
A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAI‘I AT MĀNOA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

ENGLISH

MAY 2015

By

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Keywords: David Kalākaua, Indigenous Literature, Hawaiian Literature, and Life Writing
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ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the American, international, and Hawaiian representations of David La‘amea Kamanakapu Mahinulani Nalaiaehuokalani Lumialani Kalākaua in English- and Hawaiian-language newspapers, books, travelogues, and other materials published in the U. S., abroad, and in Hawai‘i during his reign as Hawai‘i’s mō‘ī (sovereign) from 1874 to 1891. This study begins with an overview of Kalākaua’s literary genealogy of misrepresentation, surveying the negative, even slanderous portraits of him that we have inherited from his enemies who first sought to curtail his authority as mō‘ī through such acts as the 1887 Bayonet Constitution and who then tried to justify their parts in overthrowing the Hawaiian kingdom in 1893 and annexing it to the U. S. in 1898. A close study of contemporary international and American newspaper accounts and other narratives about Kalākaua, many highly favorable, results in a more nuanced and wide-ranging characterization of the mō‘ī as a public figure. Most importantly, virtually none of the existing nineteenth-, twentieth-, and twenty-first century texts about Kalākaua consults contemporary Kanaka Maoli (Native Hawaiian) sentiment for him. This dissertation offers examples from the hundreds of nineteenth-century Hawaiian-language newspaper articles, mele (songs), and moʻolelo (histories, stories) about the mōʻī to restore some balance to our understanding of how he was viewed at the time—by his own people and the word. This dissertation shows that for those who did not have reasons for injuring or trivializing Kalākaua’s reputation as mōʻī, he often appeared to be the antithesis of our inherited understanding. The mōʻī struck many, and above all his own people, as an intelligent, eloquent, compassionate, and effective Hawaiian leader. An edition and translation of Joseph Mokuohai Poepeʻe’s biography of Kalākaua, perhaps the single most important source of contemporary information, appears as an appendix.
KA HOʻOMĀLAMALAMA ʻANA I NA HŌʻAILONA O KA MŌʻĪ KALĀKAUA A ME KONA NOHO ALIʻI ʻANA: ILLUMINATING THE AMERICAN, INTERNATIONAL, AND HAWAIʻI REPRESENTATIONS OF DAVID KALĀKAUA AND HIS REIGN, 1874–1891

INTRODUCTION

In English, hōʻailona translates to a sign, symbol, representation, or token of recognition, and Hawaiians have always looked for signs. During the reign of David Laʻamea Kamanakapu Mahinulani Nalaiahuokalani Lumialani Kalākaua (1874–1891), the people recognized three types of hōʻailona that confirmed his nobility. The first were hōʻailona produced by the natural world, such as the two signs that marked his 1883 coronation in Honolulu. That day began with showers, which signified the mōʻī’s majesty. Just before the program began, the rain stopped and the sun shone. But then, during the coronation ceremony, Princess Liliʻuokalani, sister and eventually successor to the mōʻī, recalled that as the crown was lifted above Kalākaua’s head, a cloud or mist covered the sun. And at the exact moment when the new mōʻī was crowned, a single star gleamed brightly, as a “murmur of wonder and admiration passed over the throng.” For the princess, this second hōʻailona was a sign of heaven’s acceptance of the monarch.

When Kalākaua died, Hawaiʻi’s people recognized other signs. On the day the mōʻī’s body arrived in Honolulu from San Francisco, the Hawaiian-language newspaper Ka Leo o ka Lahui (The Voice of the Nation/People) reported that a rainbow, a symbol of royalty for Hawaiians, arched over the ocean as the U. S. S. Charleston came around Lēʻahi (Diamond Head). Passengers aboard the battleship said that a red mist appeared just off Lēʻahi—another hōʻailona for the passing of royalty. When Kalākaua’s body was conveyed from the harbor to ʻIolani Palace, the ends of

1 Damon 170.
2 Liliʻuokalani 103, 155.
three separate rainbows were said to be arching directly over the palace grounds. The final
rainbow of the day appeared as the mōʻī’s casket was carried into ʻIolani Palace. Another
hōʻailona of Kalākaua’s majesty, that rainbow began ma uka (in the uplands) at Mauna ʻAla, the
burial place of Hawaiʻi’s nineteenth-century aliʻi nui, and stretched ma kai (to the ocean) to
Kulaokahuʻa, with the highest part of its arch directly over the palace. For Hawaiians these
hōʻailona were all unmistakable divine confirmations of both Kalākaua’s majesty and heaven’s
love for him.³

The second type of hōʻailona that asserted Kalākaua’s nobility were those he created or
adopted for himself. He built ʻIolani Palace from the ground up, but the lit torches during the day
that he took as his emblem were hōʻailona originally associated with his ancestor Iwikauikaua.⁴
The third hōʻailona that represented Kalākaua and his reign for good and ill were textual
representations produced by his enemies, his supporters, and himself in the United States, the
rest of the world, and the Hawaiian kingdom. The opening chapter of this dissertation, “Ka Moʻo
Kūʻauhau o ka Moʻokalaleo Kuʻuna,” rehearses the familiar and largely negative examples of
this third hōʻailona, describing the the kua (backbone) or kūʻauhau (genealogy) of the
moʻokalaleo kuʻuna (literary representations) of Kalākaua. These moʻokalaleo kuʻuna often
misrepresent the mōʻī, serving his enemies’ agendas to discredit him, and therefore justify
initially their efforts to rob him of his powers, and later to legitimize their actual theft of the
Hawaiian kingdom. We are still the inheritors of a genealogy of condemning characterizations of
Kalākaua that has its origins in nineteenth-century slander that twentieth-century historians have
often perpetuated, sometimes unconsciously, sometimes deliberately, either because they did not
seek out more favorable representations, or because they could not read Hawaiian-language

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³ “Na Kahoaka” 2.
⁴ See Kamehiro for an analysis of these hōʻailona.
accounts written by supportive makaʻāinana, or because they ignored any positive representations they encountered.

In what serves as a detailed review of this historical and critical literature, I examine these misrepresentations or distortions within three time periods: attacks written during his reign (1874–1891); assessments produced between the tumultuous years 1891 and 1900; and historical accounts of the mōʻī published between 1900 and the present. The first period initiates what amounts to a tirade against the character of Kalākaua, fueled by a series of slighting representations and ridicule. His opponents, largely white citizens and denizens of the kingdom aspiring to oligarchy, saturated newspapers, journals, travelogues, books, and magazines with their misrepresentations of the mōʻī, his government, and kānaka maoli in general. This arsenal of attacks created the dominant and long-enduring portrait of Kalākaua as a drunken, reckless, poor, and ignorant Hawaiian savage. As Adria L. Imada has noted, although actual colonization by the United States took place ten years later, “the kingdom had a ‘foundering independence’ by the middle of King Kalākaua’s reign due to haole assaults on the king and efforts to terminate the monarchy.”5 During the second, very brief period, many texts were published in the wake of the 1893 overthrow by those who presented Kalākaua as an inept mōʻī to justify their recent theft of the sovereign powers of the Hawaiian kingdom.6 And during the third period, twentieth-century authors generally perpetuated those earlier accounts of Kalākaua because they were the works most easily accessible.7

Due to the thousands of nineteenth-century multi-lingual journal, newspaper, and periodical articles, travelogues, and other publications that mention, comment on, or judge Kalākaua on virtually every day of his reign, a comprehensive examination of this material

5 Imada 34.
6 See Curtis and Thurston; Young; Armstrong; Thurston; & Dole.
7 See Mellen xiii–xiv.
would be virtually impossible. This dissertation therefore presents an extensive, but not exhaustive genealogy of the mōʻī’s misrepresentations, followed by a more detailed discussion of other accounts appearing predominantly in nineteenth-century English- and Hawaiian-language publications. Because this is a study of Kalākaua’s self-representations as foregrounded in the newspapers, two contentious events of his reign that his enemies claimed ultimately led them to a revolution and are embedded in his social representations, the Opium Bill and the Pan Pacific Confederacy, are not discussed here. The mōʻī purposely remained disconnected from those events, in addition to, as Chapter Three will point out, the Wilcox rebellion. Given the limits of this dissertation and a fundamental disagreement between English- and Hawaiian-language publications concerning those events a separate undertaking would be required to examine them. The result is a more thorough and accurate account of Kalākaua’s public image and reputation than previously available. In this enterprise, I follow the example of kuʻualoha hoʻomanawanui’s *Voices of Fire: Reweaving the Literary Lei of Pele and Hiʻiaka*, which “seeks to kahuli (counter, overturn) settler colonial scholarship that has intentionally ignored, romanticized, infantilized, or vilified Kanaka Maoli intellectual history and cultural practices.”

Like hoʻomanawanui, I also locate, present, and discuss additional materials, many in Hawaiian, that can grant us additional insight into my topic. I should also mention another very different text, from a much earlier period, as an inspiration for my own work. To a remarkable degree, Kathleen Dickenson Mellen’s *An Island Kingdom Passes: Hawaii Becomes American* (1958) anticipates my own project of discussing Kalākaua in relation to a genealogy of misrepresentations constructed by his enemies that then became accepted truth within twentieth-century English-language publications. Arguing that a more complete picture of the mōʻī could

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8 hoʻomanawanui, *Voices* xxviii.
be gained simply by drawing on “natural prejudices,” Mellen describes the received history of his reign as the product of those constantly endeavoring to overthrow the monarchy itself. Of Walter Murray Gibson, Kalākaua’s cabinet minister and staunch supporter, Mellen remarks that he was “Painted by his detractors as a rascally knave (a portrait copied by subsequent writers who fail to look deeply into the subject)” because “To those whose imperialistic schemes he endeavored to frustrate he was a villain of deepest dye.” Perhaps most strikingly, Mellen quotes Isobel Strong to show that Kalākaua himself recognized that the attacks on his character were actually part of a larger plan to overthrow his kingdom. Shortly before the Bayonet Constitution imposition of 1887, the mōʻī met with Strong:

“Why is the Missionary Party making so much trouble for Your Majesty?” she asked him. “It is not me personally, what they want is my country . . . It has been a steady fight ever since I came to the throne . . .” I was appalled. “Take the islands away from you? Surely they couldn’t do that!” I said. “Not while I live,” he replied.

In some aspects, then, Mellen’s account of Kalākaua anticipates my argument about what motivations created his negative reputation. This dissertation, however, supports my argument through a close examination of both the negative portrayals, and the positive representations actually so prevalent during his life.

Four specific critical texts published between 2003 and 2014 in addition to Voices of Fire have also strongly influenced this study, and should be mentioned here. Noenoe K. Silva’s Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism is a breakthrough narrative that

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9 Mellen xi.
10 Mellen xii.
11 Mellen xiii.
12 Mellen 199.
identifies a number of Kalākaua’s controversial actions as elements of a political strategy to restore and strengthen native nationalism in the face of missionary suppression, the white oligarchy, and threatening U. S. annexation. Silva notes his efforts to stabilize the monarchy and the lāhui (people or nation) through the republication of the creation chant Kumulipo as He Pule Hoolaa Alii [A Prayer Consecrating a Chief]—a source of “pride and identity for the Kanaka Maoli”13 that substantiates Kalākaua’s right to rule.14 Silva describes how Kalākaua reinstituted the Hale Nauā as “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.”15 She also refers to the mō‘ī’s Coronation and Jubilee as “public celebrations of tradition [that] served to alleviate some of the psychological harm done to the lāhui through the social and economic colonization” of the nineteenth century.16 Silva’s extensive consultation of nineteenth-century Hawaiian-language newspapers and other publications not only confirms a strong native loyalty to Kalākaua and the lāhui in the face of a peaking colonial wave, but, as Puakea Nogelmeier has noted, is “indicative of a change in direction for Hawaiian-language scholarship.”17

While Stacy L. Kamehiro’s The Arts of Kingship: Hawaiian Art and National Culture of the Kalākaua Era focuses on the ceremonies and material culture of his reign, her reading also presents the mō‘ī as “an intellectual, musician, art patron, and politician” who was “trained in law, and enjoyed artistic and scientific pursuits throughout his life.”18 Kamehiro remarks on the negative portraits which have dominated historical accounts:

13 Silva, Aloha 98.
14 Silva, Aloha 103.
15 Silva, Aloha 107.
16 Silva, Aloha 121.
17 Nogelmeier, Mai 56.
18 Kamehiro 1.
Conventional histories frequently paint a particularly cursory or unsympathetic portrait of Kalākaua [ . . . ] variously representing him as a naïve leader who followed the counsel of mischievous foreign advisers, an ineffective ruler whose biased policies roused ethnic conflict, or a king who preferred merrymaking and pursuing various spectacles and entertainments to serious politics.19

Kamehiro notes, however, that “Some scholars and biographers have authored more evenhanded accounts of the Kalākaua period, eliciting complex social and political issues of the time and indicating the degree to which the criticisms and biased treatment of Kalākaua’s reign are largely the legacy of his opponents.”20 Her own project is one of those accounts, and has informed much of my own thinking when examining the extensive literary archive documenting his reputation and character.

Puakea Nogelmeier’s Mai Pa‘a i ka Leo: Historical Voice in Hawaiian Primary Materials. Looking Forward and Listening Back is a history of the creation of what he calls a “discourse of sufficiency”: an assemblage of English translations of four mid-nineteenth century collections of Hawaiian writings that due to a “relative vacuum of Hawaiian resources into which the English texts emerged,” and to the critical assessment of those translations, became a canon of sorts for most scholarship and research based on Hawai‘i’s history that felt the need to consider the Hawaiian point of view.21 The four authors and their translated texts are David Malo’s Hawaiian Antiquities; Kepelino’s Kepelino’s Tradition of Hawaii; John Papa ʻĪʻī’s Fragments of Hawaiian History; and Samuel M. Kamakau’s Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii, Ka Poʻe Kahiko: The People of Old, The Works of the People of Old: Na Hana a ka Poʻe Kahiko, and

19 Kamehiro 5.
20 Kamehiro 5.
21 Nogelmeier, Mai 32.
Tales and Traditions of the People of Old: Na Mo‘olelo o ka Po‘e Kahiko. While Nogelmeier points out many highly problematic aspects of these translations, the overarching dilemma he identifies is these texts’ absolving scholars of having to consult the hundreds of thousands of pages of essential historical material to be found in the Hawaiian-language newspapers of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. To take one example highly pertinent to my project, in 1891, within two weeks of Kalākaua’s death, Joseph Mokuohai Poepoe published Ka Moolelo o ka Moi Kalakaua: Ka Hanau ana, ke Kaapuni Honua, ka Moolelo Piha o kona mau La Hope ma Kaleponi, Amerika Huipua, na Hoiike a Adimarala Baraunu me na Kauka, Etc., Etc., Etc. Hoohiwahiwaia me na Kīi [The History of King Kalākaua I: The Birth, The Journey around the World, a Full Record of his Last Days in California, United States of America, the Reports of Admiral Brown and the Doctors, Etc., Etc., Etc. Illustrated with Pictures], a detailed 75-page biography of the mō‘ī in Hawaiian that refers to earlier and current nineteenth-century Hawaiian- and English-language materials, and was written by someone who knew the mō‘ī personally. Poepoe sold the manuscript for $1 at Kalākaua’s funeral. And yet, Ralph S. Kuykendall’s The Hawaiian Kingdom Vol. III, 1874–1893: The Kalakaua Dynasty (I discuss this volume in Chapter One), the best-known history of this reign, does not even acknowledge this Hawaiian-language source exists. Nogelmeier describes this as symptomatic of Hawaiian historical scholarship in general:

For decades, scholarly works in fields relating to Hawaiian history and culture have been accepted as rigorous and lauded as such with no recognition of the large body of pertinent texts that remained untapped. Many of these recent works are intricate scholarly reconstructions or analyses of historical Hawaiian

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22 Nogelmeier, Mai 31.
23 In her forthcoming work on native intellectuals, Noenoe Silva will rectify this neglect for Poepoe.
perspectives on events and cultural systems, and would certainly have been
enriched by the range of resources found in the only locus of public expressions
among Hawaiians: the newspapers of the 19th and early 20th centuries.24

As Nogelmeier notes, certainly Malo, Kepelino, ʻĪʻī, and Kamakau were among the most
knowledgeable intellectuals of their era, “sought out and relied upon as experts by their peers,
their governments, and their churches.”25 But their works in translation often come to us in
garbled and incomplete versions, and whole bodies of archival materials in Hawaiian are never consulted at all. Chapter One of this dissertation describes in detail the consequences of this state of affairs, and Chapter Three seeks in part to offer an alternative.

hoʻomanawanui’s, Silva’s, Kamehiro’s, and Nogelmeier’s texts have inspired me in my own archival work. In a very different way, so has James L. Haley’s Captive Paradise: A History of Hawaiʻi, a 2014 one-volume history of Hawaiʻi that suggests how little has changed. In many places, Haley’s book reads like an update of Eugene Burns’s The Last King of Paradise (1952), a character assassination of Kalākaua drawn almost exclusively from the anti-mōʻī English-language archive. Haley opens his highly fictionalized narrative by remarking inaccurately that “Oddly, there has never been a narrative history of Hawaiʻi,” so he decided that he would provide one. His comment on “native language resources,” or lack of them, in his book, reads at best as an excuse, and at worst a complete lack of concern about whether his story is accurate, given his intended audience: “My general examination of the Americanization of Hawaiʻi for a mainland audience that, mostly, does not know the story at all, may not be crucially dependent upon such sources.”26 In short, he announces that he is presenting an incomplete history because

24 Nogelmeier. Mai 51.
26 Haley xii & xiv.
his audience does not want or need anything better, and which implicitly he could not provide anyway, because he lacks the ability to do so.

In 2003, eleven years before Captive Paradise, Juri Mykkänen wrote in Inventing Politics: A New Political Anthropology of the Hawaiian Kingdom:

After the rise of Hawaiian historical ethnography (e.g., the work of Kameʻeleihiwa, Linnekin, and Sahlins), there is little need to argue that native Hawaiian sources are of equal importance to those produced by any other participants in the encounter. [. . .] The various Hawaiian archives hold a great wealth of unexamined Hawaiian texts, too extensive for any one study to do it justice. Particularly important are the Hawaiian-language newspapers which were published from the 1830s into the mid-twentieth century. No student of late nineteenth-century Hawaiian history can ignore them.

Haley ignores them, and the result is a repetition of hundred-year-old prejudices and misrepresentations. Sometimes the results are simply ignorant. How could anyone with even an elementary knowledge of Hawaiʻi’s aliʻi refer to “David Kalakaua with his weighty but not royal family behind him”? His description of the mōʻī’s “thoughts” after his 1881 voyage around the world is also the product of nineteenth-century distortion:

Kalakaua sensed that at the end of all games, Hawaii was too small and weak to exist indefinitely as an independent country. He believed that it must, eventually, come under the dominion of either the Americans, whose cultural and commercial

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27 Mykkänen 19.
28 Haley 227.
encroachment was already pervasive, or the Japanese—an outside chance, but one that he thought he could perhaps improve.29

Even a brief look at contemporary sources indicate that Kalākaua fought for Hawai‘i’s independence to the end of his life. (See Chapters Two and Three.) Haley’s narrative therefore is the most recent in a long line of calculating, biased, or uninformed publications about Hawai‘i, joining Eugene Burns, Kristin Zambucka, Helena Allen, Lorrin A. Thurston, and Sanford B. Dole in perpetuating mean fictions about the mō‘ī, Hawaiians, and the kingdom. As such, Haley’s work reminds me that despite the remarkable contributions of such scholars as ho‘omanawanui, Kameʻeleihiwa, Osorio, Silva, Nogelmeier, and Kamehiro, the work of countering such misrepresentations must continue.

Chapter Two, “Nā Kūkākūkā i ka Moʻokalaleo Palapala,” is a detailed survey of the alternative nineteenth-century representations and discussions of Kalākaua in English and non-English books, articles, and other printed material published in the United States and other countries abroad. The chapter will argue that the body of positive representations of Kalākaua outweighs the collection discussed in Chapter One of critical characterizations of him, offering in the process an archive of contemporary documents that present his character as impressive and admirable. Kūkākūkā translates as asking, reflecting, consulting, or even devising good or evil, while moʻokalaleo palapala refers to written literature.30 The two are combined to suggest what kinds of commentary nineteenth-century narratives created about the mō‘ī. This material often acknowledges public criticism of Kalākaua, but then refutes it on the basis of personal experience, reporting after interviews or encounters with him that he is very impressive or pleasing. My governing assumptions here are those articulated by Amy Kuʻuleialoha Stillman:

29 Haley 238.
30 “Nā Puke.”
Histories are interpretations fashioned out of sources consulted by the historian. Disparate histories can result when historians arrive at different interpretations of source materials. When previously unknown sources come to light, interpretations must be reevaluated and, if necessary, altered. Likewise, a historian’s purview might extend to sources passed over by his or her predecessors. Thus disparate histories can result from consultation with different kinds of sources. This is particularly the case in situations of colonization, where histories from generations past were produced largely or even solely from records of the colonizers.\(^{31}\)

Chapter Two therefore begins the process of creating a disparate history by looking at the mō‘ī through the eyes of his supporters and admirers: those not afraid to acknowledge and respect him and his office as a Hawaiian monarch. If nothing else, the archives reveal that during his widespread travels, the curious and the admiring could not get enough of him. Dozens of newspapers within a single country would post notices of Kalākaua’s impending arrival, provide extensive coverage of his activities in the city and country, and record his departure. All over the world, the general population, the nobility and royalty, and even the pope treated Kalākaua with the respect due to someone they considered to be a king, and then often recorded their discovery that his was a figure of refinement, culture, insight, and grace.

Chapter One therefore rehearses the attacks on Kalākaua, while Chapter Two offers the contemporary case for him, and in the process documents how skillfully and bravely he navigated past the criticism and attacks leveled at him. One conclusion to be drawn is that people outside of Hawai‘i without an ulterior motive for denigrating Kalākaua generally had a highly favorable impression of him, confirming that intent and motivation must be considered when

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\(^{31}\) Stillman, “Of the People” 85–86.
evaluating the reliability of the mō‘ī’s representations. In fact, Chapter Two will show that Kalākaua’s enemies often denied he possessed, or attacked him for possessing precisely those attributes that his supporters admired most. This section also delineates the motivations behind the entire range of nineteenth-century international newspapers’ stories of the mō‘ī. While some published sensationalized stories of “The King of the Cannibal Isles” to attract their readership, other newspapers presented favorable representations of Kalākaua, with reporter after reporter finding that the mō‘ī was intelligent and dignified—the exact opposite of the island king stereotype. Not surprisingly, I pay special attention to the 1881 world tour, countering the complaints and slander published by his enemies about this journey with the praise people around the world gave him after witnessing his nobility and intellect in the places he visited. These writers were especially pleased with the interest Kalākaua took in their countries or cities. When the mō‘ī arrived anywhere he almost always requested a tour of the most famous sights, and particularly academies and factories—not just to satisfy his keen intellectual curiosity, but to supply him with new ideas for innovation and improvement at home.

Kalākaua’s letters home to Hawai‘i while on that 1881 tour also supply representations of his own efforts to protect the kingdom’s independence against the efforts of Hawai‘i annexationists. An excerpt from his June 21, 1881 letter to Liliʻuokalani, who was serving as Regent, describes the situation of James Kāneholo Booth and Robert Nāpuʻako Boyd, two young Hawaiian students in Italy, under the sponsorship of Celso Moreno. The white oligarchy long claimed that Kalākaua and Walter Murray Gibson failed to reimburse Moreno for his supervision of the young men. Kalākaua explains otherwise:

I have thought it best to leave [Booth and Boyd] as they are for it would be an insult to the King of Italy to have them withdrawn after giving his consent to have
them admitted into their scientific schools. There has been a very strong pressure upon me to have them go home, but I have not thought it wise to do so. As soon as we reach Italy I shall write you all about them, and the amount of money the government have [sic] to refund to those in Italy that has kindly advance them money for there [sic] entrance and requirements and also to refund Mr Moreno for the money he has expounded upon then.

The mōʻi clearly intended to reimburse Moreno, and was informing his Regent of the need to do so. His concern for maintaining Hawaiʻi’s good standing in Italy is also set in opposition to the “strong pressure,” most likely from the white oligarchy in Hawaiʻi, to withdraw the young men—the same forces that would later accuse him of not supporting them. Lastly, the mōʻi informs his sister that he will send more students to schools in England and Germany.32 This brief excerpt from the mōʻi’s correspondence therefore documents his desire to sustain and even expand his Study Abroad program as part of his goal to support Hawaiians educated at prominent western institutions throughout the world, who would then return to become leaders in the kingdom. This is hardly the strategy of someone who wants to sell his nation to the highest bidder—a charge his enemies made. Kalākaua was committed to Hawaiʻi’s independence, and employed different methods to hold onto it.

In chapter three, “Mai ke Kumu ā ka Wēlau,” I will draw from the entirety of Hawaiʻi’s nineteenth-century representations of Kalākaua in Hawaiian and in English found within the kingdom’s newspapers. The dynamics of language and politics in these papers were complex. Some English-language newspapers written and edited by haole supported Kalākaua; some Hawaiian-language newspapers produced by native Hawaiians attacked him. A newspaper’s

language did not therefore determine its motives, but simply because the archives have been so seldom consulted, above all, this chapter offers especially detailed accounts of native Hawaiian sentiment about the mōʻī expressed in Hawaiian language sources. “Mai ke Kumu” brings to the forefront compelling evidence of strong and sustained native Hawaiian loyalty to and aloha for Kalākaua. No other narrative has closely examined the responses to him in the nineteenth-century Hawaiian-language newspapers throughout the difficult, confusing, and fascinating events of the mōʻī’s reign. Puakea Nogelmeier has stressed the importance of such an approach when studying Hawaiʻi’s history:

The impact of leaving most of the Hawaiian writings out of the mix of modern knowledge is that every form of history written, every cultural study undertaken, and every assumption made over most of the last century should be revisited in light of those neglected sources. Lacking the core insight of these sources affects the entire system—how people today understand Hawaiʻi, past and present; [. . . ] and how Hawaiians are perceived here and abroad; and how Hawaiians view themselves, those around them, and the rest of the world. Misconceptions that have been generated and perpetuated without this foundation of reference vary from benign to destructive.\(^{33}\)

And Amy Stillman has pointed toward contemporary native support for Kalākaua in texts produced for hula, and in the press:

The political turmoil of the late 1880s and 1890s contributed to a dramatic increase in the use of poetic texts for political and explicitly nationalist commentary. The couplet poetic format of modern hula became the choice of nationalist pro-royal supporters—a point underscored by the absence of anti-

\(^{33}\) Nogelmeier, Mai xi & See hoʻomanawanui, Voices xxvii.
monarchy and/or pro-annexation sentiments in modern hula poetry. Moreover, nationalist poetic discourse took place in arguably the most public of forums—Hawaiian-language newspapers.\textsuperscript{34}

According to Stillman, 134 poetic texts appeared in the Hawaiian-language newspapers between 1883 and 1892 that declared native support for Kalākaua and makaʻāinana resistance to colonial opposition.\textsuperscript{35} Although at a number of key moments Hawaiians divided into opposing political factions, the vast majority valued Hawaiʻi’s continuing independence. On the other hand, talk of annexation to the United States had been increasing within the foreign community for decades, coming into sharper focus with Kalākaua’s 1874 ascent to the throne and the passage of the 1876 Reciprocity Treaty. Early in the mōʻī’s reign, Hawaiians largely exercised legislative power, but over time haole representatives gained more control over this branch of government, and with the Bayonet Constitution in 1887, they extorted power.

The Hawaiian population’s annihilation due to leprosy, other diseases, and huge changes in lifestyle and the economy eventually led to mortality rates exceeding birth rates—figures that Thomas G. Thrum’s \textit{Hawaiian Almanac and Annual} conveniently published for its readers. The population decline also threatened the future of the Hawaiian language and traditions, as a steady increase in the number of Hawaiʻi’s schools using English as the language of instruction began. Economically, Kalākaua could take much of the credit for negotiating the Reciprocity Treaty, and for the ensuing prosperity for some individuals. But those sugar planters who began purchasing or renting hundreds of thousands of acres of land to produce million-dollar crops not only diverted millions of gallons of water daily from native planters and crops, but also sought greater legislative control to protect and increase their investment revenues. The government was

\textsuperscript{34} Stillman, “Of the People” 93.
\textsuperscript{35} Stillman, “Of the People” 94.
pressured to make more land available for railroads to transport sugar, and more water to make new plantations possible. The business element also lobbied the mōʻi to spend more on finding field laborers, spurring the arrival of Chinese, then Japanese, who would transform Hawaiʻi demographically. As the haole business element in Hawaiʻi, empowered by the mōʻi’s actions, decided it could increase its wealth even faster by controlling the government, the desire to do so became virtually a hysteria.

These political, social, and economic upheavals granted additional significance to the hōʻailona the people recognized from Kalākaua’s 1874 ascension through his 1883 coronation and to his passing in 1891. The anxiety gripping his subjects led them to grasp tightly to the three types of hōʻailona that strengthened and unified kānaka maoli. The third, embodied in the Hawaiian-language newspapers, and in part due to Kalākaua’s own efforts, had been important for many years before he ascended the throne. Almost immediately after the missionaries introduced the printing press and determined a Hawaiian orthography in the 1820s, Kānaka Maoli latched onto both, eventually using them to engage with and resist not only foreign attempts at economic and political oligarchy, but even at times Kalākaua himself in the ongoing pursuit of sound and autonomous government. Noenoe Silva has written that “for the first time,” Kānaka Maoli throughout the kingdom were “connected to the center of anticolonial nationalist thought on a weekly basis” with the start of Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika, the first native nationalist newspaper, and that with its inception “The Hawaiian language thus became a threat to the ongoing colonial project; it had the potential to become a ‘language of power’ [. . . ] The language of the almost universally literate makaʻāinana class bound them together as a nation.”

By looking at this resource, we can gain access to an archive of nineteenth-century native sentiment for Kalākaua, for as Nogelmeier explains, “Hawaiian-language materials as a whole

36 Silva, Aloha 85.
are a time capsule of important historical and cultural writings, and the newspapers are the most
dense, most interconnecting portion of that historical cache.” Between 1834 and 1948 more than
100 Hawaiian-language newspapers were published in Hawai‘i, which is equal to about 1 million
typed pages. The nineteenth-century Kānaka Maoli intellectual and literary traditions as
documented in newspaper publishing were both extensive and impressive, and a large part of this
study is based on those traditions. A significant amount of those newspaper articles were
intended to increase a sense of Hawaiian nationalism within the lāhui, to preserve cultural
knowledge on paper, and resist colonialism. One of the most significant findings of my research
is that the identity of most nineteenth-century Kānaka ‘Ōiwi was made up of aloha ali‘i (love or
loyalty for the chiefs), aloha ‘āina (love or respect for the land), and aloha lāhui (love for the
native Hawaiian people or nation). These types of deep and all-encompassing fidelities are
foreign to many of us in the twentieth century, but the nineteenth-century Hawaiian-language
newspapers are replete with examples of this kind of existence. In Chapter Three, I examine the
1874 election between Emma and Kalākaua and discuss how maka‘āinana resolved their partisan
loyalties so that the kingdom could move forward unitedly under a mō‘ī.

Arguably the most substantial text consulted during my research, and in some ways the
epitome of favorable Hawaiian representations of the mō‘ī, is Ka Moolelo o ka Moi Kalakaua I.
Appearing within a week of the arrival of the mō‘ī’s body from San Francisco, it proclaimed his
nobility, sustained the aloha of maka‘āinana for him, and advocated nationalism in his name for
the lāhui. An English translation of this mo‘olelo appears as an appendix to this project. One of
its most significant sections is Poepoe’s kanikau, or funeral dirge, for Kalākaua. It lists and
describes the various places he visited during his reign, employing many Hawaiian names that no
longer appear on contemporary maps, and have disappeared from people’s daily conversations.
In this work, and many, many others, we encounter the aloha and respect that Hawaiians had for their mōʻi, and gain a more complete sense of Kalākaua himself—foregrounding qualities and contexts that his enemies ignored, concealed, or denied, and which later writers often never looked for.\(^37\)

The hundreds of favorable representations of the mōʻi in Hawaiian, American, and international publications affirm his efforts to preserve the Hawaiian kingdom’s independence—a large, complex series of actions that strategically benefited the business element in Honolulu while resisting its wishes to hand Hawaiʻi over to America. Vicente L. Rafael tells us that these wishes began with the missionaries’ arrival, even if they themselves did not recognize it:

> The United States as an imperial power shares with its European predecessors a set of common ideas. Among other things, these include the insistent association of empire with a civilizing order (broadly conceived) directed at quelling the barbarism of native societies (crudely put), hence of conquest and exploitation with salvation.\(^38\)

Those Congregational missionaries who arrived a year after the death of Kamehameha I repeatedly denied that they had plans to take control of the kingdom. But they certainly did see Hawaiians as barbaric and in need of Christianity’s civilizing mores. Years later, their descendants still believed this, but joined to it a desire for control over the economy to expand the profits from the lucrative sugar industry that necessarily led to a belief that no one but people like themselves should rule. Carol Wilcox notes that increases in industrial power had a profound impact on populations and governments: “The decades leading up to the 1880s were perhaps like no other in human history. Advances in technology revolutionized people’s ability worldwide to

\(^{37}\) See Burns; Kuykendall, *Hawaiian*; Allen, H.; & Zambucka.

\(^{38}\) Rafael 335.
alter the environment, to produce and transport things, to communicate. And these innovations all had an impact in Hawaii, as well.”

Because a loss of native agency would lead to a loss of Hawaiian identity, Kalākaua had to think quickly and creatively. He attacked depopulation with the motto, “Ho‘oulu Lāhui” [“Increase the Nation”], establishing a government board, changing laws to encourage repopulation and to educate maka‘ainana on “family planning,” and in 1881, leaving Hawai‘i in part to find a race of people to cohabit with his Hawaiian subjects and rebuild the population. But the mō‘ī’s plan also involved reinvigorating a Hawaiian sense of nationalism and hope through signs, symbols, and words. Jocelyn Linnekin’s description of contemporary nations’ actions could have been drawn from Kalākaua’s efforts: “Whether called ethnicity, nationality, or even ‘race,’ cultural identity is a potent basis for political mobilization among peoples disenfranchised under colonial rule,” she writes, and “Invoking the cultural past to validate and solidify group identity is a common practice in modern nationalism. [. . .] The past is commonly used to validate the present.”

For example, Adrienne L. Kaeppler explains how mele played integral roles in traditional Hawaiian society:

Without written literature, musical poetry was the medium the Hawaiian used to call upon his gods, to honor his chiefs, to perpetuate history and knowledge and pass it on from generation to generation, to serve as a force of communal arousal, as preludes to love or war, and to ease the passing of a loved one in a lament. The poetry tells of Wakea, the creator father; of the genealogies of chiefs; of places

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39 Wilcox 63.
40 Linnekin 151.
and people, in figurative, metaphorical language with the added dimensions of rhythm and melody.\textsuperscript{41}

For this reason, Kalākaua worked to preserve and encourage the creation of mele. During his coronation festivities in 1883, he invited old Hawaiians from all parts of the kingdom to ‘Iolani Palace to recite and perform mele and hula, which he had recorded.\textsuperscript{42} Kalākaua therefore did not simply enjoy mele written during his reign for the pleasure or relief they gave him. Almost too many to count, these mele were tangible, living evidence of a highly, intelligent, perceptive, and self-conscious people.

Kalākaua also found ways to validate the past through the present, encouraging new creations that drew on both native and western. At the Jubilee, a Hawaiian dancer played an ‘ukulele, accompanied by a steel guitar. “The new music was sanctioned by the King, teachers, and performers, and loved by the audience,” Kaeppler writes, and “from the time of Kalākaua we have a dualism in Hawaiian music—the traditional and the new which existed side by side.”\textsuperscript{43} But creating this new and traditional culture was not enough; the mō‘ī had to find ways to represent it on a larger stage for a larger world audience, which would reinvigorate his people with a sense of pride and nationalism. “Like culture, cultural identity must be understood as creative, dynamic, and processual, and such an understanding is only possible with a doggedly symbolic concept of culture,”\textsuperscript{44} Linnekin writes, and Kamehiro’s project focuses on the symbols and representations produced during Kalākaua’s reign:

Late nineteenth-century Hawaiian nationalist culture was not an aggregate or composite of indigenous and foreign forms arranged side by side in “natural” or

\textsuperscript{41} Kaeppler 312–313.
\textsuperscript{42} Marquez 97.
\textsuperscript{43} Kaeppler 328.
\textsuperscript{44} Linnekin 152.
uninspired ways but rather a processual unfolding of Native Hawaiian
cconceptions of chiefliness and modern rulership that generated new cultural
representations oriented to the future.  

Kalākaua’s ability to plan his Coronation and Jubilee therefore not only demonstrates his mana
(supernatural or divine power, authority) as mō‘ī, but also his perceptiveness about how that
power needs to be wielded on behalf of nationalistic enterprises in the 1880s. “Cultural festivities
provide a potent space for intercultural accommodations to be negotiated on largely indigenous
terrain,” Peter Phipps writes, “strengthening indigenous agency, and resetting the terms of cross-
cultural engagement for at least the duration of these staged encounters.” And certainly,
Kalākaua faced extreme opposition to any attempts to combine tradition and the contemporary.
Just weeks after Kalākaua ascended the throne, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* attacked the hula
performances in Honolulu:

*AHOE KOHU IKI* o ka poe hula Hawaii i hele hula ae ai ma ke ahiahi Poakahi iho nei.—me ka hookanikani ana i na uli-ul, a e kuhi ana na lima i o ia nei, a e ha’u ana na waha i ka makani—O keia mau mea i hanaia ua hoohilahila mai ia oe e Hawaii, ua kupono keia mau mea na ka pegana wale no o kela au—Mai hana ino oe e Hawaii ia oe iho! E kapu loa na hula.  

“Not appropriate at all were the Hawaiian dancers who went around doing hula on
this Monday evening—rattling their uliuli, their hands pointing this way and that,
and their mouths huffing away in the wind—These things that were done shame

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45 Kamehiro 8.
46 Phipps 217–218.
47 “Aohe Kohu iki” 3.
you, O Hawaii; this kind of thing is appropriate only for the pagan of the past—O Hawaiians, stop hurting yourselves! Hula is strictly banned.”

The mōʻī’s encouragement of hula’s public performance throughout his reign was therefore a direct, defiant reply to missionary- and business-based newspaper opposition, even in the Hawaiian language, to any claim that past and present could combine to nurture and increase Hawaiian nationalism.

Similarly, Kalākaua’s larger plan involved making native nationalism apparent to those outside of Hawaiʻi through significant representations. Whereas the mōʻī’s enemies criticized his love of pageantry and display as frivolous or wasteful, Kalākaua had specific strategies for inventing, giving, and receiving honors and decorations from leaders and officials around the world. As Kamanamaikalani Beamer explains, this was in keeping with his predecessors as mōʻī:

Hawaiian aliʻi had adopted a diplomatic strategy with the world. This strategy allowed them to modify their traditional forms of governance and institutions while maintaining a distinctly Hawaiian identity. Aliʻi of the nineteenth century used laws, constitutional governments, and maps as a means of governing the Hawaiian Kingdom’s aboriginal and nonaboriginal population. By doing so, the Hawaiian Kingdom government was able to achieve recognition as an independent and sovereign state by the major colonial powers of the time, Britain, France, and the United States. Kalākaua’s 1881 tour is the most obvious example of how he used his own position and character to legitimize Hawaiʻi as an independent nation in the eyes of the world. When he observed the obvious importance of orders and decorations as symbols of relations between

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48 “More Criticism.”
49 Beamer 8.
nations, he immediately set out to create such currency for himself and Hawai‘i. On May 12, 1881 Kalākaua wrote the following from Singapore to officials back in Hawai‘i:

I hope you will impress it upon the minds of the executive Committee the necessity of carrying out my wishes as regards the exchange of decorations. By these exchanges depends the success of any future movement our government may take in desiring to procure immigrants from Japan, China, Siam and Johore. Decorations have a powerfull [sic] weight upon the minds of the Asiatic Prince’s [sic].

Kalākaua was very much committed to promoting Hawai‘i’s independent yet friendly status as a nation, and he was a fast learner. Note how confident he is by the time he arrives in India in deploying the symbols of his kingdom, in this case to the Maharajah of Johore:

I have invested him and his uncle with the Grand Cross of the order of Kalakaua I. I did not ask for an exchange as he has not established an order but I hear he will establish one soon. I hope you will also impress it upon the minds of the Committee to confer the order of 4th class Kalakaua order upon our consuls. Those decorated gives an importance to the nations they represent and it is but proper during my tour around the world and the services they have performed during my stay in Japan, China, Siam, and Singapore which has contributed greatly to the pleasantness and convenience of our trip around the world should be recognized.


A Word on Language and Terminology

Hawaiian words are not italicized in this dissertation because Hawaiian is not a foreign language in Hawai‘i. Hawaiian words from a nineteenth-century text, or some other source that did not use diacritical marks, will be quoted as they appear in the original. Otherwise, Hawaiian will appear in accordance with contemporary usage, with the Pukui and Elbert Hawaiian dictionary as the consulted authority. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own, and while I have consulted many Hawaiian-language scholars, any mistakes in these translations are my responsibility.

Because they are specific terms referring to the Hawaiian rank and status of Kalākaua and Kapi‘olani during his reign, unless a quotation or translation uses the terms “king” and “queen,” I will use mō‘ī to refer to Kalākaua and mō‘īwahine for Kapi‘olani. The term makaʻāinana once generally signified non-chiefly status, or that of a “commoner.” With the advent of nationhood, the term was used to refer to a citizen of the nation, whether an indigenous Hawaiian, or an immigrant who had been granted full citizenship. (It can be confusing, but many historical references to “Hawaiians” were regarding citizenship rather than bloodline.) Kanaka Maoli, native, Kanaka ʻŌiwi, and native Hawaiian describe the indigenous people whose ancestors can be traced back to residing in Hawaiʻi before 1778.

While the nineteenth-century Hawaiian- and English-language newspapers often had very clear editorial positions in relation to the monarchy, the language of publication did not necessarily indicate an editor’s loyalty. Although I will try to clarify these editorial positions as they become relevant, in general, Nupepa Kuokoa, though referred to at times as the “native press” because it was in Hawaiian, actually supported American business interests and attacked Kalākaua, thanks to its editor, Henry M. Whitney. Conversely, foreigner Walter Murray
Gibson’s Hawaiian- and English-language *Ka Nuhou Hawai‘i* championed kānaka maoli and the mō‘ī. Although the English-language *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* generally backed haole business interests, during the period when Gibson had editorial control, it backed Kalākaua as well, and as a result faced harsh criticism from the other English-language newspapers: *Hawaiian Gazette*, also edited by Whitney, and *Saturday Press*, written largely by Thomas G. Thrum. In the early part of Kalākaua’s reign, Joseph Kawainui’s Hawaiian-language *Ko Hawai‘i Pae Aina* supported the mō‘ī, but in later years, it opposed him. The Hawaiian-language nationalist *Ka Leo o ka Lahui* ardently supported Kalākaua, and in its pages blamed his enemies for his death. Chapter Three will elaborate on these allegiances, and the reasons for them.
CHAPTER 1: KA MO‘O KŪ‘AUHAU O KA MO‘OKALALEO KU‘UNA: THE CASE AGAINST KALĀKAUA

In *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism*, Noenoe Silva has written: “In the historiography of Hawai‘i, King Kalākaua, who reigned from 1874–1891, may be the most reviled and ridiculed of the monarchs.” The vitriol directed Kalākaua through books, pamphlets, magazines, and gossip; the relentless attacks in the newspapers; and the character assassinations of him in travel writings provide the roots of his later notoriety. As those who have studied the mō‘ī (sovereign) know, he is seen as the embodiment of a renaissance of Hawaiian traditions, but also the reckless merry monarch—drunk, foolish, unreliable, and corrupt. This chapter, “Ka Mo‘o Kūʻauhau o ka Moʻokalaleo Kuʻuna,” traces this twisted kua (backbone) or kūʻauhau (genealogy) of the moʻokalaleo kuʻuna (literary representations) of Kalākaua. At the beginning of this genealogy lie the misrepresentations of him created during his reign, often by the very men who conspired to curtail his powers through their 1887 extorted constitution, or their supporters and agents who reproduced this slander and defamation. And then there were other writers, often passing through, who merely wanted a good or funny story—the purveyors of nineteenth-century yellow journalism.

**The First Group that Attacked Kalākaua:**

**The Missionary/Business Party**

Two groups were largely responsible for the attacks directed at Kalākaua during his reign and after. The first was made up of the men behind the Bayonet Constitution, those prominent members of the Hawaiian League, Honolulu Rifles, Annexation Club, and Committee of Safety

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52 Silva 89.
who most notably included Lorrin A. Thurston, Sanford B. Dole, W. O. Smith, William H. Alexander, Thomas G. Thrum, Charles R. Bishop, William R. Castle, Sereno Bishop, John T. Waterhouse, Clarence W. Ashford, Volney A. Ashford, Alatau Atkinson, and others. Although this white oligarchy that sought to bring Kalākaua down was tiny in numbers, its wealth from its agricultural, legal, and other business sources gave it great political and economic power in the kingdom. As John Dominis Holt explains, both Kalākaua and Liluʻokalani “inherited the Pandora’s box of troubles resulting from the ever-increasing solidification of haole: namely American, power in the land [of] their birth.”53 Along with others, Thurston and Dole would later overthrow Liliʻuokalani, assume leadership in the Provisional Government and the Republic of Hawaiʻi, and pave the way throughout for annexation by America.

The haole (foreign) oligarchy, sometimes referred to as the missionary party because of their immediate ancestors, had invested so much money into development that they essentially believed that governance over the land should belong to them, and both openly and secretly they advocated the eventual transfer of Hawaiʻi to U. S. control. As early as May of 1861, Sophia Cracroft, niece of the famous explorer Admiral Sir John Franklin, who visited Hawaiʻi with his widow Lady Franklin as the honored guests of the mōʻī Kamehameha IV and his wife Emma, observed that “the Missionaries have mingled secularity—simple money getting—with their high functions, and these have sat lightly upon many of them.” Furthermore, “They are Americans and have been (naturally) the means of introducing Americans into nearly all the offices. And there is but one mind among them: viz., that this Kingdom ought to be annexed to the United States.”54 Another visitor who could vouch for these qualities of the missionary party during Kalākaua’s reign is Isobel Field, the step-daughter of Robert Louis Stevenson and the wife of

54 Korn, Victorian 74, 86–87.
painter Joseph Strong. She arrived in 1883, twenty-two years after Cracroft, and just prior to Kalākaua’s coronation. She described Honolulu’s haole elite as “rich, prosperous American business men with one aim: to wrest the islands from the natives and have it taken over by the United States.”

And ten years later, after the actual overthrow, the French physician Dr. Georges Phillipe Trousseau, who had served for twenty years on Hawai‘i’s Board of Health, gave to American official investigator James Blount the following observations about the missionaries in Hawai‘i during his time here:

As far as the missionaries are concerned, they brought exactly nothing. They were housed and fed by the natives, their children tended for them, their churches built them free of expense. They were given land by the people, who served them, did all the most menial work without compensation, drew them about in hand carts to church and to their social entertainments, and paid them besides a tax of 10 cents a week per head for each adult all through the districts over which they had spiritual control.

Opposition between the monarchy and the missionary party had always existed; it simply escalated during Kalākaua’s time. Niklaus R. Schweizer has noted that when they actually overthrew the monarchy two years after Kalākaua’s death, the missionaries/planters/businessmen “were not likely to accept the restoration of native authority at a time when the colonial tide in the Pacific and elsewhere was reaching the high-water mark. Everything thus had to be planned meticulously and the timing had to be right.” And Lorrin Thurston at this time claimed that “American property interests in Hawaii have become so great that it is no longer a simple

55 Field 150.
56 Greenwell135.
57 See Korn, Victorian 51 & 73.
58 Schweizer 283.
question of political advantage to the United States, or of charity or justice to a weak neighbor.”

