time, Walter Murray Gibson was also running the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, whose account was more versed in Hawaiian lore than the *Daily Bulletin*, but nevertheless was the view of an outsider. The headline for the account of the parade reads, "History of the Hawaiian Islands Symbolized. The Barbaric Past Exhibited Side by Side With Modern Civilization" (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser* 1886, 22 Nov.). While Kalākaua had arranged all of this to be a celebration of the glories told in mo'olelo kahiko, Gibson interpreted it this way: "[R]arely, if ever, has [a] nation contemplated with greater reason for rejoicing its rapid transition from the crude customs of ... yesterday" (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser* 1886, 22 Nov.) In his rush to privilege European knowledge, he makes this mistake as well: "[M]any were there whose educational attainments and whose general mental progress were such that they were as competent as Europeans to understand the symbols of the pageant" (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser* 1886, 22 Nov.). It is clear that, for the most part, the Kanaka Maoli understood far more completely "the symbols of the pageant" than did the Europeans, especially as represented by *The Daily Bulletin*. The assumption that the Kanaka Maoli were but yesterday barbarians is a continuance of the discourse of civilization and savagery. It is deployed in this era, not just by Walter Murray Gibson, a supposed friend of the Kanaka, but by the *Daily Bulletin* as well, for the usual political reasons:

The Hawaiian, although awaking to the first light of liberty under the tutorship of the now much abused 'missionaries' of the American Board, and although living under an organized system of government in which

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Hula at the Royal Lū'au

On November 23
1,500 to 2,000 people we

Pae Aina, edited by Kawainui, an opponent of Kalākaua, reported that five types of hula were performed, including the hula pahu 'sharkskin drum hula.' It is probable that the important hula pahu " 'Au'a 'ia" was performed (discussed at some length below). The *Pae Aina* asserted that people complained when a certain hula was performed and it was stopped before it was completely over. It also complained that some people struggled with the dancers to force them to kiss their cheeks. Then the brief report says "Ua paia kuli makou i na kamailio kupono ole no kekahi mau mea i ikeia ma ia anaina lealea, i ae ole makou e hoike aku i ka lahui" 'We were deafened by the improper talk of certain things seen at that gathering for entertainment, which we did not consent to have shown in public.' The newspaper writer apparently considered some of the performance shameful or perhaps obscene.

Kuokoa's account, probably written by Thrum, was vague and lacked understanding of the content of the hula. This is probably because Thrum was interested in collecting and translating mo'olelo, but had not studied hula, nor had he (or anyone else outside the palace or hula schools) had many opportunities to witness hula. He could not identify the different types of hula being performed. Here is part of his account:

i ka hula ana, haa like lakou iluina [sic] a ilalo me ka niniu o na pa-u, e kuhu ana na lima io a ianei me ka lelele o na wawae. ... [U]wauwa ... na kanaka i ka maikai paha, i ka inoino paha? Aohe maopopo aku o ia wahi; aka hoike mai kahi poe no ka maikai ke kumu nui o ka uwauwa (*Nupepa Kuokoa* 1886, 27 Nov.)

When they danced, they danced in unison up and down with skirts twirling[;] the hands were pointing this way and that and the legs were jumping People/Hawaiians shouted because it was good, or perhaps because it was bad? We have no understanding there[,] but certain people have said the main reason for the shouting was because it was good.

Thrum also reported that the hula performance lasted from “ke ahiahi okoa a hiki wale i ke kani ana o ke oo o na moa ma na hora wanaao” ‘the early evening until the sound of the roosters’ crowing in the dawn hours’ (*Nupepa Kuokoa* 1886, 27 Nov.)

Gibson reported very little on the hula. Here is his entire mention of it: “in the evening a number of hula-dancers were called into requisition for their amusement. The proceedings throughout were characterized by the utmost decorum and good taste” (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser* 1886, 24 Nov.)

Unfortunately, it is not clear in any of these accounts how many of the people that attended the lū’au stayed on to watch the hula performance. Although Kawainui suggested that something indecent or improper occurred, no calls for arrest were made, and neither he nor Thrum called for the hula performances to be banned in the future.

He hoikeike tabalo au kahiko ‘A performance of historical tableaux’

November 27 was the official Lā Kū’oko’a ‘Independence Day’ celebration, since November 28 fell on Sunday. The official celebration included the performance of “historical tableaux” at the Music Hall. The tableaux included scenes from the life of Kamehameha I, interspersed with hula performances. I was able to retrieve two accounts, Gibson’s in English, from the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, and Thrum’s, from *Nupepa Kuokoa*. Gibson reported that an “ancient ‘Punch and Judy’ created much amusement” (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser* 1886, 29 Nov.). He was most likely referring to the hula ki’i done with puppets. During this performance an ipu hula ‘hula gourd’ was played by a woman as accompaniment to the “antics” of the ki’i ‘puppets’ (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser* 1886, 29 Nov.). In the last scene, actors representing Kamehameha’s

soldiers performed a “spear dance,” while “sixteen young girls gave an exhibition of Hawaiian dancing” (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser* 1886, 29 Nov.).

The account from *Nupepa Kuokoa* was similar, with added details and commentary. It says that when the aliʻi entered (meaning, most likely, Kalākaua, Kapiʻolani and other members of the royal family), “mele ia ke mele lahui me na panai pu ana a na mea kani” ‘The national anthem was sung with musical accompaniment’ (*Nupepa Kuokoa* 1886, 4 Dec.). *Kuokoa* took a decidedly approving tone in its assessment of the evening, even though it included so much hula: “Maikai a nui ka mahalo ia o na hana. O ka pokole loa nae hoi ka hewa?” ‘The performances were good and appreciated/respectable (mahalo ia). That it was so short was nevertheless a fault?’ (*Nupepa Kuokoa* 1886, 4 Dec.).

Taken together the parade and the tableaux can be seen as performances representing the masculine heroism of the Kanaka past, balanced a little each time by female dancers. It is emphatically masculine because that is what the European/U.S. powers respect(ed) in a country. Whenever possible, Hawaiʻi had to display proof of its eligibility in the exclusive club of sovereign nations. It was a small nation with a small to nonexistent military force: in the age of imperialism it kept its sovereignty at the pleasure of the Mana Nui, the Great Powers. But at the same time, the activities of the Jubilee served to bind together the Kanaka ʻŌiwi in national solidarity, which was built on shared language, genealogy, and history, none of which could be shared by the foreigners looking to take over their country.

Na Mele Aimoku, na Mele Kupuna, a me na Mele Pono o Ka Moi Kalakaua I.
(The Sovereign's songs, the ancestral songs, and the Pono songs of King Kalākaua I).

Poetic texts were imbued with sacred power.... Mele for gods and for high-ranking nobility were indeed manifestations of *mana*

Amy Stillman.

As I mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, a book of songs was published in honor of Kalākaua for his fiftieth birthday jubilee. The name(s) of the collector(s) and editor(s) appear nowhere on it; neither is the name of the publishing house printed on it. It does say, however, that it was “pai ia no ka la hanau o ka Moi ...” ‘published for the birthday of the King’ (*Na Mele Aimoku* 1886, 1). Several of the originals are in the library of the Bishop Museum, and so we can see that it was published in book form, typeset and hardbound. It is 303 pages long, containing forty different mele, some of which are said to be traditional, and some of which have composer's names appended. Songs, especially traditional mele, are not always discrete pieces. It is a characteristic of mele that parts of songs may reappear attached to new songs, and may be combined in a variety of ways. Songs are also often renamed for a living ali'i to keep the genealogical connection to a deceased one current. So the forty mele may actually be more, and parts of mele may be repeated in other mele within the same book. Some of the mele listed in the *Papa Kuhikuhi o Na Hula Poni Moi* are the same as those in *Na Mele Aimoku*. Judging by the titles alone, since we do not have the full text for the *Papa Kuhikuhi*, at least seventeen of the mele are the same.

Hawaiian language and thought tend to put important things first, so let us look at the first mele in the book. It is entitled “He Mele Inoa no Aikanaka” ‘A Name Song for ‘Aikanaka.’ ‘Aikanaka was Kalākaua's maternal grandfather,

who happened to share that name with the ali'i nui of Kaua'i who figures prominently in the Kāwelo mo'olelo. The first part of the mele is clearly identifiable as the mele known as "'Au'a 'ia' 'Withhold/Hold onto [your land].' This is one of three classical hula pahu. Hula pahu were originally heiau 'temple' rituals that became performance hula after the collapse of the traditional religion (Kaeppler 1993, 225-226). They are in that way important links to the ancient traditions. As I mentioned in the section on the poni mō'i, "'Au'a 'ia" was also performed on that occasion. Kaeppler says, however, that "it was probably at the time of Kalākaua's jubilee celebration in 1886 that the text was presented and reinterpreted as an admonition to hold on to the Hawaiian heritage" (Kaeppler 1993, 213-214). This is the beginning of the chant with a translation by Mary Kawena Pukui:

Aua ia e kama e kona moku	Kama (the chief) refused to part with his island
E kona moku e kama e aua ia	This is the land held back by Kama
E kama kama kama kama i ka huli nuu	The son Kama, Kama, Kama, the highest born
Ke kama kama kama kama i ka huli au	The son Kama, Kama, Kama, who reigns
Huli hia papio a ilalo i ke alo	He turns his foes face down (kills them)
Huli hia i ka imu o ku ka makii lohelohe	He turns them into the imus (earth ovens), then lays them before his idols
	(Tatar 1993, 179-180).

This section of the chant is clearly a statement by (and for) Kalākaua that he is the proper ruler of his land, and that he intends to retain his rule over the land. The following section invokes the gods Lono, Kanaloa, Hina, and Kū, in that order, and appears to be a kanikau 'mourning chant.'

The next section links Kalākaua to Kawelo:

O ka Kawelo welo kapu o Kaweloaikanaka,
O Kawelo Alii makua Kūhaulua

Kawelo's sacred heritage/progeny is Kaweloaikanaka,
Chiefly Kawelo, Kūhaulua is the parent

Kalākaua's symbolic linkage to Kawelo is important. Kawelo, it will be remembered, was the first story published in *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*. Kawelo was also represented in the Jubilee parade. Like Kawelo, Kalākaua is of a lineage that is secondary to the ruling line. And like Kawelo, he becomes the sovereign through great efforts of his own combined especially with his devoted relationship to his gods. While his cousin-competitors learn mokomoko 'wrestling,' Kawelo learns the prayers and care for the gods. Kawelo is a heroic as well as a supernatural figure who derives most of his mana from his spiritual/religious activities. Kalākaua was likewise gaining mana from these actions that brought Kawelo and his gods back into the Kanaka collective consciousness.

" 'Au'a 'ia," then, is a song of sovereignty that also functions to invoke the gods and the traditional mo'olelo of Kawelo. That it was set down on paper, with the thirty-nine other mele, for Kalākaua is also important as another act of preservation for future generations.

Conclusion

"[T]he *Kumulipo* ... makes explicit what seems implicit in all Hawaiian religious ideology: man's dependence on the gods in fact conceals the gods' dependence on men" (Valeri 1985, 7). The gods who legitimate Kalākaua's rule do not exist if they are not evoked in prayer and ritual. Since all of the ali'i are at least nominally Christian, they seek out ways to accommodate their need for the traditional gods and the genealogy/cosmology that give them the right to rule,

while escaping censure from their Christian churches. Consecration of heiau, offerings to the gods, and other overtly religious rites are not safe to perform in this environment. Kame'eleihiwa explains, "When a *pono* *Mō'i* was religiously devoted to the *Akua*, the whole society was *pono* and prospered. When disaster struck ... these were signs that the *Mō'i* had ceased to be religious, for the society was no longer *pono*" (Kame'eleihiwa 1992, 48). Kamakau quotes an old saying, "'O ke ali'i haipule i ke akua, 'o ia ke ali'i e kū i ke aupuni" 'The ali'i who is devoted to the god(s) is the ali'i who shall rule the nation' (Kamakau 1996, 212). Through public performance of hula and the publication of the *Kumulipo* and *Na Mele Aimoku*, Kalākaua was demonstrating that he too was devoted to the traditional religion, and was therefore a good and proper *mō'i*. Such a *mō'i* should be able to hold onto the nation's sovereignty, that is, resist colonization.

In addition to fulfilling the need for the traditional gods and cosmology, the public celebrations of tradition served to alleviate some of the psychological harm done to the *lāhui* through the colonization. As we have seen in the examination of the missionary discourse, colonialism in Hawai'i, as elsewhere, meant "the deliberate undervaluing of a people's culture, their art, dances, religions, history, geography, education, orature and literature" (Ngugi 1986, 16). These public performances demonstrated pride in the culture, the art, dance, religion, and history. In so doing, they strengthen the collective identity of the *lāhui* as a nation. Albert Memmi says that "the most serious blow suffered by the colonized is being removed from history and from the community" (Memmi 1991, 91). At this time, with English language schools (ninety-five) outnumbering Hawaiian (seventy-seven) (and receiving more funding) (Reinecke 1969, 71), the process of writing Kanaka out of their own history had begun. But the Papa Kū'auhau, the Hale Nauā, with the parade and historical tableaux, as

well as the hula, insisted on reinscribing and reenacting that history that is particularly Kanaka.

Murray Edelman says that “art should be recognized as a major and integral part of the transaction that engenders political behavior” (Edelman 1995, 2). This performance art, I believe, worked to win over the hearts of many Kānaka Maoli, some of whom may not have previously supported Kalākaua. Edelman also says, “Works of art generate the ideas about leadership, bravery, cowardice, altruism, dangers, authority, and fantasies about the future that people typically assume to be reflections of their own observations and reasoning” (Edelman 1995, 3). The particular works of performance art that Kalākaua inspired in these events contain the themes of leadership that supported his rule. We have spoken of the mo’olelo of Kawelo, the cousin of the younger line who prevails by devotion to his gods. The Kamehameha story contains this same theme (as does the mo’olelo of ‘Umi). When Kalani’ōpu’u, the mō’ī of Hawai’i island died, he bequeathed the office of mō’ī to his son, Kiwala’ō, but he left the war god, Kūkā’ilimoku ‘Island-snatching Kū,’ to Kamehameha. Kamehameha, through consecration of this god and temples, defeated Kiwala’ō in battle, and went on to become the conqueror of all the islands except Kaua’i. And, as we saw in the *Kumulipo*, the Maui story employs a similar theme. Through Kalākaua’s efforts, these stories became part of the national narrative, which not only justified his rule, but, as we have seen throughout this chapter, contributed to the identity of the lāhui as nation.

Although they represented tradition through genealogy, the monarchs themselves were the most powerful members of the class that both facilitated and resisted colonization. Alexander Liholiho (Kamehameha IV), Lota Kapuāiwa (Kamehameha V), and Kalākaua all created policies and otherwise assisted the

progress of colonial capitalism while retaining their cultural identity as Kānaka Maoli through both secretive and overt practice of traditional ritual, ceremony, performance, and custom. They could never abandon genealogy because that is what empowered them in the minds and hearts of their own people. It also was linked to the very core of their identity; to abandon it would have meant severe psychological damage, as well as damage to the collective identity of the lāhui.

When Emma died in 1885, she left the lāhui without a close link to Kamehameha. The loss of Emma, along with the previous losses of Kamehameha descendants Lunalilo, Pauahi, and Ke'elikōlani, no doubt brought more supporters to Kalākaua. This served to make the missionary sons, who began to be known at this time as the missionary party, more worried about holding onto power. While the people were divided for and against Kalākaua, it had been easier for the missionary party to exert their will to rule. Now feeling their power slipping, they turned to more coercive measures.

Eight months after the Jubilee, the haole oligarchy coalesced and forced Kalākaua to sign the Bayonet Constitution, so styled because he signed it under threat of violence. (The Kingdom's small militia was under the control of the oligarchy, who were, furthermore, associated with U.S. military forces.) This constitution stripped Kalākaua of his most important executive powers: every decision he made had to have approval of the Cabinet; he was no longer able to appoint the House of Nobles, and was prevented from dismissing his Cabinet himself; that power was given to the Legislature (Osorio 1996, 436, 439-440). It was in response to the Bayonet Constitution that Kānaka Maoli attempted to use the political system of the West to their own advantage. In 1889, Kānaka Maoli formed a political party to try to gain enough political power within the imposed

system to take control of their own country. In the next chapter, we will examine their efforts.

CHAPTER 5 KE KŪ'E KŪPA'A LOA NEI MĀKOU 'WE MOST SOLEMNLY PROTEST'

I 'āina nō ka 'āina i ke ali'i, a i waiwai nō ka 'āina i ke kanaka.
The land remains the land because of the ali'i, and the land prospers because of the people.
An 'ōlelo no'eau (Pukui 1983, 125).

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to document the organized opposition of the Kanaka Maoli to annexation of their nation by the United States in 1898. It includes a sketch of the events that led up to the U.S.-backed overthrow of Queen Lili'uokalani (1893) followed by a more detailed account of the resistance to the annexation five years later. Since I concentrate on bringing forth the words and actions of the Kanaka Maoli, I do not dwell on the discourse of the annexationists. Some documentation and analysis has already been done of these events and of the annexationist discourse (Coffman 1998; Patrinos 1995; Dougherty 1992; Russ 1992a & b; Kuykendall 1967; Loomis 1976; Tate 1965; Thurston 1936; Dole 1936).

The resistance, in contrast, has not been well documented or analyzed, in part because historians do not generally read the archive in Hawaiian. Much of what is in this chapter is taken from sources written only in Hawaiian. Resistance to the Bayonet Constitution (1887) and the oligarchy that produced themselves through it has in recent years been documented by Kanaka Maoli and other scholars, in particular Davianna McGregor (1979) and Albertine Loomis (1976) who both focus on the Wilcox Rebellion of 1889. Earle (1993) and Morris (1975) discuss the formation of the Hui Kālai'āina in 1889, and Morris (1975) documents some of the anti-annexation activities of the Hui Kālai'āina in 1898. Tate (1965) makes three brief references to Hui Kālai'āina and none to Hui

Aloha 'Āina (or the Hawaiian Patriotic League); she does, however, mention the 1897 anti-annexation petition with over twenty-one thousand names (Tate 1965, 284), the only historian to do so. Kuykendall devotes one paragraph to the Hui Kālai'āina (Kuykendall 1967, 448), and several footnotes. He briefly mentions the Hawaiian Patriotic League of 1892, which is a different, and apparently quite short-lived, organization than the Hui Aloha 'Āina prominent in this chapter (Kuykendall 1967, 528). He makes no mention at all of the significant organization of the same name. He also makes a brief reference to "the ladies of the Hawaiian Patriotic League" but declines to report on any detail of that large organization (Kuykendall 1967, 627). This is in striking contrast to his exhaustive and sometimes excruciatingly detailed accounts of the formation of the oligarchy's Annexation Club (Kuykendall 1967, 532-542, 560-566) and Committee of Safety (Kuykendall 1967, 586-605), and in spite of his obviously careful reading of the Blount Report in which many documents of these important organizations appear. Russ (1992b), who undoubtedly wrote and researched more on the overthrow and the battle over annexation than any other historian, makes five references to the Hawaiian Patriotic League, mainly documenting various protests (Russ 1992b, 50, 108, 198, 207, 364). Like Kuykendall, he displays a lack of curiosity about the Kanaka Maoli political associations. Although Russ's research in the National Archives of the United States appears to have been thorough, he declines to mention the petition of 21,269 names. His work on the annexation is titled *The Hawaiian Republic (1894-1898) and its Struggle to Win Annexation*, but for Russ, the struggle over annexation took place in Washington D.C.—it was a matter of whether or not the U.S. would agree to annexation, and the consent or opposition of the Kanaka Maoli was hardly significant.

In 1906, Kahikina Kelekona (J. G. M. Sheldon) wrote and published a biography of Joseph Nāwahī that includes a short narrative of the formation of the Hui Hawai'i Aloha 'Āina, which Nogelmeier translated into English in 1988 (Sheldon 1988). Queen Lili'uokalani (1897) mentions the organization in her book as well. Other than these, no one has chronicled the existence and works of the Hui Aloha 'Āina, except Coffman (1998), whose account is based on an earlier version of this chapter.

The lack of historical reference to such large and organized resistance is typical of colonial situations, in which the archive in the language of the colonizer is privileged to a high degree over that of the vernacular. As Prakash writes, "A profound sense of historical awareness guided the European colonial conquest of 'peoples without history'" (Prakash 1992, 353). Terming them "peoples without history" and then rigorously keeping the colonized out of the history books is part of the process of what Ngugi calls the establishment of mental control over them. That mental control requires "the destruction or deliberate undervaluing of a people's culture, their art, dances, religions, history, geography, education, orature and literature, and the conscious elevation of the language of the coloniser" (Ngugi 1986, 16). The existence of the resistance in this case has been nearly erased in historiography. This chapter will demonstrate that attending to the archive produced by the colonized in their native tongue can result in a restoration of the history of struggle suppressed by the forces of colonialism. It shows as well that language itself is important in the anti-colonial struggle, another issue that historians (except Chapin) have failed to take up. The successful obfuscation or erasure of the resistance activities of the colonized in historiography depends on their inability to read the language of their ancestors as much as on lack of access to education and facilities.

Let us begin now our “against the grain” (Said 1993) look at the historical events that led to the illegitimate annexation, and the resistance to it, using the archive in Hawaiian.

1887-1893 Events Leading to the Overthrow

King Kalākaua reigned in a time when descendants of missionaries and other settlers from the U.S. and Europe were establishing sugar plantations in the islands. They pressured the King for a reciprocity treaty with the U.S. so that they could sell their sugar to the large U.S. market duty free. As we saw in the last chapter, King Kalākaua tried to win the support of the lāhui while facing continual conflict with the haole, who were convinced of their superiority, and who were determined to rule over the Kanaka Maoli. Osorio says,

It was not merely the fate of reciprocity that drove the haole to ever escalating challenges to the King and the Ministry. It was their sense that the King ... [and] the entire government was a foolish and comic apparatus without *their* leadership and control [emphasis added]. (Osorio 1996, 392)

This drive for control culminated in the forcing of the Bayonet Constitution upon Kalākaua. A conspiracy of haole men, with support from the U.S. military, took over the government troops, and “little was left to the imagination of the hesitant and unwilling Sovereign as to what he might expect in the event of his refusal to comply with the demands then made upon him” (Dole 1936, 52 quoted in Osorio 1996, 435).

McGregor notes that, “The initial period of reaction to the ‘Bayonet’ Constitution and the new Reform Cabinet was marked by mass meetings, petitioning, delegations to the King, electoral campaigning, and conspiracy” (McGregor 1979, 48). These protests of the Bayonet Constitution eventually

culminated in the founding of the first Kanaka Maoli political organization, the Hui Kālai'āina. D. H. Nāhinu of Ho'okena, island of Hawai'i, a former representative in the House, galvanized suggestions that "Native Hawaiians ... establish their own political association" (Earle 1993, 64-65). Haole newspaper editor Daniel Lyons used his newspaper office of the *'Elele* for organizing the Hui Kālai'āina. He emphasized that "the executive committee would be made up only of Hawaiians and that his role was only to start up the association" (Earle 1993, 67).¹ At the first meeting of Hui Kālai'āina, "estimates of attendance ranged from 500 to 1500" (Earle 1993, 70). John Ailuene (Edwin) Bush was elected president of the hui. Of both Kanaka and haole ancestry, this newspaper writer and editor had been prominent in Kalākaua's cabinet.

By June 1888, the hui had established a constitution and a platform for upcoming elections. Among the issues in the platform were the preservation of the monarchy, amendment of the Constitution, and the reduction of property qualifications for voters for the House of Nobles.

While Hui Kālai'āina was preparing for elections, Robert Kalanihiapo Wilcox of Maui grew weary of working quietly and waiting patiently for justice. Wilcox was of ali'i ancestry, and had been sent by Kalākaua to study at a military academy in Italy. It was assumed by all that he would have a respectable position with the government when he completed his studies. The government, now a (colonial) oligarchy of missionary descendants and planters after the Bayonet Constitution, abruptly recalled him, and then refused to employ him in any position equal to his qualifications (he had completed military and engineering training). He eventually went to San Francisco where he obtained a

¹ Lyons' desire to control the organization later became problematic.

position.² In April 1889, he returned to Hawai'i "to help his fellow countrymen in the coming elections" (Earle 1993, 87). Upon his return, Wilcox organized a rifle association which eventually grew to seventy or eighty men. He and his men determined to undo the Bayonet Constitution by the same means as it had been done, by threat of violence.

In the early hours of the morning of July 30, Wilcox and his men gained control of the palace grounds. ... [The cabinet] quickly assembled armed forces to retake the palace. ... [S]hooting broke out between the government troops and Wilcox's men. Several of Wilcox's men were killed or seriously wounded. ... They were forced to surrender ... and 100 armed soldiers of the U.S.S. *Adams* were landed to patrol the streets. (Earle 1993, 88)

Not for the first nor the last time, U.S. troops were the deciding force in an internal conflict in Hawai'i. This is not surprising, however, since the perpetrators of the Bayonet Constitution and the subsequent overthrow always thought of themselves as U. S. citizens first. They clung to their U. S. identity even while serving as officials in the Hawaiian Kingdom government, sent their children to be educated at U. S. East Coast prep schools and colleges, and carefully patrolled the boundaries that separated themselves and their children from the Kanaka Maoli (Grimshaw 1989).

After the failed Wilcox Rebellion of 1889, the Hui Kālai'āina continued its political work, in an atmosphere even more hostile than before. The hui organized "mass, peaceful protest[s]" of a new version of the U.S. Reciprocity Treaty, which were "successful in stalling the treaty negotiations" and which "inspired the organization of a mass movement for the [coming Legislative] elections" (Earle 1993, 96). The hui, in fact, "became the main political organization of the Hawaiian community during the 1890 election campaign"

²Wilcox's wife, in a fictionalized autobiography, says that Wilcox was banished after a failed plot to kill Kalākaua (Sobrero 1991, 118-122).

(McGregor 1979, 108). The hui joined forces with the Mechanics' and Workingmen's Political Protective Union to run candidates friendly to both labor and revision of the constitution. Together they formed the National Reform Party and "won a landslide victory in February 1890" (McGregor 1979, 108). Even with that victory, however, they did not accrue enough power to change the constitution.

Members of the Hui Kālai'āina, and men who would later organize Hui Hawai'i Aloha 'Āina, including Joseph Nāwahī and James Kaulia, met in committee "for the purpose of forming a new constitution" (Earle 1993, 161). They petitioned King Kalākaua, who in turn submitted their petition to the legislature. David Earle says that "members of the Haole community were alarmed at the idea of a constitutional convention" (Earle 1993, 163) so the U.S. and British commissioners intervened by visiting the King to "warn" him (Kuykendall 1967, 463). While the move for a convention ultimately failed in the legislature, the National Reform Party did, however, succeed in getting some laws passed which were beneficial to the Kanaka Maoli (Earle 1993, 167-169).

Until the death of Kalākaua in 1891, Kānaka Maoli persisted in agitating for a new constitution. When Kalākaua's sister Lili'uokalani took office in January 1891, she too was repeatedly pressed to rectify the Bayonet Constitution. For example, in July 1892, she received petitions from women:

O makou, me ka haahaa, na poe o kou Lahui Ponoī nona na inoa malalo iho nei ... He mau Wahine Hawaii Ponoī Maoli.

Ke nonoi aku nei me ka iini nui, e hookoia e Kou Kuleana he Moiwahine no ke Aupuni Hawaii, ka hoohana ana aku e hiki ai e loa a koke mai he Kumukanawai hou no ko kakou Aina a me ko kakou Lahui. (FO & Ex 1892)

We, humbly, the people of your own Nation (Lahui) to whom the names below belong ... are Hawai'i's own Native Women.

We ask with great desire that action should be taken in your authority as Queen of the Hawaiian Government, in order that a new Constitution can be immediately acquired for our Land and our People.

While the Kanaka Maoli women were yet unable to vote, they nevertheless participated in politics through petitioning, and felt that they had kuleana—the right, the authority, and the burden of responsibility—to support the Queen and the nation by pressing for a new constitution.

The Queen wrote that several Kanaka leaders approached her with the idea that she herself could promulgate a restored constitution. Among those leaders were Samuel Nowlein and Joseph Nāwahī (Lili'uokalani 1990, 229). The precedent for this strategy was that Lota Kapuāiwa had written and promulgated the 1864 constitution after the Legislature failed to arrive at consensus. Lili'uokalani wrote, "Petitions poured in from every part of the islands for a new constitution. ... They were supported by petitions addressed to the Hui Kala[i]aina" (Lili'uokalani 1990, 231). She could not ignore these petitions flowing in, since two-thirds of the registered voters of the Islands had signed them. "No true Hawaiian chief would have done other than to promise a consideration of their wishes" (Lili'uokalani 1990, 231). In that statement we can see that even while this struggle over the constitution was taking place within the Euro-American political structure, Lili'uokalani was thinking of herself as an ali'i nui (rendered inadequately in English as "Hawaiian chief") who feels an inalienable responsibility to her people. A recurrent theme in Hawaiian narratives is the fate of ali'i who do not attend to the needs and wishes of their maka'āinana (such as that of 'Aikanaka in the story of Kawelo). In these stories, ali'i often die, are deposed, or are at least humiliated when they arrogantly refuse this responsibility. One example is the story of Kūmahana:

Ua uluhua nā aliʻi, nā kāhuna a me nā makaʻāinana o ke aupuni o Oʻahu i ko lākou mōʻi, iā Kūmahana 'O ke kumu o ka uluhua 'ana, he aliʻi hiamoe lōʻihi 'o Kūmahana, he aliʻi pī, he 'au'a, he ho'okuli, he hele i ke kula i ka pana 'iole, no laila, uluhua loa nā aliʻi a me nā kānaka, a wailana lākou e ho'opau i ka noho mōʻi 'ana o Kūmahana, a ua kō 'i'o ko lākou mana'o. (Kamakau 1996, 79)

The chiefs, priests and commoners of Oahu were dissatisfied with the rule of Ku-mahana He slept late, was stingy, penurious, deaf to the advice of others, and used to take himself off to the plains to shoot rats. They therefore plotted to depose Ku-mahana, and ... succeeded in their plans. (Kamakau 1992, 128)

Lili'uokalani, like the other Kānaka Maoli, while working in the outer structure of politics, thus retained her cultural identity and values, and many times patterned her thoughts and behavior in such traditional rather than foreign ways.