But accompanying this felt necessity of a takeover for mercenary interests was the claim that in any case, Kalākaua and then Lili‘uokalani had proved utterly unfit to govern the kingdom. There was never any shortage of public attacks on the supposed incompetence of the entire monarchical system. Take for examples this declaration from 1882 in the Hawaiian Gazette: “A Sham! Talk of it as we may; theorize about it as we please, we must always arrive at one result, and that is that the constitutional government of these islands is a thorough sham.” Thurston and Sanford Dole, the masterminds of the overthrow, later observed that “The natives had been unable to sustain the independent state which American residents had helped them create,” and more specifically, that “The constitutional encroachments, lawless extravagance, and scandalous and open sales of patronage and privilege to the highest bidder by Kalakaua brought on at length the Revolution of 1887.” Or more succinctly, it was their opinion that “Kalakaua seems to be entirely given over to the devil.” It therefore was a constant that his enemies pointed to his alleged ignorance, ineptitude, and corrupt nature as sufficient reason for the necessity of the eventual overthrow of the monarchy. As Michael G. Vann explains, “The first narratives of the demise of the Hawaiian monarchy were the product of those who had taken part in its overthrow. The writing of their ‘histories’ was the final act of conquest: the intellectual consolidation of rule.” Riley H. Allen describes how during Kalākaua’s reign “By ridicule as well as by reason, thinking men were gathering and cementing the opposition to the ‘Merry Monarch,’ turning the

59 Curtis and Thurston 280.
60 “A Sham!” 3.
61 Thurston 218.
62 Damon 285.
63 Damon 158.
64 Vann
thoughts of the people toward a possible repudiation of the divine right of kings.” And well before his reign, Cracroft recorded a similar comment about undermining the government of the kingdom: “The Missionaries have ever held it as a rule to weaken the power of the Chiefs—in fact, to destroy the Aristocracy of the Land.”

The Second Group that Attacked Kalākaua: Native Nationalists for Better Leadership

The second group that attacked Kalākaua was made up of kānaka (man, person) who wanted stronger, more principled government, initially under Queen Emma. In fact, in the middle years of his reign, native patriots such as Joseph Kahoʻoluleh Nāwahī and George Washington Pilipō, concerned about the impact of Kalākaua’s advisors on him, actually allied themselves with Castle, Dole, Waterhouse, Thurston, and Thrum to place pressure on the throne. Kānaka who opposed Kalākaua were concerned about the nation’s survival, largely because of debt, the population decimation, what they saw as the mōʻī’s wasteful spending, the Reciprocity Treaty’s anticipation of U. S. annexation, and cabinet and personal corruption. Both the kānaka struggling to preserve the aupuni’s (government, kingdom) independence, and the haole elite who wanted to take control of Hawai‘i, set an early pattern of sharp critiques and even defamation aimed at Kalākaua. As Jonathan Osorio writes, the reign of Kalākaua was “all about legitimacy,” and this “was a contest for which haole were much better prepared because, in the end, it was monarchy itself that they were opposing. For the Natives, it was Kalākaua whose

65 Allen, R. 16.
66 Korns, Victorian 73.
67 Schweizer noted that in 1874, “The mortality rate of the natives exceeded their birth rate with depressing regularity and the small but vigorous Caucasian population kept growing just as steadily as the native ranks were thinning” (Turning 263).
authenticity—and ability—was at issue." The attacks focused on his personality and impulses, and in time, they became more exaggerated and extreme.

**Ways of the Missionary/Business Party**

In the first years of Kalākaua’s reign his enemies largely confined their attacks on him to their correspondence. An eventual advocate of annexation was Charles R. Bishop, and an 1880 letter to Elisha H. Allen complaining about Kalākaua reveals his early reservations: “The worst of it is that [His Majesty] took quite an active interest in electing some nincompoops who are mere tools of his, and has expressed some plans which are so weak and useless that he has lost a good deal of confidence and respect of foreigners and the most intelligent natives.” Seven years later, in another letter to sugar plantation owner Rudolph Wilhelm Meyer, Bishop suggests that things have degenerated: “We have a shameful state of demoralization in government, and those who govern are too stupid and bad to see their danger or to listen to wise and friendly counsel.”

In addition to criticizing Kalākaua in letters to each other, the missionary party also spread malicious rumors about him through simple gossip. Isobel Field provides us with an eyewitness account of how those arriving in Honolulu were immediately sought out and treated to slanderous accounts of the mōʻi: “My visitors, both of the Royal party and the Missionary group, gave me my first startled taste of island gossip. [ . . . ] The Missionary ladies told me the King was a drunkard and spendthrift, the son of a Negro barber and not fit to rule a nation and I was warned against the fast set that surrounded him.” She further remarked that these visitors avoided “restraint in the stories they told.” Another visitor who came as a bride was Gina Sobrero, the

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68 Osorio 147.
69 Kent, *Man* 70, 73.
70 Field 150–151.
71 Her formal name was Maria Carolina Isabella Luigia Sobrero. See Knowlton, Morris, and Bacchilega 9.
wife of Robert William Kalanihiapo Wilcox. Her journal of her early days in Hawai‘i confirms that the missionary party was telling her the same stories that they had told to Field:

   His enemies actually say that he is of black origin, nor do I have difficulty in believing it, judging from the coarse and rounded lines of his countenance, from his dull and kinky hair, characteristics which are not those of the Hawaiians. Perhaps this is one of the reasons for the little regard in which he is held by many of the natives themselves and of the best ones who, though having elected him, consider him of a race inferior to theirs.72

Sobrero herself found such information comforting. Writing about her conversations with women of the missionary party, she claims that “I feel reborn surrounded by faces like mine, hearing a language that I now understand almost perfectly and speak rather well, sitting down at a table adorned with glassware and fine linen, beside people who eat regularly regular food, well cooked, pleasing to the taste. [. . . . ] No longer forced to live in contact with the kanakas.”73 In his own Hawaiian- and English-language newspaper Ka Nuhou Hawaii, Walter Murray Gibson, perhaps the most hated target of the business elite, called attention to this very predilection to gossip: “Slander is the bane of this community. [. . . . ] It disgusts strangers. It happens to some that they have hardly been any time in the country, and are just beginning to get interested in people whom they find pleasant—when somebody whispers in the ears—‘I thought it best to let you know that so and so is, & c.’”74 Another visitor who attested to the preoccupation with gossip was the twenty-two year old missionary Herbert H. Gowen. Arriving in 1886, Gowen lived in Hawai‘i for five years at ‘Iolani College. Observing that the streets of Honolulu were “crossed and re-crossed at every point by a bewildering number of telephone and electric light wires,” he

72 Knowlton et al. 96.
73 Knowlton et al. 92.
74 “Slander” 6.
recognized that this technology made it “so easy to gossip over a wide circle that in time the telephone becomes as indispensable as ice cream or rocking-chairs to the households of Honolulu.”\textsuperscript{75}

In the columns of the papers, the monarchy’s supporters publicly commented on the baneful influence of gossip and slander aimed about Kalākaua and later Lili‘uokalani.\textsuperscript{76} The \textit{National Herald: Ka Ahailono a ka Lahui} described the white oligarchy’s long tradition of gossiping to destroy its political foes:

Of all base political methods ever used against native Hawaiians by their professed “haole friends,” this is the lowest and meanest. It is, however, quite worthy of the compromise party of whisky, sugar and prayers and fits in exactly with the past history of these morally and politically self-disgraced cliques and factions. The report was started, is now being circulated and can be traced to some of the leaders and politicians of the government party.\textsuperscript{77}

It should be noted that from 1876 until the middle of 1880, newspaper critiques of Kalākaua were infrequent, and relatively restrained. He had pacified the planters for a time by securing a Reciprocity Treaty that guaranteed their prosperity. When the mōʻī began appointing cabinet members whom the haole businessmen believed would not satisfy their own legislative needs, but work instead to advance the interests of Hawaiians and the lāhui, the planter and

\textsuperscript{75} Gowen15.

\textsuperscript{76} Here is only a sampling of such articles: “Chagrined and Full of Spite,” “Of All Base Political Methods,” & “We Do Not Care to Discuss the Object of this Slander.” \textit{The National Herald: Ka Ahailono a ka Lahui}, 25 Jan. 1890: 2; “His Name is Mud.” \textit{The National Herald: Ka Ahailono a ka Lahui} 25 Jan. 1890: 3; “Self-Convicted! Thurston’s Lame Defense! The Herald’s Charges Sustained. The Honor of a Dead American Shielded from Missionary Slander. The Proposed Treaty Question.” \textit{The National Herald: Ka Ahailono a ka Lahui} 3 Feb. 1890: 2; “The Editor of the ‘Advertiser’ is by No Means the Only One who in these Days Show their Ill Breeding and Lack of Delicacy and Tact.” \textit{Hawaii Holomua} 30 Jan. 1893: 4; “My House shall be Called a House of Prayer” & “Some Ladies Expressed their Surprise at the Cruelty against the Queen which is the Leading Feature in the Last Edition of the Friend.” \textit{Hawaii Holomua} 3 Feb. 1893: 4; “Another of the Saints has Got into Trouble it Seems by Attempting to Vilify the Queen in a Native House of Worship before a Gathering of Hawaiians.” \textit{Hawaii Holomua} 8 Feb. 1893: 4.

\textsuperscript{77} “Of All Base” 2.
business element publicly voiced their disapproval. In the *Hawaiian Gazette* of August, W. Armstrong, Dillingham, S. N. Castle, W. R. Castle, Waterhouse, Carter, Dole, Hartwell, Bishop, Cartwright, Atherton, Pfluger, and others, many of whom would later bring about the overthrow and annexation, demanded that Kalākaua discharge his new cabinet members John E. Bush, W. C. Jones, Celso C. Moreno, and Rev. Moses Kuaea, because the planters maintained “no confidence in these Ministers, that they do not adequately represent the wealth, intelligence or character of your subjects, and resident foreigners.”

William R. Castle visited with Henry Perrine Baldwin on Maui in late 1885 “to look over the field and confer with different influential people on the Islands about the prospects, and what sort of assistance could be expected” to “make a strong fight for the election of honest and progressive members of the Legislature for the session opening in April, 1886.”

Castle elaborated to Baldwin on the aims of those men who were “determined that the unscrupulous ambition of the King should be curbed, and that the government must be carried on honestly, economically and in the interest of the governed, and not for the supposed amusement of Kalakaua.”

By the latter half of 1880, the business party had started up *The Saturday Press*, a newspaper devoted to attacking the mōʻī, his advisors, and the newspapers that supported him. In a letter to his brother on Kauaʻi, Sanford B. Dole wrote:

> You will be pleased to hear that a new paper, the *Saturday Press*, was started last week, September 4th, in opposition to the *Advertiser* under Gibson. I have ordered it for you. It is owned by the leading business firms here; it is well supported from the start, as you will see. A great many have taken away their advertising from the

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78 “Yesterday an Informal” 1.
79 Baldwin 53.
80 Baldwin 55.
Commercial and given it to the new paper, and many have stopped their subscriptions to the former. I trust that Gibson will be starved out before long.\(^{81}\)

Dole, one-time Hawaiian Gazette editor Alatau Tamchiboulac Atkinson, illustrator Edwin Purvis, and other writers also collaborated on farces and satirical pamphlets. Kalākaua was not the first mōʻī attacked in that way;\(^ {82}\) the PCA had printed satirical stories about Kalākaua’s predecessor William Charles Lunalilo. The difference is one of scale. Dole for example wrote “Vacuum: A Farce in Three Acts,” which was written about in the Gazette and performed at the Opera House in Honolulu. The script caricatured Kalākaua as Skyhigh, the “emperor of the coral reefs and sand banks of the blue big sea” who lives at the “palace of the flying-fish.”\(^ {83}\)

Atkinson and Purvis published their own satirical scripts, entitled “The Grand Duke of Gynbergdrinkenstein: A Burlesque in Three Acts” and the “Gynberg Ballads.” Foreigners who read the “Gynberg Ballads” supposedly “rocked with laughter at the caricaturing of the Kalakaua court.”\(^ {84}\) As for the “Grand Duke,” in the first act the Grand Duke, the character mimicking Kalākaua, speaks to Nosbig, the caricature of Walter Murray Gibson:

You grand old fraud. You were the boy to win
Seeing the way you handed out the gin
Not gingerly, but with a ginerous hand
The alcoholic wave, that swept the land
Carried you on to power.\(^ {85}\)

In the second act the Duke greets the morning this way:

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\(^{81}\) Damon 157; In 1881, Thrum described The Saturday Press as a paper “by the people, and for the people, and whose outspoken tones, together with the consistent course of the [Hawaiian] Gazette, have done so much to save the country from ignomy and disgrace.” See Hawaiian Almanac for 1881 62.


\(^{83}\) Dole, “Vacuum” 115.

\(^{84}\) Allen, R. 41.

\(^{85}\) Atkinson and Purvis 127.
Ah, ha, the morning paper of today?
Let’s see what Nosbig’s organ has to say
Of things political.—Ah yes, I see
The same as usual, there’s much praise of me
And of my doings, also the old song
Of ‘Nosbig’ right, and ‘Opposition’ wrong.86

The pamphlets were reportedly a hit with the haole community in Honolulu, and the members of the foreign community attended the plays,87 and represent some of the most extreme efforts to trivialize him during his reign, and the energetic support of this publication, and the produced farce, were glaring evidence of their creators’ defiance and disdain for the throne.

These various examples of open ridicule of Kalākaua were circulated widely throughout the kingdom and to the American continent. According to Frank Karpiel, the white oligarchy consciously used these pamphlets to destroy Kalākaua’s ability to rule “through vilification and systematic mockery.”88 Although Theo. H. Davies was addressing the white oligarchy’s challenge to Liliʻuokalani’s authority in 1893, his observation also applies to the ongoing efforts to disassociate the aliʻi (chief, sovereign) from the power of governance: “The Hawaiian throne is not a piece of personal property. It is a trust, and is as much the embodiment of Hawaiian nationality as the Hawaiian flag.”89 Clearly, the earlier pamphlets were not only examples of a new era in which those of foreign descent banded together to ridicule openly the mōʻi, but by extension the idea of the Hawaiian monarchy itself as anything other than a symbol of rule.

86 Atkinson and Purvis 130.
87 Allen, R. 41.
88 Karpiel, “Notes” 206.
89 Davies 6.
Another strong opponent of Kalākaua was Thomas G. Thrum—partly because he was demonstrably a racist and partly perhaps because the sugar industry funded his livelihood. A writer, editor, and publisher, Thrum was responsible for several publications, producing on his own press the *Hawaiian Almanac and Annual* and other substantial volumes on Hawaiʻi’s history. His summaries of the events of the past year were often naked attacks on Kalākaua and his supporters. Take for example his account of 1881: “Unfortunately underhanded schemes prevailed, and the session of the Legislature that followed entertained rash measures, voted moneys with recklessness and passed bills that created alarm for the nation’s well-being.”90

Hardly one for understatement—“In no year has so much determined evil been accomplished by any Hawaiian Legislature, as in the present” he also laid blame squarely on Kalākaua: “Monies have been spent recklessly on appropriations pertaining directly and indirectly to royalty, while other and needed improvements for the development of the country and the care of the sick have been deferred for want of funds.”91 The coronation especially annoyed Thrum. In 1883, he published George W. Stewart’s malicious poem, “The Crowning of the Dread King”:  

Not a sail on the horizon  
Not a ship along the seashore  
Hastens with its host of people  
To the dread king’s coronation  
To the crowning of the dread king  
Of the islands of Hawaii.92

Thrum offered extended critiques of the necessity, the expense, and even the morality of that coronation. He condemned the “period of nightly hula festivities that was a retrograde step of

90 Thrum, “Retrospect of the Year 1881” 67–68.  
91 Thrum, “Retrospect of the Year 1883” 65.  
92 Stewart 310.
heathenism and a disgrace to the age.” He reported that “The feasts, regatta and races that were given proved a sad travesty on the spirit of enthusiastic loyalty which it aimed to bring forth.” And he asserted that “The whole affair was forced upon the people in spite of public opinion.”

Such claims were often circulated in the U. S. by other correspondents. An 1885 account in the *Daily Honolulu Press* approvingly notes that an opponent of Kalākaua now living elsewhere was happily providing the business class opinion of the Hawaiian government to newspapers there: “As an indication of the murmurs of Kalakaua’s subjects, a Honolulu merchant now in Washington said to-day that the utter disregard of the will of the people in the administration of the government has been shown in a very defiant manner.” What follows this report in the *Daily* is taken almost verbatim from Thrum’s *Hawaiian Almanac and Annual* of 1883: “Money has been spent recklessly on appropriations pertaining to royalty, while needed improvements for the development of the country have been deferred for want of funds.”

Thrum is of course the *Daily*’s publisher, and though he claims that he is quoting a *Washington Post* article, material expressing his own opinion is tagged onto his “summary.” Clearly, Thrum employed a variety of strategies to attack Kalākaua’s reputation in Hawai‘i and abroad, and the claim that the mōʻi has no concern for the welfare of his own people is particularly egregious.

The *Gazette* and *Kuokoa* also attacked the mōʻi for his coronation ceremonies. *The Hawaiian Gazette Report: The Coronation (February 12, 1883) and Unveiling Ceremonies of the Statue of Kamehameha I and Grand State Dinner, etc. (February 14, 1883)* said that the formalities were designed “to play upon the King’s vanity.” In June of 1882, more than a year before the ceremonies, the *Hawaiian Gazette* had called the coronation “unnecessary, and,

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93 Thrum, “Retrospect of the Year 1883” 65.
94 “A Wild” 2.
95 See Thrum, “Retrospect for the Year 1883” 65.
therefore, a mere waste of money.” 97 A month beforehand, the January 13, 1883 edition of Ka Nupepa Kuokoa declared that:

No stigma can be placed on the coronation that is being prepared for on the 12th of February, if it is only to please the King and have it over with, without the load falling on the public. But the first ‘load’ that we will receive for this deed is the loss of our good reputation as a government of clear thinking and [be known as] one that behaves ignorantly [. . . .] It is definitely understood that it will not elevate the prestige of the throne before the eyes of the notables of other lands [. . . .] The expenditures are so great and the burden of such spending will be on the people. 98

The supposed scandal of the coronation was a primary piece of evidence offered against Kalākaua for many years afterward. In 1898, Lucien Young was still remarking that “after being on the throne for nine years, he determined upon a useless and expensive coronation [. . .].” 99

Attacks on the mōʻī became institutionalized. In 1885, Thrum, Louis T. Valentine, and Arthur Johnstone collaborated to produce the Daily Honolulu Press replacing Thrum’s Saturday Press, the new paper was designed to curb Kalākaua’s alleged reckless spending and incompetence. The Daily ran for a year, and on December 4 reprinted a San Francisco Post article, “A Wild Scheme,” which reported that the mōʻī was attempting to sell his kingdom for $14,500,000. Because another newspaper had reported it, the Daily reporter took it for the truth, and the paper editorialized that “The painful fact has been patent for several years that King Kalakaua is not a popular sovereign at home, and, of course, his people are entirely ignorant of

97 “Next, as to” 3.
99 Young 14.
any proposition for selling them out.” Of course when American papers claimed that Kalākaua’s subjects were dissatisfied with him they were actually passing on this information from their principal sources: the missionary and business party. Thrum also condemned the mōʻī’s own 1886 birthday Jubilee. In “Retrospect for the Year 1887,” Thrum remarked that “It is by no means commendable that such an event should warrant the frivolous waste of public funds, or give encouragement to the revival of the lascivious hula. As the period is now looked back upon, with the lapse of only a few weeks, there is naught that can be pointed to with pride for so memorable an occasion during His Majesty’s reign.”

Another longtime watchdog over the mistakes and errors of Kalākaua’s reign was Henry M. Whitney, known primarily for his editorship of Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, “the most successful of all newspapers printed in Hawaiian” with a 66-year existence. As early as 1850, Whitney had served as the first Post Master General for the kingdom, and he later added being the printer, sales manager, and editor for The Hawaiian Gazette and the Pacific Commercial Advertiser to his resume. After 1880, Kuokoa openly opposed Kalākaua, and supported American annexation of Hawaiʻi. Whitney was Postmaster General again from 1883 to 1886, which in most cases meant that he was the first person to receive news from abroad and the last one to handle any information sent to the U. S.—usually to San Francisco, where it could then be telegraphed East, and to the rest of the world. Often through Whitney, Kalākaua’s enemies in Hawaiʻi exported their unflattering representations in this way to larger audiences through American and international newspapers. The North China Herald in Shanghai, China, for instance, credited The Hawaiian Gazette and a “correspondent,” for its published accounts of Kalākaua while the Hong

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100 “A Wild” 2.
101 Thrum, “Retrospect for the Year 1887” 87.
102 Moʻokini, Hawaiian Newspapers vi, vii; Meyer, et. al. 13.
103 Examples of Whitney’s antagonism for the mōʻī are found in chapter 3.
*Kong Daily Press* acknowledged a “‘kamaaina’” and a “letter writer.”  

International audiences particularly hungry for such mockery of “native” rulers ate up those articles printed from Hawai‘i newspapers. A number of *Gazette* articles appeared abroad, portraying Kalākaua and his cabinet as corrupt and incompetent, and Hawai‘i as anxious for the monarchy’s end. For example, *The North China Herald*’s issue for August 12, 1887 supplemented a July 1 *Gazette* article on the “revolution” in Hawai‘i containing no reference to the Hawaiian League’s extortion of the Bayonet Constitution the day before with a commentary on Walter Murray Gibson’s fate: “It is a sad commentary on this man’s whole career to think that he has lived so long and escaped the gallows in other lands to be captured by the very class he laughed at and spurned in the past, but who now have the whip hand on this miserable apology for a human being.”

With regard to the Bayonet Constitution, the dominant narrative of a public that simply ran out of patience with Kalākaua’s supposed corruption and incompetence was enduring and widely circulated. Over ten years later, Lucien Young reports that “The patience of the respectable foreign element and progressive natives at last became exhausted.” But the newspapers also prepared the way for the Bayonet Constitution. On the 10th day of May 1887, as the Hawaiian League’s plans to overthrow Kalākaua were approaching fruition, the *Hawaiian Gazette* grumbled that “There never is money for anything useful, but there is always money forthcoming for junketing trips, foreign missions and ostentatious follies.” In the same issue

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104 “The Chinese in Honolulu” 44; “The Revolution in Honolulu” 188; “King Kalakaua and the Pacific Islands” 2; &“The Queen of Hawaii” 3.
105 Kuykendall, *Hawaiian* 345.
106 “The Revolution in Honolulu” 188.
107 Young 15.
was a scathing attack on Kalākaua in response to the opium license granted to Chun, to the diplomatic embassy to Sāmoa, and to other failures:

Now who is to blame? These things have not been done under a bushel; they are plain for all to see. With such charges against his Ministers and officials, the King is thoroughly acquainted. It is in his power to force explanations. He has not done so, and as he is the highest officer in the Kingdom, the blame rests on him. A sovereign who had the good of his country and his people at heart, would see to it that such things should not occur.\footnote{\textsuperscript{109}}

After the Hawaiian League forced its constitution upon Kalākaua, another pamphlet, entitled \textit{A Sketch of Recent Events, being A Short Account of the Events which Culminated on June 30, 1887, Together with a Full Report of the Great Reform Meeting and the Two Constitutions in Parallel Columns}, was printed by A. M. Hewett and \textit{The Hawaiian Gazette} in Honolulu. Hawaiian League members had to have written it, because it outlined in detail the conspiracy to force Kalākaua to sign the constitution, and explained the reasons for the plot, including the by now familiar claim that “The administration of the Hawaiian Government has ceased, through corruption and incompetence, to perform the functions and afford the protection to personal and property rights, for which all Governments exist.”\footnote{\textsuperscript{110}}

Much of the criticism directed at Kalākaua was provoked by his cabinet minister Walter Murray Gibson. Biographer Ernest Andrade writes that under the Gibson regime Hawai‘i became “increasingly unstable through unbridled spending which ran up a large debt and brought corruption among government officials in its wake.”\footnote{\textsuperscript{111}} But contemporary accounts also complain about Gibson’s advocacy for Hawaiians in opposition to the business and missionary

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\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{109} “The Charges” 4.
\item \textsuperscript{110} \textit{A Sketch of Recent} 10.
\item \textsuperscript{111} Andrade, “Great Britain” 92.
\end{itemize}
party. In *The Shepherd Saint of Lanai*, Thrum attacks Gibson because he has taken on “the championship of the Hawaiian race, and in doing so he has not hesitated to belittle the work of those who have done much if not all that has been done for the Hawaiian people.”¹¹² Samuel Chapman Armstrong declares that the problem is a corrupt codependency: “King Kalakaua has at the head of his government an ex-Mormon priest, a talented unscrupulous man, whom no one trusts or respects, holding his position entirely through his ability to handle the weak and conceited monarch, who though amiable and intelligent is utterly without executive capacity or wisdom, and is esteemed by none.”¹¹³ The *Gazette* agreed: “Mr. Gibson has chosen to use the King as his aegis and has allowed him to take an active part in the politics of the country [. . . .] Whether it is the King or the Minister who is the puppet in the hands of the other we cannot say, but the position that the King has taken makes him responsible for the wrong that has been done.”¹¹⁴

Written in self-defense, Celso Caesar Moreno’s letter to Kalākaua defending his actions as part of the 1880 cabinet was distributed widely when it surfaced in 1886. This response to earlier ridicule of the mōʻi’s cabinet in the *Gazette* is one of the most irate attacks, and by someone who for a time had Kalākaua’s confidence. Moreno’s anger stemmed primarily from Gibson’s refusal to repay him for caring for Hawaiians Robert Wilcox, Robert Boyd, and James Booth while they studied and trained in Italy.¹¹⁵ Back in 1880, Kalākaua had arranged with Moreno to look after the three young men abroad, in return for a compensation of supposedly $45,000. But Moreno’s anger, like that of the business community, seems largely a result of

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¹¹² *The Shepherd Saint* 43.
¹¹³ Armstrong, S. 225.
¹¹⁵ For other debts that Gibson may have accumulated see Kent, *Man* 76.
Kalākaua’s refusal to follow his offered advice. Moreno’s indignation is fierce, but his grievances are familiar:

After having undeservedly offended and disgusted all the intelligent, honest, respectable, and wealthy men in Hawaii [. . .] you give to the world a most pitiful spectacle of unstability [sic], incompetency, insincerity, ingratitude [. . . .] What a wretched failure you are and what a sad disappointment for your friends and for those who had confidence in you! You are indisputably to-day the most miserable of mortals in the Polynesian islands.¹¹⁶

Kalākaua’s self-interested contemporaries spread the slanders of this kind regardless of the source. As Kuykendall, hardly a critic of the business oligarchy, explains, those foreigners who were undeniably paying the bulk of the already low taxes because they now owned most of the “income-producing property” in the kingdom saw almost any royal outlay as “extravagant and wasteful spending” and therefore feared tax hikes. U. S. Ambassador General James M. Comly’s report in an 1882 dispatch suggests just what motivated the attacks on the mō‘ī:

There is such a state of anxiety in the minds of foreign residents that a number of the most prominent planters and business men have pressed me earnestly for some assurance that the United States Government would protect American citizens against such native legislation as might amount to a practical confiscation of a large share of their estates in these islands.¹¹⁷

The ambassador’s observations suggest just how desperately those with land and money felt they needed to control the government.

¹¹⁶ Moreno, “The Position” I.
¹¹⁷ Kuykendall, Hawaiian 260 & 691 n. 46.
The Missionary/Business Party Attacks Kalākaua in the Newspapers

But the popularity of these self-interested misrepresentations of Kalākaua, and of other accounts as well, also arose from the need they filled elsewhere for stories about exotic peoples and places. Whether because of a national fascination with royalty and the tropics, or with the idea of the noble savage, or simply with Hawai‘i as a target for eventual annexation, nineteenth-century American newspapers published a huge range of stories about Kalākaua. Nor was accuracy a major concern. First appearing in 1880, the term “yellow journalism” referred to presenting entertaining or flattering opinions as facts. The tools were “sensationalism, distorted stories, and misleading images,” employed simply to make a profit and entice readers.¹¹⁸ Such newspapers had nothing personal against Kalākaua, but their stories were informed by the attacks appearing in such Hawai‘i publications as the Gazette and Thrum’s annuals because the sources were in English and they confirmed existing assumptions and prejudices of the American readership. As Helen Chapin has observed, Hawai‘i’s English-language newspapers “have largely been in the service of and promoted American ideals and practices,”¹¹⁹ stretching back to the time when the first Protestant missionaries brought a printing press with them because through the printed page they intended to “bring enlightenment to those they considered benighted—a Christian enlightenment imbued with American values.”¹²⁰ The early Hawaiian-language and English-language newspapers spread this ideology, and the presence and substantial circulation of such publications meant that Kalākaua was written about extensively from the day of his election, through his trips to the U. S. and elsewhere, and right up to when he died in San Francisco and his body was returned to Honolulu. And whether on their own or by drawing on these Hawai‘i sources American and international newspapers wrote about him too.

¹¹⁸ Cox 227 n. 29
¹¹⁹ Chapin, Shaping 11.
¹²⁰ Chapin, Shaping 15.
A cursory search of nineteenth-century newspaper databases for the name “Kalākaua” suggests just how interested Americans were in him. *The New York Times* archive alone lists more than 700 results. The *Chronicling America* archive gives up more than 4,900 hits, and the *Newspaper Archive* over 7,000 results—impressive numbers for the ruler of a small kingdom with a dwindling population.

Perhaps to an even greater degree, many of these newspaper articles followed the lead of antagonistic Hawai‘i publications, and attacked the very qualities that Kalākaua was noted for—his eloquence, intellect, refinement, competence, ancestry, race, and popularity with his subjects. *The Bismarck Weekly Tribune* simply repeats the missionary and business party claims that “The administration of the Hawaiian government has ceased through corruption and incompetency to adequately perform its functions and afford the protection to personal and property rights for which all governments exist.”¹²¹ *The London Times* reports that “The people were scandalized by the corruption of King Kalakaua’s Ministry.”¹²² And then there is the *St. Paul Daily Globe*, which suggests that you “Creep down to the Union saloon early some evening. There you will see his majesty, King Kalakaua, of the Hawaiian islands, sitting before a toddy, dressed in an old serge suit, with a cheap straw hat on the back of his head, and looking, ah! Far happier, after all.”¹²³

Other accounts at home and abroad called into question Kalākaua’s intellect and discipline. Within weeks of his election in 1874, for instance, the *Evening Star* was reporting that “The new King is said to have some intellectual ability, and to possess a considerable amount of experience in affairs of government, but it is asserted that he has very little force of character.”¹²⁴

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¹²³ “King Kalakaua’s Palace” 19.
¹²⁴ “The Riots in the Sandwich Islands” 3.
The *Hawaiian Gazette* quoted as authoritative *The New York Times*: “It has since been learned that King Kalakaua of the Sandwich Islands was simply sent to this country as the decoy duck of an enterprising San Francisco ring, which was interested in securing a ratification of the Reciprocity Treaty.”¹²⁵ Individuals representing personal or diplomatic interests added their own assessments: “He is a man of fair education, little intelligence, and I fear no principle,”¹²⁶ Theo H. Davies wrote, while U. S. Minister Henry A. Peirce reported that: “He is ambitious, flighty & unstable. Very energetic; but lacks prudence & good sense,”¹²⁷ and Cabinet Minister Charles de Varigny asserts that “David Kalakaua had occupied with some success several political posts in the government, but none of prime importance,” and was less intelligent than his predecessor, William Charles Lunalilo.¹²⁸

Racial stereotypes were also part of the journalist repertoire. In Nebraska, *The Columbus Journal* labeled Kalākaua “His mud-colored highness,”¹²⁹ while the *Sacramento Daily Record-Union* reported in 1881 that “He looks like a ‘gemman oh color’”

—very much so, if you please, with just the same thick lips and shine behind the dark of his skin. If he weren’t a king—oh! Heaven forgive the thought—one might offer him a job at whitewashing or wood-sawing, and haggle with him over the price.¹³⁰

Many American newspapers found him more menacing, referring to him as the “Cannibal king,” “King of the Cannibal Islands,” or “King of the cannibals.” But then of course, this same charge can also be an occasion for “humor.” According to Australia’s *Southern Argus*, “King Kalakaua,

¹²⁵ “The Reciprocity” 3.
¹²⁶ qtd. in Kuykendall, *Hawaiian* 652 no. 11.
¹²⁷ Letter dated September 2, 1873 to U. S. Secretary of State Hamilton Fish 29.
¹²⁸ De Varigny 250.
¹²⁹ “King Kalakaua States” 2.
¹³⁰ “The Avator” 2.
of the Sandwich Islands, cannot help being a good man. The reason assigned is that his ancestors ate so much missionary in their time that it worked into their system and was transmitted to their descendants."  

131 Other publications just called him the “dusky” king, or “darkey.” Retailing the missionary party gossip, some publications reported that he was African and Hawaiian, which explained his supposed former days playing the banjo like a minstrel show figure at Honolulu Harbor.  

132 This rumor was pervasive. Even Henry Adams believed that “His Majesty is half Hawaiian and half Negro.”  

133 The primary reason for such rumors was of course to suggest that the idea that someone of such ancestry would even pretend to be a king was either a joke or an outrage.

According to Cosmopolitan, “Outside of the opera bouffe of ‘La Belle Helene’ there has probably been no more absurd effort at monarch than in the pigmy kingdom of Kalakaua.”  

134 This account almost reveled in the ridiculousness of the idea: “Indeed, when one reads of the fantastic devices of Kalakaua to ape European royalty, it seems that the Court and all its semi-barbaric trappings belong to some idyl [sic] of the South Seas and not to real life.”  

135 This claim that heathen impulses were always lurking in the background became the most popular charge against him. At the end of this reign, the Williamsburg Journal Tribune accused him of cunning hypocrisy. Kalākaua was “specifically absorbed by the idea that he was destined to restore the ancient ways, and yet while secretly practicing heathen rites and encouraging debasing superstition, he was posing in the eyes of the world as a civilized ruler and a shining example of the influence of Christianity.”  

136 The 1883 coronation was a favorite example of his supposed
barely-concealed depravity. According to the *St. Louis Globe*, “It seems that in spite of Christianity this monarch has a great fondness for many of the old heathen rites.” As a result:

In the most gross of the hulas were exhibited depths of nastiness such as language is not graphic enough to depict. Shame forbids one to describe or even mention the vile gestures, postures and actions of the men and women, and even boys and girls of what is usually regarded an innocent age.\(^{137}\)

This claim continued after his death. In 1898, Lucien Young, who participated in the 1893 overthrow of Liliʻuokalani, matter-of-factly refers to Kalākaua as “superstitious, sensual, and corrupt.”\(^{138}\)

His supposed vices were therefore both proof of his personal and cultural character. Charges of drunkenness, profligate gambling, womanizing, and frivolous spending were common.\(^ {139}\) The *Williamsburg Journal Tribune* confidently reported that “He inherited little beyond the pride of birth and a capacity for animal enjoyment for which his family had been noted for ages, according to Hawaiian tradition. [. . . ] The family from which Kalakaua descended was noted among the Hawaiians for the possession, in an exaggerated form, of vices and cruelties of the tribal nobility.”\(^ {140}\) The *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, *The Weekly Detroit*, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, and the *Queenscliff Sentinel* all published accounts of the mōʻī compulsively gambling into the early hours of the morning—“Everybody will remember he was an incessant player,” and other newspapers passed on the story as well.\(^ {141}\) Extravagant spending of the government’s money was also publicized, though he supposedly was not above neglecting

\(^{137}\) “The Lascivious” 6.

\(^{138}\) Young 10–11.

\(^{139}\) “Timely” 4.

\(^{140}\) “The Crafty King” 3.

\(^{141}\) “A Varied” 3; “Claims” 6; “Kalakaua’s Kingdom” *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* 16; “Royalty and Poker” *Queenscliff* 2; “Celebrities” *Sydney* 10; “Celebrities” *Queenscliff* 2; “Royalty and Poker” *Oakleigh* 7; “Royalty and Poker” *Warragul* 6; “Royalty and Poker” 2.
to pay legitimate expenses. In an article about Kalākaua’s 1881 visit to Nebraska, the *Omaha Daily Bee* recalled an earlier visit:

> It must be confessed that with the memory of his former sojourn here in mind, he has considerable moral courage to come again. [...] He was entertained by the city, and then the city refused to pay the bills, which have been squabbled over ever since, and paraded in print ever since his present visit.\(^{142}\)

Hawai‘i’s newspapers also drew on notices from American newspapers as opportunities to repeat their own attacks on his character. Take for example this note from the *Hawaiian Gazette*, referring to a story about Kalākaua’s trip across America, at the end of his world tour:

> It is to be hoped that our inventive Boston furniture manufacturers will be able to show King Kalakaua something new in thrones. Here is a splendid opportunity for American inventive genius. A throne that can at a moment’s notice be converted into a card table, a side-board, or a billiard table [...] that can hold a gross of champagne bottles and one hundred pounds of ice.\(^{143}\)

One headline from the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*’s July 10, 1886 edition can therefore stand as a summary of all the supposed weaknesses, vices, and absurdities that the mō‘ī signified to one audience: “KALAKAUA’S KINGDOM—A Corrupt Government and a Rapidly Decaying People—Large Sums Wasted in Extravagance and Many Adventures Enriched—The King in the Power of the Big Sugar Planters—Appalling Spread of the Leprosy.”\(^{144}\)

Perhaps the most malicious and damaging charges, however, focused on his supposed unpopularity with his subjects. They are in fact one of the primary reasons for this dissertation.

The missionary and business press constantly asserted that Kalākaua had lost the support of all of

\(^{142}\) “An Event” 3.  
\(^{143}\) “King Kalakaua of the Sandwich Islands” *Hawaiian Gazette* 2.  
\(^{144}\) “Kalakaua’s Kingdom” *St. Louis* 16.
his people. This would be convenient, since it would presumably justify the actions of this small
group to undermine his power and office, and this supposed fact was somehow distributed and
published around the world. These attacks on Kalākaua became a form of propaganda.
Successful propaganda “must be designed so that it always says the same thing: ‘For instance, a
slogan must be presented from different angles, but the end of all remarks must always and
immutably be the slogan itself. Only in this way can the propaganda have a unified and complete
effect,’”145 and only in that way did people in Hawai‘i feed foreign publications with these
attacks on Kalākaua. Once foreign newspapers had printed them, the Hawai‘i newspapers could
then reprint them, and although the propaganda was in many ways inaccurate, the missionary and
business elements used this news from elsewhere as evidence of Kalākaua’s weaknesses,
preparing the climate for the missionary and business party’s action to undermine him in 1887.

And the cycle continued. The St. Louis Globe Democrat, for instance, described the
events surrounding the extortion of the Bayonet Constitution this way: “The populace organized
and demanded the downfall of the Ministry and the abdication of the King. The residents of
Honolulu and the surrounding country assumed the powers of government,” with “all classes of
people” taking part in the revolution.146 Even before this, the Hawaiian Gazette was reprinting a
New York Times article, reporting that “the kingly office has fallen in popular estimation.”147 Of
course, for both the local business party and the foreign press, “the people” meant the haole
population, or foreign governments. Take for example this account of the mō‘ī’s 1883 coronation
from Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper: “The only country sending a representative was
Japan, and no visitors arrived from abroad to attend the ceremony. [ . . . ] The idea of a coronation
was not popular among the foreign residents, and comparatively few were present except those

145 Marlin 76.
147 “Kalakaua” The Hawaiian Gazette 6.
occupying some official position.”\textsuperscript{148} The Brisbane Courier echoed this claim, and added in other familiar attacks: “The foreigners are naturally indignant at the imposition. For, though they have no use for the king, the greater portion of the cost of this fol-de-rol has to be borne by them. The king is an idle, dissipated fellow, fond of good living, of travelling, of childish amusements; and whose vanity was easily persuaded to put on this nonsensical and empty show.”\textsuperscript{149}

**Attacks on Kalākaua after his Death**

Because attacking Kalākaua was part of a larger justification for the Bayonet Constitution, and later the overthrow of the monarchy, highly negative portraits of him continued to appear after his death in 1891, with the welcome addition that now the subject could not defend himself. William N. Armstrong actually uses this as a justification for his memoir *Around the World with a King*. Published in 1904, twenty-three years after Kalākaua’s tour of the world and thirteen years after his death, in its introduction Armstrong explains that the delay made possible “a freedom of narration, an adherence to truth, and ‘the painting of a portrait with the wrinkles.’” More explicitly, “if one would avoid censure he is wise to await the co-operation of Death, and reserve his narration until the subject of it is in the other world.”\textsuperscript{150} The result is a hostile, racist portrait of Kalākaua as a savage Polynesian noble, and his subjects as lazy and primitive. Apparently still indignant that he was treated as the mō‘i’s social inferior while an attendant on the tour, Armstrong consistently portrays him and his heritage as degraded and shameful. “The King’s mind was naturally filled with the crude ideas, the superstitions, the
absolutism of a Polynesian chief,” Armstrong writes, “and, where experience was lacking, a vague fear of the white man’s intelligence took its place.”

Long before Armstrong published his account, his veracity about the world tour had been publicly called into question. Here is what the Hawaiian-language newspaper *Hawaii Holomua* reported about him in its January 1, 1894 edition: “Mr. Armstrong is introduced as being one of the ‘oldest’ annexationists here—in fact it is claimed that he was a thoroughbred annexationist—that is: a man resolved to deprive Hawaii of its independence, the sovereigns of their throne, since 1853.” The newspaper then goes on to ask:

Why did he travel with King Kalakaua all over the world? In what capacity? Was it as a spy and traitor trying to carry out his contemptible and nefarious scheme as an annexationist? Or was it as a loyal servant (we had nearly said “barber”) to the sovereign who paid his salary and gave to him opportunities which he otherwise would never have gained? What did he ever do here in his official capacity as Attorney General, except drawing salary? We have searched the records and we find only one case ever tried by him while we never fine [sic] one month in which he omitted to call for his pay. It is time for Mr. Armstrong to explain himself and his official position under Kalakaua.

How then does Armstrong’s *Around the World* account for the positive reception of Kalākaua everywhere? Duplicity: “Although a Polynesian, he was capable of appearing as a well-bred man in any society or in any court.” According to Armstrong, “There were a hundred causes which contributed to destroy his monarchy, the most of which were beyond his control, and there was,

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151 Armstrong, W. 12.
152 “William Nevins Armstrong.”
it may be said in truth, not one to preserve it."\textsuperscript{154} But certain causes are attributed to the mōʻī—
the incredible expenses of the needless 1883 coronation, for instance, which Armstrong describes
as a “grotesque pageantry of whitewashed paganism.”\textsuperscript{155} There were also the Hale Nauā society,
hula, and mele (song), described as “ancient vile and licentious practices of the savage times.”\textsuperscript{156}
In an act of racist essentialism, Armstrong concludes that it was Kalākaua’s “misfortune to have
been a Polynesian who with sufficient excuse failed to understand the character of the Anglo-
Saxon.”\textsuperscript{157} This poison portrait nevertheless became a significant part of Kalākaua’s inheritance.
Many writers draw upon and perpetuate this history, including Ralph Simpson Kuykendall, who
repeats at least one patently incorrect assertion from Armstrong’s \textit{Around the World}.\textsuperscript{158}

Because he was not an influential or powerful figure in Hawaiʻi before or after the 1893
overthrow, Armstrong’s remarks can perhaps be attributed to personal offense and spite. For
those directly involved in bringing about the end of the monarchy, the attacks on Kalākaua and
Liliʻuokalani were part of a larger enterprise to defend the usurpers’ actions. In 1893, shortly
after Liliʻuokalani was forced off the throne, Theo H. Davies wrote for example that the Rev. S.
E. Bishop “first foretold the acts, then assisted to accomplish them, and has now before him the
more difficult task of justifying them.”\textsuperscript{159} Many of the conspirators found themselves following
the same pattern. As Davies observed at the time, this self-justification often involved personal
attacks: “Some debaters have found much comfort in blackening the character of the Queen.”
But Davies also notes that this strategy is a weak means to a specific end that “will not influence
their fellow beings who are waiting to know why they attempted to ‘seize the authority of a

\textsuperscript{154} Armstrong, W. 283.
\textsuperscript{155} Armstrong, W. 285.
\textsuperscript{156} Armstrong, W. 286.
\textsuperscript{157} Armstrong, W. 288.
\textsuperscript{158} See Kuykendall, \textit{Hawaiian} 687 & Marumoto 53.
\textsuperscript{159} Davies 4.
nation without the consent of that nation, and to transfer it under the guise of friendship, to a foreign power.”\footnote{160} Personal attacks on Kalākaua by those who forced him to sign the 1887 Bayonet Constitution not surprisingly were also offered as justification for those men’s illegal actions. Davies recognizes the same behavior in many of the same actors in 1893: “Men—and not men only—whose names come to my mind even now with a shock, have thought it manly and Christian and noble, to fling foul charges of immorality and idolatry at the woman whom first they found it safe to deprive of all power to help herself.”\footnote{161} As was the case with Kalākaua, these slanders were designed for export: “It has seemed good to some writers to lower themselves by pouring over America and Europe a flood of scandal-mongering abuse of Queen Liliuokalani, charging the Queen with idolatry and immorality.”\footnote{162}

One of the first, and most detailed, exercises in character assassination in the wake of the 1893 overthrow was William DeWitt Alexander’s \textit{Kalakaua’s Reign: A Sketch of Hawaiian History}, a forty-four page text published in 1894 that catalogues the mōʻī’s faults and abuses, and described the major events during his seventeen-year reign, which together forced the Hawaiian League to curtail Kalākaua’s powers in 1887. At the beginning of \textit{Kalakaua’s Reign}, still a cited reference for Hawaiʻi’s history, Alexander strikes at two mōʻī: “It is true that the germs of many of the evils of Kalakaua’s reign may be traced to the reign of Kamehameha V. The reactionary policy of that monarch is well known.”\footnote{163} According to Alexander, “Efforts to revive heathenism were redoubled under the pretense of cultivating ‘national’ feeling. Kahunas were assembled from the other islands as the King’s birthday approached, and ‘night was made

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\footnote{160} Davies 6. \
\footnote{161} Davies 19. \
\footnote{162} Davies 29. \
\footnote{163} Alexander, \textit{Kalakaua’s 1}.
hideous’ with the sound of the hula drum and the blowing of conches in the palace yard.”\textsuperscript{164} Such events anticipated Kalākaua’s reign, as “During the next few years the country suffered from a peculiarly degrading kind of despotism.” Alexander considerably claims that he is not referring “to the king’s personal immorality, nor to his systematic efforts to debauch and heathenize the natives to further his political ends.” Rather, “The demoralizing effects of this regime, the sycophancy, hypocrisy and venality produced by it have been a curse to the country ever since.”\textsuperscript{165} Another eye witness, in his 1911 memoir *Hawaii under King Kalakaua from Personal Experiences of Leavitt H. Hallock*, also reaffirmed what we have seen were self-interested contemporary attacks. According to his account, the 1883 coronation, the very emblem of Kalākaua’s nobility and fitness to rule, was “as unpopular as it was ridiculous. He had already reigned ten years. He sent illuminated invitations to all governments of the earth, expending sixty thousand dollars in his preparations. No one came but a few Japanese officials, and the king’s pride was wounded.”\textsuperscript{166}

**Lorrin Thurston’s and Sanford Dole’s Attacks on Kalākaua in Memoirs**

Perhaps the most damaging accounts of Kalākaua, however, were written by arguably the two men most responsible for America’s annexation of Hawai‘i—Lorrin A. Thurston and Sanford B. Dole. Published jointly in 1936 by the same editor, Andrew Farrell, their *Memoirs of the Hawaiian Revolution*, written long after the actual events, were clearly prepared to be the last word on the subject of the overthrow and annexation. As Michael Vann explains:

Both Sanford B. Dole and Lorrin A. Thurston, two leaders of the haole

“Revolution” and the annexationist movement, go to great pains in their memoirs

\textsuperscript{164} Alexander, *Kalakaua’s* 31–32.
\textsuperscript{165} Alexander, *Kalakaua’s* 23–24.
\textsuperscript{166} Hallock 44.
to stress the corruption of Kalakaua and Gibson. Indeed, their writings read more like the tabloid press than the recollections of esteemed attorneys and political visionaries. Thurston (who always uses the term “regime” instead of “dynasty,” “monarchy,” or “administration”) frequently repeats the point that the haole were forced to act against the King because of his behavior. By blaming the victim for the crime, the settler mythology allowed for their absolutism from sin; while they may have made revolution, they did so against tyranny and decadence.\textsuperscript{167}

The personal attacks also mirror a larger racial agenda. With regard to the annexationists Thurston, Dole, and Young, Linda Heffernan has argued: “These apologists for armed United States intervention to achieve their annexationist agenda found that by placing Hawai‘i and her people on the low end of the evolutionary spectrum they were able to achieve an acceptable solution, in the eyes of the American public, at least, to the ethical problem presented by territorial conquest through force.”\textsuperscript{168} Lorrin Thurston’s 587-page memoir certainly conflates the personal, racial, and political. As an individual, “Kalakaua’s mental grasp of serious affairs was so deficient as to be practically childish.”\textsuperscript{169} But apparently he was smart enough to recognize the need to “ingratiate himself with the Hawaiian people, after their almost unanimous disapproval of his election.”\textsuperscript{170} As we will see, this characterization of the 1874 election is profoundly misleading. The rioters before the Court House were a small group of Emma-ites, and the overwhelming support and aloha displayed by Kānaka Maoli (Lit. “true man.”) during Kalākaua’s ensuing royal tour of the kingdom show a people united behind their new sovereign and a desire to maintain independence. In fact, Thurston found he ultimately could not dismiss

\textsuperscript{167} Vann, “Contesting.”
\textsuperscript{168} Heffernan 210.
\textsuperscript{169} Thurston 28.
\textsuperscript{170} Thurston 19.
the people’s admiration for the mōʻī, and grudgingly acknowledged that he “has gained a hold on the community feeling.”171 Indeed, “It is scarcely possible to exaggerate the truth of the good things said of Kalākaua by the present royal propagandists,” and Thurston confesses that “What they say about his personality and public conduct is practically true.”172

How then to convince readers that the Hawaiian League, under Thurston’s leadership, simply had to overthrow this popular mōʻī? The answer was to accuse him of duplicity that bordered on the pathological: “Kalākaua was a remarkable incarnation of the Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde of Stevenson.”173 The late nights at Healani, involving free-flowing alcohol and ample games of poker, and the lavish balls at the palace with hula performances “of more than questionable character” contradict the nobility and grace so appreciated by Kalākaua’s admirers. This hypocrisy accompanies an ambition for control so great that according to Thurston, by 1886 “the Kalākaua climax was reached.”174 Chaffing against the supposed fact that the “Hawaiian government was supposed to be a limited monarchy, under which the sovereign ‘reigned, but did not rule,’ authority being vested in a cabinet,” Kalākaua tried, “by one means or another” to seize control, leaving the Hawaiian League no choice but to stop him.175 Though those in the business community generally seemed opposed to Kalākaua’s initiatives because of a fear that their taxes would increase to fund expenditures, Thurston does not hesitate to identify Kalākaua’s “inherent filth of mind and utter lack of decency and moral sense” as another factor.176 Thurston also attacked the Hale Nauā society, an organization neither Thurston nor any other haole could join,

171 Thurston 21
172 Thurston 22
173 Thurston 22
174 Thurston 23
175 Thurston 42–43
176 Thurston 48.
as the institutionalization of these qualities: “the community was rife with tales of the King’s indecency and immorality.”