Lili'uokalani's government at this time, particularly the legislature and the Crown, was at a standstill because the Bayonet Constitution provided that the mōʻi could take no action unless approved by the cabinet. At the same time, the constitution gave authority to the legislature to dismiss the cabinet at any time. The Queen commented, "[I]nstead of giving attention to measures required for the good of the country, [the legislature] devoted its energies to the making and unmaking of cabinets" (Lili'uokalani 1990, 234).

Resistance to the Overthrow

In January of 1893, Lili'uokalani attempted to promulgate a new constitution, as was "a prerogative of the Hawaiian sovereigns" (Lili'uokalani 1990, 238). As has been written about in great detail elsewhere, a handful of U.S.-identified politicians and businessmen then overthrew her government (Coffman 1998; Dougherty 1992; Kuykendall 1967, 582-650; Russ 1992a; Blount 1894). They conspired with U.S. Minister John L. Stevens, who ordered soldiers

on shore from the U.S.S. *Boston*. They then occupied a government building, Ali'iolani Hale, and declared themselves the Provisional Government of Hawai'i. As the minister of the United States, Stevens immediately recognized the usurpers as a legitimate government. Upon being asked to surrender, Lili'uokalani wrote the following, addressed to Sanford B. Dole and others "composing the Provisional Government":

I, Lili'uokalani, by the grace of God and under the constitution of the Hawaiian kingdom, Queen, do hereby solemnly protest against any and all acts done against myself and the constitutional government of the Hawaiian kingdom by certain persons claiming to have established a Provisional Government of and for this kingdom.

That I yield to the superior force of the United States of America, whose Minister Plenipotentiary, His Excellency John L. Stevens, has caused United States troops to be landed at Honolulu, and declared that he would support the said Provisional Government.

Now, to avoid any collision of armed forces, and perhaps the loss of life, I do, under this protest and impelled by the said forces yield my authority until such time as the Government of the United States shall, upon the facts being presented to it, undo the action of its representative, and reinstate me in the authority which I claim as the constitutional sovereign of the Hawaiian Islands. (Lili'uokalani 1990, 388)

She also wrote letters of protest to the President of the United States, Benjamin Harrison, and to President-elect Grover Cleveland who was about to take office.

Kānaka Maoli immediately organized in protest. They formed the Hui Hawai'i Aloha 'Āina and the sister organization, the Hui Hawai'i Aloha 'Āina o Nā Wāhine (of Women). Joseph Nāwahī was the president of the men's branch and Mrs. Abigail Kuaihelani Maipinepine Campbell (later Campbell Parker) was the president of the women's branch (Blount 1894, 492, 911). The Hui Hawai'i Aloha 'Āina was called the Hawaiian Patriotic League in English. "Aloha 'āina" means love of the land, which differs significantly in connotation and cultural coding from "patriotic." It is not gendered, as "patriotic" is (Silva 1996, 8), nor

does it share the European genealogy of the term “patriotic.” Instead, it has a genealogy of its own based in traditional Kanaka cosmology. As we saw in the last chapter, the Kanaka Maoli cosmology articulates a familial relationship between the land, symbolized by the taro plant, and human beings. Later in this chapter we will examine how Joseph Nāwahī theorized “aloha ‘āina.” For now, it is important to note that these Kānaka Maoli who worked to retain the sovereignty of their own nation called themselves, not patriots, but “ka po‘e aloha ‘āina,” ‘the people who love the land.’

When President Grover Cleveland took office, he rejected the request of the Provisional Government to annex Hawai‘i. Instead he sent Commissioner James Blount to investigate. The Hui Aloha ‘Āina, both men’s and women’s branches, prepared testimony to present to Commissioner Blount. The men’s branch submitted a copy of their constitution to Blount. It reads, in part:

Article 1. The name of this association shall be the Hawaiian Patriotic League (Ka Hui Hawaii Aloha Aina). Article 2. The object of this association is to preserve and maintain, by all legal and peaceful means and measures, the *independent autonomy* of the islands of Hawaii nei; and, if the preservation of our independence be rendered impossible, our object shall then be to exert all peaceful and legal efforts to secure for the Hawaiian people and citizens the continuance of their civil rights [emphasis in the original]. (Blount 1894, 929-930)

The Hui Aloha ‘Āina presented two other documents to the Commissioner. The first was a statement describing themselves as an association representing “over 7,500 native-born Hawaiian qualified voters throughout the islands (out of a total of 13,000 electors), and to which is annexed a woman’s branch of 11,000 members.” They asked for the assistance of the U.S. president in the restoration of the government, since “the fate of our little kingdom and its inhabitants is in your hands.” They said that the people had not

yet protested with violence because, "They are simply waiting, in their simple faith in the generosity and honor of the most liberal and honorable Government of the world; and they expect *justice*, id est, *restoration* of their legitimate sovereign" [emphasis in the original] (Blount 1894, 911-913).

The second document is much longer, and explains the events leading up to the overthrow. It also protests against the false representations of the Kanaka Maoli made by those who overthrew the government (the "P.G.s," short for Provisional Government). The P.G.s—no surprise—claimed the Kanaka Maoli were incapable of self-government. However, the po'e aloha 'āina contested that discourse:

The natives when left alone have had a most satisfactory, peaceful, and progressive Government, while all the dissensions, riots, and troubles recorded in the annals of these islands have ever been *by or through* foreigners seeking to wrench the power and wealth from the poor natives, these being ever the peaceful and patient sufferers thereby, not "misled," but terrorized and oppressed [emphasis in the original]. (Blount 1894, 914)

There is much more in this statement, which takes up fifteen pages of the Blount Report. The names of the men who signed this document are John A. Cummins, a prominent ali'i and landowner; the aforementioned John E. (Ailuene) Bush, editor of the Hawaiian language newspaper, *Ka Leo o ka Lahui* 'The Voice of the Nation'; the aforementioned Joseph Nāwahī; J. W. Bipikāne; John Prendergast; James K. Kaulia; J. Kekipi, and others.

The women also petitioned Commissioner Blount. Their petition reads, in part:

We, the women of the Hawaiian Islands, for our families and the happiness of our homes, desire peace and political quiet, and we pray that man's greed for power and spoils shall not be allowed to disturb the otherwise happy life of these islands, and that the revolutionary agitations

and disturbances inaugurated here since 1887, by a few foreigners, may be forever suppressed. (Blount 1894, 492)

The names of the women who signed this statement are Mrs. Kuaihelani Campbell; Mrs. Emma Nāwahī, the wife of Joseph Nāwahī; Mrs. Kahalewai Cummins, Vice President and wife of John A. Cummins; Mrs. Mary (Parker) Stillman, Secretary; Mrs. Lilia Aholo, and others.³

Some of the women of the Hui Aloha 'Āina were married to haole men; however, their love for their land was apparently greater than their worry about political disagreement with their husbands. This statement appeared in a Hawaiian language newspaper in March of 1893:

Nui ko makou mahalo ka [sic] ike ana i ka papa inoa o na Lede i komo i ka Hui Hawaii Aloha Aina a na Lede. O ka poe makahanohano no a pau i mare i na kane haole kekahi i komo pu mai he hookahi wale no wahine i kanalua mai, a o kona Kaikuana no hoi kekahi e lole lua nei. (*Ka Leo o ka Lahui* 1893, 27 Mar.)

We were grateful to see the list of names of Ladies who joined the Hui Hawai'i Aloha 'Āina for Ladies. Some of them are distinguished women who are married to haole men; only one of them was uncertain, and her older sister is also ambivalent.

The result of the hui's petitions to Commissioner Blount was favorable to their cause. After reviewing Blount's report, President Cleveland announced his opinion that the P.G.s had acted illegally. In fact, he said "the provisional government owes its existence to an armed invasion by the United States," and further, that, "By an act of war, committed with the participation of a diplomatic representative of the United States and without authority of Congress, the Government of a feeble but friendly and confiding people has been overthrown"

³Lilia Aholo, second wife of Luther Aholo, should not be confused with the well-known Lydia Aholo. Lydia Aholo was Luther's daughter by his first wife who died in childbirth. Queen Lili'uokalani hānai 'adopted' Lydia within weeks of her birth.

(Blount 1894, 445-458). He thus condemned the actions of John L. Stevens, and asked for his resignation. President Cleveland supported the restoration of Queen Lili'uokalani to the throne, but he was not able to persuade enough members of Congress to support restoring the Queen. Cleveland was a Democrat and generally anti-imperialist and anti-expansionist. Many members of Congress, however, favored annexation of Hawai'i as part of an expansionist policy to develop markets in Asia (Coffman 1998; Williams 1980).

The Kanaka Maoli protested in many other ways. Some withheld ho'okupu 'donations' to their churches when the ministers supported the P.G.s. The members of Kaumakapili Church in Honolulu said that they would no longer give money to the church when the minister was praying for the loss of their birth land (*Hawaii Holomua* 1893, 7 Jul.). Both men and women sewed quilts incorporating the Hawaiian flag, as a number of Kanaka Maoli continue to do:

...Hawaiian Flag quilts of the nineteenth century were used to communicate loyalty and personal service to the Hawaiian nation...and protests to foreign domination (Hammond 1993, 19)

The Royal Hawaiian Band, originally founded during the reign of Kamehameha III, had always been administered and funded by the government. But in 1893 the P.G.s wanted band members to sign an oath of loyalty, swearing that they would not support the Queen nor her government. The Band refused. They were told that they would be fired, and that they would soon be eating rocks (since they would have no paychecks to buy food). The Band was loyal to the Queen, and considered themselves po'e aloha 'āina, so they walked away from their jobs and their paychecks. When they told their story to Ellen Keko'aohiwaikalani Wright Prendergast, she composed a song for them called *Mele 'Ai Pōhaku 'Rock Eating Song,'* or *Mele Aloha 'Āina 'Song for the*

People Who Love the Land' (Nordyke and Noyes 1993), also known as *Kaulana Nā Pua 'Famous are the Flowers.'* Here are two verses from the song:

'A'ole a'e kau i ka pūlima
Maluna o ka pepa o ka 'enemi
Ho'ohui 'āina kū'ai hewa
I ka pono sivila a'o ke kanaka.

No one will fix a signature
To the paper of the enemy
With its sin of annexation
And sale of native civil rights.

'A'ole mākou a'e minamina
I ka pu'ukālā a ke aupuni.

We do not value
The government's sums of
money.

Ua lawa mākou i ka pōhaku,
I ka 'ai kamaha'o o ka 'āina.

We are satisfied with the stones,
Astonishing food of the land.
(Elbert and Mahoe 1970, 63-64)

This song is still sung by Kānaka Maoli today as a call to sovereignty. The band, independent of the government, reformed as Ka Bāna Lāhui Hawai'i 'the Hawaiian National Band' and continued to represent the people of Hawai'i who regarded them as heroes because of their sacrifice (*Ke Aloha Aina* 1895-1897; *Ka Leo o ka Lahui* 1893-1895). They traveled for some years around the United States, bringing their Hawaiian nationalist message to the common people of the U.S. through their music (see series of letters in *Ka Leo o ka Lahui* 1893 and *Ke Aloha Aina* 1895-1897).

The Kanaka Maoli continued to protest, and the P.G.s continued to press the U.S. for annexation. Both sides petitioned the United States for assistance.

Resistance to the Republic

When Cleveland withdrew the P.G.'s annexation treaty, President Sanford Dole and his colleagues moved to establish a permanent government in order to legitimize their power and control over the resources of Hawai'i. In early 1894 they declared that there would be a constitutional convention held in May. They appointed nineteen delegates—themselves—to the convention, and called for

eighteen more delegates to be chosen by popular election. But in order for people to vote in this election, they would have to first sign the oath of loyalty to the Provisional Government, promising they would “oppose any attempt to re-establish monarchical government in any form in the Hawaiian Islands.” The overwhelming majority of Kānaka Maoli refused to sign such an oath, and boycotted the constitutional convention. Only about three thousand men, mostly of foreign birth, signed the oath and voted in the election (Russ 1992b).

The po’e aloha ‘āina protested this unfair election process in a resolution sent to the new U.S. Minister, Albert Willis. The women of the Hui Aloha ‘Āina wrote a statement of protest addressed to the foreign ministers of the U.S., England, France, Germany, Portugal, and Japan. Their statement said that the entire Hawaiian nation had been protesting for seventeen months, and that during that time, “the Hawaiian People, confident in the honesty and impartiality of America, [had] patiently and peacefully submitted to the insults and tyranny of the Provisional Government.” At the same time,

the Provisional Government, without even the courtesy of waiting for America’s final decision, [have] been straining every effort to transform themselves into a permanent government, based on the support of Alien bayonets, and are now preparing ... to proclaim an assumed Republic, through a constitution which is acknowledged as the most illiberal and despotic ever published in civilized countries. (Henriques Manuscript Collection)

The women called the constitution “illiberal and despotic” because it was designed to keep as many Kānaka Maoli from voting as possible, and to prevent Asian immigrants from voting as well. It made use of the “Mississippi laws” that had kept African-American citizens from voting there. These Mississippi laws meant that any voter could be challenged to explain details of the Constitution before being allowed to vote (Castle 1981). The constitution also followed the

laws of the Provisional Government in restricting rights to freedom of speech and freedom of the press. Any criticism of the government spoken or published could be labeled "seditious" and therefore illegal. People again were required to sign an oath of loyalty to the Republic in order to vote, to sit on a jury, or to hold any job with the government.

In spite of continual protest by the people, the constitutional convention proceeded, and the already-drafted constitution was approved. The P.G.s then selected the 4th of July to announce their new permanent government. The po'e aloha 'āina were outraged. They found out about these plans just a few days ahead of time. They called a hālāwai maka'āinana nui 'mass rally' for July 2. Between five thousand and seven thousand people—about twice as many as had voted for the constitutional convention—showed up at 5 p.m. at Palace Square to express their disagreement with the Republic's formation, and to approve a resolution drafted by the officers of the Hui Aloha 'Āina to be submitted to the U.S. Minister. Here is part of that resolution:

Ke kue kupaa loa nei ka Hui Hawaii Aloha Aina a me na Hui Aloha Aina e ae, a me na kupa aloha aina o ke Aupuni Hawaii ... i ke kuahaua ia ana o kekahi Kumukanawai Hou i hana ia me ka ae ole ia me ka lawelawe pu ole hoi o ka Lehulehu. (*Ka Leo o ka Lahui* 1894, 3 Jul.)

The Hui Aloha 'Āina, and other patriotic leagues together with the loyal subjects of the Hawaiian Kingdom ... do hereby most solemnly protest against the promulgation of a new Constitution formed without the consent and participation of the people. (*Hawaii Holomua* 1894, 3 Jul.)

Joseph Nāwahī gave a speech that evening in which he said:

No kakou ka Hale e like me ka na Kamehameha i kukulu ai. Ua kipaku ia ae kakou e ka poe i aea hele mai, a komo i loko o ko kakou hale; a ke olelo mai nei ia kakou, e komo aku a e noho i loko o ka hale kaulei a lakou i manao ai e kukulu iho a onou aku ia kakou a pau e komo aku. O ka'u hoi e olelo aku nei ia oukou e o'u mau hoa makaainana, mai noho kakou a ae iki. (*Ka Leo o ka Lahui* 1894, 3 Jul.)

The house of government belongs to us, as the Kamehamehas built it. We have been ousted by trespassers who entered our house and who are telling us to go and live in a lei stand that they think to build and force us all into. I am telling you, my fellow citizens, we should not agree in the least.⁴

Nāwahī was asserting here that the government properly belongs to the Kanaka Maoli, that the Kamehameha line had established a foundation of constitutional monarchy that gave voice and representation to the people, and that the haole oligarchy sought to replace that constitutional government with a colonial government that lacked such a foundation in the consent of the people. The reference to the lei stand may also be indicative of Nāwahī's concern about the economic fate of the people: the lei stand may be symbolic and prescient of the ways that the Kanaka Maoli would be reduced to selling exotic and ephemeral elements of their culture, instead of holding substantial places in the economy.

Although President Cleveland had declared the acts of the P.G. illegal, U.S. Minister Albert Willis immediately recognized the Republic of Hawai'i as a legitimate government. The hui continued to protest through peaceful and diplomatic means, but assistance from other nations never arrived. In the face of the failure of the Cleveland administration, which no doubt felt like a betrayal, and in despair of diplomatic solutions, some of the po'e aloha 'āina began to plan an armed takeover of the government. In October 1894, they bought arms in San Francisco, and had them shipped to O'ahu on the schooner *Wahlberg*. The steamer *Waimānalo* received the arms offshore of O'ahu (Loomis 1976, 123-126).

⁴Laiana Wong has pointed out that "hale kaulei" can be translated two ways: "kaulei" can mean insecure or infirm, thus the phrase could read something like "unstable house," as well as the more figurative translation given above, "lei stand." Both translations express an instability that Nāwahī is contrasting to the stable government of the Kamehameha dynasty.

Unfortunately, the Republic learned of the plans. On December 8, 1894, they arrested John Bush and Joseph Nāwahī. Both were leaders of the Hui Aloha 'Āina and both newspapermen. Bush was editor of both *Ka 'Oia'i'o* and *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*. It is unclear what roles these two po'e aloha 'āina might have played in subsequent events were they not in jail, but the attempted counter-coup was disorganized and unsuccessful. The Kanaka Maoli opposition press was effectively shut down by their arrests, so members of the hui and their sympathizers were thus without reliable printed news for several months (Chapin 1996, 102). Bush and Nāwahī were held without charge, and without bail for two months, then released on \$10,000 bond. Joseph Nāwahī's health suffered in jail, where he contracted tuberculosis.

On January 4, 1895, Samuel Nowlein and Robert Wilcox, who was drafted into the leadership at the last minute, directed the *Waimānalo* to unload the arms at Kāhala near Lē'ahi (Diamond Head). On January 5, they distributed the arms, and planned to march on Honolulu and seize both the Palace and the police station. On January 6, Republic officials learned that the arms were at Henry Bertelmann's Waikiki home, and sent armed police there. The aloha 'āina rebels, who had arrived there from Kāhala, exchanged gunfire with the Republic, killing one of the haole civilian guards, and later wounding Kanaka Maoli police officer Lieutenant Holi. The police eventually gained the upper hand, entered the home and arrested Bertelmann (Loomis 1976, 124-150).

Wilcox and his remaining force retreated to Lē'ahi, where the Republic's militia again fired on them. The rebels retreated through Pālolo valley, over the mountain ridges into Mānoa, and into Pauoa and Nu'uanu. There they began to surrender individually to the Republic's forces. On January 14, Wilcox and other leaders also surrendered in Kalihi (Loomis 1976, 153-166).

On January 16, the Republic claimed that they found arms buried in Queen Lili'uokalani's garden at Washington Place. They arrested her, and held her prisoner in a room at 'Iolani Palace (Russ 1992b, 59-61). They commissioned a military tribunal that tried and convicted her of "misprision of treason" (having knowledge of treasonous activity and failing to report it to the government), which was not an offense in any criminal statute of the time, but which the tribunal created for the occasion. The Queen's attorney, Paul Neumann, argued that a military tribunal had no authority over civilians such as the Queen, but the commission, led by Colonel William Austin Whiting, did not agree. Contemporary analyses of the trial by law professor Jon Van Dyke and attorney David Farmer agree with Neumann that "it is improper to try civilians in military courts under martial law unless ongoing fighting is occurring." (Van Dyke quoted in Farmer 1997, 32). Van Dyke called the commission "a kangaroo court" (Van Dyke 1995, 7).

During the trial, Lili'uokalani refused to speak in English (Coffman 1998, 172). Choice of language in these years is an important indication of the conditions and the stance of the Kanaka Maoli speaker. To Blount, a friendly investigator, the po'e aloha 'āina had presented all their documents in English, with the exception of the constitution of the hui, which was presented in both languages. In 1897, all documents sent to an apparently hostile President of the U.S. were in Hawaiian first, with English translations appended. For the bilingual Kanaka Maoli to communicate in Hawaiian was to claim their Kanaka identity while making a gesture of resistance. Another important example is that Bush and Nāwahī refused to print anything in their newspapers in English during these years, not even paid advertising. Chapin says that they "were making a statement that linked the English language to imperialism" (Chapin 1996, 99).

Communicating in Hawaiian also made it more difficult for the oppressive regime keeping them under surveillance to understand what the po'e aloha 'āina were saying to each other (Attorney General File on *Ke Aloha Aina*).

Before the trial the Queen was forced to sign a statement abdicating her throne (which she had always refused to do) under threat that the po'e aloha 'āina would be executed if she did not. Then she was imprisoned in one room in the palace until September 6, 1895, was under house arrest at her home at Washington Place for another five months, and confined to the island of O'ahu for eight more months. All in all, she was imprisoned for nearly two years. While the Queen was imprisoned, she began an American-style crazy quilt, into which she incorporated a piece of material imprinted with the Hawaiian flag surrounded by the words "Kuu Hae Aloha," 'My Beloved Flag'. This flag is sewn into the quilt upside down, the international symbol of distress.⁵ The piece of material fits the description of the hat bands sold by the women of the Hui Aloha 'Āina as a fundraiser in 1897. She began her English translation of the *Kumulipo* at this time as well, which was published in 1897. She also published *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen* in 1897. Each book represents a different way that she attempted to explain herself and her lāhui to the people of the United States. Translation of the *Kumulipo* might demonstrate how ancient and complex, and thus, how worthy of respect, the traditions of the Kanaka were, while the autobiography could explain in a familiar European genre the injustices suffered by the nation of Hawai'i at the hands of the U.S.

The po'e aloha 'āina, about two hundred of them, were given varying sentences of one to thirty-five years in prison, and fined \$5,000 to \$10,000. Many of their haole sympathizers who were not citizens were deported (Loomis 1976,

⁵One can tell right side up on the quilt because the Queen also embroidered words onto it.

197, 203). Wilcox was sentenced to hang, but his sentence was later commuted. Prince Jonah Kūhiō Kalanianaʻole was among those imprisoned. He was released in September of 1895 (*Ke Aloha Aina* 1895). The poʻe aloha ʻāina called the prisoners poʻe paʻahao kālaiʻāina ‘political prisoners’ because they went to jail for making a desperate move to express their political will under the colonial oligarchy that allowed them no participation. Some women made dresses of striped fabric resembling the prison uniforms to show their solidarity with the men in prison (Morris 1995). Women of the Hui Aloha ʻĀina also cared for the poverty-stricken and homeless families of the men who were suddenly left without incomes. On July 4, 1895, a few of the political prisoners were released, mainly in Hilo (*Ke Aloha Aina* 1895). All of the remainder were paroled on January 1, 1896.

Many Kānaka Maoli responded to these events with an outpouring of aloha for Wilcox and for the ʻāina in the form of songs. Most of the songs were published in newspapers. There were so many (104) that the editor of *Ka Makaainana* gathered them together and published them in a book called *Buke Mele Lahui* ‘Nationalist Song Book’ (Testa 1895; Stillman 1989; Basham 1999). Stillman writes that themes in the songs include “pride, love of land, and glorification of the chiefs,” and finds that these are some of the values of the poʻe aloha ʻāina that allowed them to “keep alive their seemingly remote hopes for restoring the monarchy after diplomatic and military failures” (Stillman 1989, 13).

In May of 1895, Joseph Nāwahī and his wife Emma ʻAʻima Nāwahī started a new weekly newspaper called *Ke Aloha Aina*. In this newspaper, Nāwahī wrote a series of articles expressing what aloha ʻāina means for the Kanaka Maoli. Nāwahī was educated at “Hilo Boarding School, Lāhaināluna and the Royal School, all ABCFM institutions” (Osorio 1996, 301). He served at one time as

vice-principal at Hilo Boarding School. According to Osorio, "He was the living promise of the Calvinist mission and an exemplar of that mission's contradictions. He was a Christian Native who was, nevertheless, a firm and lifelong opponent of annexation" (Osorio 1996, 301). That Nāwahī accepted Christian mission doctrine while opposing the political takeover of his country by the same missionary families is not necessarily contradictory. Like Davida Malo before him (Arista 1998) and like the Mō'īwahine Lili'uokalani, he retained his Kanaka identity while assimilating Christianity into his life and philosophy. In this essay, for example, he begins by quoting the fifth commandment:

E hoomaikai oe i kou makuakane a me kou makuahine, i loihi ai na la o kou noho ana maluna o ka aina a Iehova a kou Akua i haawi mai ai ia oe. Pukaana 20:12. (*Ke Aloha Aina* 1895, 8 Jun.)

Honor your father and mother, that your days will be long of living upon the land that Jehovah, your God, has given to you. Genesis 20:12.⁶

He goes on:

O ka makuakane a me ka makuahine mua loa o ka lahui kanaka, oia o Adamu a me Eva, he mau materia laua o ka lepo o ka honua i hoopihia ia me ka hanu ola. ...

O na lahui a pau loa e ola nei ... he mau hunahuna lepo lakou, a he mau mahele hunahuna materia o ka aina a ke Akua i hana ai. Nolaila, ma kekahi olelo pololei ana ae; ke ola nei, a ke hele nei no ka aina maluna o ka honua: Ke ola nei a ke hele nei na keiki aina, na moopuna aina, na lahui aina, maluna o ko lakou makuahine nui, ka Honua.

O wai kou makuahine? O ka aina no! O wai kou kupunawahine? O ka aina no! Pehea hoi o Eva, ko kakou kupunawahine mua loa? He lepo no ia no ka aina....(*Ke Aloha Aina* 1895, 8 Jun.)

The first father and mother of human beings, Adam and Eve, they are material of the dirt of the earth who were filled with the breath of life

All of the peoples living ... are fragments of the dirt, and they are part of the material of the land that God made. Therefore, it may be correctly said, the land itself is living and walking upon the earth. Living and

⁶This is my translation from the Hawaiian.

walking are the children of the land, the grandchildren of the land, the peoples of the land, upon their great mother, the Earth.

Who is your mother? She is the land! Who is your grandmother? She is the land! What of Eve, our very first grandmother/female ancestor? She is the soil of the land.

Nāwahī then departs from these biblically-oriented musings to his Kanaka traditions:

Malia, ua nui loa ke kuhihewa o ko Hawaii nei poe kupuna, ma ko lakou moolelo kahiko, e olelo ana: Ua hanau maoli ia mai keia Paemoku e Papa (w) nana me Wakea (k). He mea hiki ole loa ia ma ka noonoo ana o ke kanaka; aka i na nae ma ka lawena olelo ana, a he wahi moowini malamalama iki ko lakou no na hana a ke Akua i ke au kahiko loa, alaila, o kela lawena olelo ana, ua ku no ia i ka oiaio ...

Ua hoomoe ka moa wahine maluna o ka hua, a kiko ae la he manu moa opio! Ua noho aku o Wakea (k) ia Papa (w) alaila, hanau mai la keia mau Paemoku o Hawaii nei. ... Oiai he hookahi wale no hana ia ana o Adamu mai ka lepo mai; aka, ke mau nei no nae ko kakou hoopuka mau ana i na huaolelo, *na ke Akua au i hana*. Pela ka lawena olelo no ka hanau ia ana o keia Paemoku e Papa. (*Ke Aloha Aina* 1895, 8 Jun.)

Perhaps the ancestors of Hawai'i's people were greatly mistaken in their ancient mo'olelo, saying: This Archipelago was truly born of Papa (f) and Wākea (m). It is something impossible in people's thought; but, if in the stories, they might have had a glimmer (moowini malamalama iki) of the works of God in the old days, then, those stories are true.

A hen sits upon an egg, and a fully formed chick pecks out! Wākea lives with Papa and these Islands of Hawai'i are born. ... While there was just one creation of Adam out of the dirt, yet we all continue to say the words, *God made me*. So it is with the story of the birth of the Islands by Papa [emphasis in the original].

Nāwahī's weaving of the two belief systems together takes him to this conclusion:

Alaila, o ke aloha i kou makuahine, kou aina, kou wahi i hanauia ai, oia ka mea e loihi ai na la, na makahiki o ke ola ana.

...

Nolaila, e ka Lahui Hawaii, e hoounui i ke aloha no ko kakou aina hanau, ka Paeaina o Hawaii, alaila, e ola loihi oukou me ka oukou mau mamo maluna o ka aina o Hawaii a ke Akua i haawi mai ai ia oukou. (*Ke Aloha Aina* 1895, 8 Jun.)

Thus, love for your mother, the land, the place where you were born, that is what will make the days and years of your life long.

Therefore, Hawaiian People, let us increase the love for our birth land, the Islands of Hawai'i; then, you and your descendants will live long upon the land of Hawai'i which God has given to you.