Thurston’s *Memoirs* suggest that righteously denouncing the evils of Kalākaua’s character and his cabinet to the public was one of his longstanding practices. He recalls an 1886 campaign trip to Kalaupapa, Moloka‘i to ask residents there to vote for him as their representative. Modesty was not one of his character traits: “Like John the Baptist of old, I was a forerunner of liberty and truth, in order that they might become free. If they would get the residents of the settlement to come out into the field to listen to the truth, I would give it to them.” When a good-sized crowd gathered, “For two or three hours, we enlightened the people regarding the iniquities of the government, and the joy and prosperity that would ensue if we were elected to the Legislature.” Thurston was elected as the representative from Moloka‘i, but what actually came to pass was the Bayonet Constitution. While Kuykendall acknowledges that Thurston’s *Memoirs* contains some errors, few English-language texts over the years have assessed Thurston’s own reliability as a source, or his personal character. But even a cursory search in Hawaiian-language newspapers turns up contemporary charges against him that echo the attacks he himself made on Kalākaua. Rigging election results, falsifying government information, and fabricating lies to protect himself all appear, and in 1890, *The National Herald: Ka Ahailono a ka Lahui* published several articles declaring that Thurston “purposely garbled, misstated and suppressed portions of Hawaiian history for political purposes,” and “untruthfully,

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177 Thurston 48.
179 Thurston 109.
180 Kuykendall, *Hawaiian* 695 n. 16, 705 n. 55.
needlessly and purposely slandered the character and memory” of an official. Because of such actions, Thurston “has no further claim to the title of honest and honorable gentleman.”

Like Thurston, Dole commented on Kalākaua in memoirs that editor Andrew Farrell claims are accurate, since he had compared “all quotations of public papers with the sources cited, comma by comma.” But what amounts to accuracy? Dole quite naturally supported his historical claims with the Pacific Commercial Advertiser, but not a single Hawaiian-language newspaper or source appears. And how accurate could memoirs dealing with the events of the early 1870s up through the 1890s be in 1936? (Armstrong’s Around the World raises similar questions.) And why were both Thurston’s and Dole’s memoirs edited by one person, and published at the same time? Clearly, the intention was to produce a definitive history—and both men defined Kalākaua as incompetent and petty. According to Dole, “With the growing tendency of the King to base his selection of cabinet members on their subservience, rather than on their ability, much looseness crept into the administration of public affairs.” As is often the case, Dole presents himself as more moderate than Thurston, whom he identifies as instigating the 1887 revolution. Dole’s personal attacks on the monarch, or even monarchs, are therefore fewer than Thurston’s. He asserts, for example, that after the overthrow, the Hawaiian League rejected his suggestion of replacing Liliʻuokalani on the throne with Princess Kaʻiulani. He also presents a much shorter account of the corruptions of Kalākaua’s reign—fewer than seventy pages, whereas Thurston wrote almost 230 pages. In the 100 detailed pages Dole devotes to his

181 “Self-Convicted!” 2.
183 Dole, Memoirs v.
184 See Preface to Dole’s Memoirs v.
185 Dole, Memoirs 46.
186 Dole, Memoirs 47.
187 Dole, Memoirs 77.
account of Liliʻuokalani and her weaknesses, though, his actual opinion of Kalākaua, a virtual echo of Thurston’s, comes shining through: “The ex-Queen’s rule was even more reckless and retrogressive than her brother’s. Less politic than he, and with less knowledge of affairs, she had more determination and was equally unreliable and deficient in moral principle.”

Attacks on Kalākaua in Travel Writing

While exporting negative information about Kalākaua was clearly an ongoing activity, such information was also freely distributed to those who visited Hawaiʻi. His death came at a time of steadily increasing tourist numbers, as the Hawaiian kingdom welcomed American and international travelers who often basked in the exoticism of Hawaiʻi’s paradisical lure, and the romantic aspects of its monarchy. In short, by 1890, Hawaiʻi was already a visitor destination, and particularly welcomed were novelists and other writers, the “modern sirens,” whose accounts of their voyages to the islands often served as a “trifling souvenir” of Hawaiʻi’s beautiful places and fascinating people and customs. Jane C. Desmond has written that America’s annexation of Hawaiʻi, at the same time as the colonization of Guam, Cuba, the Philippines, and Puerto Rico led public discourse to “situate Hawaiʻi both in relation to these other new colonies and in relation to mainland populations, as part of a renegotiated imaginary of the U. S. nation,” which also fueled the development of organized tourism in Hawaiʻi. By 1895, Mark Twain’s and Charles Warren Stoddard’s articles about earlier times in Hawaiʻi were also influencing people to think about visiting this so-called tropical paradise. The new works that began appearing about this possible U. S. possession, however, had unmistakably consulted as their sources of

188 Dole, Memoirs 124.
189 Ahmad 98.
190 Desmond 35.
191 Ahmad 99.
information the people who approved of, or even actively participated in the overthrow. Shortly after Kalākaua’s death, an American historian named John Roy Musick made his way to the islands of Hawai‘i. The target audience for his more than 500-page illustrated account that appeared in 1897 as *Hawaii . . . Our New Possessions: An Account of the Travels and Adventure, with Sketches of the Scenery, Customs and Manners, Mythology and History of Hawaii to the Present, and an Appendix Containing the Treaty to the United States*, was specifically those in the U. S. who knew little of the islands. The source of Musick’s version of Kalākaua is instantly recognizable: “Much evil was averted and some good accomplished even during the licentious reign of Kalakaua. Kalakaua’s reign of seventeen years was not marked by any material advancement. He was weakened in mind and body by dissipation, and usually under the influence of evil-minded persons. His extravagance almost wrecked the country.”192

Three years later, at the time of annexation, Caspar Whitney published *Hawaiian America*, which contained this royal portrait:

A less suitable man than Kalakaua on the throne at this particular time of Hawaii’s progression could hardly have been chosen. He was too egotistical to take advice, too self-satisfied to hearken to warning, too ignorant to appreciate that he, the representative of a weak, thriftless, dying race, held his throne by the sufferance of the stronger, civilized people that had brought prosperity to his islands.193

Whitney lists the sources for his “research” by name, dedicating his book to Sanford B. Dole, Lorrin A. Thurston, and Benjamin F. Dillingham: “Three of Hawaii’s most loyal and enterprising citizens” and to Thomas G. Thrum, whom he calls the “Hawaiian authority.” Since all of these

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192 Musick 346–47.
193 Whitney 294.
figures supported or took part in the overthrow of the monarchy, it is not surprising Whitney confidently passes on that the “craven-hearted sot” Kalākaua was “the first King since civilization had overtaken Hawaii to give free reign to the instincts of Polynesian savagery that stirred in him” and “that Debauchery ruled in private life, and bribery and extravagance and pernicious legislation in the government.” Here is ample evidence for Adria L. Imada’s claim that “American writers of travelogues like Hawaiian America argued that the profligacy of the king justified the Anglo-Saxon takeover of the islands.”

By the 1920s, a stream of writers was arriving from the U. S. for brief visits—gathering enough information for a book, then returning home to write. Often filled with illustrations of Hawaiian scenery, these works were largely forms of utopian fantasy and travel writing. “Hawaii has been a land of romance and adventure,” Albert Taylor writes in 1926: “It has been the playground of poets and prose writers, of painters and musicians.” And once, it was a monarchy, but those simple times are long gone: “Days of the long-ago golden era of the Kamehameha and Kalakaua regimes of Hawaii nei, when the latchstrings of hospitable homes of Hawaiians and foreigners alike hung outside never-locked doors, seem very far away today to kamaainas (residents of long-standing).” His translation of the word kamaʻāina (native-born), which denies a distinction between Kānaka Maoli and settlers, also suggests that Taylor’s audience are readers outside of Hawaiʻi who could dream about becoming kamaʻāina themselves. Other writers also acknowledged that their information was handed to them by

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194 Whitney 292, 293.
195 Whitney 295.
196 Imada 31.
197 Taylor 15.
198 Taylor 417.
residents. Erna Ferguson thanked the people in Hawai‘i, who helped “to collect data and tried earnestly to give me understanding of the complicated picture of life in Hawaii.”

The Contemporary Canon of Kalākaua’s Misrepresentations

As for the complicated life of Kalākaua, the most consulted and cited sources are five English-language texts written at various times in the twentieth century by non-native authors who demonstrably based much of their versions of the mō‘ī on the texts and gossip already discussed, thereby perpetuating a genealogy of incompetence and corruption. William N. Armstrong’s Around the World with a King (1904) has already been mentioned. The others are Eugene Burns’ The Last King of Paradise (1952), Kuykendall’s The Hawaiian Kingdom Vol. III, 1874–1893: The Kalakaua Dynasty (1967), Helena G. Allen’s Kalakaua: Renaissance King (1994), and Kristin Zambucka’s Kalakaua: Hawaii’s Last King (2002). In another context, Puakea Nogelmeier has described how a handful of such accessible narratives creates an official interpretation that is “self-replicating, being constantly repeated through other texts, curricula, and reference. Its power drowns out all other historical voices.” For anyone curious to learn something about David Kalākaua, these easily assessable books are the first sources that present themselves. And because other scholars from here and elsewhere refer to them, the information contained in that handful’s pages has become his life story. The last two can be found at Honolulu International Airport’s shops—perfect for the tourist who wishes to learn about Hawai‘i’s last mō‘ī. Given the intense and widely circulated criticism of Kalākaua during his lifetime and after, it is easy to see that such attacks could spur on each other, but then become

199 Ferguson i.
200 See Mellen viii–ix for her theory on this point and Frances J. Schobel. “David Kalakaua, the Man.” U of Hawaii at Hilo. 1984. Anthropology 386 for an example of this point.
201 Nogelmeier, Mai xii.
embedded in later texts by authors who drew on the most accessible materials, simply to keep their own project going. As Rona Tamiko Halualani explains, “Identity articulations created in specific historical moments and by powerful structures [. . . ] are hegemonically embedded into social belief and some of these articulations are continually reproduced by structural-dominant power interests.” In this genealogy of partial and heavily self-interested historical narrative, annexationists’ perceptions of Kalākaua become the foundational nineteenth-century texts, profoundly shaping how he is presented, and represented, to the world.

Of all these treatments of the mōʻi, Eugene Burns’s The Last King of Paradise is the most appallingly exaggerated and fictitious account of Kalākaua—a fact all the more remarkable because he says so much about how he tried to tell the truth. In his “Author’s Note” Burns explains that he had to resort to “old manuscripts” to learn the “true story of Hawaii,” because he had soon realized “very little of Hawaii’s current literature was based upon fact.” The problem lay in the nature of the residents, and in particular, the Hawaiians: “In collecting my material, I soon found that fact is seldom objective, uncolored, in the minds of the living. Each person adds or subtracts from the true event to suit his own ego. Besides, the Polynesian, in his effort to be a good host, agrees with his guest on any subject.” So where did Burns get his information? “I read the faded letters, journals, early newspapers, books, pamphlets, documents, and consulate records of the very date that the event happened,” he explains, then after thanking Kuykendall, the “historical and anthropological authority,” he swears that his text is a true one: “I can vouch for every character in The Last King of Paradise, and there are more than a hundred, and every incident—strange and fantastic as some may seem—and support all this with historical

202 Kalualani xvi.
203 Burns xi.
204 Burns xi–xii.
205 Burns xii.
206 Burns xv.
records.” In this case, however, not only were many of those listed documents themselves produced by individuals with a heavy investment in how Kalākaua was understood by others, but Burns’s own interpretations cast the mōʻī’s life under a harsh and yet highly filtered light. Though praised by Burns as a major authority, in his review of *The Last King* Kuykendall himself declares that the book is a sham. Finding it “exasperating,” as well as “fictionalized,” or “quasi-historical.” Kuykendall concludes that “To note all the untruths, half-truths, and distortions of fact that abound in the book would take many pages.”

That Kuykendall’s own *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, his co-written *Hawaii: A History* with A. Grove Day, and Gavan Daws’ *Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands*, all long considered authoritative sources on Kalākaua’s life, also perpetuate many of the character attacks initiated by the mōʻī’s enemies, suggests at the very least that a look at the motivations of most sources has long been desirable. To be sure, Ethel M. Damon noted that Kuykendall at least acknowledges the mōʻī might have had some actual governing principles: “As R. S. Kuykendall ably points out, Kalakaua sincerely believed that as king he literally held the right to rule as he chose, to dismiss and appoint counselors at will, as also to bring pressure on voters before, during, and after elections.” But Kuykendall’s strong reliance on Henry A. Peirce Carter and Elisha H. Allen, both annexationists, as sources for *Hawaiian Kingdom* undermines much of its supposed historical objectivity. As political historian Barry Rigby observes, “It apparently did not trouble Kuykendall that these two officials put US interests in Hawaii ahead of their loyalty to the Hawaiian state.”

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207 Burns xii.
209 Damon, *Dole* 187.
210 Rigby 228.
of individuals like Dole, Thurston, Armstrong, and others pervade the later volumes of Hawai‘i history produced by scholars:

Given the privilege victors have in telling the tale and silencing the vanquished, these narratives are often best seen as primary rather than secondary sources. As temporal distance grew, professional historians took it upon themselves to present scholarly studies of the Hawaiian past [. . . . ] Dissent, protest, opposition, and transgression were often marginalized, and the growth of U. S. influence in the islands, culminating in annexation and statehood, was presented as a linear and coherent historical trajectory. The result was a haole-centric narrative in which the native Hawaiians and Asian immigrants receded into the background, and there was not analysis of the racist, socioeconomic power structure created by white domination.211

Houston Wood invites readers to reconsider Kuykendall’s achievement: “Hawaiian history for him is the story almost exclusively of foreigners in Hawai‘i, the story of their English-language newspapers and documents. Hawaiians enter the three volumes of The Hawaiian Kingdom mostly to the extent that they assist or resist what Kuykendall presents as an inevitable domination by a superior invading culture of American modernity.”212 A closer look at this history largely confirms Wood’s thesis. Of the more than 2,000 footnotes in the third volume of Hawaiian Kingdom, the volume devoted to Kalākaua, more than 500 refer to the English-language newspapers, most notably the Pacific Commercial Advertiser and the Hawaiian Gazette. Only a dozen refer to the far more widely-read Ka Leo o ka Lahui. As Wood notes, “Kuykendall’s work focuses on the nineteenth century, when there were at one time or another

211 Vann “Contesting.”
212 Wood, H. 2.
nearly one hundred newspapers publishing in the Hawaiian language,” and Puakea Nogelmeier has repeatedly pointed out that beyond the handful of translated Hawaiian texts “is a historical written legacy of Hawaiian self-expression: Hawaiians writing their own stories, in their own language, for themselves, their peers, their descendants, and all who would come after them.” Kuykendall’s and many other historians’ avoidance, dismissal, or ignorance of the Hawaiian language archive is a primary motivation for this dissertation. Kuykendall for instance claims that the “fullest and best account” of Kalākaua’s coronation can be found in the Pacific Commercial Advertiser. As I will later show, the claim should be changed to the “fullest and best account” he could actually read. In fact, Kuykendall’s seemingly exhaustive citations not only exclude almost all Hawaiian-language materials, but by placing his English-language press sources at the forefront, he makes them more accessible for researchers after him. Similarly, his frequent citations to Dole’s and Thurston’s texts, to Memoirs, to Planters’ Monthly, to the Friend, to the Daily Bulletin, to Alexander’s Kalakaua’s Reign, and to Clarence W. Ashford’s “Last Days of the Hawaiian Monarchy,” all written by supporters of the Bayonet constitution and later the overthrow, help provide the bulk of the materials for Kuykendall’s portrait of Kalākaua.

Helena Allen’s version of the mōʻī in Kalakaua: Renaissance King should also be reconsidered. Most recently, Sandra Bonura has questioned Allen’s scholarship in her 1982 book The Betrayal of Liliuokalani, the story of Liliʻuokalani as told by her hānai daughter, Lydia Aholo: “Comparing the book to the transcript of the tape recording revealed that Lydia Aholo’s simple, unpretentious, style of communication differed greatly from the forceful, dramatic

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214 Nogelmeier, Mai xvi.
215 Kuykendall, Hawaiian 691 n. 52.
delivery presented in *The Betrayal of Liliuokalani.*” 216 Even though Allen clearly meant *Kalakaua: Renaissance King* to be highly positive and sympathetic, she too primarily consults Zambucka, A. Grove Day, Kuykendall’s *Hawaiian Kingdom III*, Dole’s and Thurston’s *Memoirs*, Armstrong’s *Around the World*, Burns, and Thrum’s *Hawaiian Almanac and Annual*. When she does mention the existence of Hawaiian-language newspapers, she misspells them—“Ko Hawaii Pac’a’ina” [*Ko Hawaii Pae Aina*], “Ku’oku’a” [*Kuokoa*], and “Po’a’kula” [*Elele Poakolu*]—so we certainly know she has no facility in Hawaiian whatsoever. 217 Yet she proudly declares that “This book is as complete a biography of a man I admired—King Kalakaua as the Renaissance man—as I could find documented by his opponents and supporters.” 218

As a result, Allen makes claims to historical objectivity while broadcasting the most extreme attacks on the mōʻī. Here for example is her description of him as a child: “Kalakaua was a darker color than his sister and had some Negroid features, as many Hawaiians had. It was quickly picked up that he was Negroid, and a rumor began.” Allen reports that the rumor was “fueled by his opposition,” but she sustains this widespread nineteenth-century slur by choosing not to issue a rebuttal. 219 In fact, what seems most important is that it provides her with an opportunity to attack the previous biographer Burns’s “research.” In her footnote here she claims that *The Last King of Paradise* “popularized” the rumor, even though “Burns has little documented material but based his book on ‘interviews,’ letters, and documents.” 220 Allen also perpetuates missionary party criticism of Kalākaua that her own research should have called into question. “He neither understood nor cared about the world of the haole businessman,” 221 she

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216 Bonura and Witmer 105; For further inaccuracies of Allen’s scholarship see Bonura and Witmer 111, 123, 126, 128–129, & 136.
217 Allen, H. 266 n. 1.
218 Allen, H. xviii.
220 Allen, H. 261.
221 Allen, H. xvii.
writes in her Introduction. And yet, she describes her extensive research in foreign archival collections, including Europe and Asia. How could she simply avoid or ignore the huge number of international newspaper articles and personal observations in correspondence that describe Kalākaua’s keen interest in, and knowledge about, business and innovative technology?

As for the premise governing Kristin Zamucka’s *Kalakaua: Hawaii’s Last King*, here are the opening lines:

An eerie stillness hung over the tree-studded grounds of Iolani Palace. No bird sang, no leaf rustled as the molten sun slid silently down the western sky. One by one the old men came. Some were bent like gnarled trees [. . . .] They were the *kahuna* . . . and they came to Honolulu to keep a rendezvous with the reigning King.\(^{222}\)

Though far more sympathetic about Kalākaua, Zambucka joins Burns in presenting Hawaiian traditions as instances of supernatural exoticism. This echo effect runs through her entire slim volume, which is really a compilation of quotations or paraphrases of whatever she found useful, even though she provides no footnotes or parenthetical citations. Her critical conclusions from her sources are also questionable. She follows William D. Alexander in concluding that “The germs of many of the evils of Kalakaua’s reign may be traced to the reign of Kamehameha V.”\(^ {223}\)

She repeats the Cookes’ assertion that at the Chiefs’ Children’s School, young David was known more for his humor than his intellect.\(^ {224}\) She even quotes Armstrong’s *Around the World* as an authority on historical progress: “The extinction of Kalakaua’s Monarchy was due to the cold and inexorable law of political evolution.”\(^ {225}\) Like many of her sources, Zambucka concludes

\(^{222}\) Zambucka 1.  
\(^{223}\) Zambucka 14.  
\(^{224}\) Zambucka 6.  
\(^{225}\) Zambucka 38 & Armstrong, W. 283.
that the young ali‘i enjoyed merrymaking, “singing, dancing and drinking with his friends until the small hours of the morning,” but she also cites as fact the details his enemies offered as early evidence for his supposed personal irresponsibility and incompetence: “As a result, he was frequently late for work at the Post Office or he didn’t turn up at all.”

_Hawaii’s Last King_ is one of the few narratives about Kalākaua that covers the mō‘ī’s inaugural tour of the islands in 1874, but even so, she provides no context. Because the Hawaiian-language newspapers had documented the fissure in the Hawaiian community resulting from the earlier Queen Emma and Kalākaua election, the stories of the tour stressed Kānaka Maoli attempts to unite under a new sovereign and to maintain the kingdom’s independence. Zambucka quotes an anonymous reporter whose paper is not identified as saying that “Everyone who could move followed the King’s party.”

In 1972, in his _Hawaii: An Uncommon History_, Edward Joesting could still offer the following “portrait” of Kalākaua by drawing on the sources available to him:

He spent too much money on pompous displays, and because his personal expenses were heavy he sometimes sought to improve his fortunes through dealings which were questionable if not wholly corrupt. The haoles continuously cried out for reform, but the Hawaiians were dominant in numbers. This dominance was reflected in the legislature, which generally carried out the king’s wishes. While the reformers freely criticized the actions of the king, the Hawaiians believed the king should be able to do as he wished.

As Puakea Nogelmeier has written: “The impact of leaving most of the Hawaiian writings out of the mix of modern knowledge is that every form of history written, every cultural study

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226 Zambucka 9.
227 Zambucka 19.
228 Joesting 212.
undertaken, and every assumption made over most of the last century should be revisited in light of those neglected sources.” As I hope I have shown, the history of how our understanding of Kalākaua has been transmitted suggests that it would be a very good candidate for such revisiting. But before I turn to identifying and evaluating not only Hawaiian-language representations of the mō‘ī, but other publications in English and other languages about him which have not been widely consulted, a composite profile drawn from the words of his critics will provide a much greater sense of how extensive and detailed the undermining of Kalākaua was before and after he died, and also suggest just how embedded, and often almost invisible, the attacks on the mō‘ī actually were.

**Reading the Signs: Criticism Aimed at David Kalākaua based on his Supposed Biography**

**His Infancy, Childhood, and Ancestry**

Contemporaries and later biographers sought out signs of failure from the moment of his birth. Foreshadowing of disaster of the mō‘ī naturally begins with his infancy. “Even at birth Kalakaua was controversial,” writes Helena Allen: “this child who was about to be born was not a Kamehameha royal—yet he was prophesied to be Hawaii’s last king. How could this be?” In hindsight, writers such as Curtis P. Iaukea drew the same conclusion from his name, which in English means “the day of the battle or war,” suggesting his reign would fail. Perhaps for this reason, Kalākaua throughout his lifetime had to inform people of the intended meaning of his

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229 Nogelmeier, Mai xi.
230 Allen, H. 1.
231 Iaukea and Watson 23.
name.\(^{232}\) And one further hō‘ailona: Hawaiians believed that the earth welcomed great ali‘i with volatile signs, such as the thunder and lightning that greeted Kamehameha Paiea’s birth. Though Kalākaua’s name was tumultuous, November 16, 1836 was a clear, sunny day.

That he was not a Kamehameha, but came from the linked Keaweaheulu family line through his mother was certainly a great disadvantage when he sought Kanaka support, as many writers point out.\(^{233}\) It was obviously less important, and even mystifying, for haole voters,\(^{234}\) but Burns treats the issue in a way that foregrounds the slanderous rumors about Kalākaua’s legitimacy and possible African ancestry. When Prince Kalākaua campaigned against Lunalilo to succeed Lot Kapuāiwa, Lunalilo’s supporters questioned Kalākaua’s lineage: “Certainly we are for the restoration of old Hawaii, but why don’t we follow a true-blooded Hawaiian? Lunalilo comes from pure Hawaiian stock.”\(^{235}\)

Gossip surrounding his ancestry apparently began at an early age, and resurfaced whenever conflict arose over political or personal issues. The claim was that Kalākaua was the son of John Blossom, a man of African ancestry who had once visited Hawai‘i. Burns is especially interested in this detail, and claims that while Kalākaua was at the Chiefs’ Children School a very young mischievous Moses Kekūāiwa, son of Mataio Kekūanāo‘a and elder brother to the eventual mō‘ī Lot Kapuāiwa and Alexander Liholiho, “daubed little David’s face with lampblack and dubbed him ‘John Blossom’ for his alleged Negro father.”\(^{236}\) Burns also reports that this rumor resurfaced during the contests for becoming mō‘ī: “Three days before the

\(^{232}\) Sauvin 74; Kalākaua’s name refers to the events of November 16, 1836, when, “after much haggling accompanied by acrimony,” the British Lord Russell and Kauikeaouli signed the treaty “Articles of Mutual Understanding,” which allowed British subjects to reside in Hawai‘i but not own land (Kame‘eleihiwa 173). (See Kame‘eleihiwa 169–173).

\(^{233}\) Iaukea and Watson 22; Kame‘eleihiwa 314; Osorio 150; Silva, Aloha 91; Kaeppler, Hula 24; Allen, H. 41 and Kamehiro 26.

\(^{234}\) Osorio 148.

\(^{235}\) Burns 122.

\(^{236}\) Burns 31.
election, a vilification of Kalakaua appeared. It was a stuffed figure labeled ‘John Kalakaua Blossom,’ the face a jet black, its hair frizzled, its lips pained wide [. . . .] Riding heralds proclaimed: ‘Vote for John Kalakaua Blossom, Calabash King of Hawaii!’”237 The ali‘i themselves apparently raised the question when clashing. Peter Kaeo, a descendant of Kamehameha who reportedly became jealous of Kalākaua when they served as aides-de-camp to Alexander Liholiho,238 wrote to his cousin, Queen Emma: “Better a republic than that Bastard of Blossom’s to disgrace the Throne earned and won by our Fore Fathers, which I hope will never occur.”239

It was the haole residents and foreigners, however, who valued and distributed the anecdote most. In a December 18, 1873 letter to U. S. Secretary of State Hamilton Fish, U. S. Minister Henry A. Peirce described Kalākaua’s father as an “American mulatto and pugilist by the name of [John] Blossom, who resided here about forty years ago.”240 Still later, Lucien Young reported that “Kalakaua was only a high chief, in no way related to the extinct royal family, and was reputed to be the illegitimate son of a negro cobbler who emigrated to the islands from Boston.”241 In the twentieth century, Kathleen Dickenson Mellen writes that “The story was told to every visitor to the Islands and given wide circulation in the United States,” although she also comments on the motivation:

King Kalakaua’s opponents, resentful of the fact that they had lost control over him, then invented another slanderous tale, circulated by those same men who had loudly praised his lineage at the time they put him on the throne. Declaring his blood was not even Hawaiian, they said he was the son of a Negro barber, quoting

237 Burns 121.
238 Korn, Victorian xxvi
239 Korn, News 97.
240 qtd. in Korn, News 98 and Dougherty 132.
241 Young 10.
as authority a Hawaiian named Kawainui. The story was told to every visitor to the Islands and given wide circulation in the United States.  

Young David’s intelligence as a child was also questioned. Burns reports that he entered school reluctantly: “Amos Cooke reached up into the carriage for David, to give the little fellow a lift down. But David, who had never been held by a white man, kicked Amos on the shoulder and the teacher staggered back.” His instructors did not think much of him either. Amos Starr and Juliette Montague Cooke recalled that David was “not known for his scholarship so much as for inattentiveness, singing, and fighting.” Lowe reports that Kalākaua was “known far more for his humor than for his studies at the school [. . .],” and draws these references together: “He was more noted for his sense of fun and humour than for his brilliance as a scholar.” The result foreshadows what will become the explanation of his supposed failure as mōʻī.

**Kalākaua’s Military Career, Employment in the Kingdom, and Marriage**

At fourteen David began military training with the former Prussian army captain, Franz Funk, and two years later became a captain in the Hawaiian army, then First Lieutenant in Caesar Kapa‘akea’s militia. Later writers would criticize him for an impractical fascination with military affairs. As for his government appointments and public service before ascending the throne, they all become evidence for his unsuitability to rule. His Hawaiian political rival, Mōʻi Wahine Emma Kaleleonalani, condemned him in letters for his “‘faults,’ faltering, stumbling, and blundering” or his “disastrous tenure as postmaster and his engagement in newspaper work.”

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242 Mellen 162.
243 Burns 29.
244 Allen, H. 8.
245 Lowe 8.
246 Zambucka 6.
247 Zambucka 8.
248 Allen, H. 38.
His time as Post Master General became a frequently-mentioned early example of the behavior that would eventually lead to his reputation as the Merrie Monarch. Summing up these actions, Zambucka claims that “Kalakaua greatly enjoyed singing, dancing and drinking with his friends until the small hours of the morning. As a result, he was frequently late for work at the Post Office or he didn’t show up at all, if the party was still going strong.”

His other appointments also serve as examples of early incompetence. When Alexander Liholiho appointed him as an aide-de-camp, “Many tasks of government were transferred to Kalakaua,” but “he struggled to keep pace with the growth of his country.” Helena Allen claims that because “the Kalakaua family did not have the riches of the Kamehamehas,” he had difficulties, because “His government salaries were low and his talent for making money in the haole way was negligible.” He also supposedly did not work well with others. Though appointed Chamberlain to Kamehameha the Fifth, “Lot never seemed to agree with David.” Young draws all these questions about Kalākaua’s early career into a sustained slander about his reign:

Before his elevation to the throne, he was a pettifogging police-court attorney. He had subordinate positions under the government, from which he had been discharged for corruption and incompetence. He drank and gambled inordinately. The assumption of authority afforded him ample means of displaying his natural instincts—those of a Polynesian savage. At times he would disguise these instincts under a social polish and the appearances of a gentleman.

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249 Zambucka 9.
250 Schobel 21 and Burns 102.
251 Allen, H. 38.
252 Schobel 27.
253 Young 10–11.
Attacks on his unsteadiness extend into his domestic life. Several writers accuse Kalākaua of being unfaithful to his wife, Kapiʻolani, which caused her great unhappiness. Others claim that her much higher status was his only reason for marrying her. She was the granddaughter of Kaumualii, the last ruler of Kauaʻi, and Kalākaua supposedly had said that he would do anything to obtain the crown. Citing anonymous women at the wedding, Burns combines this motivation with the familiar slanders about Kalākaua’s parentage, and his mother’s character. “Kalakaua merely seeks rank to establish his right to the throne,” one guest claims, while another asks, “Why did Kapiolani of Kauai, the widow of Namakeha, seek out this nigger-blooded Kalakaua? Does she not know that his mother, Ane Keohokālole, hawked his sister Liliuokalani from man to man until she had to take the white man John Dominis?” Other writers claim that soon after their marriage, Kapiʻolani and Kalākaua loathed one another so much that when campaigning against Queen Emma for the throne, Kalākaua “no longer confided in Kapiolani.”

Kalākaua’s 1873 Campaign against Lunalilo

Many writers seeking to damage Kalākaua’s reputation focus on his campaign against Lunalilo to succeed Lot Kapuāiwa, starting with Lot’s inability on his deathbed to declare a successor. So many versions of what actually happened were circulating in the first month after Lot’s death that eyewitness John O. Dominis issued a written statement that tried to dispel the rumors. He was not ultimately successful, as many later texts present their own very different

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254 Burns 113.
255 Burns 113.
256 Schobel 28.
257 See “A Letter by the Late” 13–16.
versions as the only accurate one. Of the six most prominent accounts, two of them, Thurston’s and Dougherty’s, claim that when Kalākaua’s name was raised Lot called him a fool. Neither supplies a source. After Lunalilo issued his claim to the throne, Kalākaua sent out one of his own, which outlined his objectives and goals if crowned mō‘ī. When it became clear that “it was of no use,” critics then claim that Kalākaua tried to bribe legislators to vote for him.

According to Sanford Dole, “The gallant Colonel was preparing himself and his friends for the fortunes of the day over the viands of a well-appointed breakfast, to which a number of the Representatives and others had been invited.” Dole declares that “The affair was generally regarded as a political move,” and also as a failure: “The number present was small.” Such early maneuvers supposedly foreshadowed Kalākaua’s favored mode of governing as mō‘ī: “By wholesale bribery, the use of soldiers at the polling places, and general debasement of the electorate and the appointment of legislators to lucrative offices while they still held their seats in the legislature, he was enabled to carry through pernicious and extravagant legislation against the will of the people.”

Hawai‘i newspapers that covered the election noted that Lunalilo was the overwhelming favorite, and Kalākaua was not even mentioned as a candidate. Just three days after Kapuāiwa’s death, “Ko Kakou Kulana i keia Wa” [Our Position at this Time,] half of a column in length, claimed that Lunalilo was the only chief who could succeed Kamehameha V: “Hookahi wale no ali‘i kane kiekie e ola nei, oiai ma kona hanau ana a me kona moolelo, ua noonooia he hooilina kupono no ke Kalaunu o na Kamehameha—a oia no hoi KA MEA KIEKIE KE ALII W. C.

258 Krout 207–210; De Varigny 250; Black & Mellen 73–74; Allen, H. 40; Thurston 14; Kent, Charles 58–59; & Iaukea and Watson 21.
259 Dole, “Thirty” 45.
260 Dole, “Thirty” 45.
261 Young 12.
Lunalilo[262] [There is only one high chief living, according to his birth and lineage, it has been thought that he is the rightful successor to the Crown of the Kamehamehas—he is namely THE HIGH CHIEF W. C. LUNALILO]. Lunalilo gained makaʻāinana votes because they valued his close relation to Kamehameha I and his loyalty to them in the legislature. That they saw him as the only prince alive leads us to question what makaʻāinana thought of the other royals, in particular, the other prince alive then: Kalākaua.263 While readers today may see Kuokoa’s disregard for Kalākaua as insulting, it is significant in its indication of the complexity of late nineteenth-century makaʻāinana loyalties to the aliʻi. Noenoe Silva and Iokepa Badis have noted that “debates and arguments in the Hawaiian papers over all kinds of issues, including forms of government, who the Mōʻī should be” were common during the nineteenth century.264 Thus, Kuokoa’s language would have perhaps been less jarring to readers then than those of today. And in fact, the newspapers not once printed the other candidates’ names. Ke Au Okoa simply referred to Kalākaua as “kahi mea okoa e ae”265 [the other candidate] although they all—Pauahi, Keʻelikōlani, Emma, and Kalākaua—received a (scant) number of votes on January 1. There was such overwhelming support for Lunalilo that his victory was assured long before lunamakaʻāinana would vote, at least according to the newspapers. Sure enough, after a display of overwhelming public support in the referendum, Lunalilo became mōʻī by unanimous legislative vote.

262 “Ko Kakou Kulana” 2.
263 In mid-1887, the Hawaiian League forced King David Kalākaua to sign its Bayonet Constitution. On June 28, 1887, HG printed “The Native Hawaiian Heard From. The Natives of Kaneohe Show their Feeling toward the Present Government,” which reported that seventy-one natives from Kāneʻohe criticized the king for failing to respond to the League’s accusations and overthrow of his powers. They signed a petition that read, “We never considered David Kalakaua a Chief,” that “Lunalilo was the last one.” See page 2 of HG.
264 Silva and Badis 119.
265 “Koho Balota” 2.
The 1874 Election against Emma

Kalākaua’s defeat in 1873 did not stop him from trying again in 1874 against the widow of Kamehameha IV Alexander ʻIolani Liholiho, and critics then and later scrutinized his every move. Many condemned his audacity to campaign while Lunalilo lay dying. Others repeat the rumor that Lunalilo disapproved of Kalākaua. Kuykendall and Day claim that Lunalilo himself was “strongly opposed” to Kalākaua, as a contemporary, Peirce, seems to confirm: “It is expected that Lunalilo will create a sufficient number of new nobles to ensure the confirmation of the person selected by him for the future sovereign of these islands. No one believes he will choose Kalākaua as his successor.” In a similar vein are claims that “Lunalilo had named Emma his successor in a verbal ‘will’ and that Kalākaua was elected by fraud.” For many opponents, deceit was the only possible explanation for his success. Making public what was passing in Emma’s private correspondence, her party proclaimed that Kalākaua “had failed in almost every position of trust in which he had been placed.” Since he clearly was not capable, accusations of bribing the legislators, based on anonymous sources, also began to appear: “Spectators reported that they were an unhappy, miserable-looking lot, most of them so befuddled by liquor that they could not place the ballot in the box unassisted [. . . .] Those in charge of perpetuating the fraud nervously hastened the voting.” According to Burns, Daws, and Curtis Jere Lyons, such bribery became the pattern for Kalākaua’s entire reign: “A luau for native voters during election week, the gift of a shirt or a pair of trousers, the friendly loan of

266 Kuykendall, Hawaiian 4; Kaeo 111, 164; & Daws 196.
267 Kuykendall and Day 143.
268 Daws 199.
269 Dabagh 79.
270 Mellen 18.
271 Dabagh 79; Burns 131.
a few dollars [. . . . ] And as time went by more and more native politicians turned up on the government’s payroll between legislative sessions."  

Some also suggest that Kalākaua’s desire to be mōʻī led him to shift his allegiance from the kānaka to the haole communities: “In a secret arrangement with sugar interests, he had agreed to help them obtain price advantages for sugar on the American market by ceding Pearl Harbor to the United States. In return for his promise to help them get their reciprocity treaty, the sugar planters agreed to support him in his election bid.” Curtis P. Iaukea simply states that “Kalakaua, who was supported by commercial interests seeking closer ties with the United States, won the election by a large majority.” Jonathan Osorio attributes this apparent shift to politics: “Kalākaua had published a public manifesto days before the election retreating from his previous position on reciprocity, which he had once wholly opposed. No doubt he did this to garner American support before the election. It is quite obvious that Kalākaua did not believe that he could secure election without them.” Eveline “Kitty” Townsend, a prominent figure of the time, apparently said that Kalākaua was “known to be sympathetic toward the policy of the so-called ‘Down-Town’ or business element.” And Burns claims that when Albert Francis Judd asked Kalākaua whether he “still advocated limiting all government posts to Hawaiians, David parried, ‘In the heat of an election talk one makes rash statements.’”  

Other writers then and later also claim that the larger Hawaiian community did not support Kalākaua’s claim to the throne. British Commissioner James H. Wodehouse wrote at the time that “The king is not popular in this Island, and were Honolulu left without the protection of

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272 Daws 214.  
273 Dougherty130.  
274 Iaukea and Watson 22.  
275 Osorio 152.  
276 qtd. in Iaukea and Watson 22.  
277 Burns 125.
a Ship-of-War, in my opinion, there would be a Revolution in which He would lose His Throne, and possibly his life. It is the fear of foreign intervention alone that keeps the Hawaiians quiet.”

Curtis P. ʻIaukea states that Hawaiians in general supported Emma, and Mellen, Sauvin, Helena Allen, Pitzer, and Daws agree. Haole support on the other hand arose from Kalākaua’s supposed weakness to influence. Lilikalā Kameʻeleihiwa, who cites Kuykendall, claims that “American businessmen believed him to be more malleable than the staunch anti-American Queen Emma,” and Kuykendall summed it up this way: “It was a choice between two evils, and the Americans concluded that their interests would be safer in the hands of Kalakaua than in the hands of Queen Emma.”

The 1874 Election Riot

The estimated 300 Emma-ites who rioted at the courthouse in Honolulu on February 12, 1874 are often offered as evidence of widespread kānaka disapproval of the newly-elected mōʻī. The event was undeniably memorable. Charles R. Bishop recalled that “rioting broke out and a moderate state of civil war ensued.” Dwight H. Hitchcock wrote at the time, “You ought to see the courthouse! Sich [sic] a sight, a sacked building I never saw before, and don’t care to see again. It is frightful! Clots of blood on the legislative hall. The walls splattered with ink. Every article of furniture destroyed.” Some writers see this event as just one more episode in a pattern. Theodor C. Heuck writes: “To be sure I deplored—as also during the revolt of September 1873 (the Iolani Barracks mutiny) the weakness and absolute helplessness of this

278 qtd. in Kuykendall, Hawaiian 14.
279 ʻIaukea and Watson 22; Mellen 16; Sauvin 45; Allen, H. 50; Pitzer 61; & Daws 196.
280 Kameʻeleihiwa 313.
281 Kuykendall, Hawaiian 7.
282 Kent, Charles 68.
283 Dabagh 85.
government.”284 Over time, however, the ever ballooning numbers of rioters at the courthouse that day have become evidence that critics cite to suggest the building intensity of Hawaiians’ opposition toward the new mōʻī. Mellen for example claims that when the results of the legislative vote were announced to the “thousands” outside of the courthouse, “for a moment there was dead silence,” reflecting Hawaiians’ disbelief.285 Critics also point to the historical importance of Kalākaua’s request that foreign warships and troops suppress the native protesters. His immediate decision to take the advice of Bishop and Dominis, and ask assistance of foreign (U. S. and British) warships,286 supposedly demonstrates his inability to control his own people. In short, this signal for assistance proves that Hawai‘i’s constitutional monarchy needed the help of the outsiders to subdue and safeguard the public because Hawaiians could not do it themselves.

The next day saw a hurried swearing-in that critics focus on as a sign that future problems, and even failure, were inevitable. Using the heavily-loaded term that would come to be associated with an extorted constitution, Burns writes that “Under the protection of American bayonets, a sorry-looking band of representatives, nobles, and diplomats gathered for the secret swearing-in of the son of Ane Keohokalole.”287 Thurston typically claims that the mōʻī’s supposed dependence on the missionary and merchant interests paradoxically led to his encouragement of racist attitudes in Hawaiians: “Thus Kalakaua began his reign. His endeavors to ingratiate himself with the Hawaiian people, after their almost unanimous disapproval of his election, probably had much to do with his subsequent attitude, which grew into a cateri...
‘anti-haole’ (anti-white) spirit, theretofore absent from Hawaii.’ And according to a later commentator, the events led to royal uncertainty and fear: “It was an inauspicious beginning for Kalakaua. It left him uneasy about his position, and because of rumors and threats of assassination, he became deeply concerned for his personal, safety and that of his immediate and extended family.”

Kalākaua’s November 1874 Trip to Washington D. C.

As if the riot was not humiliating enough, he also faced the formidable challenge of countering negative local, American, and international newspapers’ coverage of the events, including remarks about his own precariousness as mō‘ī. Contemporaries and later historians often point to his trip to Washington D. C. in 1874 in support of the Reciprocity Treaty as his first response to this uncertainty, and also as a signal that he had surrendered to the American sugar planters’ wishes and abandoned Hawaiians’ interests. This supposed duplicity then provoked Hawaiians into detesting Kalākaua. Certainly some contemporary haole commentators saw it that way. Kuykendall says that in January 1876, Wodehouse informed the British that “A large population of the natives are very suspicious of the King and view with dislike his policy in the matter of the Treaty of Reciprocity with the U. States which although they have not seen, they fear is fraught with danger to the independence of this Kingdom.” Other contemporaries report that Hawaiians were particularly upset with Kalākaua’s willingness to break with Lunalilo’s precedent, and negotiate with the U. S. regarding Pearl River. De

288 Thurston 19.
289 Kelley par. 24.
290 Iaukea and Watson 37.
291 See Kuykendall, Hawaiian 7; Daws 201; Sauvin 65; Dougherty 130; & Osorio 152.
292 Kuykendall, Hawaiian 15.
293 “King’s Speech Opening.”
Varginy writes that those who supported the cession of Pearl Lagoon and annexation “met with
staunch opposition on the part of the native Hawaiians, however, who suffered no illusions
concerning the consequences of such a cession of their heritage, and who fully realized that from
the day when the United States would set foot upon the islands the absorption of the kingdom as
a whole into the American union would become only a matter of time.”294 It would only be
logical, then, that all sides either feared or hoped that Kalākaua’s willingness to negotiate with
the U. S. represented his step on the path to annexation.

Kalākaua’s 1881 Circumnavigation of the World

In 1881, Kalākaua toured the world to strengthen Hawaiʻi’s relationships with foreign
countries, to learn how to elevate certain aspects of his own kingdom to the level of those in
powerful nations, and to present himself physically as a handsome, intelligent, and articulate
Hawaiian mōʻī to emperors, kings, queens, princes, and other world leaders. Even a fierce critic
like Young had to admit that Kalākaua “managed to deceive the high officials of each country he
visited by a correct demeanor, modest dress and a knowledge of languages,” although of course
Young claims that after Kalākaua’s return to Hawaiʻi, “his innate barbarism, escaping from the
long imprisonment on this trip, again asserted itself in bolder relief.”295 So those opposed to him
instead suggested that an ulterior motive lay hidden behind his charm and diplomatic skills.
According to some American newspapers, what Kalākaua actually wanted to do was sell Hawaiʻi
to the highest bidder—a sign of his dissatisfaction with his own kingdom and his desperation to
get money.296

294 De Varginy 252.
295 Young 15.
296 “A Kingdom for Sale” 6; “Domestic”1.
Instead, the negative accounts fell back onto claiming that the tour had a bad effect on domestic matters, and also led to some of Kalākaua’s later failings. The trip ultimately took him away from important events at home. Burns charged abandonment, claiming that “With no knowledge of the events taking place in Hawaii, King Kalakaua and his suite pursued a rather disappointing way in China.” Burns also claims that he became infatuated with the German military uniforms worn by the Japanese army, and “turning to his Grand Chamberlain, Kalakaua said: ‘Judd, order four hundred German-style field uniforms for my dragoons, footguards, fusiliers, and musketeers! And one hundred and fifty dress-white uniforms. When we get to Berlin, inquire about these Krupp guns.’” Curtis P. ʻIaukea was more mixed in his recollections, claiming that while Kalākaua came to see “more clearly, so I thought, the position his Kingdom held in world affairs,” unfortunately “he returned with grandiose ideas and a determination to carry them out which were soon to upset the work of his conservative cabinet.” In short, for many contemporaries and later historians, the first world tour by a reigning monarch weakened his power and influence.