Aloha 'āina, then, means more than an abstract or emotional love for the "one hānau," 'birth land.' For Nāwahī and the other po'e aloha 'āina, it meant that people must strive continuously to control their own government, in order to provide life to the people. Notice too, that "life" is not an abstraction or the Christian one to be achieved after death: Nāwahī was articulating his lāhui's desire to live in the flesh upon their land. Mass death from epidemics and lack of children surviving into adulthood were immediate and cruel realities for the Kanaka Maoli throughout this period. Nāwahī and the other po'e aloha 'āina of his time believed that a colonial government would add to the harm already done to the Kanaka Maoli, as it indeed has.⁷

In the late summer of 1896, Joseph Nāwahī was suffering from the tuberculosis he had contracted in jail. A doctor prescribed a therapeutic trip to San Francisco, so he and his wife Emma 'A'ima sailed for California. But as in King Kalākaua's case, the therapy proved useless. These two major proponents of aloha 'āina were very far away from their 'āina when Nāwahī died. On his deathbed, he apologized to his wife for taking her so far from the 'āina and from her family and friends, to deal with his death alone in a foreign place. The English language (but Hawaiian nationalist) newspaper, *The Independent* reported:

The deceased had for some time past been a very sick man, suffering from consumption contracted during his prolonged imprisonment for alleged political offenses in the pest hole known as Oahu Prison. His

⁷It is often said that the Kanaka Maoli have the most dismal life statistics of any ethnic group in Hawai'i nei, i.e., the shortest projected life span, greatest per capita amount of substance abuse and imprisonment, etc.

offense was that he loved his Queen and his country, and through his untimely death another sufferer has been added to the cohorts of victims of the men of 1893. (1896, Sep. 24)

Mrs. Nāwahi brought her husband's body home. He was given a funeral in Honolulu befitting a head of state. Several hundred women of the Hui Aloha 'Āina marched in his funeral procession, which also included a detachment of police, the government band led by Henry Berger, the Portuguese political societies, many regional branches of the Hui Aloha 'Āina, both men's and women's, and the Hui Kālai'āina. He was honored with another funeral procession in Hilo on the island of Hawai'i prior to his burial there; his body was taken into Hilo harbor by a procession of traditional wa'a 'canoes.' Letters of condolence were printed continuously in *Ke Aloha Aina* through November of 1896 (Sheldon 1908).

Queen Lili'uokalani wrote:

One morning, in the month of October, 1896, I heard of the death of Mr. Joseph Kahooluhi Nawahi o Kalaniopuu; and I shared the common sorrow, for this was a great blow to the people. He had always been a man who fearlessly advocated the independence of Hawaii nei. (Lili'uokalani 1990, 300)

She also wrote that the P.G.s hoped that Nāwahī's death would cause the demise of both the Hui Aloha 'Āina and the Hui Kālai'āina, since these, "with the organization of the Women's Patriotic League, are societies much dreaded by the oligarchy ... ruling Hawaii." The hui did not disband, however; as the Queen said, "the cause of Hawaiian independence is larger and dearer than the life of any man connected with it" (Lili'uokalani 1990, 302). The hui appointed temporary presidents and continued their organizing. Both decided to hold conventions on Lā Kū'oko'a, November 28, 1896, Hawai'i's Independence Day

(no longer a holiday under the Republic). Delegates were elected from all the different islands to come to Honolulu, vote for new permanent presidents and, for the Hui Aloha 'Āina, consider an amended constitution.

Before the convention, a letter appeared in *Ke Aloha Aina* urging everyone to elect their delegates, except the women, since women had no kuleana 'responsibility; authority' in that activity. The letter writer was swiftly rebuked by a "makuahine aloha aina" 'aloha 'āina mother' (probably Mrs. Nāwahī), who explained that the president of the central committee was to represent "ka lahui holookoa," 'the entire lāhui,' and that the lāhui includes women and children as well as men. She asserted that the women's central committee would be sending delegates to the convention and that those delegates each expected to have a vote (*Ke Aloha Aina* 1896, 14 Nov.). In the end, the women's central committee members did attend but did not vote as a separate organization; one woman voted as the delegate for the combined Hui Aloha 'Āina from South Hilo. *Ke Aloha Aina's* editorial page said the presence of women delegates was a sign that the whole nation was working together towards progress for their beloved 'āina. Before the convention, another writer to *Ke Aloha Aina* proposed criteria for selection of the new president. Each criterion began with, "I kanaka a wahine paha," 'Should be a man or a woman' (*Ke Aloha Aina* 1896, 21 Nov.). This indicates that at least some men supported female leadership of the hui. The question of women having the right to vote and to lead in these public arenas, which were reserved for men in the foreign structure, while not resolved, had been brought to the public, and would surface again the following year. While these organizations were clearly modeled on foreign political structures, the Kanaka Maoli adapted them according to their world view, in which there is no inherent reason why women cannot participate in politics. Mrs. Kuaihelani

Campbell was acknowledged all through the struggle as a leader of the nation along with the two male hui presidents.

At the conventions, the Hui Kālai'āina elected David Kalauokalani⁸ president, and Hui Aloha 'Āina elected James Keauluna Kaulia. At this same time, Mrs. Nāwahī continued as owner and business manager of the newspaper *Ke Aloha Aina*, although Joseph had died. She hired her nephew Edward Like as editor.

1896 brought a final symbolic blow to the Hawaiian language schools. The Republic of Hawai'i passed a law that decreed "The English language shall be the medium and basis of instruction in all public and private schools" (Republic of Hawai'i Session Laws 1896, 189). Nāwahī had protested this when it was a bill before the legislature in 1895 (*Ke Aloha Aina* 1895, 20 Jul). Its passage into law marks the beginning of the generations where grandchildren, immersed in the English language in school, could no longer benefit from the mo'olelo, 'ōlelo no'eau, and other traditional language of their grandparents. In truth, the number of Hawaiian language schools had already been declining for many years, taking the most precipitous falls after the Bayonet Constitution. In 1886, there were seventy-seven Hawaiian language schools; in 1894 (post-overthrow), it was down to eighteen; and in 1896, there was only a single school (Reinecke 1969, 71-72). It will be remembered that there was a two-tiered school system in place: the select schools were taught in English, and oriented to college-preparatory courses and better funded; the common schools had been taught in Hawaiian and were oriented to reproducing laborers. When the oligarchy came into power, it became more convenient to have the Kanaka Maoli and immigrant laborers learn to understand English. The Hawaiian language schools

⁸His full name is David Kalauokalani Keawe, but he is always referred to in the documents and newspapers as Kalauokalani (information on his full name is from his great-grandson, Moses Kalauokalani).

then began that sharp decline. At the same time, English was said to be the language of high economic status and opportunity. Any who wanted to retain education in Hawaiian were very likely characterized as backward and foolish. In 1896 the Board of Education reported to the legislature:

Schools taught in the Hawaiian language have virtually ceased to exist and will probably never appear again in a Government report. Hawaiian parents without exception prefer that their children should be educated in the English language. The gradual extinction of a Polynesian dialect may be regretted for sentimental reasons, but it is certainly for the interest of the Hawaiians themselves. (Minister of Public Instruction 1898, 6-7)

The minister of public instruction here asserted that there were no Hawaiians who preferred education in their mother tongue, but the political circumstances must be taken into account before accepting that statement at face value. The colonial government was in a constant struggle with the Kanaka Maoli, who did not approve of it. Neither the minister nor any of the members of the Board of Education were Kanaka Maoli. The assertion that the demise of the native language (which the minister himself equates with the loss of the Hawaiian schools) was actually good for the Kanaka Maoli reveals the colonial government's beliefs in the superiority of their language, but not the beliefs of the Kanaka Maoli, which were probably diverse. It is, moreover, an attempt to justify a policy that the government knows will result in the death of the language—which is unjustifiable. Predictably, and painful to realize, after all the schools became English medium schools, greater economic opportunity did not come to the students of the common schools, as they were still expected to become nothing more than laborers. The common schools continued to be poorly funded and the curriculum was not changed to that of the select schools.⁹

⁹The current public school system in Hawai'i still reflects this history. Kailua (O'ahu) High School, for example, with a large Hawaiian and lower socio-economic student population specializes in teaching the building trades, while Kaiser High School, with a wealthier and whiter population specializes in college-prep (Stewart 1996).

The loss of the language proceeded, but was also resisted effectively enough to allow for the current revival one hundred years later.

It was in the same year, 1896, in November, that William McKinley, a Republican, was elected president of the United States, replacing the Democrat Grover Cleveland. McKinley was far more inclined to consider annexing Hawai'i than Cleveland. Accordingly, the hui mobilized again. This time they directed their protests towards the U.S. Congress.

The 1897 Petitions Protesting Annexation

McKinley was open to persuasion by U.S. expansionists and by annexationists from Hawai'i. In the spring of 1897, he agreed to meet with a committee of annexationists, Lorrin Thurston, Francis Hatch, and William Kinney. By June of 1897, McKinley signed a treaty of annexation with these representatives of the Republic of Hawai'i. The president then submitted the treaty to the U.S. Senate for ratification (Russ 1992b, 178-227).

The Hui Aloha 'Āina for Women, the Hui Aloha 'Āina for Men, and the Hui Kālai'āina formed a coalition to oppose the treaty. Together, these three organizations represented a majority of the Kanaka Maoli. The Kanaka Maoli strategy was to challenge the U.S. government to behave in accordance with its stated principles of justice, and of government of the people, by the people, and for the people. They hoped that once the U.S. President and members of Congress saw that the great majority of Kanaka Maoli opposed the annexation, the principles of fairness would prevail, and Lili'uokalani's government would be restored. The hui therefore began to organize mass petition drives. The heading on Hui Aloha 'Āina's petition read: "Palapala Hoopii Kue Hoohui Aina"

'Petition Protesting Annexation.' The text below said, in Hawaiian and in English (in part):

We, the undersigned, native Hawaiian subjects and residents ... who are members of the Hawaiian Patriotic League of the Hawaiian Islands, and other citizens who are in sympathy with the said League earnestly protest against the annexation of the said Hawaiian Islands to the said United States of America in any form or shape. (U.S. Congress, Senate 1897)

On September 6, 1897, the Hui Aloha 'Āina held a hālāwai maka'āinana 'mass meeting' at Palace Square, which thousands of po'e aloha 'āina attended. President James Kaulia gave a rousing speech, saying "Aole loa kakou ka lahui e ae e hoohuiia ko kakou aina me Amerika a hiki i ke Aloha Aina hope loa" 'We, the nation (lāhui) will never consent to the annexation of our land to America, down to the very last Aloha 'Āina.' He said agreeing to annexation was like agreeing to be buried alive. He predicted that annexation would open the door for even more foreigners to come here, and to take jobs and resources away from the Kanaka Maoli. He asked, "a ihea kakou e noho ai?" 'then where will we live?' The crowd yelled, "i ka mauna" 'in the mountains,' which means that they would be marginalized, since on Hawai'i's islands, nearly all urban areas are at the shore; to be in the mountains is to be invisible. Kaulia tried to encourage the people by asserting that a mass refusal could prevent the annexation:

Ina e mau ke kupaa o ka lahui me ke kue aku i ka hoohuiia o Hawaii me Amerika ke olelo nei au, e noke wale no ka Aha Senate o keia wahi Aupuni a helelei na paia pohaku o Iolani Hale, aole loa e hiki ke hoohuiia o Hawaii me Amerika. (*Ke Aloha Aina* 1897, 11 Sep.)

If the nation remains steadfast in its protest of annexation of Hawai'i to America, I say, the Senate of this little Government can continue to strive until the rock walls of Iolani Palace tumble down, and Hawai'i can never be annexed to America!"

The annexationist newspapers had published threats that the leaders of the mass meeting would be arrested for treason, but Kaulia assured the people that their assembly was within their rights. He said that it was because the brains of the government could not push over the brains of the Kanaka Maoli that the government had to resort to weapons of war. He said, “E lawe kakou i ke Kahua Hanohano o ka paio ana he lolo me ka lolo” ‘Let us take up the honorable field of struggle, brain against brain.’ He told the people,

[M]ai maka’u, e kupaa ma ke Aloha i ka Aina, a e lokahi ma ka manao, e kue loa aku i ka hoohui ia o Hawaii me Amerika a hiki i ke aloha aina hope loa. (*Ke Aloha Aina* 1897, 11 Sep.)

Do not be afraid, be steadfast in aloha for your land and be united in thought. Protest forever the annexation of Hawai’i until the very last aloha ‘āina [lives].

The crowd cheered.

Following Kaulia, David Kalauokalani, president of the Hui Kālai’āina, explained the details of the annexation treaty to the crowd. He told them that the Republic of Hawai’i had agreed to give full government authority over to the United States, reserving nothing. It would also give all the government’s money, the government and crown lands, government buildings, harbors, bays, military forts, military armaments and warships, and all resources claimed by the government of the Hawaiian Islands. Furthermore, he explained, the laws of the United States would not extend to the Hawaiian Islands, but the Congress of the U.S. would decide how Hawai’i was to be governed. It was uncertain whether the Kanaka Maoli would have the right to vote. He said those who favored annexation would want to deny Kanaka Maoli voting rights because, from the very beginning, they knew that the Kanaka Maoli would overwhelmingly vote

against annexation and anyone who supported it. This is the reason they were always afraid to put a vote to the people (*Ke Aloha Aina* 1897, 11 Sep.).

A resolution protesting the annexation was then read to the crowd, who approved it. It was announced that U.S. Senator Morgan, an advocate of annexation, would be arriving soon, and that there would be another mass meeting held while he was here (*Ke Aloha Aina* 1897, 11 Sep.).

The petition drive started at about this time. Mrs. Abigail Kuaihelani Campbell and Mrs. Emma 'A'ima Nāwahī boarded the inter-island ship the *Kīna'u* and sailed from Honolulu to Hilo on a signature-gathering mission (*Ke Aloha Aina* 1897, 18 Sep.).

On September 14, Senator Morgan and four congressmen from the U.S. indeed arrived. On the same day, Mr. Enoch Johnson and Mr. Simon Peter Kanoa boarded the *Claudine* for Maui, and Mrs. Kaikioewa Ulukou departed for Kaua'i—all bound to gather signatures on those islands.

At the same time, there was a branch of the Hui Aloha 'Āina active at Kalaupapa (on the island of Moloka'i) where people with leprosy were imprisoned.¹⁰ The President of the Kalaupapa branch was Mr. Robert M. Kaaoao, who not only gathered signatures on the protest petitions, but had also organized a full day's activities to commemorate the Queen's birthday on September 2. The activities included a prayer service; boating, swimming, running, horse, and donkey races; as well as pole-climbing and apple-eating contests (*Ke Aloha Aina* 1897, 18 Sep.).

When Mrs. Campbell and Mrs. Nāwahī arrived in Hilo harbor, they were greeted with honors. A delegation of the Hilo chapter of the hui, consisting of

¹⁰ The government called their confinement "quarantine," but the people confined called themselves "prisoners." People with leprosy were arrested, and the patients were called inmates. It was nearly impossible, as well, to escape the quarantine area bounded by rough seas and sheer cliffs. Prisoners were sent there for life; most would never see any family member again. Furthermore, the prisoners were not given adequate food or medicine, which added to their sense of being punished.