Kalākaua’s 1883 Coronation and the 1886 Jubilee

Ridicule of the 1883 coronation and the unveiling of ʻIolani Palace and the King Kamehameha statue began before the event, and continued well into the twentieth century. Alfred Frankenstein’s The Royal Visitors’ mocking of the palace in the 1960s is typical: “Built in the 1880s by the raffish King David Kalakaua, it is a funny, frilly, eminently Victorian structure.” The unveiling of the famous Kamehameha statue offered critics an opportunity to

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297 Burns 204.
298 Burns 188.
299 ʻIaukea and Watson 47.
300 Frankenstein 5.
condemn through contrast: “The ideal of statesmanship personified in Kamehameha’s statue had little influence upon the monarch who now, in his palace across the street, was pursuing a course which in the end brought ruin to the monarchy.”\textsuperscript{301} Burns quotes perhaps the mō‘ī’s greatest foe to represent the ceremony as a complete fiasco: “‘There, that’s the true symbol of Kalakaua’s greatness!’ said Thurston. Hoodlums had inverted a chamber pot over the statue’s head.”\textsuperscript{302} Some of Hawai‘i’s newspapers were the coronation’s biggest critics, and chapter three provides a detailed examination of those attacks.

Three years later, in 1886, the kingdom was invited to celebrate Kalākaua’s 50\textsuperscript{th} birthday. Drawing on antagonistic contemporary accounts, Gavan Daws claims that “Only a few hundred of the king’s subjects bothered to march in procession,” that “The pavilion and the amphitheater looked as cheap and tawdry as stables,” that “The marshal’s proclamation of Kalākaua’s style and title was ridiculous,” and that “No one cheered.”\textsuperscript{303} As always, the chief concern with any Kalākaua ceremony was expense. Iaukea remembers that “criticism of the birthday expenditures was freely expressed.”\textsuperscript{304} But Burns attacks the mō‘ī’s personal character, alleging that he was rather drunk well before the Jubilee ceremony started,\textsuperscript{305} and other critics pointed fingers at the open performance of the hula by different hālau (hula troupes). As is often the case, Lucien Young brings all these charges against Kalākaua together. The birthday jubilee was solely “to gratify another of [Kalākaua’s] whims and still further clothe his already overburdened egotism.” Staged “at great expense and legislative appropriation of a large sum,” the centerpiece was “a big

\textsuperscript{301} Kuykendall and Day 166.  
\textsuperscript{302} Burns 236.  
\textsuperscript{303} Daws 219.  
\textsuperscript{304} Iaukea and Watson 108.  
\textsuperscript{305} Burns 231.
hula that was so obscene in its lewdness as to even offend the tough natures of some of his depraved associates” leaving the author mortified.  

The Final Straws: The Pacific Confederacy, the Hale Nauā Society, and the Bayonet Constitution

In fact, any assertion of cultural pride or self-determination was sure to draw abuse. Perhaps because it was so obviously a strategy to unite Sāmoa with Hawai‘i to guarantee the islands’ independence, Kalākaua’s plans to build a Pacific confederacy in 1886 are the subject of especially sharp attacks. Focusing its abuse on Walter Murray Gibson, a year later Honolulu’s Daily Herald was claiming that “This so-called policy was conceived in the fertile brain of unscrupulous statecraft, for the purpose in chief of inoculating the royal mind with belief in the patriotic devotion of a crafty and unselfish courtier.” Later accounts of this initiative are deliberately demeaning. According to Young “an old vessel was purchased and fitted out at great expense, and in command of a worthless, drunken, half-pay English naval officer, and manned by boys from the reform school and a few low whites, she was dispatched.” According to the Herald, “That treaty between King Kalakaua and Malietoa was a most ridiculous farce,” and Lorrin Thurston would later claim that this failed project was the final straw that made the Bayonet Constitution necessary. By this point, Kalākaua had “an unbalanced mentality and a total inability to grasp important subjects intelligently; a fundamental financial dishonesty; personal extravagance [. . . ] a bent to indulge in political intrigue, a reckless disregard of

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306 Young 14.
307 Chapin, Shaping 75.
308 “A Friendly” 2.
309 Young 13.
310 “The Samoan” 2.
political honor, which made impossible the continuance of honest government; personal cowardice.”

Perhaps because it was an organization they were barred from joining, the Hale Nauā society particularly enraged Kalākaua’s critics. Young claims that “A secret society was established, in which a lot of mysteries were combined with obscene forms gathered from the ancient religion of the Hawaiian Islands.” Thurston still later called it the “Ball of Twine Society”: “an organization in which semi-mystical, scientific jargon was mixed with a catering to ancient superstitions and prejudices, on one hand, and with a pandering to vice and debasing influences, on the other.” Thurston concludes that as an institution of perversions, the “Hale Naua probably gives more indication of the scrambled character of the King’s mental processes than any other single source does.” Young reports that the society’s activities were often moved to the mōʻi’s boathouse where “gambling, lewd practices, immoral exhibitions, drunken carousals, and the abominations of the hula dance, all combined to establish his reputation as a prince of good fells with his large retinue of dissipated dependents.” Acknowledging that “Some very respectable people have joined this society,” the November 13, 1886 Daily Bulletin concludes that they did it “probably not knowing what they were about—that is not a fit thing for respectable people—that sensible natives laugh at its absurdities, ridicule its preposterousness, and condemn its proceedings.” In his November 1888 paper “Why Are the Hawaiians Dying Out?” read before the Honolulu Social Science Association, Protestant minister and fierce enemy of the monarchy Sereno Bishop argued for a correlation between the decrease of the Hawaiian

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311 Thurston 21.
312 Young 11.
313 Thurston 28.
314 Young 12.
315 “Talk” 3.
population and the Hale Nauā. Frank Karpiel has described the Rev. James Bicknell’s 1888 attack on the society in “Hoomanamana—Idolatry,” as “based upon a manifest hatred of every element of traditional Hawaiian culture relating to non-Christian spirituality” and an example of what “challenged the Victorian sensibilities of the white elite.” And William D. Alexander saw Hale Nauā as committing a number of crimes: “Its bylaws are a travesty of Masonry, mingled with pagan rites. So far as the secret proceedings and objects of the society have transpired, it appears to have been intended partly as an agency for the revival of heathenism, partly to pander vice, and indirectly to serve as a political machine.”

Later historians tend to discount this society’s importance. Gavan Daws remarks that “Kalakaua saw no need to justify his secret purposes, whatever they were,” and Kuykendall is dismissive as well. Mellen usefully supplies some context and an explanation for the almost obsessive concern about Hale Nauā. Apparently, spies were hired by the enemies of Kalākaua to enter the meetings and report back. Out of “these bits of information the evil-minded among them developed stories of ‘debaucheries and vile doings at the palace’ which they repeated to newcomers and broadcast over the United States through their propaganda system.” These enemies, “lacking knowledge of their [olonā twine] historical use, gave their imaginations free play” when thinking about Hale Nauā: “They called it ‘The Ball of Twine Society,’ elaborating at great length on what they imagined it to be—heathen rites over a ball of twine. This absurdity,
observed one of the better-educated foreigners, ‘is a true revelation of the accusers’ own thinking.’ 323

The lowest points of Kalākaua’s reign, however, came after his opponents through threats of violence and extortion tightened their grip around him, Kānaka Maoli and Asians in the kingdom through what has come to be called the Bayonet Constitution of 1887. Apologists like Alexander actually argue that for decades, only the patience of the white settlers sustained the monarchy. “The kings of Hawaii did not understand the nature of ministerial government as contrasted with kingly or personal government,” but “the white subjects of King Kalakaua, though able to destroy the monarchy because they possessed the brains and wealth of his kingdom, cordially assented” for a time to his rule. 324 But patience has its limits, and by 1887, Kalākaua’s reputation was supposedly so ruined, thanks to initiatives like the Pacific Confederacy and Hale Nauā, that the Hawaiian League’s compromising of his throne and the later overthrow of his sister, Liliʻuokalani, are presented as inevitabilities in most English-language accounts. Lorrin Thurston says so explicitly: “The foundation, a community attitude that made the overthrow possible, was laid in the years under Kalakaua, which saturated the public mind with the filth and the iniquities of his reign.” 325 Many years later, in America’s Only Royal Family: Genealogy of the Former Hawaiian Ruling House, Milton Rubincam makes the same point, and even blames the mōʻī for the result: “King Kalakaua’s attempt to overthrow democratic processes of government and to introduce personal rule ended disastrously and paved the way for Sanford B. Dole and other American leaders in the Islands to pull the rug from under his sister and successor, Queen Liliuokalani.” 326 When his supposed forsaking of his Hawaiian

323 Mellen 161.
324 Armstrong, W. 246.
325 Thurston 65.
326 Rubincam 79.
supporters, his personal cowardice in signing the Bayonet Constitution, and his flight to Honuakaha on the night of the Wilcox insurrection are added to the narrative, a historian like Kuykendall can apparently only conclude that Kalākaua basically handed the kingdom over to the United States. In short, these critical accounts present a mōʻī who wavered at critical moments, and failed at every opportunity to improve or preserve the monarchy.

Taken together, the negative representations of Kalākaua during his life and after are part of a larger discourse about Hawaiʻi produced to accomplish three things. First, to move toward, then justify, annexation to the United States. Though one of several nations occupied by the United States in the late nineteenth century, including the Philippines, Cuba, and Sāmoa, Hawaiʻi was unique not only in having full independence as a nation, but also in having a powerful foreign presence devoted to empowering itself through American annexation. Those who held Kalākaua at gunpoint in 1887, a “singular alliance of American businessmen, missionary descendants, and their local allies,” would overthrow “a weakened monarchy in the early 1890s, seizing control of the economic and political destiny of Hawaiʻi.” But because these men were acting against the will of the people, and also facing substantial resistance in America itself to absorbing an independent nation, by arguing that Hawaiʻi’s rulers, Kalākaua and Liliʻuokalani, were incompetent, corrupt, and reckless then an American takeover could be seen as a generous act for all those living in Hawaiʻi that would be welcomed, and the illegality of the overthrow and annexation could be overlooked. As early as 1885, some publications were presenting this fantasy as something all residents yearned for: “It is well known that the sixty thousand, all told,

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327 Kuykendall, Hawaiian 415 & 427.
328 Karpiel, “Theosophy” 169.
in his dominion, would gladly hail annexation to the United States. Bonfires would be lighted on every hill to celebrate the glorious event.”

Second, stories about a savage Hawaiian noble, a “Merry Monarch,” or a heathen Polynesian king made for entertaining reading at the time. Adria Imada notes that “sensational reports of the monarchy circulated on the continent for at least a decade after the king’s death,” and in 1886, the St. Louis Globe admits and excuses its tendency to exaggerate Kalākaua’s folly because that story is “the best one to tell.” Nineteenth-century readers enjoyed rumors and gossip as much as readers of today, and as early as 1881 Chicago’s Daily Inter Ocean was suggesting that Hawai‘i could be the site for a world war:

It is rumored that the cause which led to the quick dispatch of her Majesty’s steamship Gannett for the Sandwich Islands Monday arose from the fact that telegraphic information was received that it was the intention of the United States to gobble up Kalakaua’s kingdom. It is added that the flagship is sailing toward Honolulu from the South American coast, and that the ships of other naval powers have been ordered to rendezvous there.

Seventy years later, this audience apparently still existed. In his 1950s biography, Burns writes that “I found myself recording events though I knew they would shock and offend some readers,” basically promising to gratify the desire for sensation. The result is a representation of Kalākaua that is one of the most absurd, exaggerated, and untrue.

And finally, the complexity of Hawai‘i’s status in the world, and its distance from anywhere else, meant that almost any claim about it or its rulers could attract an audience who

329 “A Wild” 2.
330 Imada 30.
331 “A Varied” 3.
332 “Kalakaua’s Kingdom” Daily Inter Ocean n. p.
333 Burns xii.
had no real concern about whether the story was true or not, as long as it was bizarre and entertaining. And thanks to the new technologies of telegram and underwater cable, these stories could instantly be reprinted in other newspapers always looking for good copy. For instance, only a small fraction of Chicago’s *Daily Inter Ocean* articles about Kalākaua seem accurate; the majority of them are false, gossip-based—and entertaining. The *Glasgow Herald*, on the other hand, is perhaps the only international newspaper that provides consistently accurate and thorough reporting on Kalākaua. Other international newspapers cite the profoundly anti-monarchial *Hawaiian Gazette* for any news on Hawai‘i. Such distortions were noted by the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* in 1881:

> The King’s tour around the world is the occasion of a good deal of newspaper comment abroad; critical as well as complimentary; some of which is based on tolerably correct information, and some mere invention and ignorant conjecture. We are astonished at some of the absurd remarks that appear in highly respectable European journals.\(^{334}\)

At least one newspaper in London agreed, noting that while the 1881 tour had drawn considerable interest in response, Europe had “exhibited more or less dense ignorance about Hawaii and its people.”\(^{335}\) The errors and rumors were so widespread that William Armstrong had to respond to accusations that while on tour with Kalākaua in 1881 he had provided Germany’s newspaper *Berliner Zeitung* with false reports about Hawai‘i’s immigration policies. His actual defense, however, is hardly convincing: “I conclude that the translation of my letter

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334 “The King’s Tour around the World,” *PCA* 26 Mar. 1881: 2.
335 “Letter from” 2.
was made by an utterly incompetent interpreter, or that the translator from the German into English was equally incompetent, or that a willfully wrong translation was somewhere made.”

Lilikalā Kameʻelehiwa writes that “Kalākaua had discovered that it was impossible to rule Hawaiʻi with *pono* for both Natives and foreigners—their worlds were too different.” This chapter has outlined for the most part the domestic and foreign criticism aimed at the mōʻī that has dominated the historical record. Chapter two will document other responses that result in a very different portrait of Kalākaua—one that emerges when we step away from the lens offered by the eventual victors, and their scholarly heirs.

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337 Kameʻelehiwa 315.
CHAPTER 2: “NĀ KŪKĀKŪKĀ ‘ANA I KA MO‘OKALALEO PALAPALA”:
THE AMERICAN AND INTERNATIONAL REPRESENTATIONS OF KALĀKAUA

“Nā Kūkākūkā i ka Mo‘okalaleo Palapala” translates into English as “Discussions in the Written Narrative” and references the dialogue between nineteenth-century English and non-English publications about Kalākaua. This chapter shifts gears from Chapter One, which mapped out a genealogy of attacks and misrepresentation, or “The Case against Kalākaua.” Seeking to establish a different foundation, this chapter documents and analyzes favorable nineteenth-century national and international representations of Kalākaua drawn from material published during his reign. One prominent type of dialogue found in these materials refers to the honor it was for kings, rulers, magistrates, prominent citizens, and others throughout the world to welcome Hawai‘i’s mō‘ī (sovereign, ruler). Another discourse thread conveys how astonished many people were when encountering Kalākaua’s own dignified character, his eloquence and nobility. Coupled with that strand are expressions of admiration at Kalākaua’s plan to travel around the world—a voyage that subverted conventional assumptions about rulers of small, distant island nations. Because Kalākaua was a ruler, newspapers’ accounts of how their leaders received him, and how he responded to the country he was visiting, became a form of national validation. Kalākaua became an occasion for self-representation reflected through his presence. A close look at the widespread media coverage of Kalākaua’s every move outside of Hawai‘i compels us to recognize that exoticizing, trivializing, and lazy representations of the mō‘ī tended to disappear, at least for the duration of his stay. Because reporters suddenly had first-hand and often accurate details about this monarch and his kingdom, they wrote something different than their sensational or badly informed accounts.
One of the initial accounts of Kalākaua in England in 1881 provides an example of the types of discourse Chapter Two describes. In July 1881, while staying at Normanhurst, a stately home in Sussex, Kalākaua was interviewed at length by a reporter from the *Hastings & St. Leonard’s Observer*. The resulting article gives testimony to the mō‘ī’s articulateness, nobility, and generally impressive manner: “The accent is purest English, idiom is not at fault, and the demeanour shows the self-possessed ease and courteous grace of a Guelph or a Granville.” The questions are all directed toward making comparisons between Kalākaua’s nation, and the one he is visiting: “Is English taught in your schools?” “Do these schools compete against each other in sports?” “By the bye, *apropos* of your horse racing, do you allow betting?” “Do you find our English meals greatly differ from those of your own country?” “Is Sunday strictly kept in your country?” “Have you any laws regulating the sale of alcoholic liquors?” “You are a constitutional Sovereign, I understand?” The answers the reporter records suggest that Kalākaua and Hawai‘i both compare favorably to England—or even have an advantage. “Do you approve of compulsory education?” the mō‘ī is asked. “Most fully,” he replies, “our education is compulsory, and I believe I may say, that as a matter of statistics a larger proportion of our population read and write than in any other country.”

The article concludes with a tribute to Kalākaua’s exemplary behavior, which almost stands as a pointed commentary on the general British standard of the time. “I doubt whether any of my readers would have borne such cross-examination with half the gracious equanimity that his Polynesian Majesty displayed, or have so readily humored my curiosity on every possible point,” the reporter remarks. The content was also impressive—clearly the product of a keen and astute intellect: “Every answer was fraught with interest, not only for the specific knowledge

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338 Hawai‘i had a remarkably high literacy rate in the nineteenth century. See “Islanders” 12; Reinecke 28; & Nogelmeier, *Mai* 75.
which it conveyed, but also for the insight which it gave to the general principles, political or
social, which had been studied in any given case, in arranging and ordaining the internal
economy of these islands.” The reporter concludes that Kalākaua, and apparently his nation, set
an example that England itself would do well to follow:

I parted from his Majesty with regret, envying his subjects, and with a forlorn
patriotic wish that the taste of English country life of which he had spoken so
warmly might induce him to settle in our own island. A dozen constituencies
would gladly return him to our Parliament, and any Cabinet would covet him as a
colleague to co-operate in the reform of those weak points, political, social, and
ecclesiastical, of our own nation which, are so conspicuously absent from the
even tenour of the Hawaiian rule. 339

As this chapter recovers nineteenth-century American and international representations of
Kalākaua in books, articles, photographs, and other materials, it will also examine why people
outside of Hawai‘i with no motivation to discredit or trivialize him or his kingdom generally
responded more favorably than those in Hawai‘i who were distributing the negative or
slanderous representations. Not surprisingly, what becomes clear is that motivation and intent are
crucial to determining the accuracy of Kalākaua’s representations. Looking back in the late
1950s over this history of representations, while Kathleen Mellen describes how his admirable
characteristics were paradoxically the spur that drove the mō‘ī’s enemies to deny or ignore them:

A careful study of his achievements and direct quotations from the unprejudiced
who knew him personally at home and in his travels abroad reveal, in addition to
his conviviality, a poised, cultured, life-loving man of scholarly interests and deep
patriotism. Since the latter was anathema to those who wished to take over his

339 “The King of the Sandwich Islands” Hastings 3.
country, they dwelt at length upon his extravagances and love of gaiety in order to justify their seizure of control.  

A contemporary American account suggests just why “those who wished to take over the country” might resort to attacks on his character. Describing Kalākaua’s platform for the recently-concluded election for the mō‘ī, Washington D. C.’s Evening Star of March 20, 1874 reports that “His victory may be attributed to the fact that he is strongly opposed to the cession of any portion of the islands to foreign powers, and that he represents the opinions of a great majority of the natives, who are apprehensive of such grants and annexation to the United States.”  

Although the possibility of such an annexation had been discussed for years, there was no real sign in 1874 that Congress wanted the archipelago. Kalākaua’s and Hawaiians’ objections to the cession of Pearl Harbor, or annexation to the U. S., were therefore not automatically treated antagonistically by U. S. papers. When the Hawaiian League in later years intensified its efforts to undermine Kalākaua, the white oligarchy not only publicly attacked him in print at home, but became more devoted to circulating negative and even scandalous portraits of the mō‘ī, and his people. These attacks were often republished, but not necessarily because the American newspapers cared about the political issues. Readers with no stake in Hawai‘i enjoyed accounts of the savage king and his pagan subjects, or funny stories about an odd Polynesian potentate pretending to be as good as any American. And Kalākaua’s enemies, for their own eventual ends, were happy to supply such material.

A complicating factor in evaluating the intention behind representations is the degree to which nineteenth-century newspapers, eager for content, simply reprinted stories from other newspapers. Even this early, news agencies were supplying such material. The North American

340 Mellen xiv.
341 “The Riots” 3.
and United States Gazette”’s “Latest News,” for instance, consisted of dispatches from the Associated Press, founded in 1846. Whether taken from an agency, or simply reprinted from a copy of another paper, the result was that any attack on the mō’ī could be distributed around the world, even if the original publication published a retraction. For example, two of London’s newspapers, The Pall Mall Gazette and The Royal Cornwall Gazette, quoted verbatim the same San Francisco Call’s story about the 1874 election riot. Melbourne’s The Australasian’s September 17, 1881 story about Kalākaua came from The New York Times, and London’s Daily News, The Standard, The Morning Post, Leeds Mercury, and Lloyd’s Weekly Newspaper all printed verbatim the same story about Kalākaua’s visit to the White House in December 1874. The Liverpool Mercury and Huddersfield Daily Chronicle out of London, and the Freeman’s Journal and Daily Commercial Advertiser in Dublin all took the same article, “King of the Sandwich Islands” from the Philadelphia Public Ledger.

In early 1875, after Kalākaua had visited Omaha, Nebraska on his way to Washington D.C. to negotiate the Reciprocity Treaty between the U.S. and Hawai‘i, the Omaha Republican reprinted a Chicago Post article about “unwholesome rumors” of the king’s “riotous conduct” in Omaha. In response, the PCA in Honolulu printed the letter that Omaha Mayor Chase, who had accompanied the mō’ī throughout his stay, sent to St. Louis Mayor Brown, assuring him that “At all times, and everywhere while with us,” Kalākaua “was the perfect gentleman,” and requesting that Brown send a copy of this letter to different newspaper offices in Chicago to clear the mō’ī’s name. Brown’s reply is emphatic, and dismissive of the press: “I consider the whole

342 “A Riot in Honolulu” The Pall Mall 1321; “A Riot in Honolulu” The Royal Cornwall 2; & “A Riot at Honolulu” 2.
343 “King of the Sandwich Islands” Daily News 5; “King of the Sandwich Islands” The Standard 5; “King of the Sandwich Islands” The Morning Post 5; “King of the Sandwich Islands” Leeds 5; & “King of the Sandwich Islands” Lloyd’s.
344 “The Practice” 2.
statement a canard and regret that the name of King Kalakaua [. . . ] should be dragged into such a statement.\textsuperscript{345}

As I seek to restore a balance by describing just how positive Kalākaua’s representations were outside of Hawai‘i, I do not however want to suggest that I agree with Helena Allen’s claim that more people outside of Hawai‘i liked Kalākaua than inside. This chapter will provide substantial evidence drawn from a range of publications that the U. S. and other nations often read very positive accounts of the mō‘ī. In Chapter Three, however, I will focus on the publications, primarily in Hawaiian, that reveal a substantial body of supporters and admirers in Hawai‘i itself—publications not consulted by those who created or have perpetuated the negative absolute statements about attitudes during Kalākaua’s reign. Furthermore, I will show how the mō‘ī’s enemies targeted the specific positive attributes that his supporters, and many other writers, presented about him. The lack of such accounts has profoundly skewed Hawaiian history. For instance, Kalākaua’s supporters and admirers point to significant improvements in Hawai‘i’s economy and international reputation as evidence of his competence, and even his great talent as a ruler. Some later historians acknowledge that his reign was in fact a prosperous and innovative time for the lāhui (government, kingdom). Edward Joesting points to the early introduction of electricity and the telephone, and reports that “sugar gave the nation a sound financial basis, and its businessmen became affluent and sophisticated. Communications with the rest of the world became faster and safer, and the Islands were pulled into the currents of international affairs.”\textsuperscript{346} So progressive and well-informed was the mō‘ī that his lack of amazement at the institutions of the world’s more “advanced” nations actually became news:

\textsuperscript{345} “The Practice” 2.
\textsuperscript{346} Joesting 208.
“The cricket match at Lord’s astonished him not at all, for as he will quietly say, in his musical
tones, ‘We have several clubs in Honolulu, and I know of others in India.’”

The state of contemporary communication not only meant that Kalākaua could be highly
aware of trends and institutions around the world, but also that people could be far more aware,
at home and abroad, about Kalākaua himself. American and international representations of him
outnumber any other Hawaiian mōʻī to this point because he lived in a time that provided much
greater access to him, whether due to steamship, correspondence, or photographs. As recent
critics have remarked, “the industrial revolution which began in the previous century facilitated
the mass production and affordability of objects that circulated at home and abroad; enabled the
transit of people, perspectives, and ideas; and disrupted putative spatial, ideological, and national
boundaries.” American and international newspapers were producing far more news about the
world than in previous generations, and by visiting the United States and other countries more
widely and frequently than any monarch in the history of the world, Kalākaua presented himself
for inspection to a remarkable degree. And newspapers responded. A keyword search of
“Kalakaua” in Gale’s 19th Century U. S. Newspapers database turns up more than 2,900 results.
As for Great Britain 580 articles appear in 19th Century British Newspapers, and 876 findings
in the British Library’s British Newspaper Archive. Even The National Library of Australia
newspaper archive produces 630 hits. Personal access to him was a major reason for these
numbers. Known as the people’s mōʻī in Hawaiʻi, he and his family were famously
approachable. Though always laboring under the difficulty of not being Kamehamehas,
Kalākaua and his heir Prince Leleiōhoku were known for their accessibility. When Leleiōhoku

347 “King Kalakaua” Alnwick 2.
348 Tromp, et. al 12.
349 Gale Learning database.
returned to Honolulu from a tour of Hawai‘i island in 1874 as the newly-proclaimed heir to the throne, *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser* reports on his decision to walk to ‘Iolani Palace instead of taking the royal carriage with his sisters, Princess Lili‘uokalani and Likelike. He then proceeded to shake hands with the people lining the streets to welcome him home.\(^{351}\)

Kalākaua maintained this pattern of accessibility when he traveled elsewhere. Of course, he received very grand receptions. When he arrived in Santa Barbara in January 1891, near the end of his life, for instance, more than 500 people greeted him at the train station, and three carriages “decorated with golden harnesses” conveyed Kalākaua and his suite to the Arlington Hotel, where later a ball was thrown in the mōʻī’s honor and the “crème de la crème” of Santa Barbara attended.\(^{352}\) But other accidental acquaintances spoke of his approachability. In late 1881, Canadian Minnie Forsyth Grant left San Francisco for a visit to Hawai‘i aboard the *Australia*. Kalākaua, having completed his journey around the world, was also on board. Just outside of San Francisco harbor, Grant was presented to the mōʻī. She described him—inaccurately—this way: “His natural dignity of manner was very marked, his voice soft, musical, with a slight foreign accent, and his English, owing to the fact that he was educated chiefly in California, was perfect.”\(^{353}\) (Of course, Kalākaua was educated in Honolulu.\(^ {354}\)) When they disembarked in Honolulu, Grant again writes about Kalākaua’s thoughtfulness and charm: “He went about among the passengers, saying good-bye in the kindest way, and I should be afraid to tell how many royal autographs were asked for and presented.”\(^ {355}\) It should not therefore be surprising that many, many people, including reporters, approached, shook hands with, and spoke to this sovereign. One of the most common sources of amazement in international

\(^{351}\) “H. R. H. Prince” 2.  
\(^{352}\) Redmon 35.  
\(^{353}\) Grant 4–5.  
\(^{354}\) London’s *Standard* reported that Kalākaua was educated in California. See “America” 5.  
\(^{355}\) M. Grant 7.
publications is the degree to which the mōʻī was familiar and fully at ease with the most refined aspects of foreign cultures. “A very few minutes conversation convinces the visitor that King Kalakaua is an extensive reader,” one British paper reports: “It is, in fact, his wide reading which impelled him to see that world of which he had read so many descriptions.” In 1886, Father John A. Zahm made this favorable account and comparison: “He speaks English fluently, and in his own language he is regarded as quite an orator. He is a man of commanding presence [. . . .] He is like the Prince of Wales, he is the patron of boating, yachting and jockey clubs and agricultural societies, of many of which he is either the honorary or acting president.”

Edward Joesting many years later suggests that Kalākaua was not only talented, but realized that convincing others of this fact had to be one of his strategies of leadership: “His intellect and social ease surprised most who met him. He was very ambitious and, particularly during his early years, was willing to work hard to achieve his goals.” Reporters were also startled by the divergence between his “primitive” ancestry and personal habits, either assumed or reported by his enemies, and his actual class and refinement. These qualities often provoked respectful discussion of his noble lineage and the character of his Hawaiian father and mother, almost as if the writers themselves wished to raise, then debunk, the circulating representations and sensational stories of the savage cannibal king of the Sandwich Isles. For example, the Staffordshire Sentinel told its readers that “The excellent principles of the Monarch were respected” by his English hosts: that “his Majesty was not un roi pour rire, and that decorum was to be maintained in his presence.” In other cases, reporters had it both ways, raising the image of the Hawaiian savage for comic effect while at the same time denying that the mōʻī resembled

356 “King Kalakaua” Alnwick Mercury 2.
357 “The Hawaiians” 12.
358 Joesting 208.
359 “King Kalakaua” Staffordshire 3.
this stereotype in any way: “Kalakaua has a broad smile, which is a sign of a good disposition, and a physiognomy which does not announce direct and almost immediate descent from some Hoki-Poki-Waki-Fum. It is hard to realise [sic] that his grandparents may have thought it very nice to dine on haunch of missionary.”

In the following sections of this chapter, I will offer an overview of the multitude of positive representations of Kalākaua. Many were the result of a meeting or personal interview—generally not the source for the widely circulated negative representations. The result will at the very least give the reader a more detailed sense of how the mōʻī struck those contemporaries whose accounts have often been discounted or ignored by the dominant strain of his representations, then and later.

**Early Impressions of Kalākaua**

In 1861, Lady Franklin, widow of the famous English explorer Admiral Sir John Franklin lost in the Arctic, visited Hawaiʻi with her niece and traveling companion, Sophia Cracroft. As distinguished guests of Kamehameha IV and his wife Emma, when they toured Hawaiʻi island they were assigned one of the mōʻī’s aide-de-camps, Colonel David Kalākaua, as their escort. Although recorded well before he ascended the throne, the women’s remarks suggest how he appeared to cultured foreign visitors as a young man. Cracroft describes someone who was unmistakably of the islands, but also an impressive example of civility:

He was a pure Hawaiian, excessively stout, but of most gentlemanlike manners and appearance, dressed exactly after the morning fashion of Englishmen in light grey. He is very dark brown (not black) with an aquiline nose and thick lips—whiskers and moustache and hair much more woolly in its crisp curliness than is

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360 “King Kalakaua” *Staffordshire 3.*
usually seen among this people. Queen Victoria’s Aide-de-Camp could not have acquitted himself better [. . . . ] [He spoke] in excellent English and with the accent and intonation of a perfect gentleman, which he evidently is.\(^\text{361}\)

His talents extended to the social graces. At a royal entertainment, Cracroft writes, “A polka followed, and I was watching Col. Kalakaua’s beautiful dancing and remarking upon it to the Queen, who pointed him out to my Aunt as the best dancer in the Kingdom, adding, ‘Except the King.’”\(^\text{362}\)

## The 1874 Election

Because the 1874 election between Kalākaua and Queen Emma famously generated so many attacks on him in Hawai‘i, it is surprising to discover just how many favorable, and even flattering accounts of him appear in newspapers abroad at this time. So many positive stories appeared about his character, experience, and goals for Hawai‘i that I was forced to skim through them. On March 19, 1874, Philadelphia’s *North American and United States Gazette* reported that “The election on the 12\textsuperscript{th} simply registered what had been decided. The new ruler is a man of more experience, ability and character than his predecessors.”\(^\text{363}\) On March 20, Washington D. C.’s *Evening Star* printed the following portrait:

> He descended from the high chiefs of Maui and Hawaii, and stands first in rank in the Kingdom by virtue of his blood. He has been closely identified with the political history of the country during the last three reigns, and He is exceedingly popular with the native Kanakas [. . . . ] The house of Nobles was known to be strongly in Kalakaua’s favor, and at the election for members of the lower house

\(^{361}\) Korn, *Victorian* 32.

\(^{362}\) Korn, *Victorian* 164.

\(^{363}\) “Kalakaua Rex” *North American and United States Gazette*. 
of the legislature, held on the 2d of February, the native party was very successful, so that the result of the election of a monarch by that body, which was appointed to take place on the 12th, was practically determined in advance.\(^{364}\)

The *Evening Star*’s attention to the details of both elections not only confirms Kanaka Maoli support for the new mōʻī, but also suggests that the second general election amounted to a confirmation of the first. That the native legislators were in favor of Kalākaua is an auspicious beginning for his reign, and also debunks the claims mentioned in Chapter One that Hawaiians generally opposed his rule, and that his response to the riot revealed his incompetence. *The Illustrated American* also discounted the riot as a sign of public sentiment: “The object of this noisy demonstration was apparent: it was intended to overawe the supporters of Kalakaua, and to secure the election of the Dowager Queen.”\(^{365}\) In Australia, *The Sydney Morning Herald* supplemented the *Illustrated American*’s account by bluntly stating that “The popular candidate everywhere was Kalakaua [. . .] an educated and accomplished man [. . .]. The disappointed partisans of Queen Emma made a disgraceful riot.”\(^{366}\) Kalākaua’s firm resistance to outside influence, published in the *Nuhou*, also appears in the Sydney paper. He is a “determined opponent of the cession of Pearl Harbor scheme, and an indefatigable champion for the independence of his native country.”\(^{367}\) Another Sydney paper, the *Empire*, offered a firsthand account of the special election:

> On our way we met large numbers of natives cheering in true English style for their favourite candidates. On entering the room where honorable members were assembled, we were much struck with their intelligent and gentlemanly

\(^{364}\) “David Kalakaua” 1.

\(^{365}\) “Shall We Annex Hawaii?” 677–678.

\(^{366}\) “The Hawaiian Islands” *The Sydney Morning Herald* 3.

\(^{367}\) “The Hawaiian Islands” *The Sydney Morning Herald* 3.
appearance—with the exception of the members of the Government, and some four or five others, all were natives. They were well and neatly dressed in black cloth, entirely in European style.\textsuperscript{368}

This account contradicts two of the most durable claims about this day: that there was little maka‘āinana support for Kalākaua, and that he won by bribing the native legislators with gin, who then appeared at the special session drunk. At least according to the Empire’s source they were well-prepared to cast their votes.

Immediately after the election, various newspapers testified to Kalākaua’s competence and reported on his initial movements as the new monarch. On March 21, 1874, Maine’s Bangor Daily Whig & Courier claimed that Kalākaua is said to be the “most powerful chief of the nation.”\textsuperscript{369} On April 4, the New York Times predicted that his reign would be “marked by the best-devised and most energetic measures for the welfare and happiness of the Hawaiian people.”\textsuperscript{370} Significantly, this article also reveals that Kalākaua was to embark on a tour of the kingdom, which will allow him to “thoroughly investigate and correct the wrong and abuses which have so long afflicted the country. Wherever natives are found who have the experience and ability to take part in the active duties of Government, they will be remembered.”\textsuperscript{371} This report of his determination to solve the problems in the kingdom, and to draw on the expertise and talents of Hawaiians, counters the claims that he was completely absorbed in his own pleasure, or that he was merely the Americans’ pawn. The Illustrated American offers a powerful reminder that at the time, he enjoyed widespread support: “David Kalakaua, a high chief, a descendant of the ancient chiefs, and nobles of the kingdom, and an intelligent and educated man

\textsuperscript{368} “The Sandwich Islands” Empire 3.
\textsuperscript{369} “David Kalakaua” Bangor Daily Whig & Courier.
\textsuperscript{370} “Kalakaua’s Intentions” 2.
\textsuperscript{371} “Kalakaua’s Intentions” 2.
[was the] candidate for the native Hawaiian party, and was supported generally by those of the people who were of American birth or descent.”

*Harper’s Weekly: A Journal of Civilization*’s April 4, 1874 account of the new mōʻī, complete with portrait, places him firmly within the civilized world. He is “a native chief, and stands first in rank in the kingdom by virtue of his blood,” but also “a man of education, of better physical stamina than the late king, of good habits, vigorous will, and a strong determination to maintain the independence of the islands, in which he is supported by the people, who are of like mind on this point.” Later that year *Harper’s* repeated its praise, both of Kalākaua and the entire nation’s desire to govern itself: “The young king is a man of good education and vigorous will, and is determined to preserve the independence of the islands over which he rules. In this matter he is supported by the patriotic intelligence of the whole people.”

In monarchial England, the April 18, 1874 *Illustrated London News* began with his genealogy. The new sovereign of Hawai‘i is the “son of the late Hon. C. Kapaakea and the High Chieftainess Keohokalole, both of kin to the ancient royal family.” He is also an intelligent and talented individual, “is said to speak and write our language as well as his own. He is an accomplished musician.” Chicago’s *Inter Ocean* goes so far as to declare his talents transcendent: “King Kalakaua, though the chief of only 50,000, yet has the education and qualities, as a ruler, of many born to wield the destinies of fifty millions.” This article also proves to be remarkably accurate about his eventual reception in the U. S.: “As he may be underrated by you in America as being the King of a small, poor and brown people, he will, no doubt, produce

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372 “Shall We Annex Hawaii?” 677.
373 “King Kalakaua” 300.
374 “King Kalakaua” 1073.
375 “King of the Sandwich Islands” 378.
376 “King of the Sandwich Islands” 378.
a good impression and some surprise by his gentle manners and cultivated understanding.”

This emphasis on his personal qualities also suggests that he will be accessible and engaging, although the July 25, 1874 edition of Sydney’s *Empire* emphasizes the serious skills of leadership. Kalākaua “is represented to be a man of intelligence, and of a truly paternal anxiety for the welfare of his people.”

**The Royal Tour and the November 1874 Trip to the United States**

Near the end of 1874, Kalākaua set out across the Pacific Ocean to the United States of America where he would fulfill many of the favorable predictions published in the spring—but not before taking care of important business in Hawai‘i. Most accounts of the first year of Kalākaua’s reign and especially those written by those who ultimately discount him, present his trip to Washington D. C. to urge Congress to pass the Reciprocity Treaty as his first significant act after ascending the throne, since this supposedly confirms his subservience to American business interests in Hawai‘i, and therefore, his betrayal of his own people. In fact, the March 7, 1874 edition of the Hawaiian-language *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* announced his forthcoming tour of his kingdom to thank the Hawaiian people for electing him and to announce “Hoʻoulu Lāhui,” his initiative to increase the population, the agriculture production and export, and the economic prosperity of Hawai‘i. At the time, this announcement was hardly surprising. Touring the kingdom was an immediate priority for any new mōʻī—many had done so before, and Liliʻuokalani would follow the example years later. In fact, the July 23, 1874 edition of the British *Star* made precisely this point. On his royal tour “He was everywhere well received, and there were plenty of fireworks, fetes, and presents,” proving that “The government of the new

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377 “King Kalakaua the New Sovereign” 4.
378 “We are Now” 2.
king is firmly established, as not only the majority of the native population, but nearly all the foreign inhabitants, support it. A detailed discussion of this tour, drawn from the Hawaiian-language reports, appears in the next chapter.

Before Kalākaua departed for the U. S., he met with his privy council to discuss what Kuykendall calls the “propriety” of his trip. While some members were concerned about the trip’s expenses, the mōʻī himself was apparently worried that in his absence the American business interests would overthrow his government. He therefore feared a coup d’État, and knew where it was likely to come from. He also did not want people to see this American trip as exclusively about negotiating a Reciprocity Treaty because that would undercut his claims to independence. In their Foreign Office correspondence, American Commissioner Peirce and British Commissioner Wodehouse agree that Kalākaua cared little about the treaty itself: “He hopes, as we Americans say, ‘to have a good time’ generally” said Peirce, and Kuykendall claims that the “main objection” was that “the trip as planned would put the king in a false position and make it appear that he was going just for the purpose of getting the much desired reciprocity treaty.” But Governor John O. Dominis assured the Privy Council “that the king and he had long wished to go to the United States—long before the treaty had been thought of; he blamed the local newspaper for connecting the king’s visit with the reciprocity treaty project.” Kalākaua even proposed extending his travels to England and France “in order to show the United States Government that he did not intend to throw himself into their hands—that his real wish was to go to England!” Although he did not visit England and France this time, and

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380 “The Hawaiian Islands” The Star; The Oct. 1, 1874 edition of the North American and United States Gazette also reported the king’s royal tour.
381 Kuykendall, Hawaiian 20.
382 Foreign Office.
383 Kuykendall, Hawaiian 20; Letters in Allen Papers 26; & Kuykendall, Hawaiian 21.
384 Wodehouse to British cabinet member Earl Derby.
385 Kuykendall, Hawaiian 22.
although a Hawai‘i newspaper first reported that he was going to America to negotiate the treaty, Kalākaua seems far more concerned with the independence of his people, the threat of an American coup, and of being seen as a puppet. That is to say, however, that Kalākaua went to the U. S. to specifically assist with negotiations for the treaty.

American and international newspapers’ accounts of Hawaiians’ loyalty and love for Kalākaua before he departed Hawai‘i are important, because they counter the many claims that maka‘āinana generally despised their mōʻī for supporting the reciprocity treaty, seeing it as a step toward the loss of Pearl Harbor, and then their entire nation, to the United States. Those who witnessed the interactions between the mōʻī and his people reported that the aloha they shared was unmistakable:

By 10 o’clock the palace grounds were filled with natives, who brought gifts to their departing Sovereign. His Majesty stood upon the steps to receive these tokens of the affection and fealty of his subjects. Numbers of children passed along to his presence with some little offering, in most cases money. Then came the elders filing along, chanting some old Hawaiian canticle, or singing some song celebrating the King and the royal family. Each, in passing by, lightly took the King’s hand and pressed it respectfully to his lips.386 He therefore left Hawai‘i a respected and beloved mōʻī, and his actual reception in America hardly suggests he was welcomed as someone begging for favors, or as someone unconcerned about his people. With regard to his arrival in San Francisco, the Boston Daily reports that “Considerable enthusiasm prevailed” among the 5,000 or so people who had gathered early in the morning, and that “a grand rush was made to get a glimpse of the King.” Military escorts and

386 “King Kalakaua: His Departure from Honolulu.”
gun salutes fired from the wharf also greeted Kalākaua.\textsuperscript{387} Shortly afterward, he was the honored guest at a military ball, which close to 4,000 people attended.\textsuperscript{388} *The Sydney Morning Herald* added further details about the mōʻī’s welcome:

> Every honour that could be offered to a royal chief has been bestowed upon Kalākaua. An American man-of-war was sent to bring him hither. Salutes, processions, military and civic presentations, addresses, public reception [ . . . . ]
> He is to spend a whole week in ‘Frisco, and for each day there is some special honour—troops reviewed, theatres thrown open, private and public banquets—all in honour of the King of the Sandwich isles.\textsuperscript{389}

The world paid attention when Kalākaua arrived in the U. S. capital. The *Liverpool Mercury* said that his visit to Washington “brings the Hawaiian country somewhat more prominently into notice than usual,”\textsuperscript{390} and London’s *Standard* listed his arrival there among the “prominent” events of the entire week.\textsuperscript{391} When Kalākaua’s train arrived in D. C. several hundred military officers escorted his carriage to the White House in cadence to “Hawai‘i Pono‘i.”\textsuperscript{392} Royal flags were displayed throughout the city, and people lined Pennsylvania Avenue, or sat at windows and rooftops to see the mōʻī.\textsuperscript{393} The Foreign Relations committee was so eager to welcome him that it appropriated $50,000 for a “suitable reception.”\textsuperscript{394} Kalākaua met with President Ulysses S. Grant. National and international newspaper coverage suggests that the response to Kalākaua’s visit was unprecedented. English newspapers reported that he had been “feted pretty extensively at the national capital already; invited to both New York and Philadelphia, with no end of

\textsuperscript{387}“Visit of King Kalakaua.”
\textsuperscript{388}“King Kalakaua on his Way to Washington.”
\textsuperscript{389}“The King of Honolulu” 4.
\textsuperscript{390}“King of the Sandwich Islands” *Liverpool Mercury.*
\textsuperscript{391}“America” 3.
\textsuperscript{392}“Reception of King Kalakaua” & “King Kalakaua: Arrival.”
\textsuperscript{393}“King Kalakaua: Arrival” & “Kalakaua Rex” *Inter Ocean.*
\textsuperscript{394}“Congress.”
attentions in addition to these.” President and Mrs. Grant’s grand reception was attended by judges, cabinet members, foreign ministers, both houses of congress, and officers of the military in uniform. “The King remained the principal object of attraction more than an hour,” and the banquet was talked about for weeks, as “one of the most elegant ever given at the White House.”

From Washington D. C. Kalākaua went to New York. In a frenzy of competition, city officials there organized royal receptions that would outdo other cities’ celebrations. The Board of Alderman and Assistant Alderman met “at length” to arrange the welcome, and agreed that “Hawai‘i Pono‘i” would be played at every public appearance. When Windsor House received confirmation of his stay, “great excitement prevailed,” and the Herald devoted an entire column to describing the beautiful room reserved for him:

For the King’s private use, parlours Nos. 112 and 113 on the second floor have been set apart. The first of these is magnificently trimmed with crimson satin. It fronts on Fifth Avenue, and the windows are draped with elegant lace curtains shrouded with crimson satin, with lambrequins of the same material. There are elegant divans, sleepy hollow chairs, rocking and arm chairs, also of crimson satin; ottomans, whose soft and luxurious cushions might invite a Cleopatra to repose.

In short, the city was ready to extend Kalākaua the warmest welcome possible:

“Whatever the attentions he may have been shown in other cities he has visited in this country or those that may be hereafter shown him, he can never leave New York without being able to

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395 “America” 3.
396 “One of the Most Elegant” 1.
397 “Reception of the King by Congress.”
398 “Presidential Dinners” 1.
truthfully say that whatever was kingly in the city was freely offered to him.” As in Washington, it was Kalākaua’s nobility that fascinated his hosts: “As the great metropolis has never before entertained a reigning Sovereign, there will, very properly, be a certain pomp and splendour displayed in the reception of the royal visitor.” London’s *Pall Mall Gazette* informed its readers about his New York stay, reporting on the spectacular welcome at Booth’s Theatre on Christmas Eve. Fireworks soared through the air in the front of the theatre, and the orchestra played “Hawaiʻi Ponoʻi” when Kalākaua arrived. The “proscenium box to be occupied by the Royal party” was decorated with the colors of Hawaiʻi and the U. S. Later that night, author and friend Samuel Clemens (“Mark Twain”) visited Kalākaua at the Windsor. Similar arrangements greeted him when he attended a performance at Ford’s Opera House with President Grant: “The house was handsomely decorated out of compliment to King David Kalakaua and suite and the President and party, who occupied the two stage boxes.”

Such journeys outside of Hawaiʻi were a magnet, drawing the attention of the newspapers and readers to Hawaiʻi. Australia’s *Gippsland Times* reported the “foreign residents say that, even if they get no free entry for sugar, they will have gained a point in prestige by their Sovereign’s recent visit.” And because Kalākaua was so impressive and principled, Americans and other international leaders, as well as the newspapers, concluded that his kingdom must be this civilized as well:

There are hundreds of schools in which knowledge is taught in both the native and the English tongues. Fifteen years ago these schools contained nearly 10,000 pupils. There are many churches, numerous printing presses at work, half a dozen

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399 “The King of Hawaii at New York” 5.
400 “King of Hawaii” *Pall Mall Gazette*.
401 “One of the Largest Audiences” 3.
402 “The King of the Sandwich Islands” *Reynold’s Newspaper* 5.
newspapers (some of them printed in the native languages and others in English),
quite a number of good hotels in Honolulu (which is a city of 16,000 inhabitants),
the costume of the people is now the same as that of other civilized communities,
and the dwellings are of the American and European types.\footnote{The King of the Sandwich Islands” Reynolds’s Newspaper 5.}

Kalākaua’s impressive personal qualities were widely reported. According to the Graphic, he was “A man of fine robust physique, and has a frank, open, good-natured face, which exactly
expresses his mental characteristics.”\footnote{“King Kalakaua and Suite” 3, 4, & 5.} Answering the question of many readers of the time, the
Inter Ocean added that he was “good-humored, and handsome, of a color not noticeably darker
than that of many a ‘brunette’ white man.”\footnote{“Kalakaua Rex: Arrival” 9.} His manners and overall demeanor were a constant
subject: “He has about him that air of graceful ease common to gentlemen [ . . . . ] He has the
enviable and not altogether common knack of putting all about him entirely at ease. In short, he
would impress any one as a quiet gentleman, with plenty of common sense.”\footnote{“Kalakaua Rex: Arrival” 9.} Although
Kalākaua had been mō’ī for less than a year, the Graphic in London confidently reported that
“Since his accession to the throne he has exhibited admirable executive ability, and has in every
way striven to increase the influence of his government and the good of his subjects. He is an
accomplished man, and in addition to general scholastic attainments possesses a sound
knowledge of international law.”\footnote{“King Kalakaua and Suite” 3, 4, & 5.} Such praise was common, and widespread. Kalākaua “has a
good education,” reported a Canadian paper, “and is possessed of a vigorous will, and is
determined to preserve the independence of the islands which form his kingdom.”\footnote{“Kalakaua as Pictured in Harper’s.”} He is “well
educated and popular in his little kingdom,”\footnote{“King Kalakaua as Pictured in Harper’s.”} according to Lowell, Massachusetts, and in

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\item The King of the Sandwich Islands” Reynolds’s Newspaper 5.
\item “King Kalakaua and Suite” 3, 4, & 5.
\item “Kalakaua Rex: Arrival” 9.
\item “Kalakaua Rex: Arrival” 9.
\item “King Kalakaua and Suite” 3, 4, & 5.
\item “King Kalakaua” New Dominion Monthly 127.
\item “King Kalakaua as Pictured in Harper’s.”
\end{thebibliography}
Australia, the Adelaide Advertiser agreed that he was a “well-educated man.”\textsuperscript{411} The New York Times praised Kalākaua’s efforts to curb alcohol consumption in Hawai‘i:

He had seen the evil effects of the use of intoxicating liquors, now on the increase, and desired to see it checked, that his people might become temperate, industrious, and prosperous [ . . . . ] He was anxious to see a reform in this matter initiated, and there at the palace was the best place for it to begin and spread throughout the land.\textsuperscript{412}

This report is particularly interesting, in light of the frequent attacks over the coming years on Kalākaua in some Hawai‘i newspapers and other publications for alcoholism.

Kalākaua’s first trip as mō‘ī to the U. S. clearly became a celebrity tour. The Times noted the mailed-in requests for the mō‘ī’s autograph,\textsuperscript{413} and newspapers sought out stories from people who had known him personally to gratify the general curiosity. Many of these accounts contrast sharply with the dismissive and often racist reports outlined in Chapter One. “When we see David Kalakaua, we shall see a highly respectable gentleman,” Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper remarked as he made his way across the continent toward the capital: “There is nothing savage or romantic about him. He and his people have felt the influence of civilization, and the picturesque and romantic have been eliminated from among them.”\textsuperscript{414} On November 28, San Francisco’s Daily Evening Bulletin offered the following portrait:

In his conversation and deportment all who may meet him at once recognize the culture of a gentleman. In addition to scholastic education and accomplishment he has added, by assiduous study, whilst engaged in the fulfillment of various public

\textsuperscript{411}“King Kalakaua” The Advertiser 5.
\textsuperscript{412}“King Kalakaua on Temperance” 8.
\textsuperscript{413}“King Kalakaua’s Subjects” 4.
\textsuperscript{414}“A Plea” 179.
duties, an extensive knowledge of international law and other requirements calculated to qualify him to exercise the sovereignty in behalf of his native country.\textsuperscript{415}

Kalākaua proved to be so much the gentleman that some reporters seemed disappointed at his complete lack of savagery. Take, for example, this San Francisco \textit{Chronicle} article about the national state dinner given by President Grant. After noting that Kalākaua appeared in formal evening wear, the reporter then wrote “Shall we confess that we would have been better pleased if he had treated us to a hint [ . . . ] of a royal mantle made from the golden breasts of tropical birds?”\textsuperscript{416}

When Kalākaua returned home in 1875, after successfully negotiating the Reciprocity Treaty, many sources describe the welcome his subjects gave him.\textsuperscript{417} “There could not have been less than ten or twelve thousand spectators of this the grandest sight ever witnessed in Hawaii nei,” \textit{The Sydney Morning Herald} reported “The procession consisted first of several hundred school children, each of whom brought a bouquet of flowers and presented them to the King,” and as he “passed through the streets he was greeted everywhere with cheers from the populace, and a more enthusiastic reception was never witnessed.”\textsuperscript{418}

Now a national and international celebrity, Kalākaua was frequently the subject of commentary and profiles over the ensuing years. In 1875, the British ship \textit{H. M. S. Challenger} was conducting a scientific expedition studying marine life, including reefs and other organisms. One of its stops was Hawai‘i, and the first volume of \textit{Report on the Scientific Results of the Voyage of H. M. S. Challenger during the Years 1873–1876} included an account of Kalākaua,

\textsuperscript{415}“The Coming.”
\textsuperscript{416}“King Kalakaua at the National Capital” 4.
\textsuperscript{417}“General News.”
\textsuperscript{418}“Return of King Kalakaua to Hawaii” 3.
who “took the liveliest interest in the special work of the Challenger, and recognized the well-known anchors in the skin of the Holothurian Synapta when shown them under the microscope, and named them at first glance.” The crew was impressed with his knowledge of marine biology; obviously, he was a well-read man. But he was also impressive as a mō‘ī: “His Hawaiian Majesty Kalākaua is a monarchial ruler, with a paraphernalia of sovereignty as imposing in design, if not in execution, as that of Great Britain itself.” Other papers were impressed with his nobility as well. On April 7, 1877, the London Illustrated News ran handsome portraits of Kalākaua, Kapi‘olani, and Leleiōhoku, remarking as well that “Kalakaua, now in the forty-sixth year [sic] of his age, is a well-educated and accomplished gentleman, with the habits and sentiments of a cultivated European.” Four years later, the paper held the same opinion: “Kalakaua is a gentleman of as good education and as good manners as most of the upper classes in the European nations.” And shortly before this, the Newport Mercury of Rhode Island printed the following description from someone who visited Hawai‘i after the mō‘ī’s trip around the globe: “Kalakaua is intelligent having excellent command of the English language, and having also had the advantages of an unusually interesting tour around the world. We believe that he desires to rule well and see his little kingdom prosper and progress.”

### The 1881 Circumnavigation of the Globe

As we saw in Chapter One, Kalākaua’s round-the-world tour was a target for attacks stretching out many years afterward. At the time, however, many accounts describe how the

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421 “The Hawaiian Islands” 325.
422 “King of Hawaii” Supplement 61.
423 “An Interesting Account” 1.
residents of Hawai‘i responded to this plan, and prepared for his departure. On January 13, foreign residents and descendants hosted a state dinner in this sovereign’s honor in Honolulu; on the 16th, Hawaiians paid visits to the mō‘ī. At the Catholic Cathedral and Kawaiaha‘o church, congregations offered their prayers for his safe travels. Kānaka Maoli flocked to the grounds of ‘Iolani Palace, chanting and singing their farewell to their mō‘ī. On January 20, 1881, Kalākaua departed for San Francisco.

His primary goals were to study other governments in order to strengthen his own rule and Hawai‘i’s independence, to find another people to join with Hawaiians to repopulate the kingdom, and to recruit laborers for the sugar plantations. But for many publications, the fact that Kalākaua would circle the globe was the biggest news. In England, the *Nottingham Evening Post* reported that “He will arrive at Honolulu by the middle of November, after an absence of ten months, being then the only reigning monarch who has ever made a tour around the world.”

His extraordinary welcome in America, and the favorable local and international coverage of that journey were among the incitements to travel, and if anything, his reception in 1881 was even more positive. Rulers and leaders of differing ranks and distinctions embraced him with a fervor, given his previously mentioned status as the monarch of a tiny, isolated nation with a dwindling population. But contemporary observers like Constance Gordon-Cumming remark that through

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425 “His Majesty’s Ministers” 3; “Great Enthusiasm” 3; & “Kalani Kamahele” 2.

426 “Farewell” 1; “On Sunday” 3; & “O ka Huakai” 2.

427 “Ka Holo o Kalani” 5; “Midnight” 2; & “A Group” 4.

428 “King Kalakaua’s Tour” *Nottingham* 2.
this tour Kalākaua “has established himself and his country in the minds of those nations in a manner hitherto undreamt of.” Newspapers often described how much he appreciated such recognition. According to the Staffordshire Sentinel, “He enjoys immensely his visit to Paris, is delighted at the attentions of which he is the object, and takes no trouble to conceal his pleasurable emotions. Kalakaua bears his heart upon his sleeve.”

Over the ten months he visited Japan, China, Hong Kong, Siam, India, Egypt, Italy, England, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, France, Spain, Portugal, Scotland, England again, then the U. S., stopping in New York, Philadelphia, Virginia, Washington D. C., Kentucky, Illinois, Nebraska and California. Such an itinerary not only speaks to his adventurousness, but also the impact of modern transportation and communication. Only a few years before, it would have been nearly inconceivable for anyone, let alone a monarch, to travel to so many places at the speed with which he did. Kalākaua’s circumnavigation of the earth was also a sign of his status and his popularity. Many of the wealthy and prominent in the world could not afford, or even imagine, visiting all the places that Kalākaua did. The journey also shaped his awareness of his own identity in a global context. Though the ruler of a tiny island kingdom, his travel put him in the forefront of popular discourse about the possibilities of later nineteenth-century travel. Jules Verne’s successful Around the World in Eighty Days had been published in 1872. In Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant, published in 1885, the former U. S. president would document his own trip around the world.

The countries that welcomed Kalākaua often repeated in their newspapers the kinds of praise he had received on his 1874 journey across America. He seemed handsome, perceptive,

430 “King Kalakaua” Staffordshire Sentinel 3.
charming, and open to foreign relations with all other nations. According to the *Liverpool Mercury*, “He speaks several European languages, almost with the accent of the natives of the respective countries, and exhibits an acquaintance with the history of Europe which would do credit to a statesman.” As Stacy L. Kamehiro explains, by attracting this kind of publicity, he turned his tour into a form of resistance against the slanderous, trivializing, and judgmental accounts of his rule and his travels produced by Hawai‘i’s white oligarchy, and by international commentators who found the very idea of a Pacific Island country ridiculous. This resistance extended out to the nature of Hawai‘i itself. Positive international accounts “represented Kalākaua as a popular, educated, and capable ruler; Honolulu as an ordered, clean cosmopolitan city with modern technologies, architecture, and civic institutions; and [ . . . ] Hawaiian society as civilized and productive.” But his goals were also highly pragmatic. Kalākaua was looking for an appropriate cognate population that could join with the remaining Hawaiians to repopulate his kingdom. Far more importantly for the business community, he was also looking for sources of labor for the sugar plantations, which were booming thanks to the Reciprocity Treaty he had helped to negotiate.

In the early 1860s, Dr. H. Willis Baxley, on his visit to Hawai‘i, noted the need for more sugar field workers: “The difficulty of securing certain and reliable labor has no doubt deterred others from engaging in the business.” On her later trip to Hawai‘i, Gordon-Cumming noticed the dire conditions of the sugar industry due to labor shortages: “Many lesser plantations have had cane ruined in the field, for want of hands to care for it—while others have, from the same cause, suffered serious delay in their building and other necessary work.” As Kalākaua set out

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432 “King Kalakaua in Edinburgh” 2.
433 Kamehiro 25.
434 Baxley 588.
on his trip, he therefore felt pressure from the sugar capitalists, who could see the economic potential of his finding them more workers. Nor did these capitalists confine their hopes to the mō‘ī. As McGregor-Alegado explains, motivated by desperation and greed,

The haole mercantile and planter interests also used their influence in government to channel government funds to subsidize the importation of the immigrant laborers. For example, from 1876 to 1887 the government paid $1,026,212 million dollars for the importation of 39,926 Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, Norwegian, German and South Sea Island laborers, while the planters paid only $565,547.436

In short, the business powers not only exhorted Kalākaua to help them, but turned the kingdom government into a bank to fund their own plantations.

The tour began well. On January 29, Kalākaua arrived in San Francisco aboard the City of Sydney. On February 1st, he visited St. Matthews Hall, a military finishing school in San Mateo, and was treated to a demonstration by the school cadets. The Daily Evening Bulletin reporter who accompanied him reported that “His Majesty gave very marked and close attention to the various evolutions performed by the corps, and asked many questions as to the foundation of the school and its general management.” Kalākaua’s intense curiosity was on display, and so too, apparently, was his charm. At the end of his visit, “the party drove off amid the loud cheers of the battalion and the assembled guests.”437 On February 3rd, he met the governor and the legislature at the state capitol. Fifteen-minute recesses were taken at 11:30 and 12:30 so that legislators could meet and speak with “the distinguished guest.”438 On February 4th, he insisted on visiting San Rafael, even though the roads were muddy from a recent storm—an example of

436 McGregor-Alegado 15.
437 “Visiting the St. Matthews Cadets” 3.
his curiosity about places and people.439 That night, the governor hosted a dinner at the Arcade Hotel for the city’s “distinguished visitor.”440 Clearly not tired, after dinner, Kalākaua asked to go to the theater. Three private boxes were reserved for his retinue.

Almost in anticipation of the countries he would visit, he was then entertained by those tied to or representing other countries in the city. The Chinese Consul-General hosted a dinner in his honor with the elite Chinese of the community at the Hang Fer Low restaurant. And on February 5, the Ligue Nationale Francaise held a reception for him at Platt’s Hall. But prominent American individuals and organizations also held major events. Commodore R. S. Floyd and members of the Pacific Yacht Club took Kalākaua sailing and then hosted a dinner in his honor. A grand soiree musicale was held on February 7th with only the city’s most prominent citizens in attendance. Organized by the Ladies of the Palace Hotel, it was “one of the grandest social events in the history of the city.”441 As Kalākaua traveled throughout California’s towns and cities, he was welcomed enthusiastically.442 According to a Los Angeles paper, the people of California seemed to be saying that “We feel assured that no potentate of Europe, nor eminent great man of America’s own soil, could have received greater and more honorable attention,” and the San Francisco Call says that Kalākaua deserves this, because “as a worthy chief, he has won the love of a loyal people.”443 In short, California was honored to host Kalākaua, whom Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper called a “man of intelligence and a wise ruler.”444

Kalākaua left San Francisco for Japan, the next stop on his journey, but stories anticipating his arrival there and elsewhere had already preceded him. “I hasten to inform my

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439 See “Movements.”
440 “Distinguished Visitor” 3.
441 King Kalakaua’s Tour 18.
442 “What a Flutter” 4.
443 King Kalakaua’s Tour 29
444 “The King of the Hawaiian Islands” 407.
friends in Hong Kong that they are shortly to have conferred on them an honour greater than any they have ever had before,” wrote the correspondent for the *Hong Kong Daily Press*: “They are about to have a Royal visitor; not a mere scion of royalty, nor even an heir-apparent, but a real, live, reigning monarch. King Kalakaua leaves to day [*sic*] by the steamer *City of Sydney* for a tour round the world.”

He himself recognized the irony that to serve his people, and even his closest relations, he had to travel away from them for a time. As he passed Hawai‘i on his way to Japan—he had gone to San Francisco to sail on the *Oceanic*—he composed the following poem for his wife, Kapi‘olani, and by extension, for his home:

To catch a glimpse of yonder shore,

My eager eyes I strain,

And pray that I was there—once more!

Let me not pray in vain!

The surf its [*sic*] silvery crests display,

On that far shore I love,

When back, I make my homeward way,

No more I’ll care to rove.

Dear waiting one, I think of thee,

The maile round thy neck!

O, tell me, wild and angry sea,

How long you’ll hold me back?

Since, then I cannot meet you now,

Divided by the main,

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445 “Hawaii” Straits 1.
Let me tell you fondly how,
I hope we’ll meet again.
A love like thine, so leal [sic] and true,
My devious way will guard;
And when the rounded world I view,
Thy love is my reward.\(^{446}\)

On March 4\(^{th}\), Kalākaua arrived in Yokohama, and became the first head of state to sit down with the Japanese emperor since the nation opened its doors to trading in 1854. Richard A. Greer, Masaji Marumoto and Donald Keene have thoroughly documented Kalākaua’s travels in Japan.\(^{447}\) Rebecca E. Karl further adds that when it was learned that Kalākaua would be making his way to Japan, the Meiji was “eager to demonstrate” Japan’s “grasp of Western-style ceremonials”\(^{448}\) — rather ironic, since in his previous travels, one of Kalākaua’s goals was to demonstrate the same thing.

The British newspaper, the *Alnwick Mercury*, supplied its readers with the following account of Kalākaua’s visit to Japan:

> Grand theatrical performances were organized in his honour at Tokio, and the Emperor received him at a great banquet. Perhaps a more remarkable féte was that organized by the Club of the Nobles [ . . . ] The dinner given to King Kalakaua lasted six hours, was composed entirely of Japanese dishes, and was served Japanese fashion—on the floor [ . . . ] the banquet altogether was superbly complete.\(^{449}\)

\(^{446}\) *King Kalakaua’s Tour* 30.

\(^{447}\) See Greer, Marumoto, & Keene.

\(^{448}\) Karl 234 n. 17.

\(^{449}\) “King Kalakaua” *Alnwick Mercury* 2.
One especially striking event that deserves greater attention was a visit to Shintomiza Theater—a western-styled, Imperial venue for kabuki. Twenty-eight carriages conveyed the imperial officials and the Hawaiian entourage to the theatre that night, where more than 1,000 lanterns, each one painted with Japan’s and Hawai‘i’s royal flags, illuminated the garden and lobby foyer. For those foreigners present, “The impression produced by this audience of wealthy Japanese, was that of a higher order of intelligence pervaded the company. A large number of spectacles and eyeglasses were observed.”\textsuperscript{450} So impressed was Kalākaua with his reception there that he ordered a curtain be fashioned for the Shintomiza’s stage. The Kyoto-based Nishimaru & Co. produced a crimson Japanese velvet curtain with the Hawaiian royal coat of arms embroidered in gold at its center. An inscription read “Presented to the Shintomiza Theatre by Kalakaua the First, King of Hawaii, in the second month of the year 2541 (Japanese era).” Observers there, and back in Hawai‘i, remarked on both the generosity, and the strategic cleverness of the gift: “What an advertisement of that little Kingdom, in that great empire, is this drop curtain?” asked one commentator, since with its capacity of 5,000 people, the Shintomiza Theatre now was a showcase for Kalākaua and his nation: “What feelings of interest and curiosity must be evoked; and what prestige for little Hawaii, thus promoted by the intelligent courtesy of her thoughtful and patriotic chief abroad!”\textsuperscript{451} The gift also confirmed the taste and refinement of the mō‘ī. The Celestial Empire said the curtain was the “handsomest thing of the kind that has ever been used in a Japanese Theatre.”\textsuperscript{452}

This information is significant, because two years before Kalākaua visited Japan, former U. S. president Ulysses S. Grant and his wife spent more than two months there, the final stop of

\textsuperscript{450} King Kalakaua’s Tour 41.  
\textsuperscript{451} King Kalakaua’s Tour 45 & “The Hawaiians are Not” 66.  
\textsuperscript{452} “Hawaiian Honors in Japan” 4.
their round-the-world tour. Grant also went to the Shintomiza theatre, where he watched a play telling his life story as a war hero and world leader. Grant presented a curtain to the company, leading the *Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shimbun* newspaper to report that “Although there are a great numbers of theaters in the world, we have never heard of any which has been presented a curtain by the President [of the United States].” Kalākaua was therefore copying Grant in bestowing this gift, and in the process, asserting the claim of Hawai‘i and himself to be similar in nature to America and its distinguished visitor. Furthermore, since unlike Grant, Kalākaua was still in power, his curtain was an emblem of Japan’s “treaty of friendship” with Hawai‘i.

On March 22, 1881, Kalākaua left Japan for a brief stopover in Shanghai. On the 25th, he was greeted by the chief magistrate, dignitaries, and foreign officials. He toured the city, and was entertained lavishly before leaving on the 27th, arriving in Tientsin on the 29th. Foreign representatives met with Kalākaua and Viceroy Li Hungchang, whom the *Alnwick Mercury* described as “the generalissimo of the Chinese armies, and at this moment the most important living member of the Celestial Empire.” They spent three hours together, and at a banquet hosted by the China Merchants’ Steam Navigation Company in Kalākaua’s honor, the viceroy thanked him for Hawai‘i’s hospitality to the thousands of Chinese immigrants in Hawai‘i. Kalākaua wrote home to Governor John O. Dominis to follow through with a particular appointment, and the letter clearly demonstrates that the 1881 trip around the world was intended to be a campaign to promote Hawai‘i’s foreign relations:

I would ask Mr. [William] Green the Minister of Foreign Affairs, to appoint Mr. Tam King Sing Consul for Tientsen, China. He is an exceeding clever and

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453 Chang 388.
454 Chang 388.
455 “King Kalakaua” *Alnwick Mercury* 2.
456 “His Majesty the King of the Hawaiian” 346.
capable Chinaman. Speaks and writes the English language perfectly and be a very useful man to have in Tientsen. In fact he has considerable power with the Chinese officials and at present he has control of the immense Coal mines they are now developing and other public improvements in Rail Roads, and telegraphs. He is also vice President to the China Merchant Steam Navigation Company line already competing with the P. M. S. S. in the trade directly from China to San Francisco. I would send him a decoration of the same class as those above mentioned. This will give us immense weight in the Imperial Court of China.\footnote{1881 King Kalakaua Letters. Trip around World. 12 May 1881. Singapore} Kalākaua also gave a number of photographs of himself to officials at the banquet, and one of Kapiʻolani to the wife of one of an official.\footnote{His Majesty the King of the Hawaiian Islands} Philadelphia’s \textit{North American} said that he was received “with great respect by the Chinese and foreigners,” and the \textit{Alnwick Mercury} reported that “the mandarins met him with every demonstration of cordiality.”\footnote{King Kalakaua} Returning to Shanghai on April 6\textsuperscript{th}, the Hawaiian entourage departed for Hong Kong on the 9\textsuperscript{th}, arriving on the 12\textsuperscript{th}. \textit{The Hong Kong Government Gazette} announced that the governor, Sir John Pope Hennessy, welcomed Kalākaua on behalf of Queen Victoria.\footnote{Char 98.} After a royal reception at the Government House that evening, foreign officials, military officers, members of Council, heads of departments, and the prominent residents of Hong Kong gathered to meet the mōʻi. On the following evening, Governor Hennessy hosted another event for Kalākaua. Some 300 guests attended. Dancing followed dinner, “The assemblage was a brilliant one and proved a great success, the gathering bring truly cosmopolitan and representative.”\footnote{King Kalakaua’s Tour 58.}
Freemasons of Hong Kong welcomed their fellow Mason and the Governor to brunch. Kalākaua gave a speech to great applause.

On April 27, Kalākaua arrived in Siam, where he was the guest of King Rama V. Kalākaua was supposedly traveling incognito, but the Siam consul in Hong Kong had sent word that the Hawaiian monarch was on his way. It should be mentioned that the original plan had been to circle the globe without calling attention to himself, but as has already been seen, when consuls and officials got word of his visits, they not only decided to recognize and celebrate him for what he was—a monarch—but also informed the next stop of his plans. Even before he arrived in Siam, then a royal yacht bearing the royal flag met Kalākaua, and a committee of five officials dressed in white uniforms addressed him in English, and welcomed him aboard. As the yacht approached the capital, gun salutes were fired. A barge, “ornately decorated with a canopy of silk and gold embroidery” and guided by twenty oarsmen, conveyed Kalākaua and his suite to the dock. Contemporary accounts recorded that

The vessel came alongside the landing where a carpet had been laid from the water’s edge to the nearby street, and as the visitors emerged they found a large number of soldiers standing attention beside a row of royal carriages, driven by coachmen dressed in red and gold uniforms lined with yellow, and sporting unbrushed silk hats.  

At the palace, Kalākaua was welcomed by the royal princes; the next day, King Rama V greeted him there. The Hawaiian mōʻī would have been impressed: “The chamber was furnished in European style with carpets, sofas and chairs, and on the walls hung many portraits of former monarchs.” Near the end of his stay, a banquet was held in his honor. Outside the palace

462 “King Chulalongkorn.”
463 “King Chulalongkorn.”
courtyard, soldiers bearing lit torches were lined up all the way to the entrance. A band welcomed Kalākaua with “Hawai‘i Pono‘ī.” The two sovereigns found shared keen interests in travel, music, scholarship, and modernity. After Siam, Kalākaua went to Singapore, where the president invited the executive and legislative councils, consuls, and prominent residents to dine with the mō‘ī at the Istana, the presidential residence and office. According to the Straits Times Overland Journal, his appearance was the “event of the week,” noting that he has a “pleasing voice and manner, and speaks English remarkably well, without the slightest accent. His Majesty has created a most agreeable impression upon all who came in contact with him.” The Straits Times Overland Journal later added that “a guard of honor of European and Sikh constables lined the approach to Johnston’s Pier” to bid Kalākaua farewell. Before he could make his way to Penang (Malaysia), Moulmein (Myanmar), Rangoon (Myanmar), and Calcutta he received an invitation from the Sultan Abu Bakar, the Maharajah of Johor, to visit him at the royal palace he built for himself. They met on May 10th, and a side-by-side comparison reveals several similarities. They wear almost identical Victorian military uniforms, adorned with an array of orders and decorations. A symbol of aristocracy and authority, the garb enhances the subjects’ physiques as well as reflecting their status—important assertions to make, given nineteenth-century attitudes regarding visual culture, race, politics, and imperial identity. Abu Bakar, called “The Father of Modern Johor,” and Kalākaua

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464 On the day before the banquet, Kalākaua had played the music to “Hawai‘i Pono‘ī” on the piano for the Siam bandmaster (“King Chulalongkorn”).
465 “King Chulalongkorn.”
466 “Monday” 8.
467 “Summary” 1.
468 “Departure of King Kalakaua” Straits Times & Overland Journal 2.
spoke English as well as their native tongues, were educated by missionaries in their formative years, built ornate palaces for themselves, encouraged immigration, traveled widely, and sought to advance the development of their nations. Kalākaua’s visits to British-colonized states were heavily informed by a decades-long policy driven by Hawai‘i’s determination to maintain its own independence. Favorable accounts of Kalākaua’s reception at such outposts assisted him in his constant effort to deterritorialize Hawaiʻi from the influence of friendly but dangerous imperial powers like the United States and Great Britain.

On June 20, Kalākaua arrived at the Suez Canal, another engineering and architectural feat that attracted substantial praise around the world for the ruler considered responsible for it. Well before Kalākaua’s trip around the world, the Hong Kong Daily Press reported not only that “The construction of the Suez Canal was an event in the history of the world; it marked an era in the science of engineering,” but also that “It is a work which has conferred a deathless renown on its projector and constructor, and will also make famous the name of the Khedive of Egypt.”

Given Kalākaua’s interest in technological innovation, both the Suez Canal and its “projector” drew him, and the Khedive welcomed the visit, sending a special train to convey the mōʻī to Cairo. Kalākaua toured the pyramids, and a grand state ball was given in his honor, with leading officials and residents of Cairo and Alexandria in attendance. Though far more modest, ʻIolani Palace would represent the same impulse toward impressive architectural memorials, both ancient and modern. On July 1st, military officials welcomed Kalākaua into Naples, Italy; he met the Pope in Rome the next day, and toured that city for two days.

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469 See Beamer 101.
He then left for London, where on July 11, he met Queen Victoria. He later recalled that “She asked particularly where I learnt English as my accent was perfect.” The enthusiasm of his hosts, and his own intelligence, curiosity, and urbanity, were all noted by the newspapers that covered this leg of his journey, and broadcast it around the world. “Since the arrival of King Kalakaua in London he has met with the most cordial hospitality from the Queen downwards,” reported Australia’s Wallaroo Times: “The King is staying at Claridge’s Hotel, and every day since his arrival he has been visited by many members of Parliament, noblemen and others.”

London’s Graphic observed that “The King has been exceedingly busy since his arrival in London, inspecting the various sights of the metropolis, and has been a frequent guest at social garden parties and ‘evenings.’” Kalākaua had also achieved his principal aim of presenting himself and his nation as highly civilized. The paper described him as an “educated sovereign, with all the paraphernalia of an European Constitution, including a Parliament of two Houses, where the debates are carried on both in Hawaiian and English,” and whose “seven years of a peaceful and prosperous reign have shown that the confidence of the Hawaiian Deputies was certainly not misplaced.”

Kalākaua clearly had England’s attention and respect. He was the guest of honor at garden parties hosted by the Archbishop of Canterbury and by the Prince and Princess of Wales. Attended by royalty and London’s elite, the latter event led the Morning Post to devote four columns to listing the guests’ names. The Hampshire Telegraph noted that at the Prince and Princess of Wales’ ball at Marlborough House, Kalākaua’s joined in on the opening dance, a quadrille. His intellectual abilities were also acknowledged. On the 13th, the

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471 Char 99.
472 “The King of the Sandwich Islands in London” 1.
473 “King Kalakaua” The Graphic 11.
474 King Kalakaua’s Tour 70.
475 “London Gossip” 2.
Earl and Countess Spencer hosted Kalākaua at a conversazione to discuss art, literature, or science at the South Kensington Museum.

When he headed out to visit other English sites, two or more newspapers reported on his progress; readers clearly were interested in whom he met, dined with, and visited, and what he did at each place. The July 19, 1881 edition of Exeter’s *The Western Times*, for example, documented how “The party, who drive from Normanhurst Court, paid a brief visit to the Pier, passing through a guard of honour consisting of Rifle Artillery and Naval Volunteers, and being met by the directors and a large number of spectators.” The *Hastings & St. Leonard’s Observer* account of his visit to its town filled an entire page, or five densely-packed columns, and the details suggest just how mutually beneficial these encounters could be. The day began with the townspeople’s exuberantly preparing for Kalākaua’s arrival. Once the pier master had announced the mō‘ī’s impending stopover, the news “spread every rapidly” and “bunting was run up” on the exterior of the major buildings there. Flags of different nations lined the main streets, windows, and homes. When the people learned of his passage down St. Leonards toward the pier, “a large number of persons lined the parade in expectancy of having a glance.” At the pier itself, “the entrances [. . .] were entirely blocked by crowds of eager sightseers.” The reporter almost literally records Kalākaua’s every step: “His Majesty walked to the head of the Pier, round the lower deck on the west side, and ascended the steps at the south end into the Pavilion, after which he returned along the upper deck on the east die to the foot of the Pier.” Kalākaua’s curiosity, intelligence, and graciousness are shown through his many questions about the town’s sites and his compliments on its beauty. If Kalākaua’s visit to Hastings somehow affirmed its charm, the people happily reciprocated by praising both the visiting monarch and his nation. The *Hastings & St. Leonard’s Observer* also quoted from the speech of municipal

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magistrates to Kalākaua, which congratulated him “upon the advance made in your kingdom since your Majesty’s ascension to the throne, and on the consequent benefits which have resulted to your subjects.”

The mayor, in welcoming Kalākaua, observed that “he had great pleasure in presenting the address to his Majesty, and it was an especial pleasure when they remembered that the King was at the head of a country which had so much improved under His Majesty’s reign, and where His Majesty so desired to carry out a rule that would benefit the country still more.”

The mayor went on to remark that “such addresses” “had been given to emperors and kings of other nations” as well. After a fine luncheon a carriage took the mōʻī and the mayor to meet his train. Apparently the town had heard of the departure, because “a large number of people had assembled both in and outside of the station, and they received his Majesty with loud acclamation.”

The newspaper also reported about the crowd that “As it saw the meeting of the two kings—that fraternising [sic] of civic and royal majesty—it raised a shout. Kalakaua took off his white gossamer and bowed as only he can bow.” And so concluded Kalākaua’s esteemed visit to Hastings.

Back in London, Kalākaua was received once more by the Prince and Princess of Wales. He thanked them for the magnificent hospitality England had extended to him; the visit culminated in Queen Victoria’s bestowing the Knight of the Grand Cross of St. Michael and St. George upon him. As he made his way to Belgium, The Sheffield Daily Telegraph summed up the newspapers’ general impression: “King Kalakaua certainly impressed the British public as an affable monarch of a free and open disposition.”

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477 “We Congratulate” 6.
478 “The King of the Sandwich Islands at Hastings” 6.
479 “Our Private London Correspondence” 2.
In Belgium, Kalākaua met with King Leopold II and toured Brussels for two days. In Berlin he met with the German emperor, and then headed to Vienna, where *The Standard* reported that Kalākaua was “the observed of all observers.” When he emerged from the train, “an immense crowd of curious sightseers assembled at the station” greeted him with “enthusiastic cheers,” and a reporter noted that “the streets, from the railway station to the hotel where his Majesty alighted, were crowded by spectators, who cheered continuously as the King passed.” Clearly, as *The Graphic* confirmed, he was “most enthusiastically received,” and *The Standard* reported that the local newspaper *Soir* described Kalākaua as “intelligent and affable. He speaks English well.” According to Niklaus Schweizer, “Today he is still remembered in Berlin and Vienna.” The mōʻi then went to France, and the San Francisco *Daily Evening Bulletin* published a key interview with Kalākaua conducted during his stay in Paris. The reporter asked what was the true purpose of the world tour, since several newspapers were claiming that Kalākaua was trying to sell his country. The reporter concludes his piece like this: “I have the highest authority for stating that, far from King Kalakaua wishing to cede his kingdom to anybody, one of the chief objects of his voyage is to find some Power which would be willing to guarantee its complete independence.”

He then went on to Portugal and Spain. As in almost every country he visited on his world tour, reporters were waiting for a glimpse of the Hawaiian mōʻi. What the international press expected was a “savage.” What they got was the opposite, and they reported that. A state reception awaited him when he arrived in Portugal. On August 19, Kalākaua arrived at 6 a.m.

481 “King Kalakaua” *The Standard* 5.
482 “The Court” 11.
483 “Events in France” 3.
484 Schweizer 266.
485 “Kalakaua’s Views” 4.
Even so, a band played “Hawai‘i Pono‘i” as guards of honor and a squadron escorted him to the Hotel Braganza. The Portuguese press was waiting for him as well. As Anne Maxwell explains, accounts of Kalākaua’s trips present him as a “symbol” of his nation, and no article demonstrates the mō‘ī’s seeking reports as “a form of publicity” to make a “favorable impression among western audiences” better than Eduardo Mayone Dias’s account of his time in Portugal. Dias reports the Portuguese already knew Kalākaua “was educated in the European fashion, made several trips abroad and visited the United States as a plenipotentiary,” and had “completed important treaties with the American Republic.” Dias goes on to declare that “King Kalakaua’s serious administration has elevated the country to great prosperity and has won him great favor. His behavior as King can serve as an example to many kings of the old royalist Europe.” Based on personal observation, Kalākaua is “intelligent, educated and extremely polite. He is a good conversationalist and holds his own in society.” His physical appearance was impressive, if not what the curious were hoping for, Dias writes that Kalākaua was a “handsome man, tall, strong, slightly ‘café au lait’ hued. He dresses well in the European fashion, greatly disappointing the Lisbon population, who expected to see him in a loincloth and a headdress, like some savage chieftain.” In fact, in his account of another public event, Dias turns the mirror around:

Two or three thousand openmouthed persons dogged his every footstep. When he sat down, more than four thousand milled around his chair gaping at him with

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486 “Portugal” 5.
487 Maxwell 94.
488 Dias 77.
489 Dias 77–78.
490 Dias 78.
491 Dias 78, 89.
perfectly imbecilic and primitive astonishment [. . . ] Anyone who witnessed this
would find it difficult to decide who was more uncivilized: he or we.\footnote{492}

As a token of respect, the king of Portugal bestowed the Grand Cross of the Order Villa Vicosa
upon Kalākaua.\footnote{493}

After a short time in Spain and France, the “illustrious visitor” or “visitor of distinction”
arrived in Scotland on September 7\textsuperscript{th}. Crowds of people, city officials, princes, princesses, and
other dignitaries received him as belonging to “one of the highest families in the islands.”\footnote{494}
Cake and wine receptions, dinners, banquets, freemason gatherings, royal carriage tours and
special train rides, and tree-planting ceremonies, where “a number of people loitered about the
gardens in the hope that they might see the illustrious stranger,”\footnote{495} were only some of Kalākaua’s
activities in Edinburgh. The accounts of this reception here are often strikingly similar to those in
the Hawaiian-language newspapers about his tour of his own nation (see Chapter Three). People
gathered in enormous crowds, cheered, applauded, lifted their hats, and presented bouquets.
They decorated arches with evergreens, heather, ferns, and palms topped with phrases such as
“Long Live King Kalakaua!” They laid out crimson cloths for him to walk upon, and welcomed
him with choruses of “Aloha!” Bands and pipers struck up tunes, and atop several buildings, the
Hawaiian flag flew next to Scotland’s own standard. In turn, the newspapers reported that
Kalākaua was fully worthy of the public praise:

\begin{quote}
His manner and deportment are, it is said, those of a thoroughly well-bred
gentleman. He is very affable, while retaining the natural dignity befitting his
position. Possessed of remarkable conversational powers, he expresses himself
\end{quote}

\footnote{492 Dias 79.}
\footnote{493 “Multiple” 4.}
\footnote{494 “The King of the Sandwich Islands” \textit{Edinburgh Courant} 7 Sept. 1881: 5.}
\footnote{495 “The King of the Sandwich Islands” \textit{Edinburgh Courant} 9 Sept. 1881: 5.}
well in English with a slight foreign accent. He is acute in his criticisms, which manifest culture and originality of thought, and when speaking of his travels shows that he is keen-sighted, and has received impressions which are not likely to be lost in furthering the comfort and happiness of the people over whom it is his lot to rule.496

Kalākaua then made his way south to Liverpool. The King of Sweden and Norway happened to be there, and bestowed the Order of the Holy Cross of Wasa upon the Hawaiian mōʻī.497 Kalākaua went sight-seeing, and on September 12th, the night prior to his departure for New York, he attended a banquet as the guest of Mayor Forwood at the Town Hall, where a “large and distinguished party”498 had gathered.499

The next day he received a parting gift: “Mr. R. C. Isaac, of the firm of I. R. Isaac and Son, Bond-street, London (late of this city), was introduced to the King, and presented him with a bird’s-eye view of Liverpool, published by the above firm, handsomely bound in silk; and with a similar view of the city of Manchester.”500 Kalākaua asked several questions about the views, again showing his inquisitive nature and appetite for knowledge. I would add that England itself now had a “bird’s eye view” of the mōʻī of Hawaiʻi—a “new sensibility of vision.”501 Thanks to his travels, and his willingness to put himself before the eyes of the world, people elsewhere at least felt they knew him more completely. And indeed, something similar is the rationale for this chapter: to offer readers of today a panorama, a more complete survey or presentation, of

496 “The King’s Tour” 5; Scotland delivered so many generous accolades to Kalākaua that to quote them all would take too much space. Instead they have been footnoted here: “The King of the Sandwich Islands” Edinburgh Courant 7 Sept. 1881: 5; “Corporation Banquet to the King” The Glasgow Herald 8 Sept. 1881: 4; “Banquet in the Council Chambers” Edinburgh Courant 10 Sept. 1881: 4; “Reception at the Council Chamber” The Glasgow Herald 10 Sept. 1881: 4; & “Ceremony in Freemasons’ Hall” Edinburgh Courant 12 Sept. 1881: 5.
497 “Queen Electricity” 5.
498 “Miscellaneous” 3.
499 “Election News” 3.
500 “King Kalakaua’s Departure” 6.
501 Ekström 185.
Kalākaua’s actions and words, than we have generally been offered by those who have represented him.

On board the steamer Celtic, which raised the Hawaiian flag, Kalākaua was offered the captain’s quarters from Liverpool to New York. London’s Standard also informed readers that “special accommodation was made for the King, a tastefully fitted up room on the spar deck amidships being reserved for him as a retiring room, and his sleeping apartment being one of the principal saloon state-rooms, which was richly decorated.” Since he had visited the United States previously, his schedule, always swift, moved even faster. On September 23rd, Kalākaua arrived in New York, and quickly took in the sites of Fire Island and Coney Island. A guest at the Hotel Brunswick and Manhattan Beach Hotel, he departed on the 26th for Philadelphia, and on the 28th, he accepted an invitation from the Secretary of the Navy to visit Yorktown and Fort Monroe in Virginia. While there he also stopped at Hampton Normal and Industrial Institute and was honored at a reception at Virginia Hall. On October 2nd, Kalākaua passed through Washington D. C., and got all the way to Cincinnati by the 3rd. Stopping in Kentucky to buy fine horses, he was in Chicago on the 5th. Despite the haste, newspapers still tried to offer profiles of the visitor. In Chicago, The Standard was there to report that “King Kalakaua is described as an intelligent and wide-awake man, thoroughly devoted to the interests of his countrymen and anxious to lift his people up.” Heading through Nebraska, where Kalākaua attended another reception in Cortland, he was in San Francisco on October 13th. He had left there for Asia on February 21st of that year—he had therefore completed his tour around the world.

502 “King Kalakaua’s Departure” 6.
503 “King Kalakaua and Suite” The Standard 4, 5.
He met with Claus Spreckels, the California and Hawaiiʻi sugar industrialist, and was lavishly entertained by the people of San Francisco once more. But soon he was off again, and on October 29, 1881, he arrived in Honolulu. Robert von Oehlhaffen, a fellow passenger, wrote this account of Kalākaua’s return home, published in the *Alnwick Mercury*:

> Thousands of faces gazed eagerly at our craft, and strained their eyes to detect the King and suite amongst so many passengers, and as the steamer passed dock after dock this living, moving, swelling ocean of humanity swept on and on [...]. As we stepped ashore twenty thousand voices shouted their welcome. People lined both sides of the street for two miles; garlands, ferns, and wreaths of flowers adorned every male and female. The streets were thickly covered with greens and shrubs, flags were hoisted, and every window was graced with the Hawaiian flag, all church bells ringing at once.\(^{506}\)

Other international papers published accounts that testified to the intensity of Hawaiians’ welcome of their mōʻī. *The New York Times* reprinted a report from the *London Standard*. Upon arriving at ʻIolani Palace, “His Majesty kissed the Queen, then his sister, and tears of joy streamed down her royal cheeks—a sincerer, truer, heartier welcome cannot be imagined. These Hawaiians are a tender-hearted, loving people, and vie with each other in their love for one who so richly deserves it as their King Kalakaua I.”\(^{507}\)

Despite the disparaging remarks of his enemies and later historians, the importance of this circumnavigation of the globe internationally and domestically almost cannot be overstated. Isobel Field wrote that Kalākaua returned to Hawaiʻi having surveyed the world’s peoples, cultures, and governments. He had seen how other monarchs reigned, and he was now definitely

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\(^{506}\) “King Kalakaua’s Welcome” 2.

\(^{507}\) “Kalakaua at Home” 2.
more familiar with “the etiquette of royalty, the details of court procedure, the number of officials and equerries that should attend him, their duties and what uniforms they should wear”—things he could not learn in the United States. But as Field also remarks, “Besides all that he brought home new ideas for the benefit of his country.”508 And he also fostered new ideas about himself around the world. Some papers applauded the uniqueness of his achievement, his reception in other countries, and his personal nature. The Clarence and Richmond Examiner noted that “Kalakaua was the only King to his time who had ever toured the globe, and no King has since emulated him. Kalakaua visited nearly every crowned head in the world and was decorated by each. He was a tall man, fine featured, proud and dignified.”509 Others stressed his accessibility and his pragmatic approach. Melbourne’s Argus printed this account by another fellow passenger on the Australia, the ship that took Kalākaua back to Hawai‘i. According to this eyewitness, Kalākaua at an early age “became also a captain in the King’s Guard, and was looked upon by every one as a smart, intelligent Prince, earning as he did his own living, which Princes as a rule do not.” This common touch was still present: “Kalakaua’s English is as pure as anyone’s, and in his general bearing and demeanour to us poor plebian mortals he is in pleasing contrast to many mighty monarchs I have read of.”510 A host of Hawaiian, American, and international accounts therefore assert that in roughly ten months, Kalākaua not only went around the world, but served as a highly effective ambassador for his kingdom and himself.

Kalākaua’s Coronation, February 12, 1883

Following the tour around the world, when kings, queens, emperors, princes, princesses, judges, magistrates, admirals, captains, governors, mayors, and almost everyone Kalākaua

508 Field 152.
509 “Turned Up” 6.
510 “San Francisco” 13.
encountered greeted him with royal receptions, balls, dinners, and luncheons, or tours of the city, winepresses, factories, military schools, and other points of interest, forcing him at times to ask if he could simply remain in his hotel for a time to rest, Kalākaua knew he had the interest and the attention of national and international officials and populations. Preparations for his long-delayed Coronation ceremony began almost immediately after his return. Here his devoted subjects would join him in celebrating the unity of their nation, and the respect it received in the community of nations, largely due to its world-traveling monarch. This week-long event was deliberately designed to bring together indigenous and western forms of ceremony and performance as part of a larger plan to “forge and assert a more constructive view”⁵¹¹ of himself, his government, his people, and the nation for local, national, and international audiences. Well before globalization became a topic for discussion, Kalākaua was very aware that he needed to respond constantly to the caricatures and easy dismissals of himself as “The King of the Cannibal Islands” always circulating through the media of dominant world powers. As the world tour had demonstrated, he was very adept at blending the attractive aspects of his distinctiveness as an indigenous monarch with the qualities of a modern, well-informed, and gracious citizen of the world. The Coronation, held in his capital city, would perform this union for everyone to witness, admire, report on, and remember.

Although his domestic enemies tried to sabotage the planning, and circulated accounts intended to damage his reputation, and confirm Hawaiian barbarity, a survey of international newspapers suggests that Kalākaua achieved what he set out to do. Even before the event, The New York Times was telling the world that “The whole Hawaiian population appears to be united as one man to do honor to King Kalakaua. The King’s Ministers recently made a tour of Oahu

⁵¹¹ Phipps 217.
and were very enthusiastically received by the people.”

England’s *Evening News* reprinted this account for its readers. A dozen British newspapers published reports on the Coronation itself, and in some cases actually denied the truth of negative accounts circulating in other papers. “About 7,000 persons witnessed the ceremony, which passed off without interruption or disturbance,” the *Times* of London claimed, concluding that “The event fully establishes the general popularity of the King in the islands. The stories that had gone abroad about probable disturbances were newspaper hoaxes invented here. Premier Gibson is congratulated by all parties on the perfect success of the Coronation, which he planned.”

Gibson no doubt had something to do with this account; the important thing, though, is that by publishing it, the paper was shaping public opinion favorably about this tiny kingdom and its ruler.

Other papers were as well. The *Liverpool Mercury* noted that “Letters from Honolulu give very glowing accounts of the ceremony which was observed for the coronation of King Kalakaua.” In addition to publishing impressive drawings of the event, The *Illustrated London News* provided highly detailed descriptions. “Opposite the main façade of the palace a richly decorated pavilion had been erected, and at one end of this stood two thrones for the King and Queen, which had been ordered of an upholsterer of Boston,” wrote the reporter, also offering an admiring account of the recently-completed ‘Iolani Palace. The article calls attention to the Coronation “Grand Stand, erected in front of the Royal Palace, which is a stately edifice with arcades supported by Corinthian pillars; in the centre of the inclosed space was a domed

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513 “A Coronation at the Sandwich” 3.
515 “King Kalakaua Crowned” 8.
516 “Coronation of the King of the Sandwich Islands.”
517 “Letters” 314.
pavilion, of octagonal shape, open at the sides, and decorated with heraldic shields in colours, and with small flags of different nations.”

In Texas, the *Galveston Daily News* also caught wind of the success of the Coronation. By describing it as a reflection of the appeal of Kalākaua himself, and then offering the following portrait, the paper offers exactly the kind of coverage the mōʻī was seeking:

In personal appearance his majesty is quite equal to the burden of royal honors. He is a thoroughbred Hawaiian, and is a fine specimen of his race. He is tall, broad-shouldered and muscular. His complexion has a warm, olive hue, and his features express great humor. In his youth he received a good education, and years of experience and travel have given him a diplomatic polish well worthy of a European court. He speaks English with a faultless accuracy, in a musical tone of voice and with courteous grace of gesture.

Such international accounts of the ceremonies, décor, attendance, and Kalākaua himself at the very least call into question the claims by his opponents that the Coronation was a waste of money and a failure. For the would-be oligarchy, anything that legitimated or strengthened Kalākaua was unwelcome, not only because he was unfit to rule, but because monarchy itself was pointless, anachronistic, and wasteful. The American planters and businessmen of course felt that a system they controlled would be preferable, and even necessary, and tried to advertise this position widely. An account of the Coronation in the *St. Louis Globe*, even though it gets the size of the different factions utterly wrong—a sign perhaps of how successfully the oligarchy misrepresented its numbers—indicates that both versions of the current state of Hawaiʻi were widely circulating: “It must be acknowledged that there is a difference of opinion about it, one

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518 “Some Account” 334.

519 “Kalakaua’s Coronation.”
party looking upon the coronation as necessary and justifiable, the other—by far the largest and most influential—as a most uncalled for and absurd affair, and a sinful expenditure of money. The foreigners, of whom a large majority are Americans, feel extremely sore.”