Mr. Henry West, Mrs. Hattie Nailima, Mrs. Kekona Pilipo, and Mrs. J. A. Akamu, met them at the harbor. The Hilo delegation showered them with leis, and proclaimed that a wa'a kaulua, a traditional double-hulled canoe, would carry them into the harbor. They had decorated five seats on the beautiful vessel with leis of maile, lehua, and other flowers, and had a Hawaiian flag waving at the back. The people of Laupāhoehoe had sent welcome gifts of 'opihi, limu, and fish. Mrs. Campbell and Mrs. Nāwahī attended meetings of the Hui Aloha 'Āina all over the Hilo and Puna districts, and returned with thousands of signatures (*Ke Aloha Aina* 1897, 25 Sep.). A reporter from the *San Francisco Call*, Miss Miriam Michelson, attended the meeting in Hilo at the Salvation Army hall on September 16th. She traveled along with (but not as a part of) the U.S. Congressional delegation headed by Morgan. Michelson wrote a series of articles in the *Call* supporting the po'e aloha 'āina, which included some details about the hui and their leaders (*San Francisco Call* 1897, 24 Sep. and 30 Sep.; *Ke Aloha Aina* 1897, 25 Sep.) She wondered how Mrs. Nāwahī and Mrs. Campbell would handle themselves in conducting a mass meeting; after all, they were breaking the Victorian code that prohibits women participating in the public sphere:

I watched Mrs. Emma Nawahi curiously as she rose to address the people. I have never heard two women talk in public in quite the same way. Would this Hawaiian woman be embarrassed or timid, or self-conscious or assertive? Not any of these. ... This Hawaiian woman's thoughts were of her subject, not of herself (*San Francisco Call* 1897, 30 Sep.).

Miss Michelson watched as the confident Mrs. Nāwahī took charge of the meeting, giving a speech about the petitions, and then encouraging those present to express their sentiments against annexation so Michelson could report it in the U.S. newspaper. Thrust into even more political activity after the death of her husband, Mrs. Nāwahī carried on his work, both organizing as she had

already begun to do, and taking over management of the newspaper. She, accompanied by some of the other women of the Hui Aloha 'Āina leadership, seems to have quietly and competently entered the public sphere at a time when it was extremely difficult for women to do so.

Meanwhile Mrs. Laura Mahelona was working hard in Kona and Ka'ū; she was the committee member delegated to gather signatures there of both men and women. She traveled from North Kona south to Ka'ū, leaving blank petitions with instructions everywhere she went. She told the chapter presidents to get the petitions signed and return them in a few days when her ship would stop again at the same harbors. When she returned, signed petitions were ready at every harbor. When she landed at each port, she was welcomed by the women of the Hui Aloha 'Āina branches and people from the villages, carrying many lei over their arms, and when she returned to the boat, her clothes couldn't be seen because she was completely covered by lei. Mrs. Mahelona gathered 4,216 signatures (*Ke Aloha Aina* 1897, 2 Oct.).

Mrs. Kaikioewa Ulukou gathered 2,375 signatures on the island of Kaua'i. Mr. Simon P. Kanoa gathered 1,944 in the district of Hāna, Maui (*Ke Aloha Aina* 1897, 2 Oct.). When all the work was done, there were over twenty-one thousand signatures—men's and women's in about equal numbers.

The Hui Kālai'āina also had a substantial membership. They conducted their own petition drive at the same time, collecting over seventeen thousand signatures (*Ka Loea Kalaiaina* 1898, 14 Feb.). Their petition called for the restoration of the constitutional monarchy. Together, there were over thirty-eight thousand signatures. Even considering the likelihood that some people signed both, this is an impressive number, since the population of Kanaka Maoli at the time was around forty thousand.

The Kanaka Maoli in Honolulu formed an ad hoc “Komite o ka Lehulehu” ‘Citizens’ Committee’ at this time to organize the protest of the annexation aimed at Senator Morgan and his delegation. Little information exists about this organization, except notices in the newspapers calling for a mass meeting on October 8, 1897 to protest the annexation treaty, and a “palapala hoopii” “memorial” signed by the committee members, which was approved by the public at that meeting. Members of the committee were F. J. Testa, editor of the resistance papers *Ka Makaainana* and the *Independent*; J. Kalua Kaho’okano; C. B. Maile; Samuel K. Kamakaia, member of the Bāna Lāhui Hawai’i (the re-formed Royal Hawaiian Band), and frequent contributor to the newspaper *Ke Aloha Aina*; and Samuel K. Pua. James Kaulia representing Hui Aloha ‘Āina and David Kalauokalani representing Hui Kālai’āina appended their names to both the notice of the mass meeting and the memorial (*Ke Aloha Aina* 1897, 2 Oct.; *Independent* 1897, 6 Oct.).

Some prominent haole supporters of this committee, including “ka Ona Miliona” ‘millionaire’ James Campbell and Joseph O. Carter, issued a “Supplemental Call to Mass Meeting” to non-Kanaka Maoli to

make such protest as may ... show to the governments of Hawaii and the [U.S.] that many citizens are not in agreement with the [annexation] policy ... [and to] give sympathy and support to the members of the native Hawaiian Patriotic Leagues (*Independent* 1897, 7 Oct.)

The committee composed the memorial in both English and Hawaiian. It is a thirteen-paragraph distillation of the Kanaka Maoli case against annexation, and thus, for sovereignty. Here is part of the opening paragraph:

O ko oukou poe hoopii, he poe lakou e noho ana ma ko Hawaii Paeaina; he poe Hawaii oiwi kumu maoli ka hapanui o lakou...

**[Y]our memorialists are residents of the Hawaiian Islands; ... the majority of them are aboriginal Hawaiians ...
(U. S. State Department Files).**

In the Hawaiian, the committee says that they are “poe Hawaii oiwi kumu maoli,” a series of words that mean “Hawaiian, native, original, true/ indigenous.” They emphasize their “aboriginal” identity by stringing these evocative words together. In today’s vernacular it would sound something like this: We are the original and true Hawaiians, down to our bones. The word “‘ōiwi” is translated as “native” but is related to the word “iwi” ‘bone,’ and therefore inescapably evokes that imagery, which is entirely lost in the English rendition.

The second paragraph says that the

supporters of the Hawaiian Constitution of 1887 have been ... held in subjection by the armed forces of the Provisional Government ... and ... the Republic of Hawaii; and have never yielded, and do not acknowledge a ... willing allegiance or support to said Provisional Government, or to said Republic of Hawaii (U. S. State Department Files).

It is clear that many Kānaka Maoli, and the Hui Kālai’āina particularly were in no way “supporters of the Hawaiian Constitution of 1887.” This statement must reflect either a conciliatory gesture towards the oligarchy, as a negotiating tactic, or a compromise between the various factions making up the Citizens’ Committee. If a conciliatory gesture, they might be saying that they would be willing to operate under the 1887 Constitution as long as the independence of the Kingdom were preserved, and the odious oligarchy dismantled.

In paragraphs three and four, the Committee declares that the Republic of Hawai’i was not “founded or conducted on a basis of popular government or republican principles,” that it thus, “has no warrant for its existence in the support of the people of these Islands,” and further, that it “maintains itself solely by force of arms, against the rights and wishes of almost the entire

aboriginal population (lahui kumu)" (U. S. State Department Files). In paragraph five they point out that the Constitution of 1894 "has never been submitted to a vote of the people of these Islands" (U. S. State Department Files). They follow in paragraph six by saying that the illegitimate government just described,

Ua lawe a ke hooia nei ... i ke kuleana e kinai loa i ke kulana Lahui o na Hawaii ... a e hoohui a hoolilo aku hoi i na kuleana a pau o ka noho mana kiekie ana maloko a maluna ae o ko Hawaii Paeaina ... i kekahi mana okoa aku, oia hoi, ia Amerika Huipuia.

...assumes and asserts the right to extinguish the Hawaiian Nationality ... and to cede and convey all rights of sovereignty in and over the Hawaiian Islands ... to a foreign power, namely, to the United States of America (U. S. State Department Files).

Paragraph seven says that they have learned "with grief and dismay" of the treaty "to extinguish our existence as a Nation," and in paragraph eight, they assert that the people of Hawai'i, for more than fifty years, "had been accustomed to participate in the Constitutional forms of Government." In nine,

they invoke in support of this memorial the spirit of that immortal Instrument, the Declaration of American Independence; and especially the truth therein expressed, that Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed

Paragraph ten says that

the project of Annexation ... would be subversive of the personal and political rights ... of the Hawaiian people and Nation, and would be a negation of the rights and principles proclaimed in the Declaration of American Independence in the Constitution of the United States, and in the ... government of all other civilized and representative Governments.

In eleven, they remind the U.S. leaders that "they, no less than the citizens of any American Commonwealth, are entitled to select, ordain and establish for themselves, such forms of Government ... shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness." Finally, in the last two paragraphs, they ask that the U.S. President and Congress "take no further steps" toward annexation, and they

propose that the Hawaiian people “be accorded the privilege of voting upon said questions.”

The Citizens’ Committee was appealing to the U.S. President and Congress to live up to their own democratic principles and body of law, in a strategy similar to Nāwahī’s of four years before. At the same time they expressed their desire to participate democratically in the government of their own choosing, which was that of Queen Lili’uokalani. This was not a contradiction even though the oligarchy represented the Queen’s government as a tyrannical monarchy, the very opposite of a democracy. That, however, was a discursive strategy to make the oligarchy appear to have more in common with the history of the U.S., whose national narrative begins with the story of liberation from the tyrannies of King George III. They were, in effect, mimicking the narrative by claiming that they too constituted a republic newly freed from a monarch. But our memorialists did not agree; in fact, they were pressing for restoration of the monarchy in order to regain their political rights. This was a moral challenge to the U.S., similar to Gandhi’s tactics. Nandy says that “Gandhi queered the pitch He admitted that colonialism was a moral issue and took the battle to [the British] home ground by judging colonialism by Christian values and declaring it to be an absolute evil” (Nandy 1988, 100). This committee likewise judged the Republic and annexation by the U.S.’s democratic values and declared both to be illegitimate. The U.S. had rationalized many immoralities, however: most of those in power had managed to rationalize slavery until 1861, and had a long history of justifying genocide and colonization of the peoples of North America. Lorrin Thurston, missionary descendant born in Hawai’i, also provided many convenient rationalizations. He wrote, for example, that “it is

not un-American to annex territory without a vote of the inhabitants”; one simply needed to find a precedent, which he readily did (Thurston n.d., 37).

We note that the Committee used the word “civilized,” as did the women of the Hui Aloha ‘Āina in 1894, to describe democratic governments. By doing so they appropriated the discourse and turned it around on the oligarchy and the U.S., in another challenge to them to live up to their own principles.

The Citizens’ Committee sent this memorial to the President of the U.S. and to the Congress on the same ship that carried Morgan back. Morgan had come prepared to persuade the Kanaka Maoli that annexation was in their best interests. He met instead mass opposition, composed not of the ignorant and illiterate he might have expected, but of thousands of well-informed people, organized, articulate, and literate in two languages.

While the resistance organizations seem to have accepted the outer structure of European style government, and used the language of rights to make their case, they yet continued to insist on their identity as Kanaka during this period. Their insistence on their own language forms was especially counterhegemonic. I would stress here that historians who do not read the Hawaiian language can have no idea of this type of resistance, and that readers of those histories are consequently misled by the omissions. In January of 1893, for example, John Bush’s newspaper began to run a new version of *Ka Moololo o Hiiakaikapoliopole*, the story of Hi’iaka and her older sister, the volcano Pele. Nāwahī also served as editor of that paper, *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, during the run of the story (1893, 5 Jan. - 12 Jul.). In *Ke Aloha Aina*, headlines over the stories about the treaty and related developments were often colorful ‘ōlelo no‘eau, whose meanings are not always readily apparent even to speakers of Hawaiian. The reader needs a certain amount of cultural information to decipher these. One

example is “Pau Peapea i ke ahi” ‘Pe’ape’a is destroyed by fire.’ One needs to know the story of Pe’ape’a, one of Kamehameha’s warriors, and the way he was accidentally killed by a keg of gunpowder, to fully appreciate the relationship of the headline to the story. In this case, the story, unfortunately premature, was that the treaty was dead (*Ke Aloha Aina* 1897, 3 Jul.). Lili’uokalani is almost always referred to as “ko kakou Alii Aimoku” ‘our ruling ali’i,’ which is an older term than “mō’ī” (e.g., in *Ke Aloha Aina* 1897, 2 Oct.). *Ke Aloha Aina* refers to the main Protestant church, Kawaiaha’o, as “ka heiau,” though the word heiau is generally used for the ancient temples dedicated to the Kanaka Maoli gods. *Ke Aloha Aina* also wrote that “ua kuauluhua maoli kekahi poe” ‘some people were truly offended’ by Senator Morgan’s speech style, “oiai, o ka hapanui o ka manawa he heluhelu buke wale no” ‘since, most of the time he only read from a book.’ Even though the Kanaka Maoli were a fully literate society, many retain(ed) their appreciation for oratory; to have to read any part of one’s speech from a book was to show one’s lack of skill or preparation. It seems that this was of such great importance that people were not just lacking in respect for Morgan, but were insulted that he would not take the time to prepare to speak to them properly.

Particularly outstanding was an editorial, written by either Edward Like or Emma Nāwahī (or both) in *Ke Aloha Aina* on October 23, 1897. We can see that the editors use language remarkably differently when speaking to their Kanaka readers than the leaders of the hui use when dealing with the U.S. and the oligarchy. First of all, the language is Hawaiian with no translation into English. The title of the editorial is “Na ka lahui na alakai, a na na alakai ka lahui” ‘The leaders belong to the people/nation, and the people/nation belong(s) to the leaders.’ The editorial calls for people to support the hui leadership, two of

whom have been chosen as delegates to take their protests to Washington D.C. It argues that when the people elected the presidents of the hui, they expressed their trust in them to undertake that most important task. The trip to Washington thus became more their kuleana than anyone else's. At the end of this argument, the author wrote that after they traveled personally to Washington, "hookumu hou ke ola, hookumu hou ke Alii, hoolaupai hou ka lahui" 'life will be re-established, the Queen re-established, [and] the people will multiply again.' This, s/he says, is "ka makou e kahoahoa ae nei i ka pule hookumuhana" 'what we are appealing for in the prayer to establish the work.' A prayer follows that has nothing to do with Jehovah or Christianity; it invokes instead the traditional sacred trust between the land, the ali'i and the maka'āinana. Here is the ending portion of the prayer:

Ku ka lani iluna nei,
Paa ka lani, paa ka honua,

Paa ke Alii, paa ka lahui,

I paa i na koo,
na alakai o ka lahui Aloha Aina,

Hanau ka aina, hanau na 'lii,

a ola ka lahui.
(*Ke Aloha Aina* 1897, 23 Oct.)

The heaven (ali'i) stands above,
[When] heaven is solid, the
earth is stable,
[When] the Ali'i (the Queen) is
secure, the lāhui is secure,
The leaders of the Aloha Aina
people/nation are secure because
of their supporters,
The land is born, the ali'i are
born,
And the nation lives.¹¹

This prayer has an ancient feel to it; it is reminiscent of the *Kumulipo* in its language, yet it was obviously composed or added to for this occasion in 1897. It may very well be that the beginning of it was an ancient prayer to which this ending was attached in the same way that songs often contained verses of other songs, as I mentioned in Chapter 4. In any case, it is clear that the editors of *Ke*

¹¹My translation, with assistance from No'eau Warner, and informed by the translation by Keao Kamalani and Noelani Arista in *Oiwi*, 1999.