Still, the same article reported that as for the crowd attending the Coronation, “At 10:30 it moved toward the King’s palace, and in a short space of time about 8,000 people were within the palace gate. The invited guests, over 4,000 in number, were seated; the other spectators were obliged to stand.”

The St. Louis Globe account also offers counter-evidence to the claims by Kalākaua’s opponents that America and international nations failed to attend the Coronation because they did not consider him to be a true mōʻī. English, French, and two Russian war vessels are specifically mentioned as being in port, and the Japanese Embassy was in attendance.

As for the claim that Hawaiians did not support the extravagant Coronation ceremony, while it is true that some of the Kamehameha ʻohana stayed away, and that some Hawaiian reform politicians were very concerned about expenses, Isobel Field writes that makaʻāinana were there in “eager groups, dressed in their best, men and women all walking barefoot and carrying their shoes.” Field also mentions the beautiful holokū, the lei-adorned hats, and the sweet-smelling lei that just about every Hawaiian wore to the ceremony. Clearly, excited and adorned Hawaiians were there to celebrate Kalākaua. Field’s account of the Coronation ball also gives us a sense of how Kalākaua displayed his progressive and modern nature. She recalls when the guests entered the ballroom in ʻIolani Palace they were greeted by electric lighting. “None of us had ever seen it before,” she recalls, “and the effect after years of kerosene lamps and gas was

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520 “King Kalakaua’s Coronation” St. Louis Globe-Democrat 4.  
521 “King Kalakaua’s Coronation” St. Louis Globe-Democrat 4.  
522 “The Hawaiian Islands in Kalakaua’s.”  
523 Field 152.  
524 Field 152.
magical.” That the seat of government of this little kingdom in the middle of the Pacific Ocean would be technologically in advance of the experience of many of its visitors from those western nations that Kalākaua was supposedly trying to imitate certainly gave the lie to any notion that Hawai‘i was a primitive kingdom led by an ignorant and barbaric chief. Her account of how the rulers received their guests also suggests that many were highly impressed, and even awed, by the occasion. People moved cautiously down the reception line; eventually, they were introduced to Kalākaua and Kapi‘olani, and his sisters: Likelike and heir to the throne Lili‘uokalani. The guests’ nervousness and anxiety suggested they recognized the Kalākaua ʻohana as impressive and significant figures. “It was amusing to see [the guests’] air of relief when they had finished and were free to back away, join the earlier comers and watch and criticize in their turn,” Field observes, and her own account of the mōʻī suggests that she herself was highly impressed: “King Kalakaua was a strikingly fine-looking young man, in a resplendent uniform of white and gold, which his good figure set off to advantage.” And even at a long distance, important people took favorable notice. After documenting how Kalākaua through his Coronation confirmed his reputation with international figures as a substantial and civilized monarch, Niklaus Schweizer writes that Tsar Alexander III of Russia invited the mōʻī to send a special envoy to Moscow, and that Colonel ʻIaukea was sent. If the 1881 journey introduced Kalākaua to the world, at least in some quarters, his 1883 Coronation confirmed that he was a figure of continuing interest.

525 Field 155.
526 Field 155.
527 Field 155.
528 Schweizer 266.
Foreign Impressions of Kalākaua—Personal Traits, and the State of the Lāhui

Various accounts by visitors and acquaintances of Kalākaua raise the attacks on his character only to refute them. Isobel Field, for instance, recorded the following anecdote about the mōʻī’s alleged drunkenness. Later in the evening of the Coronation ball, she met Alice, Katherine, and Rose McKee, daughters of the famous James McKee, the former ship captain, wealthy sugar planter, and owner of ʻUlupalakua Ranch on Maui. A close friend of Kalākaua’s, his family was popular in the royal circle. When Field mentioned the rumors about the mōʻī’s drinking, the daughters corrected her: “‘Of course he drinks,’ said Kitty, ‘but so does every man I know. You see, the Russian and American officers are always trying to ‘drink him under the table,’ as they call it, only they can’t do it. They get drunk and Kalakaua keeps his head.’”

These comments are significant, because the frequent claims that Kalākaua was always intoxicated, and therefore frighteningly reckless, were tied to the argument that he was therefore incompetent to rule. Such an accusation was not only common, but had been directed at virtually every Hawaiian mōʻī in the nineteenth century. Paul Wood remarks that the first ABCFM missionaries “branded” Liholiho Kamehameha a “drunkard” because they were so “fixated on temperance that they would call any Hawaiian farmer sleeping next to his taro patch a drunkard.” Though Liholiho drank, “as did most of the aliʻi,” according to Samuel M. Kamakau, he was “never ‘under the influence.’” Kamehameha IV’s drinking in response to the sudden death of his son, Prince Albert, supposedly contributed to his own early death, and his brother, Lot Kapuāiwa Kamehameha V, was supposedly addicted to drink as a young man. William C. Lunalilo was called “Whiskey Bill” by his detractors, and the nickname “Merrie Monarch” associated with Kalākaua was originally a reference to his state of mind after a few drinks. Kitty

529 Field 158.
530 Wood, P. 120–121.
McKee, however, identifies the source of Field’s information—“the Missionaries have made a story of it”\textsuperscript{531}—and Sanford B. Dole, obviously no friend of Kalākaua or the monarchy, grudgingly offered the following portrait: “It must be said that he was possessed of a great deal of polish, good manners, and natural dignity. He had a fine presence, was tall and well-built, and on the whole was temperate in the use of liquor. A good host, genial and courteous, he was perhaps at his best in receiving official guests from other countries.”\textsuperscript{532} The McKee sisters also offer Field a similar explanation for the rumor that the mōʻi’s father was a “Negro barber”: “That’s another Missionary yarn.”\textsuperscript{533}

Another visitor to Hawaiʻi concluded that the gossip directed against Kalākaua arose from a simple cause—the vulgarity and inferiority of his attackers: “The Missionaries do not appear to be of a class calculated to command respect, except for their piety; and considering that the upper class of Hawaiians are essentially polished gentlemen, it seems a pity the Missionaries are not of a higher stamp.”\textsuperscript{534} According to Sophia Cracroft, the missionaries “have had temptations and have not always withstood them,” with the most obvious result that they and their heirs have mingled secularity—\textit{simple money getting}—with their high functions, and these last have sat lightly upon them. They have been keeping shops, engaging in mercantile pursuits, and even extensively lend money to the natives at interest rates which we should consider enormous—25\% per month, 25¢ upon every dollar lent for a month.\textsuperscript{535}

\textsuperscript{531} Field 158. 
\textsuperscript{532} Damon, \textit{Dole} 156. 
\textsuperscript{533} Field 158. 
\textsuperscript{534} Korn, \textit{Victorian} 49. 
\textsuperscript{535} Korn, \textit{Victorian} 74.
A strong streak of anti-American feeling runs through Cracroft’s remarks. If the sign of a healthy and admirable nation is a high level of civilization and culture in its leaders, unlike the Hawaiian mōʻī and the other aliʻi, “The good Missionaries are not equal to the present requirements”:

They have most contracted notions and have not the necessary education to inspire the respect of the higher classes. Moreover, they are Americans and have been (naturally) the means of introducing Americans into nearly all the offices. Viewed from this perspective, the business interests’ antagonism to the mōʻī arises from a combination of ignorance, greed, and rage born from a keen and accurate sense of personal inferiority—all familiar stereotypes about Americans for at least three centuries. These are the real reasons, Cracroft is certain, why in Hawaiʻi, “there is but one mind among them: viz., that this Kingdom ought to be annexed to the United States.” Isobel Field, an American herself, agrees. The powerful Caucasians in Hawaiʻi were “rich, prosperous American business men with one aim: to wrest the islands from the natives and have it taken over by the United States.”

Small wonder then, that the crimes Kalākaua’s attackers accused him of—greed, theft, and self-aggrandizement—were the ones often linked to themselves, or that their own preoccupations with money for its own sake made it impossible for them to see that Kalākaua’s expenditures on his world tour or the Coronation could be investments in the future of the nation.

But while his domestic enemies denied, or could not even recognize, the values Kalākaua embraced, and would reject outright that in anything he might be their superior, others did notice these qualities, and claimed that they directly benefited the kingdom. John Cameron, an American visitor to the islands in 1885, later wrote that “A more thorough gentleman than Kalakaua would be hard to find: easy to approach and difficult to leave; unfailingly genial; kind

536 Korn, Victorian 86–87.
537 Korn, Victorian 86–87.
538 Korn, Victorian 150.
to high and low alike; beloved by his subjects.” Other commentators remarked on his intellectual and artistic nature, often connecting them to the fame and prosperity of his nation. A review of The Legends and Myths of Hawaii, published in 1888, remarked that “Readers of the Nation will not need to be reminded that King Kalakaua is a writer of good and fluent English. He is quite competent, as far as literary handling is implied, to produce this interesting collection of Polynesian stories.” And many years later, Leo Paltrow would note that “Kalakaua himself was somewhat literary in his tastes. He read a great deal and composed some poems in the Hawaiian tongue. He wrote the words of Hawaii Pono‘i, the Hawaiian national anthem. This piece of music is, in my opinion, one of the most beautiful and inspiring national anthems in the world.” The actual state of the kingdom under his rule, and his own personal fortunes, were also matters for debate, and Kalākaua himself participated. While he was preparing to depart for the Paris Exposition, in an 1889 interview for The New York Times, informant John Waterhouse Jr. “says that stories regarding the low state of the King’s finances are extremely exaggerated”:

“King Kalakaua intends to start for the Paris Exposition in a few weeks,” said he. “He possessed money enough to sail some weeks ago, but he decided to wait a few months and take a larger amount with him.” [ . . . ] The islands were never in better shape than to-day.

The Reverend Herbert H. Gowen agreed, and gave the credit to the mō‘ī. Kalākaua “lived during the most prosperous period of Hawaiian history, and he may be considered a ruler who has advanced the freedom and well-being of his people to a very large extent.” Gowen notes that the Privy Council, in its statement released on the occasion of the mō‘ī’s death, said the same

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539 Cameron 224.
540 “Hawaiian Legends” 256.
541 Paltrow 194.
542 “King Kalakaua Goes” 1.
543 Gowen 83.
thing: “The reign of our departed King was memorable as an era of remarkable and increasing prosperity. In the seventeen years of his reign, now closed, this nation has made rapid strides in its material industries, education, and the arts of civilization.” The range of achievements is important. While the business interests clearly benefitted from the expansion of “material industries,” the other areas of progress were valued as well. Gowen himself was on board the U.S. S. Charleston when it arrived in Honolulu on January 29, 1891, with the body of the mōʻī. He concludes his account of that day by remarking that “the general grief left in men’s minds was only the memory of the gracious gentleman whose kindliness and dignity had been always at the service of his country, and whom no stranger could meet but to feel in the presence of a true King.” And that service, performed with grace, had been successful on all fronts: “There was no one too exalted to do Kalakaua reverence, and the nation saw how much she owed to the personal exertions of the King for all her commercial and political prosperity.”

The Trip to California and Untimely Death, 1891

Newspapers across the United States covered Kalākaua’s final trip to America. On December 4, 1890, he arrived in San Francisco aboard the U. S. S. Charleston, captained by Admiral George W. Brown. Although Brown had invited Kalākaua to California to rest and recuperate from illness, as before, he immediately became the center of attention and activity. Royal salutes, a battalion of the U. S. cavalry, the governor, mayor, prominent citizens, and crowds of people welcomed him at the wharf. From there, a carriage took him to the Palace Hotel, where the next day he entertained guests, including the former governor and a visiting congressional committee. A few weeks later, Kalākaua took the train to Los Angeles, where on

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544 Gowen 92.
545 Gowen 92.
546 Gowen 92.
547 “Long Live” 1.
December 28, the *Morning Oregonian* reported that the mayor, “several prominent citizens,” and a crowd of 500 people welcomed him at the depot, and “the freedom of the city was extended” to him.\(^{548}\) His condition had improved, but he then grew so ill, that on January 19, 1891, London’s *Evening News* reported that “Mr. Blaine and Mr. Tracy have sent an official letter placing the United States war vessel Charleston at the King’s disposal for his voyage home.” As always, though, Kalākaua’s travels were tied to his nation’s business: “His Majesty will not leave until Mr. Blaine definitely assures him that measures have been taken in Congress arranging for the bringing forward of the proposed treaty.”\(^{549}\)

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This detail speaks to Kalākaua’s determined efforts to rule even after the reform party seriously curtailed his powers through the “Bayonet Constitution” and continued its efforts to render him irrelevant through annexation. Believing that a Hawaiian monarchy was far better for his people than annexation to the U. S.,\(^{550}\) he also went to California in 1890 intending to head to Washington D. C. for much the same reason as he had in 1874—to resolve a trade issue that would benefit the most affluent in his nation. Liliʻuokalani writes that the “principal motive” of the trip was to discuss with Carter, Hawaiʻi minister at Washington, the best strategy for dealing with the recently-passed McKinley Tariff Bill, which would be “dangerous” and “destructive” to the businessmen in Hawaiʻi.\(^{551}\) Though Kalākaua’s health was “failing,” Liliʻuokalani writes that he went “cheerfully and patiently to work for the cause of those who had been and were his enemies. He sacrificed himself in the interests of the very people who had done him so much

\(^{548}\) “California News” 2.

\(^{549}\) “King Kalakaua” *The Evening News* 3.

\(^{550}\) *Iaukea* 129, 132 & McGregor-Alegado 52–53.

\(^{551}\) Liliʻuokalani 206.
wrong, and given him such constant suffering.”\textsuperscript{552} For Liliʻuokalani, this was the sign of just how devoted her brother was to all of his subjects: “With an ever-forgiving heart he forgot his own sorrows, set aside all feelings of animosity, and to the last breath of his life he did all that lay in his power for those who had abused and injured him.”\textsuperscript{553}

Summing up the mōʻī’s success in representing himself and his nation to others, Niklaus Schweizer has also noted:

The obstacles the king had to overcome were many and formidable and his position was difficult, but when he died, Hawaii enjoyed a measure of good will and friendship around the world with was unprecedented. Kalākaua established close ties with Queen Victoria and could count on Tsar Alexander III of Russia, as well as the emperor of Germany. He was assured even of the understanding of [ . . . ] Asia.\textsuperscript{554}

This achievement is evidence that neither Kalākaua nor Hawaiians simply surrendered their constitutional rights and civil liberties to those Davianna McGregor-Alegado calls the “missionary-planter-business elite.”\textsuperscript{555} Most positive studies of Kalākaua focus on his role in the resurgence of the hula, mele, and other Hawaiian traditions. More should be said, however, about his courage, determination, and ingenuity in sustaining the nation’s independence in the face of the economic control and the animosity of his opposition. People around the world recognized these talents at the time, and so effective were they that even a hostile biographer like Burns has to acknowledge that Kalākaua “tried to hold off the inevitable as best he could and lead his

\textsuperscript{552} Liliʻuokalani 206.  
\textsuperscript{553} Liliʻuokalani 206.  
\textsuperscript{554} Schweizer 275.  
\textsuperscript{555} McGregor-Alegado vii.
people back.” Nor was Kalākaua the first mōʻi to deal with such strains. In her mele, “Aia i Honolulu, kuu Pohaku,” Luka Keʻelikōlani describes the rift between the haole and her brother Lot Kapuāiwa, Kamehameha V, referring directly to the “deceit of the enemies of the King and their attempt to thwart the plans of the King.” Kalākaua also had to deal with the paradox that the economic fortunes of his enemies flourished during his reign. One reason for members of the Hawaiian League stocking their warehouses with rifles and forcing Kalākaua to sign the 1887 constitution was because they had profited so greatly during the first years of his reign that they now felt even more confident in demanding the power to shape the government principally for their gain. In the Blount Report of 1893, Dr. Georges Phillipe Trousseau testified that during Kalākaua’s reign “the prosperity of the islands came to its height. The reciprocity treaty, the higher price of sugar, enriched everyone.”

In short, under Kalākaua those invested in the sugar economy did so well that basically they decided to remove the monarch as an unnecessary step in the process of furthering their investments. As many writers have noted, when the McKinley Tariff did seem to threaten their access to the American market, overthrowing the monarchy and becoming part of the United States was largely a strategy for preserving privilege, affluence, and a governing influence over domestic life. Liliʻuokalani certainly understood her brother’s reign this way:

For years, the “missionary party” had, by means of controlling the cabinets appointed by the king, kept itself in power. Its leaders were constantly intriguing

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556 Burns xii.
557 “More on ‘Aia”
558 McGregor-Alegado xiii.
559 President’s Message 522.
to make the ministry their tool, or to have in its organization a power for carrying out their own special plans, and securing their own personal benefit.  

Similar plots had taken place well before Kalākaua ascended the throne. Following the death of Kamehameha IV in 1863, U. S. Minister in Hawai‘i James McBride conspired with U. S. Secretary of State William H. Seward to put Victoria Kamāmalu on the throne, rather than Lot Kapuāiwa, because of her fondness for America. McBride also promised that he could arrange for Americans to occupy seats in the Hawaiian legislature: “all that would be required would be the presence of two good American men-of-war in the harbor, the moral effect of which would be sufficient to prevent the existing government party from committing an overt act.” This is explicitly gunboat diplomacy, and a photograph taken in 1887 from the roof of ‘Iolani Palace provides a clear view of the warships docked in the harbor. Given these circumstances, the constant claims that Kalākaua was irresponsible and a spendthrift at the very least should be thought about in terms of motive. (Davianna McGregor-Alegado presents the most detailed discussion of this point.) And it should also be considered that Kalākaua’s efforts to retain his throne and his relevance following the Bayonet Constitution are some of his most admirable activities. Or as Niklaus Schweizer suggests, “In a sense, those final years proved to be [Kalākaua’s] finest because he persevered with charm and determination in an increasingly hostile atmosphere.” In the face of increasing American influence, Kalākaua displayed a remarkable degree of resilience, and his people, and others around the world, recognized this.

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560 Liliʻuokalani 180.
561 Tate 29.
562 Schweizer 270.
After he became ill in mid-January, hundreds of American and international newspapers updated readers on his condition in their morning, afternoon, and evening editions. Despite his political troubles, he was clearly still interesting and popular around the world. Kalākaua died on January 20, 1891 at the Palace Hotel in San Francisco, California. More than a dozen British newspapers announced his passing the day after his death. America’s and the world’s newspapers also reported on his funeral services in San Francisco, on the arrival of the U. S. S. Charleston with his body in Hawai‘i, on the people’s response to the discovery of their mō‘ī’s death, and on his funeral weeks later in Honolulu. In London, The Graphic reported that after the funeral at Trinity Episcopalian Church in San Francisco, “numerously attended by naval officers, diplomats, and various officials, the metal casket containing the king’s remains was escorted by soldiers, militia, and members of the Masonic bodies and civic societies to the dock, where it was formally received by Admiral Brown.” The transfer of the body to the U. S. S. Charleston was “marked with the highest military honors,” according to the Manchester Times.

While news of Kalākaua’s death had immediately surged through American and international newspapers on January 21, the first notice that Hawai‘i received was the U. S. S. Charleston’s flag at half-mast as it appeared off Lē‘ahi on January 29. London’s Daily News noted, “The workmen were busily engaged preparing a welcome for King Kalakaua, who was

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564 “The Late King Kalakaua of Hawaii” The Graphic 8.

565 “The Late King Kalakaua” Manchester Times 8.
expected to return in improved health.”

Arches and beautiful decorations had been prepared for his arrival by subjects of all ethnicities and nationalities. Imagine then the shock. England’s *Evening Telegraph* tells of “An enormous crowd, including a thousand native women, gathered upon the wharves, wailing and weeping as the Charleston came to anchor in the Hawaiian port.” *The Huddersfield Daily* reported that “The most elaborate public mourning was observed, business was stopped, and every outward expression of distress displayed.”

*Telegraph* readers learned that “The procession moved to the Palace through the streets, which were packed with people, while men and women wept loudly.” Newspapers also described the wailing of Kapiʻolani upon learning of her husband’s death. As his coffin approached ʻIolani Palace, Kapiʻolani, standing on the second story balcony, was prevented from throwing herself to the landing below.

As for the funeral and interment, Denver’s *Rocky Mountain News* called the service the “most imposing ever witnessed in the South seas,” adding that

> The hearts of Hawaiians have throbbed with grief at the loss of their beloved monarch. Honolulu has presented a scene of mourning amounting almost to desolation. The plaintive wail of the native has been mingled with the prayer of the foreign resident.

Newspapers throughout the world responded to Kalākaua’s passing with the same praise, commendation, and even adulation they had often shown him in life. In Scotland, the *Glasgow Herald* reported that “After receiving an excellent education at the Royal School, and from private foreign tutors [ . . . ] he entered one of the Government offices, where he was

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567 “The Late King Kalakaua” *Evening Telegraph & Star & Sheffield Daily Times* 3.
569 “The Late King Kalakaua” *Evening Telegraph & Star & Sheffield Daily Times* 3.
570 “The Late King Kalakaua” *Evening Telegraph & Star & Sheffield Daily Times* 3.
571 “Funeral.”
distinguished by that diligence and intelligence which he afterwards more fully exhibited as a ruler.” In Indiana, *Logansport Pharos* called him “a large hearted man of genial disposition, well known among the people of the United States.” And the *Los Angeles Herald*, in a lengthy tribute remarked that “Hawaii has lost a wise and good sovereign, under whose beneficent rule the people of Hawaii have prospered, and whose efforts have been so constantly and signally put forth to strengthen the ties of mutual advantage between the kingdom and the United States.” Saying that the mōʻi “largely enjoyed the confidence and affection of his people and of the members of the very numerous nationalities represented within the kingdom,” the reporter added:

His Majesty was always a most diligent student, and, speaking the English language with perfect purity, his tone and manner was that of a highly cultivated English gentleman. On the latest developments of all prominent scientific and political questions engaging attention in Europe and America he kept himself thoroughly informed, while his knowledge of general literature was extensive and accurate.

The *Herald* also acknowledged Kalākaua’s success at making himself known to the world: “His Majesty, as became a man of his inquiring nature, was a great traveller, so that there were few countries which he had not visited. Indeed, in this respect he had no royal compeer, and consequently his personal intimacy with Emperors, Kings, Princes, and Presidents far excelled that of any other monarch.” Reuters Telegram, sent to *The Bristol Mercury & Daily Post*, indicated that American President Benjamin Harrison agreed with such assessments: “Hawaii...
had lost her wise and good Sovereign, under whom Hawaii had prospered.” And the *Daily Evening Bulletin* of San Francisco, the place outside of Hawai‘i that knew the mō‘ī best, summed him up this way:

Kalakaua was a generous and sympathetic friend and ruler, whose high aim was the promotion of all enterprises that would ensure to their happiness and benefit; who never wearied in the execution of plans for their elevation of a higher civilization; who fully recognized the responsibilities of his exalted station, and bent all the energy of his mind to imbue his subjects with love of all the virtues and habits of industry and to advance the people of his island kingdom in all that promotes the welfare of a nation.\(^{577}\)

The sheer number of favorable articles in hundreds of newspapers throughout the world about Kalākaua during his reign and after should make us at the very least question the accuracy of those characterizations of him by agents of the nineteenth-century white oligarchy in Hawai‘i, and by those later writers who perpetuated those unflattering portraits. Within these other representations we can see emerging the kua, or backbone, of a figure who impressed those not motivated to denigrate him because of a desire to weaken his authority, or seize his kingdom. When encountering Kalākaua at home or abroad, a very large number of witnesses concluded that he was a learned, curious, and dignified individual. Furthermore, those mocking or angry attacks on his character that did appear in international newspapers generally seemed to emerge from sources within the small island group of Hawai‘i, or more specifically, from the business district of Honolulu. The representations of Kalākaua presented in this chapter should encourage

\(^{576}\) “The Late King of Hawaii” *The Bristol Mercury & Daily Post* 8.

\(^{577}\) “The Supervisors.”
us to have a much broader conversation about the reputation of this mōʻī around the world. Through contrast, these representations point to the smallness and narrowness of the white oligarchy’s attacks on him. Those in Hawaiʻi devoted to their own interests and annexation had to work so constantly to spread their representations of Kalākaua because they realized that they were up against a highly favorable and widespread opinion of him in hundreds of American and international newspapers that the mōʻī produced in others—at home, and everywhere he went.
CHAPTER 3: “MAI KE KUMU Ā KA WĒLAU”: HAWAI’I’S ENGLISH- AND HAWAIIAN-LANGUAGE REPRESENTATIONS OF KALĀKAUA

On January 7, 1822, Ali‘i Nui Ke‘eaumoku pulled the lever of the second-hand Ramage press brought to Hawai‘i by Elisha Loomis and other members of the first mission company, including Hiram Bingham, Asa Thurston, and Samuel Whitney. The first page was printed in Hawai‘i, and it forever changed the kingdom. “If there is any characteristic of Hawaii as prominent as climate, scenery and the word ‘aloha,’” Riley Allen writes, “it is the enormous output of writing which began in the early 1800s and has continued without cessation,” bearing “eloquent testimony to the range, variety and volume of writing which Hawaii has produced, and the impact and effect of it.”

Those missionaries aimed “at nothing short of covering those islands with fruitful fields, pleasant dwellings, schools, and churches,” and a Hawaiian alphabet and the printed word were some of their main tools. Evidently the first page printed was part of an elementary Hawaiian-language spelling book. It is very unlikely that in 1822 those missionaries would have been anticipating that many of their own descendants would use the printed word for their own gain and reputation. As Michael G. Vann puts it: “The first narratives of the demise of the Hawaiian monarchy were the product of those who had taken part in its overthrow. The writing of their ‘histories’ was the final act of conquest: the intellectual consolidation of rule.”

The title of this chapter, “Mai ke kumu ā ka wēlau,” translates to “from base to tip.” I use it to introduce a more comprehensive consideration of the English- and Hawaiian-language written representations of Kalākaua produced during his reign. Most sources about the mō‘ī have

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579 Kassel 15.
580 Vann “Contesting”
been written in English, and draw almost exclusively on English-language documents. Among many things, the word “kumu” can mean “foundation,” “fundamental,” or “base,” and my foundation in this chapter will be the Hawaiian-language representations of Kalākaua. As Puakea Nogelmeier explains, “Lacking the core insight of these sources affects the entire system—how people today understand Hawai‘i, past and present.” He also notes that “Misconceptions that have been generated and perpetuated without this foundation of reference vary from benign to destructive,” and in the case of Kalākaua, I would say often very destructive. English-language representations of the day often offered a black and white or two-dimensional negative version of Kalākaua that became embedded into a hegemonic history, made true simply by repetition. Because later histories built on this foundation were popular and supposedly authoritative, they become the major reference points for Kalākaua’s character and life story. As Chapter Two has shown, however, those influential accounts make up a small, highly biased fraction of the massive archive of accounts of the mō‘ī in English. Chapter Three’s survey of Hawaiian-language publications about Kalākaua suggests that a more complete, detailed, and three-dimensional picture of him is readily available. Nogelmeier has also noted that “Hawaiian-language materials as a whole are a time capsule of important historical and cultural writings, and the newspapers are the most dense, most interconnecting portion of that historical cache.” Representations of Kalākaua drawn from this cache suggest at the very least that Hawaiians supported as well opposed their mō‘ī, and that such positive portraits were often informed by an indigenous literary nationalism rooted in the larger political goal of preserving Hawai‘i’s independence.

582 “Kumu.”
583 Nogelmeier, Mai xii.
584 See Halualani xvi & Nogelmeier, Mai xii.
585 Nogelmeier, Mai xiii.
Such a survey is both necessary and overdue. Take for example those mele written about Kalākaua and presented to him at his birthday Jubilee that appeared in the book *Na Mele Aimoku, Na Mele Kupuna, a me Na Mele Pono‘o o ka Moi Kalakaua I*. Nogelmeier writes that this collection contains only a handful of the hundreds of mele written for Kalākaua from 1879 on for his birthday. More than 400 mele appear under the subject heading “Kalakaua” at the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum’s archives, including a kanikau (funeral dirge) for the mō‘ī, chants composed by maka‘āinana throughout the kingdom who received him on his many royal tours, and mele written by maka‘āinana and ali‘i in celebration of Kalākaua’s 1874 and 1881 journeys away from Hawai‘i. Those mele offer a look into maka‘āinana impressions of the mō‘ī, and should be “fundamental” to our understanding of him just as more generally, native perspectives should always be at the “base” of our understanding of Hawaiian history. Many scholars have demonstrated the wealth of information to be found in nineteenth-century Hawaiian-language newspapers. Relatively recent scholarship that draws on this archive provides a more complete and accurate representation of our past, and is less likely to trivialize Hawaiians and their way of life. Consulting these newspapers is essential for any scholar interested in Kanaka Maoli culture and political thought during that era. As Nogelmeier explains, “While literacy was at its highest, Hawaiians embraced the Hawaiian-language newspapers as the main venue for news, opinion, and national dialogue, but also as an acknowledged public respository for history, cultural description, literature, and lore.”

These sources provide some especially rich Kanaka Maoli responses to the mō‘ī who ruled during a time of rapid expansion in the number and variety of newspapers. In 1874, when

586 See Nogelmeier, *Na Mele* xi.
587 Nogelmeier, *Na Mele* xi.
588 See ho'omanawanui, “Hā” 86-91; Silva, *Aloha*; University; & ho'omanawanui, *Voices* xxvii.
589 Nogelmeier, *Mai* xii.
Kalākaua was elected mōʻī, only three Hawaiian-language newspapers were being published: Nupepa Kuokoa (Kuokoa), Ko Hawaii Ponoī, and Ka Nuhou Hawaiʻi (Nuhou). All three supported him in his early years on the throne, but the American-edited Kuokoa as well as Ko Hawaii Ponoī later became outspoken in their attacks. As for the pro-Hawaiian Nuhou, it continuously sounded the refrain “Hawaiʻi for Hawaiians.” The only two major English-language newspapers in 1874 were The Hawaiian Gazette (HG) and Pacific Commercial Advertiser (PCA). The increase during Kalākaua’s seventeen-year reign in the number of newspapers reflects the intensity of public response by makaʻāinana and foreigners to the developments and discord of that period. By 1883, the year of Kalākaua’s Coronation, there were seven Hawaiian-language newspapers, and nine by 1884. By 1887, the year that the Hawaiian League forced its Bayonet Constitution upon Kalākaua, ten were published—the largest number since the first one began appearing in 1834. In a city with fewer than 70,000 people, ten newspapers is a lot of reporting and commentary, revealing the intensity of the investment Hawaiians were making in debates over preserving the independence of their kingdom. Between 1888 and 1891 the number fluctuated between seven and ten. Esther Moʻokini notes that the political upheavals in the late 1880s and early 1890s would ultimately raised this number to a high of fourteen. She attributes these increases to figures like Walter Murray Gibson, John E. Bush, and Robert Wilcox, who were “founding and editing newspapers to advance their political views.”

Nineteenth-century Hawaiʻi had a singularly high literacy rate. While national education was the foundation of literacy, Hawaiians also sustained this level through reading,
writing for, and publishing newspapers in Hawaiian and English. While from the 1830s to the 1850s these newspapers were mostly “received” by the nation’s readers as education or information about the government, by the 1860s the papers were much more interactive. Even so, from the beginning, newspapers created and sustained a forum for dialogue that fostered a sense of nationhood. Historians have confirmed that once the independent Hawaiian-language newspapers began appearing in the 1860s, subscriptions increased rapidly over the next forty years. Many Hawaiians depended on these papers to remain informed about their nation’s well-being. Helen G. Chapin documents just how popular these newspapers were: “No English language paper could claim more than 1,500 to 2,000 circulation, except for the Advertiser when [a strongly pro-monarchy] Gibson ran it, while a Hawaiian nationalistic press had papers reaching from 4,000 to 7,000 each.” Since for much of this span the resident population was fewer than 70,000, at least one in ten citizens was subscribing to one or more of the newspapers. But as Nogelmeier reminds us, readership exceeded paid circulation, or number of printed newspapers sold, because they were often passed from reader to reader and house to house. Chapin notes that Kuokoa “achieved a circulation of 5,000 in the nineteenth century, far beyond that of the Advertiser,” and that the individual copies of Nuhou, Gibson’s vehicle for launching himself into Hawai‘i politics and campaigning for Kalākaua, were “double the size of any other Hawaiian language periodical.” Clearly, Hawaiians were interested in reading what Gibson had to say, whether in Hawaiian, or English.

Before and during his reign, Kalākaua both produced and served as a figure of interest for Hawaiian-language newspapers. These papers have become much more accessible through

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594 Mo‘okini, Hawaiian Newspapers xiv.
595 Chapin, Shaping 77.
596 Nogelmeier, Mai 81; “Telling” 4.
597 Chapin, Shaping 57.
598 Chapin, Shaping 66.
digitized collections online, and even though only about twenty percent are searchable, a cursory look at *Ulukau: Hawaiian Electronic Library’s Ho’olaupā‘i* locates more than 300 pages of text that refer to Kalākaua. I will make a selection from these articles, stretching from his early career in government through to his death.

**Kalākaua’s 1861–1863 *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika***

On September 26, 1861, the ‘Aha Hui Ho‘opuka Nūpepa Kūikawā o Honolulu, an organization of almost two dozen men, launched the first Hawaiian-language newspaper run by native Hawaiians as an explicit challenge to supposed foreigner dictatorship of the press. The “Editors and printers were prominent and educated men and women,” including Joseph H. Kānepu‘u, George W. Mills (Mila), J. W. H. Kauwahi, and Kalākaua. The inaugural edition of *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* declared that it would be the first newspaper to represent the desires of the native people, and Māhealani Dudoit notes that some of the main concerns of *Ka Hoku* were the population decimation of the native race and Hawaiians’ survival. Noenoe Silva explains the context:

> For forty years the mission controlled the power of the printed word in Hawai‘i. The missionaries used this power not just to save souls but to assist in the progress of plantation/colonial capitalism, to control public education, to mold government into Western forms and to control it, and to domesticate Kanaka women.

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599 “Makali‘i”
600 “E na Keiki” 2.
601 Dudoit 229.
Because Hawai‘i had been facing not only colonialism and racism, but the missionaries’ dismissal of mo’olelo and mele, it made sense that a series entitled “Moolelo no Kawelo,” which testified to the strength of Hawaiians through akua [gods], graced the front page of Ka Hoku’s first issue. An eloquent appeal to Kanaka readers appeared on the second page:

E na kanaka maoli, e hookipa oukou ia ia, e kipulu a momona, e hoikaika ia ia, a e loaa auanei ia kakou i ka mea e lawa ai ko kakou iini nui 603
[Native people, you must welcome it, cultivate it until it is fruitful, strengthen it, and we will soon obtain the thing that will satisfy our great desire].

A passionate kahi mele by John L. Nailili in celebration of Ka Hoku’s birth resounded with the cry “Lanakila / Lanakila / Lanakila oia” 604 [Victory / Victory / Victory, [Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika]] on the closing page. The popularity of Ka Hoku was probably a major reason why Henry M. Whitney, who was editing the Advertiser at the time, began publishing another, fiercely competitive Hawaiian-language paper, Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, which contained many of the same features and eventually became the longest-running Hawaiian-language paper.

At its one-year anniversary, Ka Hoku was defending itself against attacks by its rival, and by Hawaiians, often heavily Christian, who wanted the “death” of the newspaper because of the ‘ahahui’s desire to print mele, including wahi mele and mele inoa, ka‘ao, mo’olelo, and kanikau in their entirety by maka‘ainana, ali‘i, and even mō‘ī as a way to preserve these traditions for future generations. 605 During his own reign, Kalākaua would raise this desire to a national policy, using his authority as mō‘ī to collect mo’olelo and mele submitted by practitioners throughout the kingdom. Ali‘i or mō‘ī composed mele inoa, and Ka Hoku printed them for all Kānaka Maoli

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603 “E na Keiki” 2.
604 “Kahi” 4.
605 See “On Traditional” & “He Olelo” 4.
to read and cherish during perilous times for pride in the lāhui.\textsuperscript{606} The many handwritten and newspaper clipping examples of mele to be found in Kalākaua’s fourth personal scrapbook testify to his personal commitment to preserving these resources.\textsuperscript{607} Such stories and tributes also preserve in print nineteenth-century place names. Noenoe Silva summarizes the strategy this way:

> The editors published these works knowing that they would be condemned by some of the most powerful people in Hawai‘i, but they also knew that they had the support of quite a few ali‘i nui, most notably that of Prince Kalākaua, who even edited the paper for some time [. . . .] In these ways, \textit{Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika} encouraged ordinary Kanaka to be proud of their language and their culture.\textsuperscript{608}

After only a two-year stint, \textit{Ka Hoku} ended its run, but its agenda was sustained by newspapers that followed, and even by \textit{Kuokoa}. As for Kalākaua, because of his involvement with \textit{Ka Hoku} and other newspapers, he was often called the “editor king.”\textsuperscript{609}

### Press Coverage of Kalākaua before 1874

Hawaiian and English-language newspapers were following Kalākaua’s involvement in kingdom politics from the moment he entered the legislature through his time on the Privy Council in the courts of Kamehameha IV and Kamehameha V, with special attention paid to his assignment as an aide-de-camp to Kamehameha IV’s court and his activities in the House of

\textsuperscript{606} See “He Inoa no Kauikeauoli” 3 Oct. 1861: 4; “Eia Hou” 4; & “He Inoa no Kauikeauoli” 1 May 1862: 4.

\textsuperscript{607} Hawaiian Manuscript & “Makaliʻi”

\textsuperscript{608} Silva, \textit{Aloha} 79.

\textsuperscript{609} Chapin, \textit{Shaping} 59.
In the Hawaiian-language press, he was also featured in sections with titles such as “Ke Alo Alii” [“The Royal Court”], which reported on the health and daily activities of the “pua aliʻi” [royal descendant of chiefs] Bernice Pauahi Bishop, Lunalilo, and Liliʻuokalani. Kalākaua was therefore constantly in the newspaper readers’ minds. In 1860, Ka Hae Hawaii had noted his service on different legislative committees and his appointment, though only twenty-four years old, as an attendant to Lota Kapuāiwa Kamehameha on his trip to Vancouver. And as already mentioned, in 1861, Kalākaua helped to start the first Hawaiian-run Hawaiian-language newspaper, Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika. He also had posts in the mōʻī’s court, often traveling with other aliʻi throughout the kingdom. A member of the Fire Department Hawaiʻi League, he was part of Number Four, the prestigious all native Hawaiian company, the first of its kind.

Kalākaua would be elected its foreman in 1870. In 1862, Kalākaua was named to Lota Kamehameha’s Privy Council and appointed Post Master General, a “responsible and laborious office” that “ought to command a salary at least half that given to each of the Ministers.” He served until 1865, when his political career took off; the newspapers in Hawaiʻi faithfully covered his ascent. In early February, he was named Treasurer under Kamehameha V, then selected to accompany Queen Emma to England to meet Queen Victoria. Upon their return, he was awarded the Order of Kamehameha, and then appointed as the interim Lieutenant Governor of Oʻahu when his brother-in-law, John O. Dominis took a leave of absence. Kalākaua would serve as interim again in 1868 and 1870. He was a member of the committee responsible for the celebration of Lā Hoʻihoʻi Ea, and asked to give the commemoration address on July 31, 1865.

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610 “Na Lii” 45 & “Hale Ahaolelo” 98.  
611 “Rula” 2; “Hele” 2; “Na Mea Hou o ke” 2; & “Hoike” 2.  
612 “Koho ana” 3 & “Notes” 3.  
613 “Review” 2.  
614 “No ka” 2.  
615 “Ka Papa” 3.  
616 “Hunahuna” 2.
The *Advertiser* praised the day’s ceremonies.\(^{617}\) Kalākaua served as secretary of the Labor Board that same year.\(^{618}\)

In June of 1866, Victoria Kamāmalu, heir apparent to Lot Kapuāiwa, died. Kalākaua’s name appeared in the newspapers as one of the living aliʻi who could serve as a successor, although even then Lunalilo was identified as the more likely choice, since he was most closely related to the Kamehameha line.\(^{619}\) In 1868, both the Hawaiian and English presses reported on Kalākaua’s thorough and thoughtful work as a legislator\(^{620}\)—carefully examining bills and reports before voting for or against them, passionately upholding the Constitution, which he knew well, protecting natives’ rights, and boldly stating his informed opinions before other members. One significant defeat, given the later rumors concerning his drinking, was his attempt in the Legislative Assembly of 1868 to repeal the prohibition of the sale of liquor to natives. According to the *Advertiser*, its defeat by a three-fourths majority showed the “good sense of the nation on this subject.”\(^{621}\) Kalākaua’s name appeared in the newspapers that same year as a divorce attorney, and in 1871, he was noted as a member of the Privy Council. In 1873 came Kalākaua’s first experience in running for the title of mōʻī, which he lost to Lunalilo thanks to united makaʻāinana support and a unanimous legislative vote. As reported by the newspapers, then, Kalākaua served week-to-week and year-after-year as a steady and sound legislator and public official, heavily engaged in the fashioning and growth of the government, and devoted to serving his people.

\(^{617}\) “*Restoration*” 2.

\(^{618}\) “*Ua Loaa mai na Palapala*” 24 Jul. 1865: 3 & “*Ua Loaa mai na Palapala*” 29 Jul. 1865: 3.

\(^{619}\) “*Death of the Heir*” 2.

\(^{620}\) “*Legislative Assembly Session of 1868*” 1 & “*Review of the Legislative Session*” 2.

\(^{621}\) “*Review of the Legislative Session*” 2.
The 1874 Election: Emma and Kalākaua

During the election between Emma and Kalākaua to determine the new mōʻī, Hawaiʻi’s newspapers supported him as overwhelmingly as they had supported Lunalilo in 1873. But the newspapers’ different emphases and interpretations also reveal the wide range of responses in Hawaiʻi to Kalākaua’s victory. When for example the English-language *Hawaiian Gazette* and *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* referred interchangeably to “the whole of Hawaiʻi,” or “all Hawaiʻi,” the “entire kingdom,” or “we,” they were in fact referring to a relatively small though influential minority—the American business element in Hawaiʻi. Take for example this article from *HG* right after Kalākaua’s victory:

In no district on the other islands of the group, from which we have heard, has there been any organized opposition to him, nor the first expression of dissent from any meeting, large or small. On the other hand all parties, whether natives or foreigners, “rejoice in the election of Kalākaua.”

This assumption in the English-language newspapers that their limited experience and understanding somehow reflects general public sentiment has proved to be a constant—up to today. The *HG* claim that everyone supported Kalākaua as mōʻī, and the unwillingness to take seriously those who passionately supported Emma, glosses over the very real political challenge Kalākaua faced the day after his election. The *PCA* was no better. It held Emma’s supporters

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623 “The Situation” 2.
responsible for the riot, and stressed that even if she had secured the votes of the O‘ahu lunamaka‘āinana [representatives], Kalākaua would still have won, because the representatives from the other islands outnumbered them. As for The Friend, which seldom published material on the monarchy, it congratulated Hawai‘i for finally coming to the conclusion that the paper itself had reached weeks ago: “Long before the election took place, and when calmly reflecting upon the situation of affairs, we felt, that Prince David Kalakaua was the one and the only one upon whom the nation could unite. His appointments and rule thus far have given indication of hope to the nation.”

Of course, coverage of the election riot, and of Kalākaua’s royal tour from April to May 1874, the subject of the next section of this chapter, both reveal clear divisions among the Hawaiian people concerning Kalākaua’s election. Chapters One and Two provide sufficient information about the election itself, but one point remains to be addressed: the 1874 election was the first time since Kamehameha I united the islands that the Hawaiian populace was undeniably politically divided. Acknowledging this, which the Hawaiian-language newspapers did, is important because it reveals the complexities of nineteenth-century Hawaiian political alliances. While the desire for international independence and the monarchy as the domestic form of government united the maka‘āinana and ali‘i, they often had quite different ways of understanding how these ideals should be preserved. Especially since the 1873 election of Lunalilo was such a display of virtual unanimity, the political clashes in 1874 are all the more significant. Because Kalākaua won, at least some Hawaiians had to decide if the nation was more important to them than political allegiances. Would the maka‘āinana join together under Kalākaua to preserve Hawai‘i’s independence, or remain divided? The next section examines

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624 “Our New” 2.
what the newspapers, and particularly the Hawaiian-language newspapers, can tell us about Kalākaua’s strategy for gaining the people’s trust, and the makaʻāinana response.

**The 1874 Royal Tour of the Kingdom**

Many accounts of Kalākaua’s life claim that his first significant act as mōʻī was hurrying off to Washington D. C. in November of 1874 to lobby for the Reciprocity Treaty. Because he successfully negotiated a treaty that four sovereigns had wrestled with, some of his critics see this trip as evidence for a pandering to Americans in Hawai‘i that betrayed Hawaiians and their land. In short, Kalākaua’s earliest actions gave people legitimate reasons for detesting him. But wait. In March, April, and May, well before his trip to Washington, the mōʻī toured Kaua‘i, Hawai‘i, Maui, Moloka‘i, and O‘ahu, meeting with thousands of makaʻāinana, legislators, and influential businessmen. Just as Chapter Two showed how Kalākaua spent much of his 1881 trip around the world conducting business with government leaders, this section will demonstrate that he acted similarly on his inaugural tour of the kingdom, and that from day one he took his responsibilities as mōʻī seriously, challenging his branding as the “Merrie Monarch.” A close look at the reporting of this royal tour suggest that confirming his people’s support was a far more deliberate and successful goal than has been realized.

The 1874 newspapers that reported on the mōʻī’s royal tour were the English-language *Friend*, *PCA*, and *HG*, and the Hawaiian-language *Kuokoa*, *Ko Hawaii Pono‘i*, and *Nuhou*. The first of the many articles about the tour appeared on March 24 in *Kuokoa*; and the last on May 13 in *HG*. The English-language press devoted nineteen articles, or roughly twelve pages, to the tour; the Hawaiian-language newspapers ran twenty-one articles, or roughly sixteen pages. The

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625 See Kuykendall 7; Daws 201; & Dougherty 130.
626 *The Friend* published only one article about the tour (“The King’s Visit to Hanalei, Kauai.” *The Friend* 1 Apr. 1874: 1), and that was taken from the *PCA*’s March 28, 1874 edition.
publication of forty-one articles confirms that in addition to showing their aloha and loyalty to Kalākaua personally during these visits, the people of Hawai‘i were very interested in his travels. The Hawaiian newspaper accounts of the loyal, loving, and steadfast kānaka welcome he received in just about every district of the islands also reveal a nationalist conviction that led Hawaiians to support the lāhui’s independence by backing their mō‘ī, regardless of whether they had supported his candidacy in the contentious election of 1874. If independence was to be under Kalākaua, the people would subordinate their political resentment to their national resolve. In short, both supporters and non-supporters of Kalākaua recognized that he represented the kingdom. Sometimes participation at rallies or events featuring the mō‘ī was more about sustaining the nation than adoring the leader—and this broad, nationalist sentiment was apparent from the day the mō‘ī began his tour.

Leaving Honolulu, and Visiting Kaua‘i

*Ko Hawaii Ponoi*’s account of the mō‘ī’s departure from Honolulu reported the warships’ cannons and the cheers of the crowds, concluding: “A o keia mau mea a pau i ikeia, he mau mea e hiki ole ai ke hoopoina koke ia”\(^{627}\) [And all these things that were seen could not be soon forgotten]. The thousands who sent Kalākaua off that day were pledging their loyalty to the mō‘ī, and the salutes, the cannons, and the yardmen standing atop the masts of the ships would be repeated throughout Hawai‘i, in the US, and abroad whenever he was welcomed as a mō‘ī.

Kalākaua started his tour of the islands with Kaua‘i. On March 25, *Ko Hawaii Ponoi* ran an account of the many lehua trees, ferns, and maile adorning his path in Hanalei. Large words made out of flowers welcomed “Kalakaua ko kakou Moi” [Kalākaua our King] and announced

\(^{627}\) “Ka Huakai a ka Moi i Kauai” 25 Mar. 1874: 3.
there was “Hookahi Puuwai”628 [One Heart]. Flowers were prominent throughout the national tour, and drawing on the mele inoa “Eia no Kawika ei hei,”629 John Charlot explains some of this symbolism: “Kalākaua is *ka heke a ‘o nā pua* ‘the highest of the flowers’ (l. 2); *ka pua i luna* ‘the flower above’ (l. 7),”630 and “‘O Kalākaua, he inoa” “emphasizes his designation as pua (ll. 2f., 11) and links it [. . . ] to one of his private names—Kapuamae‘oleikalā ‘The Flower that Wilts Not in the Sun.’”631 Confirming this association, the Hawaiian-language newspapers of the time also referred to Kalākaua as a pua.632 Maka‘āinana were very generous to their new mōʻī. In Hanalei, he stayed at the home of Representative Kaukaha, where the people brought him large pigs, poultry, fish, fruits, and other vegetables. The March 28th edition of *Kuokoa* reports that when it was time to leave the people followed him onto the beach, hats in hand, cheering.633 Kalākaua and his retinue then traveled to Waimea. The reception here was quite different. *Ko Hawaii Pono‘i* claimed that few people greeted the mōʻī, either because they did not support him, or because they were kūpuna, “no laila aole no paha i kupono loa ia lakou ke hana hoochie-loa i na ike ali‘i ana”634 [and fashioning a highly elegant chiefly greeting was perhaps unsuitable for them]. For the first time, then, we are being told that a district did not like their new mōʻī. But is this reporting, or politics? J. Kauai, the Waimea lunamaka‘āinana, had voted for Emma in the February 12 election. But *Kuokoa* reports that the people of Waimea “covered the sands,” showering the mōʻī with gifts, and when it was time for him to leave, the residents occupied the entire shoreline, kneeling, cheering, singing, and strewing flowers before him.635 When he

629 Amy Ku‘uleialoha Stillman notes that two presenters, including S. Kalaimano, presented this same mele under the title “Eia no Davida ka Heke o na Pua” at Kalākaua’s Coronation (See Stillman, “Hawaiian”).
632 “Ka Halawai” 3.
633 “Ka Huakai Ike” 2; *Hawaiian Ethnographic Notes vol. I.* 2878.
approached Kōloa, children dressed in white with red silk sashes at their waists were waiting. Everyone cheered, singers performed a song composed for the mō‘ī, and then in unison the people knelt before Kalākaua.636 From there, nearly 100 horseback riders accompanied him to Judge Lilikalani’s house, where archways strewn with flowers welcomed him. When Kalākaua traveled on to Līhue and Nāwiliwili, the Nuhou said that another entourage of some 100 horseback riders stayed with him for the four hours.637 At 6:00 p.m. when Kalākaua made his way to the skiffs that would carry him to the Kilauea to return to Honolulu, Nuhou observed:

I kuuwa mai la ka leo aloha o na makaainana e kaohi mai ana no ia Kalani; e Kalani e; hoi mai no kakou; eia ka ai, eia ka hale, eia ke kapa; e aloha auanei e638 [The loving voice of the people resounded in an attempt to detain the Royal One; o Royal One; come back to us; here is food, here is shelter, here is kapa; here is love].

As the Kilauea sailed out of Nāwiliwili harbor, some people rode on their horses into the water to bid farewell. Others mounted on horses crowded the cliff.639

When Kalākaua arrived back at Māmala harbor in Honolulu twenty-one gun salutes roared from the cannons of Pūowaina, greetings came from the ships in the harbor, and hurrahs from those gathered at the pier welcomed him home. The mō‘ī shook the people’s hands640 and sailors again climbed atop the yards of the warships.641

638 “Ka Huakai” Ka Nuhou Hawaii 24 Mar. 1874: 4 & Kapa is left in Hawaiian because it was a highly-prized, honorary gift offered to chiefs.
Lahaina, Maui, and on to Hawai‘i

On March 30, Kalākaua departed for the island of Hawai‘i via Lahaina, Maui. The April 8th edition of Ko Hawaii Pono‘i remarked that the Honolulu wharf was filled with more people than when he sailed to Kaua‘i, indicating perhaps that news of his tour had reached readers.\(^{642}\) Though the stops on Maui were very brief, Lahaina and Kā‘anapali were not to be outdone in their greeting of the new mō‘ī. Well before he arrived, the governor had formed nineteen welcoming committees and ordered 300 bright lights from Honolulu.\(^{643}\) Kuokoa noted that such a display was a first for Lahaina, and that it probably could never be duplicated.\(^{644}\) According to Ko Hawaii Pono‘i, bonfires were lit atop the precipices for eight miles, and the Court House was illuminated with kukui torches late into the evening.\(^{645}\) When the Kilauea arrived, thirty skiffs with passengers bearing burning torches, fruits, flowers, and other gifts encircled it, while the sugar mills whistled and church bells tolled: “O ke kiekie loa aku paha ia o ka nani ma ka nana ana i uka i ka aina i ikeia ana keia mau pae aina”\(^{646}\) [It was perhaps the most beautiful sight in the entire archipelago]. It should be noted that this well-planned and elaborate welcome took place at 2:30 a.m. That Lahaina representative Luther Aholo had actually voted for Emma in the election also suggests that this welcome confirms that the people’s devotion to the lāhui rose above party politics.

The first installment of Ko Hawaii Pono‘i’s account of the Kilauea’s journey from Makena to Kawaihae across the ‘Alenuihāhā channel was filled with the names of people, places, and winds—details not found in the PCA or HG. This visit was perhaps the most important on

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\(^{642}\) “Ka Huakai Alii” Ko Hawaii Pono‘i. 8 Apr. 1874: 2 & “The Royal Progress” PCA 18 Apr. 1874: 3.
\(^{645}\) “Ka Huakai” Ko Hawaii Pono‘i 8 Apr. 1874: 2.
\(^{646}\) “Ka Huakai a ka Moi!” Ka Nuhou Hawai‘i 14 Apr. 1874: 3–5 & “Ka Huakai Alii” Ko Hawaii Pono‘i 8 Apr. 1874: 2.
Kalākaua’s tour because Hawai‘i was the home of the Keaweaheulu line, from which Kalākaua descended. It is believed that Kamehameha I gave the lands of Ponahawai to Keaweaheulu, as a beloved and loyal chief. Famously not a Kamehameha, Kalākaua needed to gain credibility and forge alliances, in part by honoring Kamehameha I. As the mōʻī made his way to Hilo via Kawaihae, North Kohala, and the Hāmākua coastline, kānaka and haole alike offered their aloha. When the Kilauea sailed past the precipices Kaluaokau, Hamaui, Pa‘auilo, Maunahōʻano, Waipunalau, Koholāele, and Kukā‘iau in southeastern Hāmākua, keiki crowded the cliff tops and “ike mai la i ka hae kalanu a huro mai la” [cheered when they saw the royal flag]. The Kilauea sounded its whistle to them and the mōʻī waved his handkerchief. In Laupāhoehoe, women and children crowded the seashore, offering bounties of seafood. When Kalākaua arrived in Hilo around noon, Nuhou reported that “Aia na makaainana ke puuluulu mai la” [The people were packed solid there] with torches cheering lustily. Newspaper accounts of the tour frequently mention these burning torches. These were hōʻailona because as George S. Kanahele explains, Kalākaua’s ancestor, Iwikauikaua, used them on state occasions to assert his right to the throne:

This ceremonial rite was a spectacular custom that evoked the traditional pageantry and awe of Hawaiian royalty, even under a constitutional monarchy.

The flaming torch served as authentication of ancient Hawaiian authority and as a dramatic practice for a king of the modern era.

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647 Kelly, et al. 11.
648 “Ka Huakai!” Ka Nuhou Hawaii 14 Apr. 1874: 3.
649 “Ka Hukai!”
650 “Ka Huakai!”
651 Kanahele 13.
Kuokoa mentions that among those on the beach were Emma’s supporters. Though unhappy, they were there, adding to the numbers and asserting national unity. The mō‘ī was received in the home of Thomas “Po‘onāhoahoa” Spencer. So many visitors came to see him there, Nuhou reported, that some people climbed on top of the fences, the trees, and the rooftops. That evening, Kalākaua was treated to hula performances. Every island honored him with hula, and throughout his reign, he would famously encourage its performance to celebrate Hawaiian culture.

The next day he gave a speech at Haili church. Afterwards at the Court House, people came in crowds to greet the mō‘ī. Nuhou said that 397 people shook hands with Kalākaua and that the total number there on site was 3,000. Gifts were also given; Kuokoa said that “aole kekahī mea hele wale mai” [no one came empty handed]. According to Nuhou, “Hookahi mea ano nui loa, i na makaainana o Hilo, oia ko lakou aua ana i ka Moi e noho loa i Hilo” [One very important thing to the people of Hilo was namely their detaining the King to remain longer in Hilo]. In Ka‘ū, the welcome was overwhelming. On a road in Wai‘ōhinu, people had erected beautiful arches, and so many came to the church to hear him speak that he moved outdoors to accommodate everyone. Kalākaua and his retinue then made their way to Kauhakō, in Ho‘okena, where people stood on the beach, twirling their hats, cheering and offering gifts. The Kilauea made its way on to Kalae, then Kā‘iliki‘i, Molilele, Honomalino, and Miloli‘i; at 4:00 p.m., it passed ‘O‘popula, Kīpāhoehoe, Pāhoehoe, and Kukuiʻōpa‘e. At Kawaiakaua, the beach

652 “Ka Huakai” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa 11 Apr. 1874: 2.
653 See O’Connor.
654 “Ka Huakai!” Ka Nuhou Hawaii 14 Apr. 1874: 3.
655 Thrum said Hilo’s native population in 1872 was about 3,500 (“Census” 5).
that fronts Huliheʻe Palace, thirty familiar burning torches welcomed the mōʻī. The PCA said he entered a canoe and the people dragged it over the shore. On his next stop, in Kawaihæ, Kalākaua was again welcomed with sounds resembling the cannons of Pūowaina, which makaʻainana throughout the archipelago mimicked in different inventive ways. On the wharf were cavalry in formation in red coats and black trousers, with wooden swords. According to Nuhou, “Ma ka auolo o ka uapo he mau huaolelo, ‘Hookahi Puuwai;’ me na lalani hua haole, ‘Long Life and Happiness’—aia loihi me ka pomaikai—me keia kekahī, ‘Peace and Plenty’”

[The words, “One Heart” were arranged on a shed on the wharf with the English lines, “Long Life and Happiness”—long life and fortune—with this as well, “Peace and Plenty”]. Untying the horses from the carriage, the residents of Kawaihæ themselves pulled Kalākaua to Samuel Parker’s home. Beautifully-crafted arches awaited the mōʻī there, and Nuhou reports that a choir, dressed in white clothing with red sashes, sang “Hymn to Kamehameha I.” After a lavish meal and a chance to relax, thanks to the generosity of Parker, the mōʻī bid farewell to his beloved subjects. In this case, the PCA perhaps said it best: “Wherever His Majesty went on the large and important Island of Hawaii, He was met by His subjects, both foreign and native, with lively and heartfelt demonstrations of devotion and loyalty.”

**Return to Maui, and on to Molokaʻi**

At sunset on April 7, Kalākaua landed at Makena, and arrived at the home of his good friend, Captain James McKee, around ten that evening. The PCA said that about eighty

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659 “Ka Huakai” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa 11 Apr. 1874: 2.
660 “The Royal Progress” PCA 11 Apr. 1874: 3.
661 HEN Vol. I 2890.
662 “Ka Huakai!” Ka Nuhou Hawaii 14 Apr. 1874: 5.
663 “The Royal Progress” PCA 11 Apr. 1874: 3.
torchbearers accompanied the retinue up to ʻUlupalakua, the Nuhou claimed the plains glowed brightly with 200 Hawaiian candlenut torches. The difference could be attributed to the English language press’s often dismissive accounts of makaʻāinana tributes—although eighty is still impressive. The lavish McKee home was alive with visitors paying tribute to Kalākaua, and enjoying the hula, Tahitian dancing, banquets, and even billiards. Later, makaʻāinana from Waiohuli and Kēōkea arrived on horseback carrying the Hawaiian flag.

The next day Kalākaua travelled from ʻUlupalakua to Waikapū via Wailuku, where more beautifully adorned arches greeted him. The PCA described the progress this way:

There were over a hundred horsemen in the train at the start. The distance from Ulupalakua to Wailuku in a straight line, is said to be 20 miles [ . . . . ] At this point a deputation was met from Wailuku, consisting of over a hundred horsemen. These opened to the right and left, cheering the Royal party as it passed through, and then brought up in the rear, the cavalcade now consisting of some 300 horsemen.

Ko Hawaii Ponoi added that makaʻāinana had gifts for the aliʻi, and “ua muimuia ae la na kanaka ma ke alanui a maloko iho o ka pa me na iini ana e kilohi aku i na helehelena o ka lakou mea i kau nui ai e ike” [the people were assembled together along the road to Waikapū and in their yards in hopes of gazing upon the features of the one they wished to see]. Once in Waikapū, Kalākaua met with the reception committee of the Waiʻehā lands, who followed the pattern of wishing him to stay longer. A mānele or special carrier, wrote Kuokoa, was ready to convey the

664 „The Royal Progress” PCA 18 Apr. 1874: 3.
666 „Ka Huakai!” Ka Nuhou Hawaiʻi 21 Apr. 1874: 3.
668 „The Royal Progress” PCA 18 Apr. 1874: 3.
669 „Ka Huakai Alii mai” 4.
mōʻī from Waikapū: “i mea hookelakela oi loa ae i ko na apana e”670 [in order to put on a greater display than those of other places].

In Wailuku, Kalākaua spoke at the Temperance Union, where according to Kuokoa: “O ka hele mai la no ia o na makaainana e hookeke a wawahi maoli mai no paha kahi poe i na puka aniani, no ke ake nui no e ike alii mai kuaaina”671 [The people crowded in and some broke the windows on purpose in the eagerness of the country folks to see the chiefs]. On April 13, Kalākaua made his way to Lahaina to speak at the Court House. Before he could enter, though, the makaʻāinana welcomed him at the door.672 In his speech, he provides his clearest justification for his initial royal tour:

The principal object which I have had in view in making this journey among my people, is that we may all be incited to renewed exertions for the advancement and prosperity of our nation, the extinction of which has been prophesied. Figures of the census have been published to show that we are a dying race. But shall we sit still, and indolently see the structure erected by our fathers fall to pieces without lifting a hand to stay the work of destruction? If the house is dilapidated, let us repair it.

The PCA reporter writes: “Many of the old men and women present wept audibly, and he was frequently interrupted with enthusiastic applause during the course of his remarks.”673 As for the Nuhou correspondent, he was overwhelmed by Kalākaua’s rhetoric:

He keu ia a ka Haiolelo nani loa, a ua piha pono na puuwai i ka hauoli. Aohe haiolelo ana a ka Moi i ike ia ka maikai e like me ia; a no ka lilo loa o koʻu manao

672 “Ka Huakai Alii” Ko Hawaiʻi Ponoʻi 6 May 1874: 4.
673 “The Royal Progress” PCA 18 Apr. 1874: 3.
i kamaikai o kona mau kalai manao ana, aole hiki ia’u ke hoomanao a kakau la hoi ma ka’u puke hoomanao.674

[It was a most beautiful speech, filling hearts with joy. No other speech of the King’s was seen to be as fine as it; and because my thoughts were so completely absorbed in the excellent way he expressed his thoughts, I am unable to recall and record it in my journal].

These comments echo many others about Kalākaua’s public eloquence. He was a remarkable speaker—noble, and highly intelligent, although these qualities rarely were acknowledged by the English-language press and in other narratives that opposed him. He left Lahaina at four in the morning, “me ka poai puni ana a na lama kukui a na keiki o ka malu ulu,”675 [completely surrounded by the illuminated torches of the children of the sheltered grove (Lahaina’s poetical name)] and the Kilaeua made its way to Moloka‘i. In September, Kalākaua would return to Maui to visit Hana.676

The mōʻī’s visit to Moloka‘i was brief. He stopped at Pūko‘o, and spoke to the hundreds of people gathered there. They applauded and offered their hoʻokupu. Because Honolulu was expecting the retinue at 10:00 that evening, the mōʻī then went to Kalaupapa, the settlement for those afflicted with Hansen’s disease.677 Kalākaua landed at the beach there at 12:30, and Kuokoa noted regarding the 200 to 300 Hawaiians who had gathered there that “ua hoihoi mai lakou i ka pane no ia olelo me na olioli a me na huro i ka ike Moi ana”678 [they responded with pleasure, joy and cheers at seeing him]. In his speech, he says that “his heart was grieved at the

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676 “Ka Moi ma Hana” Ka Nupepa Kuokou 12 Sep. 1874: 2.
677 “The Royal Progress” PCA 18 Apr. 1874: 3.
necessity which had separated these subjects from their homes and families, and afterwards, he listened to patients’ concerns, including the dreaded spread of influenza. A few weeks later, Nuhou reported that Kalākaua allowed, with doctors’ approval, the return of 114 residents to their homes, away from Kalaupapa—a very important result from his short stop there. After bidding aloha to his subjects here, he made his way to O‘ahu.

**Return to Honolulu**

Kalākaua’s return to Honolulu was one of the most exciting segments of his entire tour of the kingdom—the perfect finale to the displays offered by the people on the various islands. “Aole i ikeia kekahi hoohanohano ano nui launa ole e like me keia, a aole no paha he like e hiki mai ana” [Such a great honor as this was never seen before and perhaps it will never be seen in the future again], Kuokoa reported. The pageantry, the lights, and the sheer numbers of makaʻāinana who greeted the mō‘ī testified not only to the ingenuity, organization, and hard work of Honolulu’s residents, but to their aloha and hopes for a thriving lāhui. Like most of its stories of the 1874 tour, the HG report about the return was brief—“The population of the city turned out en masse to receive the royal party.” Most of HG’s stories of the 1874 tour of the kingdom were similarly brief. On April 18, the PCA acknowledged the fireworks and bonfires. But the Hawaiian-language newspapers give detailed and impressive accounts. Kuokoa reported that the first bonfire the Kilauea saw, around eight in the evening, was at Kawaihoa, beyond

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679 “The Leper” 2. This article also mentions that there were 675 adults residing at the settlement in the time of the king’s visit.
683 P. K. Kuhi composed the mele inoa, “Lamalama i Makapuu ke Ahi o Hilo” in honor of Kalākaua’s return. See Nā Mele 132–133.
685 “The Royal Progress” PCA 18 Apr. 1874: 3.
The fire lighters sent seven rockets sailing through the air, with fires atop ʻIhiʻihilauākea. Fires also crowned the summits of Kohelepelepe and Niu, and Kaimukī’s own fire lit up the sky: “Mawaho ae o Laehi; oili pulelo ke ahi i ka malie, e aloha mai ana o Leahi ‘alohoa oe e Kalakaua, e kaukeha mai ana ka puu o Ualakaa me kona punohu ahi” [Outside of Laeʻahi a fire rose up in the calm, and Lēʻahi acknowledged, ‘Greetings to you, Kalākaua.’ The precipice of ʻUalakaʻa rested high above with its rising fire]. Even the shores of Kāhala were ablaze; the PCA reported that ten bonfires were set from Koko Head to Lēʻahi, with more on the beaches from Waikīkī to Kewalo. These fires and rockets combined old and new symbols of reverence for the mōʻī. As Charlot explains: “Kapu privilege is, in fact, another theme of the Kalākaua movement [which] combined the traditional Hawaiian elements with foreign ones, such as fireworks and torchlight parades then used in U. S. political campaigns.”

Those aboard the Kilauea, Kuokoa reported, “e pioo ana, a he mahalo wale aku no” [were excited and full of admiration]. It took three hours for the mōʻī to pass by these stunning fires on the precipices and shores of the beaches. Everyone in Honolulu lifted their eyes to these emblems of Kalākaua’s majesty. On the edges of Pūowaina were fires and rockets, and letters lit with fire spelling out “The King.” The lights decorating Kawaiahaʻo’s steeple were like a lei adorning the church: “He hana i hoohiluhilu ole ia i na Alii aimoku nana i kapili, a eia ka i ka moopuna a Keaweheulu e kahiko pīhaia ai ka Halelāa. Ua hiki!” [This was never before done for the rulers who built it, but for the descendant of Keawe-a-Heulu, this sacred edifice became fully

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688 “Ka Huakai!” Ka Nuhou Hawaii 21 Apr. 1874: 4; Lēʻahi and Laeahi were used interchangeably.
689 “The Royal Progress” PCA 18 Apr. 1874: 3.
690 Charlot, Hawaiian 11; The bonfires and lighted torches of this evening would eventually inspire the young David Malo, namesake and nephew of the well-known Lahainaluna graduate, to compose “He Inoa Ahi no Kalakaua,” the famous chant written to remember the king’s return to Honolulu. See The Echo 144.
adorned! So let it be!] As for the noise, Nuhou reported: “Lohe pono ole ia aku ke kani o na pu o Puowaina i kau a mea he ikuwa o na leo kanaka me ke pahupahu o na mea kani. Hele a hewa i ka wai ua mea he kanaka” [The cannons of Puowaina could not be heard because of the clamor of voices and popping of fireworks. One could drown amid the people]. At ʻĀinahou, Hawaiians, haole, and Chinese congregated to welcome “ko lakou Moi ike makaainana” [their King who recognizes the common people]. With this remark, Kuokoa touched on something now recognized—that Kalākaua was a people’s mōʻī. Makaʻāinana approached, spoke to, and shook hands with Kalākaua throughout his tour, leading the PCA to note:

His Majesty [ . . . ] has visited in their homes and spoken in person to the great majority of his subjects from Kau to Kauai [ . . . ] Not only are King and people made better acquainted with each other, but [ . . . ] the nation may be aroused to new life and activity in the work of self preservation and recuperation.

When the Kilauea arrived in Honolulu harbor, and the people prepared to take Kalākaua to ʻIolani Palace, both Kuokoa and Nuhou reported that the makaʻāinana offered two modes of travel: the children would pull a carriage, or people would carry a mānele on their shoulders. Kalākaua chose the carriage; Kamakaʻeʻa (Liliʻuokalani) and Governor Dominis rode in the mānele. Upon the mōʻī’s entering ʻIolani Palace, Hawaiian men and women prostrated themselves, while “E kuku mai ana na pake me na ipukukui pake” [The Chinese were standing there with Chinese lanterns]. Kuokoa pointedly concludes this report by underscoring the people’s desire to preserve the nation’s independence: “Ke hoike mai nei keia hana, u a lo kahi ka lahui no Kalakaua. Ina pela e pau ka opukekeue, nonohua, a e noho me ka naau aloha ali‘i” [This

696 “The Arrival” PCA 2 May 1874: 2
proves that the people are united in favor of Kalākaua. If so, stop all resentments and live with loving hearts toward the chiefs].

O‘ahu

The mō‘ī then traveled around O‘ahu, and the newspapers covered parts of this tour. HG first announced Kalākaua’s departure from Honolulu via Kaluakahu‘a. A letter to Ko Hawaii Ponoi from a Waimānalo resident noted: “Ua hoohiwahiwa ia ke alanui hele me na huaolelo—‘Aloha ka Moi’” [A pathway was decorated with the words “Beloved King]. The PCA observed that “Mottoes and words of greeting printed on placards were posted on the rocks and scattered along the road from Makapuu to [Cummins’] Ranch.” Beautiful arches appeared along the road, and so did two men in red suits and masks upon black horses, bearing the torches of Iwikauikaua: “Here the entire premises and grounds were lighted up with lamps and torches, although it was midday, making a striking scene, and paying a significant compliment to the traditional history of His Majesty’s family.” In an area called Kukui, “he Pio Lehua e ku ana, me na huaolelo ‘Hele mai ka Moi Kalakaua, ua ola Hawaii’” [here was an arch made of lehua with the words, ‘Come King Kalakaua, Hawaii thrives’]. When Kalākaua walked through another archway all the people prostrated themselves. The humble people of Waimānalo did not shake hands with the mō‘ī, greeting him with a bow of the head, since “ua menemene lakou i na lima o Kalani Moi” [they reverenced the hands of the Royal King]. About thirty members of Kalākaua’s retinue dined there with the Hon. John Adams Cummins, a wealthy sugar plantation

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699 “Their Majesties the King and Queen” HG 22 Apr. 1874: 2.
700 “The Royal Progress on Oahu” PCA 25 Apr. 1874: 3.
701 “The Royal Progress on Oahu” 3.
702 “Ka Hookipa” 2.
703 “Ka Hookipa” 2.
owner, rancher, noble, and relative to Kalākaua.\textsuperscript{704} Children sang three mele, and then makaʻāinana presented their hoʻokupu to the mōʻi.

Kalākaua then made his way to Maunawili, to the home of Major Edward H. Boyd where another beautifully-adorned archway greeted him.\textsuperscript{705} Following dinner, bonfires blazed atop Ahiki and Pākuʻi, two of the three summits of Olomana, and firebrands sailed through the air, as dancers and chanters performed hula. In Kāneʻohe the entourage increased to 150. Together, they traveled to Heʻeia, Kaʻalaea, and Kualoa, where the mōʻi stopped to dine with Charles H. Judd. Kalākaua also spoke to the residents of Kahana, and the PCA reported that, “The people were much affected when His Majesty asked—‘Is this all there are left of you?’”\textsuperscript{706} This account is important. No other newspaper recorded Kalākaua’s heartbreak when he gazed at the handful of people who had survived disease and the tide of westernization.

At Punaluʻu, many wealthy Chinese rice farmers hosted a dinner in Kalākaua’s honor. Here, twenty-one bombs replaced the twenty-one gun salute, as a stream of fireworks burst through the air. He then proceeded to Hauʻula and Lāʻie. Kuokoa noted that along the way, “Mā ia po iho, ua owela na pali i na ahi i ho-a ia, he hoike ana ia i ke aloha ali”\textsuperscript{707} [That night, the hills [of Koʻolauloa] glowed with lighted bonfires, expressions of affection for the chiefs]. In Lāʻie, 200 to 300 native Latter-day saints heard the mōʻi’s speech. Then on to Kahuku and Waialua, where makaʻāinana from as far as ʻEwa and Waiʻanae filled the Waialua church to listen to the mōʻi. The retinue then passed through Mānana and Moanalua, eventually arriving back in Honolulu, where the PCA reported that “King street, throughout its length up to the Palace gates, was crowded with people, who welcomed their Majesties back to the capital with

\textsuperscript{705} “The Royal Progress on Oahu” \textit{PCA} 25 Apr. 1874: 3.
\textsuperscript{706} “The Royal Progress on Oahu” 3.
\textsuperscript{707} “Ka Hiki” 3 & \textit{HEN Vol. I}. 2905.
That evening there was a masquerade ball followed by a fine supper and dancing at the palace. Later in May, Kalākaua visited Wai‘anae, and Koʻolaupoko in August, completing his royal tour.

Accompanied night and day by kukui candlenut torches, Kalākaua had become a symbol of hope and light for makaʻāinana. While the tour did reveal that a small percentage of makaʻāinana outside of Honolulu did not care for their new mōʻī, the aloha throughout Hawaiʻi showed a widespread acceptance and support of Kalākaua. As the PCA put it:

> In systematic thoroughness [the Royal Progress] has never been equaled by any of our Kings, since the first Kamehameha. Occasionally, during their several reigns, His Majesty’s predecessors have made short visits to particular portions of their dominions, but there were many localities that had never been honored by the presence of the Sovereign until now.

The tour also showcased the ingenuity and fervor of his Hawaiian subjects as they organized, constructed, and decorated the ornate displays of welcome. Think about ascending the many high peaks carrying everything needed for those massive bonfires. Together, these gestures formed a nationalist makaʻāinana alliance that was critical at the time. When Kalākaua ascended the throne in 1874, Hawaiians were confronting a diminished population, a decline in the language, an anticipated loss of Pearl River to the United States that would endanger their independence, and extensive land losses to haole sugar planters. Through his physical presence in each district on each island, Kalākaua was a symbol of hope, change, and independence that enlivened Hawaiians at a precarious time. The lengthier newspaper accounts of this tour also

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708 “The Return of Their Majesties” 2.
709 “Their Majesties” HG 13 May 1874: 2 & “Nu Hou” 2.
710 “The Arrival” 2.
711 Reinecke 48.
provide insight into nineteenth-century makaʻainana political discourse. The people were using the tour and the newspaper coverage of it to unite themselves as a lāhui. Hawaiians loved and praised their new mōʻī. Though they did not all follow the example of Waimānalo, where people treated him as akua, or deity, withholding their hands so as to not to taint him, Hawaiians everywhere were clearly eager and anxious to see Kalākaua. Who can forget those of Kēōkea and Waiohuli, who impressed the mōʻī by journeying from their homes so far away; or the children of the Hāmākua coast, who climbed the precipices to catch a glimpse of the mōʻī as he sailed by on the Kilauea; or those of Lahaina who prepared an eight-mile stretch of bonfires along the shores and summits, and lighted torches to welcome Kalākaua at 2:30 in the morning; or the hundreds of people of Kōloa who rode their horses for eight hours to accompany him when he departed from their town? Nor were the mōʻī kapu forgotten. Hawaiians everywhere participated in the burning of torches at mid-day, or performing the kapu moe. People of all ages and races honored Kalākaua, and through the newspaper accounts, Hawaiians from different islands could learn about where he had been, and become inspired to top another island’s displays or to invent entirely new ways of welcoming the mōʻī to their moku. All these acts and reports forged a unity among makaʻainana, and not just out of their love for the mōʻī, but for what he represented—the entire lāhui. The role of the newspaper articles in creating this shared understanding cannot be overstated, and the Hawaiian-language newspapers offered far more details about the tour, including makaʻainana receptions, banquets, balls, hula, children’s choir performances, light and firework shows, and flowers to honor Kalākaua. The Hawaiian readership clearly wanted to know what Kalākaua was doing during his tour. Who greeted and accompanied him? How many people attended? And how could their own displays of welcome outdo earlier tributes?  

712 Liliʻuokalani 67–68.
A side benefit of the tour is that the Hawaiian-language newspaper articles often contained important nineteenth-century place names we may have forgotten. At the end of the mōʻī’s progress through the kingdom, *Kuokoa* printed songs that the students of Lahainaluna Kulanui had written and sung for him when he visited Lahainalalo. The first verse and chorus of the first mele went:

O Kalakaua no ka Moi  Kalakaua the King
O ke Aupuni Hawaii  Of the Hawaiian Kingdom
Kahiko nani hoi o ka Lahui  A truly beautiful adornment of the Nation
Mai Hawaii hoi a Niihau.  From Hawaii to Niihau.
A he pua oe, no ka Lahui  You are a flower, for the Nation
He makua hoi no makou  A father for us
A he lei nani, no makou  A beautiful garland, for us
No kou mau makaainana a pau713  For all of your subjects.

Though composed for the “pua for the nation,” Kalākaua, this mele echoes the aloha of the makaʻāinana throughout the tour, unites the entire aupuni (“No kou mau makaainana a pau”) under its new leader, instills hope in those who would be the future leaders of Hawaiʻi, and finally by its publication, serves as an example of how makaʻāinana used the newspapers to offer their aloha to their mōʻī and to the entire lāhuī.

**Hoʻoulu Lāhui**

Housed at the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum are Kalākaua’s own scrapbooks; one of them contains newspaper clippings that list population totals and mortality rates for Hawaiʻi. He was clearly concerned about his people’s survival, and the newspapers can help us map out the

713 “Na Mele no” 4.
evolution of the mōʻī’s ideas for leading his kingdom under his motto “Hoʻoulu Lāhui.” From his first day as mōʻī, Kalākaua went to work. At the opening of the 1874 legislative assembly, he declared that the one subject that “awakens my greatest solicitude is to increase my people,” and to this initiative he directed his cabinet’s “earnest attention.”

“Hoʻoulu Lāhui” was a two-fold enterprise: to increase the industry and agricultural yield of the kingdom, and to increase the native Hawaiian population in ways that responded to the changes occurring in the kingdom. As Lilikalā Kameʻeleihiwa explains, “He surmised that if Hawaiians could again celebrate life, as their ancestors had, and if they were thus inspired with a great desire to live, then the senseless, premature deaths might cease. As a nation, Hawaiʻi would be pono again.”

For the first objective, the government came up with the idea to lend money to makaʻāinana farmers who used “crops instead of land as collateral” For the second, the mōʻī urged the Board of Health to “improve to the utmost the hygiene of his people,” and he pressed the legislators “to devise means for the preservation of the lives of infants,” and to provide for a “special exemption” for “those who rear large families.”

The Hawaiian Gazette commended Kalākaua’s idea, recommending that the government provide homesteads for those large families. Kalākaua also changed the remarriage law, allowing divorced couples to remarry at any time rather than having to wait a year. He created a Hawaiian Board of Health with Hawaiian kauka [doctors] who could provide professional kahuna with licenses to practice. Kuokoa captured another part of Kalākaua’s plan. During an

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714 “King’s Speech Opening the Legislative Assembly, 1874.”
715 Kameʻeleihiwa 314.
716 McGregor-Alegado 31.
717 “King’s Speech.”
718 “It will be Remembered” 2.
719 Silverman 73.
720 McGregor-Alegado 28.
August 1874 visit to a Kāneʻohe Protestant Church, Kalākaua personally participated in the baptism of two children:

O ka hana kiekie a ihiihi a ko kakou Lani Moi ahonui i na aleale a ka hoinala wale i hanaʻi ia manawa, oia no keia: Na Kona mau lima kapu ponoi no i hiipoi a i kaikai hele aku i kekahai mau keiki liilii loa, a imua o ke Kahunapule Rev. J. Manuela, e bapetizo a e hoolaa ia laua na ke Akua.

He hana lani a he hana hoohaahaa maoli keia a ka Moi i hanaʻi i na keiki makaainana o Kona aupuni, i ka mea hoʻi i ike ole ia, a i hana ole ia no hoi e na Alii Aimoku i pau nui aku la i ka hala, a ia Kauliluaikauuwaiaaleale ae nei, ua noanoa na lima kapu. O ka inoa o kekahai keiki i bapetizoia, oia no o Kahoʻoululahui (w).[21]

[The exalted and sacred deeds of our patient King in the tempests of the wrongs that were thoughtlessly committed was this: with his own sacred hands he cherished and led some very young children before the Rev. J. Manuel to baptize and consecrate them to God. This was a regal and truly humble action that the King performed for the common children in His kingdom, something that was never seen before, nor done by the deceased Chiefs. And by Kauliluaikauuwaiaaleale his sacred hands were made free. The name of one of the baptized children is Kahoʻoululahui (a girl)].

Kalākaua had been on the throne for only seven months. The residents of Koʻolaupoko—a people, Kuokoa reports, who continued to respect the mōʻī as akua—were still learning about him. His act of presenting the children to be baptized therefore astonished Kuokoa’s reporter and probably most in attendance. No former aliʻi nui had himself conveyed a child; therefore “ua

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noanoa na lima kapu” [the sacred hands are freed]. Though some might have opposed this act, the mō‘ī was responding with a variety of answers and methods to the deep-seated causes of the decrease in the population. Infants had the highest mortality rate among Hawaiians, and on his 1874 royal tour of Ko‘olaupoko he expressed his concern about the low numbers. Conveying the children to the minister therefore displayed his humility and faith to the congregation. His simple act was read as an offering or an appeal to god to cleanse and restore his nation. At the end of the service, people shook hands with the mō‘ī. Some were moved to tears. *Kuokoa*’s published account of this visit revealed Kalākaua’s devotion to “ho‘oulu lāhui” and his appeal to his people to move forward with him. Throughout his reign, on his many tours he encouraged his subjects to do even more to increase their families, to care for each other, and to ensure the survival of the young children. With his wife, Kalākaua later founded the Kapi‘olani Maternity Home, a place where expectant mothers could receive appropriate care and information to ensure safe childbirth. On at least one occasion, he sought advice from The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Lā‘ie because its congregations had so many large and growing families.

As early as November 1874, *PCA* reported on the success of Kalākaua’s promotion of this policy: “*Hooulu lahui* have become the watchwords at all public gatherings of the natives.” Some 300 maka‘āinana gathered at Kawaiahaʻo church that month to discuss how to follow Kalākaua’s edict, and the paper quoted one speaker as saying “too much care cannot be bestowed upon the nurture and education of the young, and in directing renewed attention to this branch of *hooulu lahui*, some good may have been accomplished by the meeting.” Significantly, the maka‘āinana saw the means of saving the nation was education: to teach Hawaiians how to

722 “Hooulu Lahui” 2.
723 “Hooulu Lahui” 2.
care properly for each generation in response to such changes as the arrival of westerners and diseases to the islands. The Hon. John A. Cummins proposed that a Ho‘oulu Lāhui board be created in Honolulu, with branches in each district throughout the kingdom, that would monitor locally the health, sanitation, and education of the residents. These branches would also be responsible for the care of infants by assisting new parents who needed more information about raising young children. The PCA reported how Cummins proposed that the entire kingdom, and especially the newspapers, needed to commit to spreading information that would ho‘oulu the lāhui: “I earnestly beg of all,—the chiefs, to use the influence of their positions; the clergy, when preaching from their pulpits; physicians, with their skill; and writers for the press, with their pens; and every man and woman, each in their own family and circle of acquaintance; to stand up alike to this great work of re-peopling Hawaii for the Hawaiians.”

Another solution from maka‘āinana was this:

E hooikaika me ka manao paulele e kiai me ka malama i ka Makuakane, ka Makuahine, Kaikuana, Kaikaina, Kaikunane, Kaikuahine a me na Keiki, i loihi ai ke ola ana, a aole hoi e make opiopio. I lawa ai na mea a pau me na mea ai o ke ola kino, mahuahua na aahu, me na hale pumehana, na wahi moe maemae, a me na kihei huluhulu maikai no na po huihui o ka Hooilo.

[Become stronger in faith to carefully watch the Father, Mother, older sibling, younger sibling, brother, sister, and the children in order to prolong life and not die young. In order to make all things and nourishment of the body sufficient increase the supply of clothing, warmed shelters, clean beds and fine woolens for the cold nights of Winter].

724 “Hooulu Lahui” 2.
725 “Ka Hooulu” 2.
The newspapers encouraged the makaʻāinana to take part in such initiatives. In its November 21, 1874 edition, for instance, *Kuokoa* congratulated Luiki and his wife of Kapuʻukolo, Honolulu, highlighting the birth of their seventh child: “Pomaikai ke aupuni i keia mau makua hooulu lahui i ke au o Kalākaua” [The kingdom is blessed by these parents who are increasing the nation during the era of Kalākaua]. The newspapers therefore urge and document makaʻāinana support of Kalākaua’s initiative to hoʻoulu the lāhui in the face of substantial population declines.

**The Exchange Rate: The Matter of Orders and Decorations**

Kamanamaikalani Beamer has noted that the mōʻi’s endeavor “propelled him toward cultural production and the legitimization of heritage in Hawaiʻi.” In his efforts to raise the world’s awareness of his kingdom to sustain its independence Kalākaua used decorations and orders to link himself with fellow leaders and align Hawaiʻi with international powers. One month after ascending the throne, he began arranging the exchange of orders and decorations with the emperors, kings, commissioners, and presidents of different nations. His correspondence with consuls reveals his intentions to elevate himself and the kingdom to an internationally-recognized level. The photographs, exhibitions, and other public appearances he took part in were highly public, and while his concern with decorations and awards might seem more private and personal, he realized that once an order was pinned on, the personal recognition became a public bond. On March 21, 1874, for example, William Martin, Hawaiʻi’s consul in Paris, wrote to the mōʻi to discuss exchanging decorations with some of the sovereigns

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726 “Ma Kapuuukolo” 2.
727 Beamer 184.
of Europe. Their relationship would last more than twelve years, and they corresponded regularly about orders, but also about the delivery of maps, books, and awards, and Hawaiʻi’s participation in major exhibitions held in Paris. Martin negotiated exchanges of honors between Kalākaua and King Leopold of Belgium, the King of Italy, Prince Charles of Germany, Prince Frederick Charles, the emperor of Russia, and Prince William of Prussia. From the onset, then, the mōʻī used well-established diplomatic methods to set up reciprocal and symbolic relationships with other world leaders as part of his strategy to assert Hawaiʻi’s independence.

These early gestures laid some of the foundations for the welcomes he received when meeting these heads of state, and others, on his 1881 tour of the world, and that trip itself became another opportunity for such exchanges. On his early stop in Japan, for instance, he received numerous decorations and orders from the generous hands of the Emperor. As soon as Kalākaua had the opportunity he wrote back to his cabinet in Hawaiʻi, requesting that additional awards be created and sent to him: “In order to have our Orders and Decorations valued abroad, as we will in the future come more or less in contact with Princes and Crown Heads of other nations, as our visit here has started a precedence.” On May 12, 1881, he wrote again, pressing Governor Dominis, and revealing another pragmatic motive for his request:

I hope you will impress it upon the minds of the executive committee the necessity of carrying out my wishes as regards the exchange of decorations. By these exchanges depends the success of any future movement our government may take in desiring to procure immigrants [. . .] Decorations have a powerful weight upon the minds of the Asiatic Prince’s [sic].

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730 “Consul Letters.”
731 “Consul Letters.”
732 Greer 77.
733 Greer 83.
Even a hostile witness like Armstrong recalled that Kalākaua’s award ceremonies were a major part of the tour:

In Japan, Egypt, Portugal, Siam and Belgium decorations were bestowed on the King and his suite on the one hand, and the King conferred the decorations of his own country in return. The Queen of England conferred on him the grand cross of St. George and St. Michael, and he bestowed on her the grand cross of the Order of Kamehameha and also the grand cross of the Order of Kalakaua.\textsuperscript{734}

Other forms of exchange also created relationships. Blossoms, blooms, seeds, maps, educational books, almanacs, music, and the lyrics of the Hawaiian national hymn were requested by and sent to different countries, such as Australia and France.\textsuperscript{735} Botany was a special interest on both sides. Early in Kalākaua’s reign, the consul at Melbourne recommended that Hawai‘i send him a “small donation of the most notable of the fauna and flora of the Islands.”\textsuperscript{736} Another letter, dated May 30, 1876, announced that various seeds and plantings, such as eucalyptus and acacias, were sent on their way to Hawai‘i to plant “in His Majesty’s territories.”\textsuperscript{737} Many consuls in fact sent native specimens to Kalākaua to be rooted in Hawai‘i’s land, and this could be read as a desire for foreign powers to have a presence and influence in a small island kingdom. The correspondence shows that other leaders desired and valued materials grown or made in Hawai‘i. Such gifts and exchanges were therefore symbolic expressions of acceptance and approval of Hawai‘i as a distinct place and Kalākaua as its honored ruler. But the cumulative effect of the photographs, orders and decorations, and international and national correspondence produced and distributed during Kalākaua’s reign was also to confirm his canny intelligence as a ruler. He

\textsuperscript{734} “King Kalakaua’s Tour” 4.  
\textsuperscript{735} “Consul Letters.”  
\textsuperscript{737} “Consul Letters.”
constantly employed strategies big and small to assert the independence of the kingdom, and by acknowledging such gifts, the leaders of prominent countries and principalities affirmed it.\textsuperscript{738}

**November 16, 1874: How Hawaiʻi Celebrated Kalākaua’s Birthday**

On November 16, 1874, Kalākaua turned thirty-eight, and the people of Hawaiʻi celebrated his birthday. While those in Honolulu gathered in congregations, Līhuʻe spared no expense and effort in honoring Kalākaua on his first birthday as mōʻī, illuminating the precipices and firing cannons in the name of Kauliluaikaneuwaiʻaleʻale.\textsuperscript{739} In Waimea, Hawaiʻi, the citizens rejoiced in song under the direction of Father Lyons at ʻImiola.\textsuperscript{740} A week later, the Rev. Joel H. Mahoe listed the generous deeds that the mōʻī would perform, including traveling to a foreign land to secure the nation’s prosperity:

A ua ku ae la keia i Kapena no ka moku aupuni Hawaii; oia hoi i hookele no ka lahui Hawaii—a ua kohuia ma ia kulana, no ka mea, he Moi naauao. He aloha i kona lahui, he ʻiʻi aloha makaainana. Ua kaapuni iho nei oia i na mokupuni o Hawaiʻi nei, he hoike ia o kona aloha lahui, he hele e nana i kona poe makaainana, me ka puuwai piha i ke aloha makaainana.\textsuperscript{741}

[He stood as the Captain for the vessel of the Hawaiian nation—that is as a guide for the Hawaiian nation—and was chosen for this position because he is a wise monarch. He loves his nation, and he loved the people. He recently toured the islands of Hawaiʻi. It is evidence of his love for his nation, a journey to see his people with a heart full of love for the populace].

\textsuperscript{739} “Na Mea Hou i” 3.
\textsuperscript{740} “Na Mele i” 4.
\textsuperscript{741} “Na Palapala” 2.
Plans for Kalākaua’s visit to Washington D. C. had already been set, so he had requested that the lāhui unite on his birthday in thanksgiving, acknowledging the Lord for blessing the Hawaiian kingdom. Kalākaua himself visited three separate congregations—the temporary cathedral at St. Andrew’s, the Catholic church at Marie-Kamalu, and Kawaiahaʻo—to seek His blessing side-by-side with his people. He also asked them to petition the Lord to protect him while in the U. S. Makaʻainana composed many mele in honor of Kalākaua’s trip, symbols of their aloha and honor of him, and hope for a safe return.

The last Hawaiian monarchs who traveled abroad, Liholiho and Kamāmalu, had gone to England in 1824 to discuss a protective alliance with George IV. Within a month of their arrival, the two mōʻī succumbed to measles. It is most likely that Kalākaua had this on his mind when he set out the day after his birthday, accompanied by Governors Dominis and Kapena and Minister Peirce, to visit Washington D. C. There was great uncertainty. Would the mōʻī survive this lengthy journey? It is also likely that the makaʻainana also wondered about what would become of their nation after the Reciprocity Treaty was passed. In response, Kalākaua charged all Hawaiʻi to come together, and the newspapers became a primary vehicle for fostering native solidarity.

The November 1874 Trip to Washington D. C.

From the moment Kalākaua set sail for the U. S. until he returned, Hawaiʻi newspapers published accounts of his activities and the response of people to his appearances. The PCA reported that on November 17, 1874, when he left Honolulu, the “entire populace”—at least

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742 “Ka La Hoomaikai” 2 & “Ka La Hanau” 2.
743 “The Royal Birthday” 2.
744 “Ka La Hanau” 2 & “Ka Moi no” Ka Lau Oliva 2.
745 “E Lilo” 2.
3,000 to 4,000 people—turned out at the harbor, and “pressed about him as he alighted from his carriage, amid mingled sobs and cheers.”\textsuperscript{746} Kuokoa noted: “Ua aluka ae la ke anaina e lulu lima, haawi makana, honi lima a e mele olioli aku i kona inoa, aka, aole i hookaulua iho ka Moi.”\textsuperscript{747} [The assemblage crowded together to shake hands, present gifts, kiss his hand, and recite chants in his name, but the King did not delay]. Clearly, Kalākaua is presented as a mō‘ī intent on reaching Washington D. C. The battleships docked at Māmala and the battery at ‘Āinahou fired off their twenty-one gun salutes as he boarded his skiff to reach the Benicia. Kuokoa captured the scene: “Ua lainaia no hoi o Ainahou e na makaainana mai kekahi pea a hala loa i ka palena pau mai, a ua hele na moku a luluu i ka poe makaikai.”\textsuperscript{748} ['Āinahou was lined with people everywhere, and the ships became laden with spectators].