Aloha Aina were speaking to their readers in language that is culturally purely Kanaka. Again, this is language that the foreigner conversant with Hawaiian would find difficult to understand. Similarly, in a previous issue of the paper, when the annexation treaty was first announced, the editors reproduced the first ten lines of the *Kumulipo*, appending these three lines:

Po-wale-ho-i-e.
Hanau ka po ia Hawaii
He Aupuni Moi.
(*Ke Aloha Aina* 1897, 3 Jul.)

Only night.
Night gave birth to Hawai'i
A Kingdom.

This was termed "He Pule Ola Hawaii" 'A Prayer for the Life of Hawai'i.' The editors say that it is an appropriate prayer because the beginning of the *Kumulipo* describes a time when the heavens lacked an earthly foundation, just as the people now lacked a stable government. These ancient traditions live(d) on and inspire(d) the po'e aloha 'āina, who, simultaneously, were church-going Christians: among them Mrs. Nāwahī, the wife of the Hilo Boarding School vice-principal, and James Kaulia, who resided at Kaumakapili Church with his grandfather who was employed there. They were Christian, but did not allow their Christianity to obliterate their identity as Kanaka Maoli; rather, they drew upon that Kanaka identity for strength in the times of crisis.

Another important difference is who participated in the anti-annexation mass meetings and who signed the petitions. As Nālani Minton has pointed out, the organizers of the petition drive seem to have gone into nearly every ahupua'a (land district), including the quarantined area, Kalaupapa (Minton 1999). The signatures of women and children were obtained as well as those of men: this was clearly not a U.S.-style democratic process, in which only eligible voters' (men's) opinions mattered. The hui understood that the U.S. Congress might only count the men's signatures and that is why they kept those on sheets

separate from the women's. But to them, everyone's expression of opposition to annexation was valuable.

At that time, the coalition of hui moved to send delegates to Washington D.C. to present the petitions to President McKinley and to the U.S. Congress. The executive committees of the three hui met and decided to send four delegates: James Kaulia of Hui Aloha 'Āina; David Kalauokalani of Hui Kālai'āina; John Richardson, an attorney from Maui; and William Auld as secretary. All four were Kanaka Maoli. This was an important sign to the nation. An editorial in *Ke Aloha Aina* suggested that previous delegates to Washington had failed because they were not Kanaka Maoli, or because they were too wealthy to truly have the nation's well-being in mind at all times. It is important to note that although a women's representative did not travel to Washington, Mrs. Campbell, President of the women's branch of Hui Aloha 'Āina, was part of the decision-making committee, and was viewed as a leader of the nation along with the men (*Ke Aloha Aina* 1897, 23 Oct.).

The four 'Elele Lāhui 'National Delegates' left Hawai'i on November 20, 1897. In San Francisco on November 28, they commemorated Lā Kū'oko'a 'Hawaiian Independence Day.' They arrived in Washington on December 6, the day the Senate opened. They first met briefly with Queen Lili'uokalani, who was staying in Washington. They then met Senator Richard Pettigrew who took them in to the Senate's opening ceremonies. After the ceremonies, they returned to Ebbitt House where the Queen was staying, and where they would also stay. Someone told them at that time that their trip to Washington was useless, since it was known that there were fifty-eight votes on the side of annexation, with only two more votes needed for the treaty to pass. They

reported that they didn't answer but agreed to meet later to plan what to do (*Ke Aloha Aina* 1898, 26 Mar., 2 Apr.).

The next day, December 7, they met again with the Queen to consider how to present the petitions. They chose her as chair of their Washington committee. Together, they decided to present only the petitions of Hui Aloha 'Āina, because the substance of the two sets of petitions was different. Hui Aloha 'Āina's petition protested annexation, but the Hui Kālai'āina's petitions called for the monarchy to be restored. They agreed that they did not want to appear divided, as if they had different goals.

The following day, the delegates met with Senator George Hoar. They reported that they braved snow, cold, and slippery streets to get to the Senator's residence. The "elemakule" 'old man' greeted them with a handshake.¹² He asked them what the people of Hawai'i thought about annexation. While John Richardson was explaining, they could see tears welling up in Hoar's eyes. Richardson told him that they brought petitions signed by the whole nation protesting the annexation. Senator Hoar told them to submit the petitions to him, and he would bring them before the Senate, and then to the Foreign Relations Committee. David Kalauokalani of Hui Kālai'āina also submitted an endorsement of those petitions that said that he represented over seventeen thousand more people. On December 9, with the delegates present, Senator Hoar read the text of the petitions to the Senate and had them formally accepted.

On December 10, the delegates met with Secretary of State John Sherman, and Kalauokalani submitted a statement protesting annexation (*Ka Memoriala a ka Lahui*) to him. In the following days, the delegates met with many different

¹² This handshake seemed to be an important detail in the reports of their meeting with Senator Hoar. It may be because the delegates were subjected to race prejudice in Washington; some white men may have refused to shake their hands. They do not complain of this directly, however.

senators and congressmen. Senators Pettigrew and White encouraged them in the hope that the annexation treaty would be defeated.

On February 23, David Kalauokalani gave an affidavit concerning the petitions of the Hui Kālai'āina to Senator Pettigrew. The Senator remarked that it was the first time he had ever received that kind of document, asking for the restoration of a monarchy, but he accepted it nonetheless (*Ke Aloha Aina* 1898, 2 Apr.).¹³

During debates on the Senate floor, Senator Pettigrew and Senator Turpie insisted that the Kanaka Maoli be given a chance to vote on annexation. But Senator Morgan and the other pro-annexation senators knew that if a vote were taken, it would be overwhelmingly in favor of Hawai'i's independence. In a report, these senators wrote, "If a requirement should be made by the United States of a plebiscite to determine the question of annexation, it would work a revolution in Hawaii which would abolish its constitution" (U.S. Congress, Senate 1898). They knew, in other words, that if the people were allowed to vote, not only would they reject annexation, they would also reject the colonial government called the Republic that had been forced upon them.

By the time the delegates left Washington on February 27, there were only forty-six votes in the Senate on the pro-annexation side, down from the fifty-eight when they had arrived. Forty-six votes was far too few for the treaty to pass—sixty votes were necessary (*Ke Aloha Aina* 1898, 23 Mar., 2 Apr.).

Three of the delegates, James Kaulia, David Kalauokalani, and William Auld returned to Honolulu victorious, sure that the treaty would fail, as indeed it did. They had carried the hard work and hopes of the whole nation to Washington in the form of the protest petitions. They had succeeded in

¹³ The whereabouts of the Hui Kālai'āina petitions are still unknown. I have looked for them at the U. S. National Archives, and at the Pettigrew Museum in South Dakota, without success.

persuading many senators to vote against the treaty. They left behind John Richardson to continue the work, along with Queen Lili'uokalani, her secretary Joseph Heleluhe with his wife, and her devoted friend, J. O. Carter.

Annexation without a treaty

One annexation crisis was over, but another was soon to follow. That same year, the peoples of Cuba and the Philippines were fighting wars of independence against Spain. The United States also declared war on Spain after the U.S. warship, the *Maine* was blown up in a harbor in Cuba in February, 1898. The *Maine's* presence in Cuba was questionable; the U.S. had no official involvement in the conflict until it involved itself by sending the ship there. The explosion on the *Maine* provided a pretext for the United States to declare war. Suddenly, the empire-builders of the United States were claiming the need to send military troops on ships to the Philippines to fight Spain. For this, they said they needed Hawai'i as a coaling station. In the midst of the fever of war, on July 6, a Joint Resolution of Congress called the Newlands Resolution passed by a simple majority of each house, supposedly making Hawai'i a territory of the United States. The hui in coalition protested yet again. On August 6, 1898, they sent a document in Hawaiian, with English translation, to the U.S. Minister, now Harold Sewall. This document recounted the facts of the overthrow, reproducing Lili'uokalani's January 17, 1893 statement of protest, and part of Grover Cleveland's statement condemning the overthrow. It recited the history of the failed annexation treaty, and pointed out that

By memorial the people of Hawaii have protested against the consummation of an invasion of their political rights, and have fervently appealed to the President, the Congress, and the People of the United States to refrain from further participating in the wrongful annexation of Hawaii (U. S. State Department 1898).

Finally, they made this statement:

**Ma ke ano hoi he poe elele no kekahi mahele nui a ikaika o na kanaka
Hawaii oiwi maoli ke kue aku nei makou me ka manao kulipolipo
kukonukonu loa i ka hoohuiia mai ma ke ano i manaoia a me ka ui ole ia
mai hoi a loa aku paha hoi ka ae ana o ka lahuikanaka o ko Hawaii
Paeaina nei[.]**

**As the representatives of a large and influential body of native Hawaiians,
we solemnly protest against annexation in the manner proposed and
without reference to or obtaining the consent of the people of the
Hawaiian Islands (U. S. State Department 1898).**

Once again, the translation (theirs) has stripped away the cultural codes and emotional language of the Hawaiian. As we saw previously, what is rendered in English as “native Hawaiians” in Hawaiian is “na kanaka Hawaii oiwi maoli,” which contains four strong words in a row that connote Kanaka identity. What is given as “we solemnly protest” in Hawaiian is “ke kue aku nei makou me ka manao kulipolipo kukonukonu loa.” “Kūlipolipo,” as even those unfamiliar with Hawaiian will guess, is related to “Kumulipo.” It means deep, dark, intense, and is used in conjunction with expressions of pain and grief (Pukui and Elbert 1986, 180). “Kūkonukonu” means excessive, profound, serious (Pukui and Elbert 1986, 177). These are expressions evocative of deep-seated grief, which then becomes flat and unemotional in the English word “solemn.” The Hawaiian was written for the Kanaka Maoli to express their grief to each other, while the English was for the U.S. diplomats, in front of whom the Kanaka leaders remained coldly dignified.

The signers of this document were James Keauiluna Kaulia, President, Hui Aloha ‘Āina; Mrs. Kuaihelani Campbell, President, Hui Aloha ‘Āina o Nā Wāhine; David Kalauokalani, President, Hui Kālai‘āina; Enoch Johnson, Secretary, Hui Aloha ‘Āina; and Lilia K. Aholo, Secretary, Hui ‘Āina o Nā Wāhine.

Despite the continuous mass protest, the flag of the United States was hoisted over Hawai'i on August 12th in a ceremony at 'Iolani Palace. The three hui organized a boycott of the ceremony (*Ke Aloha Aina* 1898, 6 Aug.). Even so, nervous officials of the United States thought it necessary to surround 'Iolani Palace with flanks of troops (Coffman 1998).

On August 13th, *Ke Aloha Aina* reported "He oia mau no kakou" 'We go on.' And the Kanaka Maoli indeed continued to protest. The Hui Kālai'āina concentrated on persevering to undo the annexation, and restore the Kanaka Maoli government. Hui Aloha 'Āina began to work towards securing full civil and political rights and political power for Kanaka Maoli citizens in the U.S. territorial system. In 1900, the two hui banded together as a political party called the Independent Home Rule Party. David Kalauokalani was elected president, and James Kaulia vice-president (*Ke Aloha Aina* 1902, 26 Apr.). This was the party that elected Robert Kalanihiapo Wilcox (non-voting) delegate to the U.S. Congress.

James Keauiluna Kaulia continued his work for his nation until the day of his death at age 41, in 1902. On that Sunday, he spent the morning at the jail house trying to help prisoners assert their rights. After church and lunch, he lay down for a nap from which he never woke. He died of heart failure at his residence at Kaumakapili Church in Honolulu (*Ke Aloha Aina* 1902, 26 Apr.).

David Kalauokalani lived until 1915, also in public service all of his life. He served as a senator in the territorial legislature, and as a member of the Board of Health. His son, also named David, became the first clerk of the City and County of Honolulu (*Ke Aloha Aina* 1915, 24 Jul.).

Mrs. Kuaihelani Campbell served as president of Hui Aloha 'Āina for its entire existence. She later became well-known as a benefactor for the ill and

poor among her people, and for her many charitable deeds. She married Samuel Parker in 1902. Her daughter Abigail married Prince David Kawanānakoā at about the same time, and Mrs. Campbell Parker thereby became an ancestor to the remaining royal family. She died in 1908 (*Ka Hoku o Hawaii* 1908, 5 Nov.; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* 1908, 3 Nov.).

Mrs. Emma 'A'ima Nāwahī kept the newspaper *Ke Aloha Aina* running for many years as its owner and business manager. She sold it in 1910. She also remained active in charities until her death in 1935 (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser* 1935, 29 Dec.).

Conclusion

The Hui Kālai'āina and the two Hui Aloha 'Āina were organizations recognizable in the European-American tradition: they had presidents, secretaries, treasurers, branches, and central committees. They developed when U.S. hegemony had taken hold; the Kanaka Maoli, at least the politically active leadership, were persuaded of the workability (or the inescapability) of the European/Euro-American political system to the extent that they organized themselves to strive for their goals within it, adopting its structural forms. One could even say that their primary goal—national sovereignty—was structured by Europe and the U.S., for the “nation” was not an indigenous governmental form, but was created out of the necessity of surviving as a people against the threats of the empire-building nations. The leadership of the hui consisted primarily of the ali'i class, as well, who would have benefited more than maka'āinana from adapting to the foreign political and economic system. The scope of this chapter, unfortunately, does not include documentation and analysis of the forms of resistance in the rural areas during this time. I suspect

that the country *maka'āinana* were more resistant to assimilation into the foreign system than were the urban *ali'i*, but that is a question that remains to be answered through future research. Even so, we have seen that the Kanaka Maoli who were articulating the thought of the resistance through the newspapers and memorials, including Queen Lili'uokalani, retained their own epistemology, and patterned much of their behavior according to traditional cosmology. They held onto their Kanaka identity even while working politically in accordance with the forms of the colonizer. It was, in part, Kanaka tradition that encouraged the women to organize in opposition to annexation—at least nothing in Kanaka tradition would suggest that such activity was inappropriate for women. They were also no doubt aware of the movement in the U.S. for woman suffrage, although they did not focus much attention on that issue during the annexation struggle. The women were, nevertheless, quite assertive about their importance to the struggle, and demanding of recognition of their *kuleana*.

Finally, this chapter demonstrates that there is a history of resistance to U.S. colonialism that has gone unrecorded in mainstream historiography. That erasure has had far-reaching consequences. It contributes to the perpetuation of the “lazy native” stereotype, which relies on the myth that indigenous peoples are passive and unwilling to exert any effort toward the preservation of their nations. It makes the Kanaka Maoli nearly invisible in the historical narratives of their own places, while making the actions of the colonizers appear to be the only ones of any importance. The erasure of the history of struggle weighs heavily on the self-perception of the Kanaka Maoli of the present and past several generations, who carry the burden of resisting the ugly stereotype while handicapped with a lack of resources to effectively oppose it. The imposition of

English in the public and private schools for the last hundred years guaranteed that the mo'opuna 'descendants' of the anti-annexation struggle would be unable to read their ancestors' side of the story. But as power persists, so does resistance, finding its way like water slowly carving crevices into and through solid rock. The resurgence of the Hawaiian language through a popular movement consisting of both taro roots and academics is creating scholars like myself who are now able to read the archive and effectively challenge the misrepresentations and omissions of the Kanaka Maoli in historiography. The existence of the anti-annexation petitions and the large organizations that protested annexation are now part of history for many Kānaka Maoli, mainly because of the centennial observations in the summer of 1998. But they are just one previously untold story; many more, such as the history of the Independent Home Rule Party or the woman suffrage movement in Hawai'i, await the attentions of scholars.

CHAPTER 6
KA HO'OMANA'O, KA POHALA, KA HO'OMANA
'RECOVERY'

The Hawaiian Islands were annexed to the United States 'not by purchase, nor by conquest ... (but) *by the vote of the Hawaiian people, who offered them to us as a gift.*'

Belle M. Brain, quoted in Coffman 1998.

We, the undersigned, native Hawaiian subjects and residents ... who are members of the Hawaiian Patriotic League of the Hawaiian Islands, and other citizens who are in sympathy with the said League earnestly protest against the annexation of the said Hawaiian Islands to the said United States of America in any form or shape.

21,269 maka'āinana and ali'i, 1897.

No native not in the Government employ is reconciled to annexation. And if the United States cared enough to have a secret ballot taken to find out the sentiment of the Hawaiians, not twenty natives would vote for annexation.

John Richardson, 1897.

We know what it is to have been pummeled into accepting the stranger's view of ourselves as being cute, all-abiding, friendly nincompoops, charming and lovable, but certainly inferior as humans—and in need of being looked after by superior beings.

John Dominis Holt, 1964.

An American told me that a Hawaiian never resents anything.

Mr. Kaulia's face looked forbidding for a moment.

"I guess—I guess he don't know us. We Hawaiians hate (the word was pronounced with such deliberation as to give it extraordinary emphasis), we hate the P.G.'s"

Miriam Michelson, 1897.

They listened to political harangues and composed chants to fit the political occasion; they drew up petitions, and they read the stirring editorials in the Hawaiian language newspapers; but beyond that they did not go. And so they became Americans.

Gavan Daws, 1968.

It was not until World War I that I became a good American citizen, sixteen years after annexation; Mrs. Lahilahi Webb, the Queen's companion in her latter years, not until the Second World War.

Bernice Pi'ilani Irwin, 1960.

I am NOT an American!

Haunani-Kay Trask, 1993.

The mythology of the passive apathetic Kanaka of the past feeds the mythology of the mindlessly happy Kanaka who should never get angry of the present. Both discourses work at making the Kanaka Maoli obedient and silent. I am hoping that this dissertation has shown that one of the ways that we can contest the discourse of the lazy Kanaka is to read the nineteenth century archive of Hawaiian text for its political content. Doing so has the possibility of dismantling the disabling stereotypes of the past and present: No, our past is not one of “humiliations gladly endured” (Baldwin 1963); no, our ancestors were neither lazy nor indifferent. But, yes, we have a long history of effective, mainly non-violent resistance; yes, we know who we are through our mo’okū’auhau, mo’olelo, and mele; yes, we are angry at the injustices done; yes, we are still fighting for control over our ‘āina aloha, as we have been for a century and a half. Kānaka Maoli are now engaged in various processes to regain national sovereignty, to decolonize politically, mentally, and spiritually, and thus, to recover from the devastation of colonialism.

This work is part of the recovery of the past that, I hope, will contribute to the life of Hawai’i ‘āina and Hawai’i lāhui of the present and future. I am hoping it will take its place in the genealogy of new academic works recently created by Kanaka scholars such as Noelani Arista, Lilikalā Kame’eleihiwa, Jonathan Kamakawiwo’ole Osorio, No’eau Warner, and Kanalu Young, as well as that of the young scholars breaking new ground, such as Leilani Basham, Lia Keawe, Kapā Oliveira, and Kekeha Solis.

An important element of recovery is recovering women in history. We are not whole if the thoughts, actions, and writings of half of us are ignored. When we focus attention on looking for women’s contributions, we then find them. Sometimes they are merely hinted at, as in the case of the first written

“Mo’olelo o Hi’iakaikapoliopole.” The author’s name is signed Kapihenui, but by paying close attention to the letter written by Kānepu’u, we realize that the story actually came from Mr. Kapihenui’s mother, Kau. Who is the author in this case? Kau, it seems, was the carrier of the mo’olelo in the oral tradition; her son “translated” it into print.

The president of the Board of Genealogy and the Hale Nauā was a woman (and the same woman). In the 1880s, recovery of the genealogies was of national and political importance. The *Kumulipo* was recovered from the memory of a woman, Kamokuiki, and recorded under the direction of another woman, Po’omaikelani; these were contributions of immense value to the lāhui, then and now. In addition, throughout this time, women (along with men) became the keepers of the culture as kumu hula.

In the 1890s, we saw that women formed a large political association and accomplished many difficult feats of organizing. (Nearly) the whole lāhui stood by the Queen as she suffered attacks made on her because she was a woman. Kanaka men held the women of the Hui Aloha ‘Āina in great esteem, treating their accomplishments with respect and gratitude. Being able to know that women and men, ali’i and maka’āinana, urban and rural folks all pulled together in the anti-annexation struggle helps to resist another stereotype about contemporary Kānaka Maoli: that it is somehow genetically determined that we can never work cooperatively, but are fated to always pull each other down (the “‘alamihī syndrome”). The significant, successful work of the women aloha ‘āina gives us positive images of ourselves that we can use as role models, or just as positive knowledge about ourselves as a people. It also raises intriguing new questions for future research, such as, why were the hui separated into women’s and men’s branches? How were women perceived in ‘he traditional

culture, and what circumstances or conditions contributed to their achieving positions of political power? Despite intense anthropological research over the last century, these questions have not been answered (and barely been asked). We know that traditional life was separated into two highly defined gender roles, and males seem to have been dominant, but women also held positions of power at times, sometimes as island rulers, sometimes as war generals. And, as we saw in this dissertation, they made significant contributions to the constitution of the nation in the nineteenth century.

The development of the nation, and the corresponding rise of nationalism, were the premier expressions of resistance in the nineteenth century. Nationalism was necessary to rebuff colonialism, but it was also insufficient. Despite strong resistance of every kind, the Kanaka Maoli, a people small in number and debilitated by mass death, were overrun by colonial capitalism. It is, without doubt, the kuleana of the Kanaka Maoli to define ourselves and to control and care for the land that is, traditionally, our family, our source, our life. But re-creating a nation with a constitution and laws similar to the United States runs the risk of also re-creating the institutions that oppress us now: the law enforcement and court systems, the bureaucracies of land management and environmental protection that seem to exist to legitimize exploitation and destruction of the ocean and land, the school system that teaches Kanaka children that the center of the world is on a continent far away (the “main” land).

To fully recover, we have to go beyond the nation and nationalism, which are, after all, foreign constructs. We must recuperate a definition of “lāhui” that will truly provide for Kanaka control over the ‘āina, and that will give birth to social and political institutions that are good for us. We need a definition of “lāhui,” furthermore, that will assist us in surviving and keeping the land alive in

the age of global capitalism, which is characterized by the most rampant environmental destruction ever seen.

To fully recover, we need a spiritual re-awakening of traditional religion that does not oppress us, as most of the Christian religions have. The ho'omana kahiko, the ancient religion, holds our 'āina as sacred; respects women; provides for love of life in the here and now, in the flesh; as well as providing for profound spirituality. "Ho'omana" means "to empower." If we are to go on, and ensure that the land is living for our descendants, we have to find ways to empower ourselves politically, including recuperating our unique cultural/spiritual collective identity.

We see, though, that this is already happening. The story of Pele was recently performed as theater, through traditional hula and oli. The same innovative hālau, Hālau o Kekuhi, also recently told the story of Kamehameha on the stage. This re-enactment of a fundamental national narrative did not include any stories of battle glory or unification of the islands as a nation. Instead, Kamehameha's devotion to the traditional religion was the focus of the theater-dance performance. It re-enacted the ancient wisdom: 'O ka haipule ka mea kū i ka moku. The *Kumulipo* will be chanted in its entirety for the first time since Kalākaua's coronation (1883) in August 1999. The cosmological prayer chant that begins Chapter 1 is not just text on the page. This is a pule that thousands of people know and chant at political rallies today: 'O Wākea noho iā Papahānaumoku, Hānau 'o Hawai'i, he moku ... 'Wākea lived with Papa who gives birth to islands, Born was Hawai'i, an island." Why did the leadership teach the people this chant? The chant says that Papa, Wākea, and Ho'ohokulani gave birth to the islands in processes similar to human birth. The same three produced the first kalo, then the first human being. Therefore, the chant says:

we are family to this land. This gives people a certain inner power, knowing that their genealogy goes all the back to the land that they are standing on. It reinforces their sense of kuleana over this land. It interrupts the U.S.-ian discourses of ownership. The kumu hula have taken the ceremonies of hula and created new ceremonies to build political power. When the traditional and customary gathering rights of the Kanaka Maoli were threatened, the kumu hula organized themselves into a political organization called 'Ilio'ulaokalani. They marched on the capitol, and held overnight vigils. They devised a ceremony for the vigils that includes drumming, chanting, and hula at designated times throughout the day and night. They taught thousands of people a set of chants that inscribes our collective identity and inspires our collective belief in the power of the spoken word, and the power of the ho'omana kahiko. He oia mau nō mākou 'We go on.'¹

¹My thoughts in this chapter have been influenced not only by this work, but by conversations with Nālani Minton and Kaleikoa Ka'eo, the writings of Ashis Nandy, Partha Chatterjee, and Vine Deloria, Jr., and by the political work done by the coalition of kumu hula, 'Ilio'ulaokalani.

APPENDIX
TEXT OF THE OBJECTIVES OF NUPEPA KUOKOA, AS PUBLISHED THEREIN,
OCTOBER 1861

Akahi. He olelo hoike i na mea nui a maikai a pau, i hanaia ma na aina e, e ku ana i ka pono o na kanaka Hawaii ke ike.

Alua. E hoolaha ia ana na manao haole o kela aina o keia aina; ke ano o ko lakou noho ana, hana ana, ao ana, ikaika ana, kuonoona ana, ia mea ae, ia mea ae, i hiki ai i kanaka ke ike ia mau mea, a e lilo ai i poe like me na mea naauao.

Akolu. E hoolahaia hoi na oihana mahiai pono, a e hoike i na mea paahana maikai e hiki ai ke mahi e like me na haole naauao. E paipai hoi keia pepa i na hana me ka molowa ole.

Aha. A loa mai na mea pai kii, e hoonaniia ka pepa i na kii e hoike ana i ke ano o kanaka, a me na mea o na aina e.

Alima. E kupaa ana na mea o keia pepa ma ka oiaio o na olelo a pau, aka, aole e paiia na olelo hoopaapaa o na aoao hoomana.

Aono. E ku no keia pepa ma ka malama aloha i ka Moi kane, ame ka Moiwahine, i ka Haku o Hawaii, a me na alii iho, e ao aku ana i ka hoolohe i na kanawai, a me ka malama i ka moi, oia ka pono mua o na kanaka a pau.

Ahiku. E paiia ana hoi ma keia pepa, na nuhou o keia pae aina, i na lohe pono a pau e ku i ka makemake o kanaka ke heluhelu. O ka manao nui ma keia pepa, ka hoolaha aku i na mea hoonaauao a pau i ku i ko kanaka pono ke ike maopopo, i hoolikeia i ko lakou noho ana me ko na haole.

GLOSSARY

Ahupua'a. "Land division usually extending from the uplands to the sea" (Pukui and Elbert 1986, 9).

Āina. Land.

Akua. "God, goddess, spirit, ghost, devil, image ..." (Pukui and Elbert 1986, 15).

Ali'i nui. High ranking ruler or noble.

Ali'i. Ruler; royal; noble.

Aloha āina. Love of the land; patriotism for Hawai'i.

Ao. Daytime, light.

Hālāwai maka'āinana nui. Mass meeting; mass protest.

Haole. Foreigner, specifically of European descent.

Heiau. Temple.

Hui. Organization; association

Kahuna. Spiritual adviser, medical doctor, expert in any field.

Kanaka Maoli. Native Hawaiian.

Kanaka, Kānaka. Hawaiian. "Kanaka" is singular or generic. "Kānaka" is plural.

Kāne. Man, husband, boyfriend.

Kaua. Battle, war.

Kaukau ali'i. Lesser ranking noble.

Kuleana. Right; responsibility; authority; blood relative.

Kumu hula. Hula master, hula teacher.

Kupuna. Ancestor, grandparent; kūpuna is the plural form.

Lā Kū'oko'a. Independence day, November 28.

Lā'au lapa'au. Traditional herbal medicine.

Lāhui Hawai'i. The Hawaiian people; Hawaiian nation.

Lāhui. Nation; people.

Lapa'au. Traditional medicine.

Lehua. "The flower of the 'ōhi'a tree (*Metrosideros macropus*) ... Fig. a warrior, a beloved friend or relative ... expert" (Pukui and Elbert 1986, 199).

Limu. Seaweed.

Mā. A word appended to a name meaning 'and the others who are usually with her/him.'

Māhele. Division. Term for the change of land tenure to private property.

Maile. "A native twining shrub ... believed to be sisters with human and plant forms. ... The maile vine has shiny fragrant leaves and is used for decorations and leis, especially on important occasions" (Pukui and Elbert 1986, 223).

Maka'āinana, Ordinary person/people.

Makuahine. Mother.

Mana. Power, authority, privilege, derived from genealogy/the divine.

Mele. Song; chant; poem.

Mō'i. Monarch.

Mō'iwahine. Female monarch, queen.

Mo'okū'auhau. Genealogy; genealogical narrative or chant.

Mo'olelo. "Story, tale, myth, history, tradition, literature, legend ..." (Pukui and Elbert 1986, 254).

Mo'olelo kahiko. Ancient traditional tales, history.

'Ōiwi. Native.

'Ōlelo no'eau. Wise saying, proverb, figurative saying.

Oli. Chant that is not accompanied by dance.

One hānau. Birthplace.

'Opihi. Limpet.

Palapala. Reading and writing; document; text.

Po'e aloha 'āina. The people who love the land; Hawaiian patriots.

Po'e pa'ahao kālai'āina. Political prisoners.

Pō. Night; darkness, the realm of the gods.

Poni mō'i. Coronation.

Pono. "Goodness, uprightness, morality ... correct or proper procedure, excellence, well-being, prosperity, welfare, benefit, benefit, sake ... just, virtuous, fair ... " (Pukui and Elbert 1986, 341).

Pule. Prayer.

Wā. Period of time, era.

Wahine. Woman, wife, girlfriend.

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