Twelve days later, Kalākaua arrived in San Francisco. Hawai‘i’s newspapers reported on Californians’ admiration for the mō‘ī—a source of pride for maka‘āinana, but welcome to the business community hoping for a treaty as well. Ka Lahui declared: “He mea hauoli no kela a me keia puuwai Hawaii ka hoomaopopo ana iho, ‘o Ka Lani ka Moi o kakou he malihini hiilani na ke Aupuni Repubalika Nui o ke ao nei.”\textsuperscript{749} [Every Hawaiian heart is happy in understanding, “Our Royal One the King is an exalted guest of the Great Republican Nation of this world.”] The welcome and attention Kalākaua received here would be repeated elsewhere for the rest of this, and each succeeding trip he made to the U. S. Or as the PCA put it, “His Majesty received a continued ovation, all along the route from San Francisco to Washington.”\textsuperscript{750} Ka Lahui reported that upon his arrival in San Francisco “ua piha haiamu aku la ka uwapo a me na keena nuhou i na

\textsuperscript{746} “At 11” 2; see also “Ua Haalele” 2.
\textsuperscript{747} “Ua Kau” 2.
\textsuperscript{748} “Ua Kau” 2.
\textsuperscript{749} “Ka Moi o Hawaii” 2.
\textsuperscript{750} “His Majesty in” 2.
kanaka o kela a me keia ano”751 [the wharf and news offices were filled with all kinds of people]. With tipped hats and thunderous cheers Americans greeted Kalākaua. The band serenaded him with “Hawai‘i Pono‘ī,” and welcoming officials conveyed him to his hotel. *Kuokoa* described the caravan of soliders, city officials, and the band as well, that followed Kalākaua’s royal carriage pulled by four horses. The streets leading to the Grand Hotel were lined with spectators, and at the hotel “No ke kupinai mau mai o na leo o na makaainana mawahō o ka Hotele, ua puka mai ka Moi a me Meia Otis a ma ka puka aniani o ka Hotele, hoolauna mai la ka Meia”752 [Because of the constant echoing of the people’s voices outside of the Hotel, the King and Mayor Otis appeared at the window of the Hotel, and the Mayor introduced [Kalākaua]], recognizing him as “ke Alii ka Moi Kalakaua, ke Alii Aimoku o ka Pae Aina Hawai”753 [His Highness King Kalākaua, the Ruling Chief of the Hawaiian Islands]. Hawaiʻi’s newspapers noted that throughout his stay, crowds of people “e kuku mai ana malalo o ka Hotele” [were standing below the Hotel] hoping to catch a glimpse of him.754

And Americans on the east coast were anticipating his arrival.755 On December 12, 1874, Kalākaua arrived in Washington D. C. after a quick trip across the continent. Because several thousand people greeted him “it was with great difficulty that the police kept them from encroaching upon the Royal party.”756 Hawaiians had to have been proud of their mōʻī when they read in their own papers about Kalākaua’s triumphant entry into America’s capital as its first visiting ruling monarch: “E pulelo wale ana no na hae ma na alanui a pau o kahi a ka huakai e hele aku ai” and “na wahine hoi ma na puka aniani, kiani mai la i na hainaka”757 [The flags were

751 “Ka Moi o Hawaii” 2.
752 “Ke Alii ka Moi Kalakaua ma Kapalakiko” 2.
753 “Ke Alii ka Moi Kalakaua ma Kapalakiko” 2.
754 “His Majesty in” 2; “The Royal Progress. King Kalakaua” 2; & “The Accounts” 2.
756 “The Accounts” 2.
757 “Ke Alii ka Mōi Kalakaua ma Amerika” 2.
fluttering on all the streets where the entourage would travel] and [the women at the windows, waving handkerchiefs]. Kalākaua was sick, thanks to the speed of his travels, and from his brief stopover in Omaha, where city officials took him on a tour of the capital city in an open carriage during a snowstorm,758 so he informed President Grant that he would need some days of rest before their meeting. He was at the Arlington, the finest hotel in Washington.759 Kuokoa announced it was very pleased with “ka hoike ana mai o ka Lahui o Amerika, i ko lakou manao maikai ia Hawaii nei, ma ka apo aloha ana mai i ke Poo o keia Aupuni ma kana huakai makaikai, a hookipa aku la me ka mailani loa ia”760 [the display of the people of America in their fine regard for Hawai‘i through the affectionate embrace of the King of this kingdom on his tour and welcoming him with great esteem]. On December 15, Kalākaua met with President Grant, congressional members, and military officials at the White House, where “the galleries were full to over-flowing for more than an hour” prior to the session’s commencement.761 On December 18, Kalākaua met with senators and representatives in the morning, and then enjoyed what was called “the most brilliant state reception that has ever taken place in Washington” as the guest of honor of President Grant.762 The attendees were a distinguished group: “There were the greatest of all our land before him, from the President, Vice-President, and Cabinet to the Judges of the Supreme Court, Senators and Members of Congress. And then there were our military and naval chieftains in their handsome uniforms.”763 What is significant here is the “our”: the Gazette assumes its readers identify with America, foreshadowing its later support of annexation.

758 “His Majesty the King Arrived” 2.
759 It was said that the U. S. Foreign Affairs committee set aside $50,000 to receive and host King Kalākaua in D. C.
760 “He Mea Oluolu” 2.
761 “The Accounts” 2.
762 “The Accounts” 2.
In the nation’s capital, the mōʻī was invited to quaint dinners at private residences, where he met with city leaders, and grand balls, where he met with government and military leaders. The Gazette reprinted articles from American newspapers “to show the public sentiment towards our King and people, as reported by the press.”\textsuperscript{764} The New York Herald’s two-column story on the mōʻī and Hawaiʻi, and the Boston Post’s praise of Kalākaua as the “young and enlightened King of the Sandwich Islands”\textsuperscript{765} both appeared. At the end of January 1875, the Gazette also declared that “It is gratifying to us, as it must be to our King, to read the kindly notices of him and of his people, which appear in almost every paper we receive from America.”\textsuperscript{766} Kalākaua literally had a personal touch, often shaking hands for more than an hour. Despite the many meetings, dinners, banquets, and visits he also managed to enjoy nights at the theater and opera. And in keeping with his sense of how important his public image was, while in New York he also made sure to stop in at the famous Gurney & Son, one of America’s leading photography galleries, to pose “in full uniform and in several positions.”\textsuperscript{767}

His commitment to his duties took its toll. The mōʻī’s body was not used to the cold, and the Hawaiian-language newspapers were constantly reporting on the status of his health, noting that Kalākaua was so overwhelmed by the demands for public appearances, meetings with government and city officials, and press conferences that almost from the start, he had to cancel events to rest. He found it difficult to recuperate completely from the cold he had caught in Omaha, and although his health improved slightly when he reached Pittsburgh in mid-December, after arriving in Washington D. C. he asked to see a doctor.\textsuperscript{768} His schedule was so busy that virtually every minute of his American tour can be accounted for, and the newspapers reported

\textsuperscript{764}“King Kalakaua in America” 2.  
\textsuperscript{765}“King Kalakaua in America” 2.  
\textsuperscript{766}“It is Gratifying” 2.  
\textsuperscript{767}“The Royal Progress. King” 2.  
\textsuperscript{768}“Ke Alii ka Moi Kalakaua ma Amerika” 1.
that even though he suffered miserably from that cold, he still managed to attract American attention, interest, and respect. *Kuokoa* summed it up nicely: “Ma na wahi a pau ana i hiki aliʻi aku ai, ua halawai lua ole mai no ia me na hookipa pumehana ana a na keiki Amerika”769 [In all the places where he made royal stops he met with the unprecedented warmth of Americans’ welcomes].

In Hawaiʻi, the English and Hawaiian readers knew that although their new mōʻī was ill, he still kept to his unforgiving schedule, sending Governor Kapena or Governor Dominis to represent him only when necessary. He was acting on behalf of his people—and also for the sugar barons in his kingdom who needed a treaty. Or as Liliʻuokalani later put it, “He thus devoted the earlier part of his reign to the aggrandizement of the very persons, who, as soon as they had become rich and powerful, forgot his generosity.”770 At least at first, then, all of Hawaiʻi’s people knew their mōʻī was a hardworking, self-sacrificing public servant—hardly the lazy and self-indulgent figure his enemies characterized him to be.

As Kalākaua made his way back to California, ultimately leaving San Francisco on February 2, 1875 and arriving in Honolulu on February 15, the thirteen-member Committee of Arrangements was created to welcome the mōʻī home. Its plans were printed in the newspapers. The streets from ʻĀinahou to the palace were to be illuminated by glowing torches, the phrase “Kalakaua-Imi-Pomaikai-Lahui” [“Kalākaua Searching for the Good of the Nation”] would appear in fiery letters atop Aliʻiōlani Hale, and the tower of Kawaiahaʻo would be decorated to look like a lighthouse. Puōwaina be aglow with a bonfire. The most impressive display potentially would be the lighted torch atop the firehouse tower for it would be arrayed in

769 “Ma na” 2.
770 Liliʻuokalani 78.
different colors.\textsuperscript{771} Kuokoa informed its readers about the parade, inviting makaʻāinana to wait at Fort Street to greet Kalākaua and his retinue as they made their way to the palace.\textsuperscript{772}

On the morning of February 15\textsuperscript{th}, as word of his imminent arrival spread through Honolulu “e kahe makawalu ana na makaainana ma na alanui, e ku aku la ka piha i kai o Ainahou”\textsuperscript{773} [the crowds flowed into the streets and filled the area near the sea of ‘Āinahou]. When the mōʻī finally appeared and lifted his hat to his people “ua hookuu mai la lakou i na leo huro i hui pu ia me ka uwe haoli, a piha pu ae la ka lewa luna me na leo wawa aloha ‘lii”\textsuperscript{774} [they sent out hurrahs joined with joyful cries. The heavens above were filled with the roar of voices expressing their chiefly love]. Ka Lahui declared that “Hookahi no mea i maopopo ‘ua pae lanakila mai ka Moi Kalakaua ma na aekai o Kona one oiwi, a ke ala nei na puuwai Hawaii e hoike aku i ke aloha pumehana no ko lakou Moi”\textsuperscript{775} [“One thing was clear, ‘King Kalakaua arrived triumphantly upon the shores of His birth sands and the Hawaiian hearts were awakening to display a warm affection for their king.’”] While Puōwaina’s cannons sounded, “there could not have been less than ten or twelve thousand spectators of this the grandest sight ever witnessed in Hawaii nei.”\textsuperscript{776} People lined the streets, cheering; several hundred children, each with a bouquet for the mōʻī, joined in the procession.\textsuperscript{777} When day turned into night no fewer than 100,000 lights glowed, a sight that the Gazette’s reporter said had never before been seen, with lights of differing hues on Aliʻiōlani Hale and fires atop the major precipices of Honolulu. Ka Lahui described it this way: “Ua hiki ole i ke kanaka ke hoomaopopo i ke ano o ka nani a

\textsuperscript{771} “Ke Manaola” 2.
\textsuperscript{772} “Hanohano” 2.
\textsuperscript{773} “Ke Lii” 3.
\textsuperscript{774} “Ke Lii” 3.
\textsuperscript{775} “Ke Lii ka Moi Kalakaua. Ka Hehi” 3.
\textsuperscript{776} “Return of King Kalakaua!” 3.
\textsuperscript{777} “Return of King Kalakaua!” 3.
kona mau maka e kilohi nei” [One could not take in the nature of the beauty his eyes gazed upon]. In the eyes of Hawai‘i’s newspapers at this time, at least Kalākaua’s 1874 journey to Washington D. C. earned him the respect of Americans, but even more importantly, the full support, if only for a moment, of all his people: “The ovation was one of which he might justly be proud, and demonstrated that whatever partisanship there may have existed on the occasion of his election, it has passed away, and that people heartily welcomed him back as their chieftain and sovereign.”

Kalākaua’s Report of his Travels, and his Tour of the Kingdom before Departing for the 1881 Trip around the World

Two days after his return, Kalākaua told maka‘āinana at Kawaiaha‘o church about his journey to America. Ka Lahui Hawaii printed the speech in its February 25, 1875 edition. He described the royal receptions and honors that Americans bestowed upon him and his retinue in every city they visited, remarking that “ua hookipa ia makou me ka ihihi i a me ka hanohano nui” [we were entertained with respect and great honor]. He impressed upon his audience, though, that the keys to growing the nation would be shipping, agriculture, and teaching the people to be industrious again. Increasing the nation’s wealth and even making the world dependent on Hawai‘i for certain things would help to secure its independence.

Six years later, as he had before his American trip, Kalākaua went to many places in Hawai‘i before embarking on his world tour. Most newspapers covered these visits, including several publications that were champions, and virtually publicists, for the mō‘ī. Surprisingly, one

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779 "‘Return of King Kalakaua!” 3.
780 “Ma ka” 2.
was the PCA, which Walter Murray Gibson took over for a while in August of 1880. He also published Ka Elele Poakolu/The Wednesday Express, which began in September of 1880 as a bilingual paper, but became exclusively Hawaiian in November, and then survived in various forms until 1892, when both Kalākaua and Gibson were dead. Ko Hawaii Pae Aina, published by the Kawainui brothers, and boasting an average of 3,300 copies published weekly, also strongly supported Kalākaua early in his reign. Henry M. Whitney’s Hawaiian Gazette, on the other hand, basically ignored the Hawaiʻi tour. After mentioning that it had received a telegram from Kohala that described Kalākaua’s visit with natives and foreigners there, the paper declared that it was “unable to make room” for the story. Kuokoa did not furnish a single account of the Hawaiʻi tour, and the Gazette published one short article. The native readership would have been interested in reading about the mōʻī’s visits through the kingdom in Kuokoa, so Whitney’s lack of reporting reflects his antipathy for Kalākaua. Whitney’s papers followed this pattern for Kalākaua’s 1881 circumnavigation of the globe as well; as a result, it was predominantly the Hawaiian- and English-language nationalist newspapers that provided accounts of those journeys, and therefore serve as the sources for this section.

The people of Hawaiʻi received the mōʻī in large numbers, offering their aloha generously everywhere on that tour. The newspaper accounts are important because they show that many Hawaiians continued to support Kalākaua, a notion his critics denied. The press reports also prove that by 1880 the mōʻī had already shared his plans to go abroad. In Around the World with a King, the best known and highly unfavorable account of this time, William N. Armstrong, then Attorney General, claims that “early one morning in January, 1881” the mōʻī

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781 In taking over the PCA, Gibson was instructed to “conduct, manage and edit” that paper in order to “support the Hawaiian Government and its policy, and pursue a line of discussion . . . best calculated to carry out the measures of His Hawaiian Majesty’s Government,” as well as to “be invariably loyal to His Majesty” (Chaplin 83).
782 “A Communication” 2.
783 “The King among” 2.
told him that he planned to “take a trip around the world.” The cabinet was then immediately convened, and Kalākaua supposedly obtained the necessary funding. Only just prior to his departure did he call a large meeting to announce his plan, “although he had not, during the six years of his reign, taken any special interest in the welfare of his people.” This is the most familiar version of the mōʻī’s preparations, even though years before Armstrong published his account, Liliʻuokalani had written that “In nothing has my brother been more grossly misjudged and even slandered by those whose interests he had at heart than in this journey.” She insisted that “The master motive for this enterprise was the good of the people of the Hawaiian Islands over whom he had been called to rule,” and Hawaiʻi’s nineteenth-century newspapers prove that he had announced his plans by October of 1880, and that that he toured the islands to meet with makaʻāinana before his departure. In January of 1881, the papers also printed a government letter addressed to the Diplomatic and Consular Corps that gave the official reasons for the world tour—and announcing Armstrong’s new appointment as Royal Commissioner of Immigration and travel companion to the mōʻī. By this time the Saturday Press, an English-language newspaper devoted to attacking the throne and the native Hawaiian nation, had begun publishing. Writing to his brother on Kauaʻi, Sanford Dole reveals just how explicitly partisan and political a tool this publication was:

You will be pleased to hear that a new paper, the Saturday Press, was started last week, September 4th, in opposition to the Advertiser under Gibson. I have ordered it for you. It is owned by the leading business firms here; it is well supported from

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784 Armstrong, W. 1.
785 Armstrong, W. 3.
786 Armstrong, W. 6.
787 Liliʻuokalani 76.
788 Liliʻuokalani 77.
789 “Ka Huakai Kaapuni” 2; “Referring” 2; “The Rumors” 2; “A Council” 2; & “The King among” 2.
the start, as you will see. A great many have taken away their advertising from the
Commercial and given it to the new paper, and many have stopped their
subscriptions to the former. I trust that Gibson will be starved out before long. 790

Dole here displays the early opposition of the white oligarchy to Gibson; its members would expel him in 1887.

Kalākaua toured Hawaiʻi island and Kauaʻi in late 1880, and Maui in early 1881. His goals were to evaluate the effects of the Reciprocity Treaty he had signed a few years before, and to explain to the makaʻāinana why he was about to circumnavigate the world. The January 12, 1881 edition of Ka Elele Poakolu reports that he was happy to see his people were self-sufficient again. 791 The newspapers that covered the tour also gave accounts of the aloha he was receiving on his domestic tour. When he arrived at Hawaiʻi island’s Mahukona harbor, a large crowd of foreigners and native Hawaiians welcomed him, then accompanied him on the 6.5 mile trip to Kohala. People were waiting to greet him along the route as well. Ko Hawaiʻi, Ka Elele, and the PCA elaborated on this reception; the Saturday Press abbreviated it. 792 The Hawaiian Gazette’s extra column of news from Kohala in its December 22nd issue strongly suggests that Kalākaua was still very popular with his people:

Never in this history of Kohala, and we doubt if ever in the history of any other part of the Kingdom, has there been so large and brilliant an assemblage as that which gathered at the new Dramatic Hall at Kaiopihi on the eve of December 6th, to do honor to his Majesty the King.

790 Damon, Dole 157.
791 “Ka Moi no Europa” 5.
792 “His Majesty the King was” 3; “The King among” 2; & “Ka Huakai Alii” Ka Elele Poakolu 8 Dec. 1880: 4.
The hall was decorated with every kind of evergreen and flower next to Hawaiian flags and banners reading “Welcome, Kalākaua, Our King” and “Aloha, Kalākaua.” In the afternoon, refreshments came pouring in by the cart load, and when they were placed on the table, it did indeed present a feast fit for a King.” Outside the hall was aglow with torches, a “scene of positive splendor, with hundreds of people crowding the space in front, all anxious to obtain a glimpse of their monarch.” According to the PCA, at least 400 people gathered outside for dancing, and while the mō‘i retired early, those of Kohala enjoyed the night. The Wednesday Express reported that when Kalākaua departed, “a brilliant torchlight display illumined the hill sides and shores of Kohala, and an outpouring of genuine aloha was borne on the night breeze, as the King sailed away.” The mō‘i was pleased by the increased prosperity across the archipelago in places such as Keaunui, where Kona maka‘āinana Chas. Loloulani remembered “He nui aku na huaolelo waiwai ana i hoike mai ai” [There were many valuable points that he addressed].

In Kōloa in late December of 1880, Kalākaua remarked that he was pleased to see homes constructed of wood, and new industries on the land. In early January, when visiting Maui, he told the people that by traveling abroad he sought greater fortune for Hawai‘i nei, “ma ka lawe ana mai i na kanaka o na aina e, e hoolaupai i ka aina e like me kona huli ana i ke Kuikahi Panailike” [in bringing people of foreign lands to develop the land in accordance with his seeking a Reciprocity Treaty]. This tour allowed him to bid farewell personally to his people, and their support of him and his journey features prominently in the newspapers’ coverage. Ka

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793 “Kohala” 6.
794 “The King on” 2.
795 “The King at Kohala” 1.
796 “His Majesty on” 2.
797 “Ka Moi ma Kona” 1.
798 “Ka Huakai a ke Alii ka” 4.
799 “Ka Moi ma Maui” 2.
Elele reports that when Kalākaua visited Hawai‘i island, “Huliamahi na makua a me na keiki iloko o ka hauoli a ua ake nui lakou e paa aku i ka Moi aloha me lakou” [Parents and children banded together unanimously in joy and they greatly desired to hold tightly to/affirm the beloved King within themselves]. According to the PCA, in Ho‘okena, before the mō‘ī’s skiff reached the shore, thirty “loyal and enthusiastic Hawaiians” “rushed into the water, and grasping the gunwales of the royal barge with their strong hands, lifted it out of the water, with the royal party on board, and bore them up high and dry, triumphantly on shore.” Once there, 200 children, “tastefully dressed and garlanded,” sang songs to welcome their mō‘ī. He addressed the people, revealing to them his plans for traveling the world:

When the father and chief spoke of leaving his native isles, there were loudly uttered auwes, and tender alohas, and many a plainly marked tear coursed down the cheeks of loyal and affectionate Hawaiians on this occasion. When His Majesty proceeded to return to the vessel, the same enthusiastic party that had carried the royal company on shore now lifted up the boat and passengers, and, amid loyal song and cheer, carried them onward triumphantly into the water. And loud and warm shouts of aloha went up from the Hookena shore as King Kalakaua sailed away.  

When the mō‘ī anchored in Hilo, a large group of natives and foreigners cheered, and while he stayed at the home of Thomas Spencer, the people serenaded him for two evenings. People also turned out in large numbers to hear Kalākaua’s address at Haili church, wrote the Saturday Press.

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800 “Ua Hoi” 4.  
801 “The King on Hawaii” 2.  
802 “From” 4.
On Kaua‘i, when the mō‘ī anchored in Nāwiliwili harbor, shouts greeted him: “Eia o ka Lani Kauliluaikeanuwaialeale” [Behold the Royal One Kauliluaikeanuwaialeale]. People from as far away as Waimea gathered with those in Kōloa to hear Kalākaua’s address, and “E piha ana hoi ke alanui i ka poe ake e ike i ka Lani a kakou” [The pathway was filled with people desirous to see our Royal One]. In Līhuʻe, residents offered their aloha by escorting Kalākaua to the river Kukuilauahinahina, where he bathed in its cold waters. He then retired under an ‘ōhiʻa tree that makaʻāinana had brought down from the mountains to shade Kalākaua as he rested and ate the food the residents had prepared.

In Honolulu, his ministers and other foreign officials bid him farewell at a fine dinner at the Hawaiian Hotel on Friday, January 14. About eighty guests enjoyed the six-course meal. Kalākaua thanked the audience for sending him off so well. He then said the following:

I believe that you who come from other lands, bringing with you the large wealth, enterprise and intelligence of those lands, sympathize with me in my desire to protect my native Hawaiian people, and strengthen my nation.

He also remarked that he could “rely upon the best elements in my kingdom to sustain my efforts and those of my government in upholding the independence of my kingdom and the welfare of the people.” This attempt to suggest that the interests of the wealthy and of the Hawaiian people could be identical would be a hallmark of Kalākaua’s reign—and later one of his most controversial stands. As was by now customary, the mō‘ī addressed congregations throughout Honolulu before his departure, seeking their prayers for a safe journey. Close to 1,000 people gathered at Kawaiahaʻo church, where Kalākaua offered them his two reasons for embarking on the tour: “First, to recuperate his own health and second, to find means for recuperating his

803 “Ka Moi ma Kauai” 2.
804 “General Enthusiasm” 3.
people, the latter would be done by the introduction of foreign immigrants.” The people applauded. As the Gazette also noted, Kalākaua told his audience that he “considered the position of Monarch of these Islands as a peculiarly difficult one on account of the various interests and influences which must necessarily act upon him,” acknowledging the pressure applied to him by different factions, including the sugar barons who demanded more laborers for their plantations. This speech was “received with vigorous applause,” and then with a spontaneous rendition of “Hawai‘i Pono‘ī.”

The newspapers also reported that the week Kalākaua departed for San Francisco, “all classes and races have striven to outvie each other in their expressions of goodwill and affection, in bidding adieu to His Majesty.” According to Ko Hawaii Pae Aina, “Ua hoopihaiʻa ka pa aliʻi mai ke kakahiaka a awakea, e na makaainana Aloha Alii i lawe pu aku i ka lakou mau hookupu e like me ke ano maa o ko Hawaii nei noho ana makee Alii” [The royal enclosure was filled from morning until noon by the people who love the Chief/royalists, who brought their offerings in accordance with the custom of those of Hawaiʻi who love the Chiefs]. Many mele devoted to Kalākaua and his journey also appeared, hōʻailona of makaʻāinana aloha for the mōʻī.

On January 20, 1881, Kalākaua departed Honolulu for San Francisco to begin his trip around the world—the first sovereign to accomplish this feat. Ka Elele Poakolu remembered that morning this way:

Ua haiamu ae la he tausani a oi o ko ka Moi mau makaainana, a haiamu ae la ma na pipa alahele e hoopuni ana i ka pa ‘lii, a ua kuu hamama ia mai la na ipuka nui o ua pa ihihi nei, e pahola mai ana i ka lokomaikai o na ‘lii imua o ko lakou mau

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805 “On Sunday” 3.
807 “Farewell” 1.
808 “Kalani Kamahele” 2.
makaainana, e komo ana e hoike i ko lakou aloha hope loa, a e hui pu hoi ma na hauoli ana me ko lakou Alii.  

[A thousand or more of the King’s people gathered, and congregated on the sidewalks of the pathways surrounding the royal enclosure. The large gates of this revered enclosure were opened, revealing the good will of the chiefs before their people entering to display their final farewells and to join together in the gaiety with their King].

The PCA reported that an hour before the City of Sydney was to leave, the wharf was “thronged with people, among whom were Ministers, Nobles, and a representation from all ranks and races in the capital.”  

“A i ka hoea ana o ka Moi ilaila, ua poha ae la na leo aloha,” Ka Elele Poakolu adds, “a ua hookuu na maka i ko lakou mau punawai e kahe” [And when the King arrived there, loving voices burst out and eyes released their springs to flow]. As Kalākaua boarded the ship, “there sprang forth on both sides what seemed like a fringe of outstretched hands seeking a last touch of the hand of the departing Chief and Father.” A few minutes later, when “the King was seen by the rail with his handkerchief to his eyes, many were pressed to weeping eyes on shore, as the great steamer moved grandly out to sea.”

To San Francisco, and then to Japan

The local outbreak of small pox was the top story of 1881 in the Hawai‘i newspapers. Kalākaua’s circumnavigation of the globe was second, and the pride both natives and foreigners could take from the newspaper accounts of the world’s reception of their mō‘ī may have offered

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809 “Ka Holo” 5.  
810 “The Departure of His” 3.  
811 “Ka Holo” 5.  
812 “The Departure of His” 3.
some respite from the epidemic. As for Kalākaua, when he learned of the outbreak in July 1881, he wrote to Henry Severance, the Hawaiian Consul at San Francisco, saying that “The small pox at the Islands is the only thing I have been most anxious and to think of it makes me gloomy.”

The Hawaiian-language newspapers printed accounts of Kalākaua’s travel to California. He passed some of the time on board by sharing moʻolelo and singing mele, making for “na manawa me na hauoli a me na hoonanea”814 [moments of happiness and leisure], and the PCA reported that he seemed “to have won only golden opinions from all his fellow travelers.”815 After a nine-day journey, he arrived in San Francisco on January 29, but travel being what it was, it wasn’t until the third week of February that Hawaiʻi’s newspapers printed accounts of the formal welcomes, receptions, dinners, banquets, luncheons, visits, speeches, and toasts given in his honor—all evidence of Kaleponi’s continuing aloha for this mōʻī. Here is the synopsis the PCA took from the San Francisco Call: “King Kalakaua has been entertained right royally by our social lions since his re-entry into San Francisco society, and can hardly feel otherwise than pleased at the marks of esteem that he is everywhere receiving.”816 Such reports informed Hawaiʻi’s readers of the world’s esteem throughout his 1881 tour—and of the demands placed on him, for he had little time to rest.817

_Kuokoa_ described in detail his visit to Sacramento. The state senate unanimously agreed to a half hour recess to meet Kalākaua,818 and apparently the following was the general opinion:

“Why, this King of the Sandwich Islands is a gentleman; and a good fellow; and a ruler worthy of our country’s highest regard.” And every public man of America,
who meets and shakes hands with King Kalākaua, will be inspired by a generous enthusiasm to be his friend and partisan in any fair cause he may present in behalf of his little Kingdom to the Great Republic.\textsuperscript{819}

*Kuokoa* also noted that an American correspondent called Kalākaua “He keonimana akahi, naauao a olelo hookaau maoli no oia”\textsuperscript{820} [He is a gentleman of the finest class, intelligent and truly witty]. On February 26, 1881, *Ko Hawaii Pae Aina* published a letter written by Kalākaua and signed Kawaihau describing his arrival in the Golden Gate harbor: “Ua hookipaia makou me ka makahehi nui ia e na kanaka koikoi a pau o ka aina nei, me ka hauoli a me ka oluolu.\textsuperscript{821} [We were welcomed with great admiration by all of the prominent people of the land with joy and kindness]. *Kuokoa* highlighted the many banquets that were given in his honor in California,\textsuperscript{822} and the *PCA* reported that the citizens of San Francisco “vie with one another in their attentions to the King and his suite.”\textsuperscript{823} Among them was the Chinese Consul-General who honored Kalākaua at a Chinese New Year celebration reception at Hang Fer Low, said to be “the Delmonico of Chinatown.” That banquet “in the costliness, rarity and delicacy of viands, has not been exceeded by any festivity that has taken place on this coast.” Commodore R. S. Floyd, a former steamship commander between San Francisco and Honolulu, and other members of the Pacific Yacht Club, hosted a dinner and a sailing trip across San Francisco bay.\textsuperscript{824} Elite ladies of San Francisco invited 250 of the city’s leading citizens to a grand reception at the Palace Hotel. When Kalākaua entered the ballroom that evening “a flutter of excitement was visible, a whispered ‘Here he comes,’ was passed through the parlors, and each couple took their stand to

\textsuperscript{819} “The Visit of the King to San Francisco” 2.
\textsuperscript{820} “Ka Moi Kalakaua ma Kapalakiko” 3.
\textsuperscript{821} “Ka Moi Kalakaua ma Kapalakiko” 3.
\textsuperscript{822} “Huakai a ke Alii Kalakaua i ko na Aina E” 4.
\textsuperscript{823} “King Kalakaua Entertained” 3.
\textsuperscript{824} “The Chinese Consul” 3.
receive His Majesty.” According to the report, “A grander reception it has seldom, if ever, been allotted to a San Franciscan to witness” and it “will long be remembered by the fortunate guests who were permitted to witness this one of the grandest social events in the history of the city.” Sugar baron Claus Spreckels threw a “very grand banquet, prepared in the highest style of Parisian art,” inviting the most prominent businessmen of the city. The PCA said it best:

Thus every day, and it may be said every hour of King Kalakaua’s stay in San Francisco has been filled up with a grand ovation of festivities. And we feel assured that no potentate of Europe, nor eminent great man of America’s own soil could have received greater and more honorable attention.

As for Kalākaua himself, he wrote Severance that “Our reception every where has been more than we expected to have received [. . . ] The trip appears as if a mixed panorama and a dream.”

The Hawai‘i newspapers could not publish any accounts of the tour of the world for the rest of March, because news of his later travels did not arrive in Honolulu until April 17. On April 23, though, Ko Hawaii Pae Aina was able to print “He Halialia. Kalakaua ia Kapiolani. [Kakauia maluna o ka mokumahu Oceanic, Feb. 16, 1881],” a poem Kalākaua had written for Kapiʻolani while sailing past Hawaiʻi en route to Japan. Nahinu’s and Kauila’s mele, and four mele written by Mrs. Kaleihiwahiwa, said to be a lady-in-waiting to Kapiʻolani, all honoring Kalākaua’s 1881 journey, were published at this time. By way of anticipation, though, the antagonistic Saturday Press printed the following:

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825 “A Royal Reception” 3.
826 “French” 3.
827 Letter to Severance.
828 “Ka Moi ma Iapana!” 2.
829 “He Kapa” 2 & “2 Thoughts”
We regret to learn by a dispatch from the Hawaiian Consul in Japan, that that Government intends to set aside the incognito under which H. M. the King was supposed to be travelling, and to receive him with Royal Salutes [. . .] It can hardly be expected that the great Monarchies of Europe or the Viceroy and Governors of their possessions in the East will undertake to receive the Royal party as the Japanese propose to do, they will therefore be left on the horns of a dilemma. \[830\]

Such criticism could be expected from this paper, but writer Thomas G. Thrum and owner Robert Grieve would eventually have to eat their words, since rulers around the world would welcome Kalākaua in accordance with his title, the sovereign of Hawai‘i. When City of New York on April 17, 1881 brought to Honolulu the information about Kalākaua’s March 4th arrival in Yokohama, Japan, the newspapers were soon publishing the news. On April 20th, Gibson’s Ka Elele Poakolu was reporting that “He mea kanalua ole, ma na wahi a pau a ka Moi o Hawaii e maalo aku ai, a e looa mai ana iaia ka lima akau o ke aloha a me ka puuwai oluolu o na poo aupuni a me na mea a pau e launa ana me ia” \[831\] [Undoubtedly, in all of the places wherein the King of Hawai‘i has passed through, he was receiving the right hand of greeting and the kind heart of the government leaders and all the people he met]. On April 23, Ko Hawaii Pae Aina had its own 3 ½ column story, including a letter that Kalākaua wrote to his sister, Liliʻuokalani, then serving as regent in her brother’s absence: “Ua hookipa maikai loa mai ka Emepera o Iapana a me na Keiki Alii ia’u, a ua hoikeike mai i na mea a pau, a ua luakaha au me ka hauoli

\[830\] “We Regret” 2.
\[831\] “Ka Moi o Hawaii! Hookipa” 4.
nui i ko lakou mau lokomaikai\textsuperscript{832} [The Emperor and the Princes of Japan gave a fine welcome to me, and introduced everyone. I have passed the time very happily in their good will].

Such a reception is especially striking, because he had intended to travel incognito; in fact, Hawai‘i’s legislature had voted that he do so.\textsuperscript{833} But on February 16, Japan’s Consul-General in San Francisco sent word to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Kalākaua’s impending arrival,\textsuperscript{834} and on February 27, the Japanese government sent officers from the Foreign Ministry, Imperial Household Agency, and Finance Ministry to Yokohama, and “e hookipa no lakou iaia ma ke ano ku i kona kulana Aliiaimoku”\textsuperscript{835} [they welcomed him in a manner fitting this title as Ruler]. The business interests in Hawai‘i had clearly not wanted Kalākaua to be received as the true representative of Hawai‘i. Thrum of the \textit{Saturday Press} and Whitney of \textit{The Hawaiian Gazette} fumed when Japan recognized Kalākaua as a mō‘ī,\textsuperscript{836} and Whitney openly criticized the Japanese government for welcoming him:

\begin{quote}
When we have heard what has really occurred we may begin to complain. We cannot understand how it is that the Japanese Government have [\textit{sic}] displayed such bad taste as to offer a Royal welcome to a visitor who desires to travel incognito. [. . . ] The mistake certainly does not lie on our side for our Consul at Japan had been specifically notified of the manner in which the King was travelling; and he laid his letter before the Japanese Foreign Minister.\textsuperscript{837}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{832} “Ka Moi ma Iapana!” 2.
\textsuperscript{833} “Whilst” 5.
\textsuperscript{834} “Ka Moi ma Iapana!” 2; Marumoto 53-54; & Ono.
\textsuperscript{835} Ono & “Ka Moi ma Iapana!” 2.
\textsuperscript{836} “We Regret” 2 & “We Hear” 2.
\textsuperscript{837} “We Hear” 2.
Leaving aside whether Kalākaua had ever wanted to keep a low profile on this tour, in the *PCA*, Walter Murray Gibson took the opportunity to scold the *Gazette* and *Press* for criticizing Japan, and to assure the *PCA* readers that the other Asian countries Kalākaua will visit, knowing how fully he is recognized as a member of the family of independent sovereigns, far more so, than many of them, who have ten-fold, even a hundred fold, his number of people and area of country,—will be proud to welcome in the most royal manner, a brother King, who is their Peer in position.\(^{838}\)

Whitney, Thrum, and others like them were infuriated that the Japanese government recognized Kalākaua for what he really was: the ruler of a proudly sovereign kingdom. The anti-monarchy slander that Kalākaua’s opponents would later employ in their plotting to dethrone him and take the kingdom for themselves was endangered by such international recognition. Now that Japan had openly recognized Kalākaua as a mō‘ī, other nations would feel the need to follow suit. By welcoming him, they were confirming his title. Gibson, the loyal subjects of the kingdom, and Kalākaua all recognized the importance of such recognition. It was always a primary reason for the 1881 world tour, regardless of the legislature’s wishes.

One week later, the *Gazette* spoke of the delight and pride the nation should feel at the Japanese welcome of Kalākaua: “He has been treated right royally, and native and foreigner alike cannot help feeling satisfaction at the manner in which he has been recognized.” Recognizing this satisfaction, Whitney backtracked, but tried to suggest that the honor was the nation’s, and not the mō‘ī’s own: “We have only to thank that country for so signal a mark of its courtesy, which though offered to the King, may be regarded as a compliment and a sign of good feeling to the whole Hawaiian people.”\(^{839}\) The following story was entitled “Progress of Ke Alii

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\(^{838}\) "The Emperor” 2.

\(^{839}\) "The Reception of the King by the Japanese” 2.
Kalākaua. Brilliant Reception in Japan.” The newspapers in Japan confirmed their country’s sense of obligation to welcome the mōʻī. The Japan Daily Mail described Kalākaua as a “most agreeable and accomplished gentlemen and a dignified one to boot; a gentleman who was for two months the honored guest of the United States” and therefore someone the Japanese government quite rightly honored.\textsuperscript{840} The Japan Gazette explicitly identified Kalākaua as the leader responsible for the progress and the future of his nation: “He is a liberal and enlightened ruler who has adopted a system of representative government; displayed much anxiety to promote the spread of education; and is desirous of profiting by the experience of other countries in forwarding the interests of his own people.”\textsuperscript{841}

Japan was prepared for Kalākaua on March 1, but stormy conditions extended the Oceania’s voyage by three days. When he arrived at Yokohama harbor, he was the object of great attention, honors, and tributes. Dr. Judd noted the flags that adorned the dozen or so foreign warships and the soldiers who had climbed the yards.\textsuperscript{842} Hundreds of skiffs, sampans, and other crafts were soon at the steamship’s sides, making such a “clamor” that they drowned out the ship’s own whistle.\textsuperscript{843} The Russian admiral came aboard to welcome Kalākaua, and then the personal representative of Emperor Meiji Mutsuhito. It should be remembered that Kalākaua was the first head of state to visit the emperor, and though Hawai‘i was a small kingdom, the Japanese treated him as an important foreign leader. Kalākaua warmly accepted the emperor’s invitation to the royal palace. The band played “Hawaiʻi Ponoʻi,” and “ia lohe ana o ke Alii a me kona mau ukali, hu ae la ke aloha i ka aina, me ka waimaka e helelei ana”\textsuperscript{844} [When the King and

\textsuperscript{840} “The King’s Tour around the World. Sonnet” 5.
\textsuperscript{841} “The King’s Visit to Japan” 6.
\textsuperscript{842} “Ka Moi ma Iapana!” 2; Robert Von Olanhoffen claimed seven Russian ships, four French, one British, and two Japanese warships greeted the king in Yokohama harbor (“Na Nu Hou” 2).
\textsuperscript{843} “The King’s Tour around the World. Sonnet” 5.
\textsuperscript{844} “Na Nu Hou” 2.
his retinue heard a love for the land welled with tears falling]. Ka Elele informed its readers that
“Ua haiamu ia ke alanui a hiki i Nogeyama e ka lehulehu o na kanaka”\(^{845}\) [The street reaching all
the way to Nogeyama was crowded by the multitudes of people], so that the police had to control
the crowd.\(^ {846}\) Hawai‘i’s and Japan’s flags were everywhere in sight. That evening, the first of
many banquets was given in the mō‘ī’s honor. Present were the governor of Kanagawa,
representatives from the Finance Ministry, the Imperial Navy, the Imperial Household Agency,
and the Hawaiian Minister to Japan Robert Walker Irwin.\(^ {847}\) From Yokohama, Kalākaua and his
suite took the train to Tokyo. For two miles soldiers lined the street to the palace at Enryokan,
the guest home for foreign leaders,\(^ {848}\) and the Hawaiian-language newspapers heavily covered
the pomp, ceremony, and celebratory regards the royal entourage received everywhere. “Ma na
alanui kahi i loheia ai e hele aku ana ka Moi, ua laina e ae la na kanaka Iapana, me ka hoike mai i ko lakou makemake nui iaia”\(^ {849}\) [Through the roads where it was heard the King would be
crowded by the multitudes of people], so that the police had to control the street to Nogeyama was
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crowded by the multitudes of people], so that the police had to control
traveling the Japanese people lined up beforehand displaying their great desire for him], Judd
noted, and also reported that Kalākaua night and day attended festivities and banquets with the
Japanese princes accompanying him everywhere he went. The emperor lent his royal carriage to
the mō‘ī, and on March 8, Kalākaua was treated to a fireworks show at the Imperial palace.

*Kuokoa* reported that the well-respected Consul Irwin hosted a private and expensive
banquet where “na poo aupuni kiekie o ka Emepire”\(^ {850}\) [the foremost government leaders of the
Empire] met Kalākaua. At one especially interesting dinner at the royal Akasaka palace, the
makaʻāinana farewells to Kalākaua during his recent tour of his kingdom became the topic of

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\(^{845}\) "Ka Moi o Hawaii! Hookipa” 4.
\(^{846}\) "Progress of Ke Alii” 2.
\(^{847}\) Ono.
\(^{848}\) President Ulysses S. Grant and his wife stayed at Enryokan when they visited Japan in 1879 on a tour of the
world. After serving as the 18th U. S. president, Grant and his wife toured the world. Kalākaua visited the same
places on his 1881 tour of the world. “Progress of Ke Alii” 2.
\(^{849}\) "Ka Moi ma Iapana!” 2.
\(^{850}\) "Kalakaua ma Iapana. Hookipa” 3.
discussion, including the “loyal ovation of Kohalans; and especially the incident of the bearing of the King on the shoulders of his people, through the surf by torchlight.” Apparently, the imperial family had read about this in the *PCA*, and the emperor was pleased with Hawaiians’ loyalty to their mōʻī. At still another dinner cherry blossoms had been arranged to form “Aloha” at Kalākaua’s table, and the palace grounds were illuminated by paper lanterns with the Hawaiian and Japanese flags etched onto them.

When Kalākaua attended the Shintomiza theatre with the royal family, twenty-eight carriages conveyed them, and at the theatre some 3,000 lights were illuminating the grounds in honor of Kalākaua. The already mentioned crimson velvet curtain with the coat of arms and name of Hawaiʻi that Kalākaua presented to adorn the stage of the 5,000 seat theatre was in the opinion of Gibson’s *PCA* a wise “advertisement” for the Hawaiian kingdom. As the “multitudes of Kioto assemble in this great theatre” to “gaze during the periods of intermission upon the name, and blazonry of King Kalakaua and his kingdom, what feelings of interest and curiosity must be evoked; and what prestige for little Hawaii, thus promoted by the intelligent courtesy of her thoughtful and patriotic chief abroad!”

A visit not discussed in later histories of Kalākaua’s stay there, but heavily covered by the nineteenth-century Hawaiian- and English-language newspapers, was one he made to Dr. Shobun Goto, famous in Japan for his expertise in treating patients with leprosy, and the head physician at the Leprosy Hospital in Tokyo. Kalākaua wanted to learn more about his methods, and described Goto afterwards as “kaulana a akamai no hoi” [very famous and intelligent]. Leprosy was a topic of great interest in Hawaiʻi at the time. While the mōʻī was on his tour, the

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851 “The King’s Tour around the World. Sonnet” 5.
852 “Hawaiian Honors” 4 & “When His” 2.
853 “When His” 2.
PCA reported on Regent Lili‘uokalani’s visit to Kalaupapa, and on the Hon. John M. Kapena’s speech to the patients there about Kalākaua’s visit with Goto, proof that the mō‘ī “has never forgotten you, and never forgets to look for means to benefit you. He has been ever inquiring to find doctors and medicines that can cure this disease.” 855 In 1886, the Hawaiian government brought Goto to Kaka‘ako and Kalaupapa to treat patients there. 856 There could hardly be more compelling evidence that for Kalākaua, the world tour was a vehicle for improving his kingdom domestically as well as internationally.

Kalākaua wrote many letters to his loved ones back in Hawai‘i about his trip. He signed them with many names. For instance, “Kawaihau” appeared at the end of his letter to Liliʻu dated March 14, 1881 from Tokyo, 857 and his March 26, 1881 letter from Shanghai. 858 But his letter from Bangkok on April 27, 1881 was addressed to “Kaleoaloha” and signed “Laamea.” 859 Hawaiians commonly used different names in different situations. For Liliʻu he was “Kawaihau” [the Chilly Water], a name given to him in a mele. “Laʻamea” [the Holy One or the Sacred One], one of his given names, appeared in letters to those outside his family. When makaʻāinana addressed him they often paired David with Laʻamea. 860 As for “Kaleoaloha” [the Beloved Voice], it may have been his affectionate name for Ko Hawaii Pae Aina, the paper diligently publishing positive accounts of his journey for readers in Hawai‘i.

On March 14, the Japanese Emperor presented Kalākaua with the Order of Chrysanthemum. The jewel alone was said to be worth $4,000. 861 Armstrong and Judd received

855 “Tour of the Princess” 3.
856 See Okihiro 110.
857 “Ka Moi ma Iapana!” 2.
858 “Ka Moi ma Iapana” 2.
859 “Ka Moi Kalakaua ma Siama!” 2.
861 “Progress of Ke Alii” 2.
the Order of the Rising Sun, more gestures fortifying the relationship between Hawai‘i and Japan, according to Kalākaua. The Emperor and Empress also presented him with “vases, silks, tableclothes, lacquered boxes, and embroideries.” In a letter to Lili‘u, Kalākaua marveled at the compliment the entire Japan visit paid him: “O na hookahakaha a me na hoohanohano ana i ko makou wa i haalele ai ia Iapana ua like ia me na hoohanohano ana i ko makou wa i ku mai ai [The pomp and honors at the time we departed from Japan resembled the honors seen at the time we arrived].

**Through Asia to Europe**

On March 22, 1881, the mō‘i and his entourage departed Nagasaki for China. In Tientsin, he actively pursued opportunities to improve his kingdom, including negotiating for more plantation laborers and their wives for Hawai‘i. Kalākaua’s letters home offered a different version of the tour than even the ones in Hawai‘i newspapers actively supporting him. Selections published at the time highlighted the royal receptions and ceremonies given in his and Hawai‘i’s honor, such as this one from Hong Kong: “Nui na ahaaina a me na hookipa manawalea i haawi ia no makou” [There have been many banquets and generous welcomes given for us]. But his journal entries, and letters meant only for the recipients, provide additional detailed accounts of his meetings, visits, and interviews intended for the benefit of Hawai‘i nei. Occasionally, Gibson’s PCA highlighted such efforts—in Tientsin, for instance, “Where his arrival was awaited by Li-hung Chang, the generalissimo of the Chinese armies, and at this moment the most important living member of the Celestial Empire.” But certainly, such business meetings took

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862 „Ka Moi ma Iapana!” 2.
863 Ono.
864 „Ka Moi ma Iapana!” 2.
866 „The King’s Tour round the World. King Kalakaua and the Chinese” 4.
place in a whirlwind of ceremonies. In Kanahae (Shanghai), he appeared “iloko o ka hanohano a me ka hauoli i ike ole ia mamua ae no na la loihi i apo ia mai ai oia e na kaukau alii a me ka poe kiekie i kapaia na Manadarina”\(^{867}\) [amidst the honors and enjoyment never seen before for the many days when [Kalākaua] was embraced by the nobles and the leading officials called the Mandarins].\(^{868}\) At the Gulf of Siam, he was surprised to be greeted by five Siamese princes who told him that their government had learned from Hong Kong of his approaching arrival. An account of the welcome from King Chulalongkorn appeared in one of Kalākaua’s own letters home. In full dress, the Prince and his officials greeted him.\(^{869}\) The mō‘i met the entire royal family, including the last Maha Uparaja, the second king to Chulalongkorn. He also wrote about the silver and gold plate, vase, golden elephant statue, fine silks, and other gifts presented to him and Kapiʻolani. Hawaiʻi did not retain a consul in Siam, so Kalākaua had expected to travel incognito there. But Chulalongkorn heartily welcomed the Hawaiian mō‘i, and before Kalākaua for Singapore he wrote home: “Nui ko makou aloha i na Alii o keia aupuni”\(^{870}\) [Our love for the Aristocracy of this kingdom is great].

The intended audiences for Kalākaua’s correspondence were actually chosen for the desired effect. Co-editor Joseph Kawainui tells his readers that the mō‘i’s April 19, 1881 letter from Hong Kong was written especially for *Ko Hawaii*.\(^{871}\) The respect and generosity shown by emperors, kings, princes, and other leaders to Kalākaua are presented as encouragement for his own and Kanaka Maoli attempts to preserve Hawaiʻi’s independence. Clearly, with the mō‘i’s approval, Kapiʻolani shared a portion of his letter to her from Singapore with *Ka Elele*. After

\(^{867}\) *Ka Moi ma Kina*” 4.
\(^{868}\) Mandarins were officials of high rank in the Chinese government.
\(^{869}\) “*Ka Moi Kalakaua ma Siama!*” 2.
\(^{870}\) “*Ka Moi Kalakaua ma Siama!*” 2.
describing his visit with the Maharajah of Johore at his palace, Kalākaua then links it to progress for Hawai‘i: “Ua oluolu maikai no ka makou huakai e hele nei me ke ano nui o na pomaikai i loaa i ko kakou Aupuni a me ko kakou Lahui me keia huakai kaahele honua a makou e hele nei” [Our present journey is very pleasing along with the great benefits obtained by our Kingdom and our Nation on this global tour that we are making]. On this stage of his journey, then, Kalākaua presents himself as earning recognition from much larger, wealthier, and more powerful nations that can only help Hawai‘i maintain its independence in the face of western imperialism.

Kalākaua traveled on, crossing some 1,305 miles from Aden to Suez. By this point, *Ka Elele* felt it could safely generalize that “Ma na wahi a pau a ka Moi i kipa aku, ua haawi ia mai na hookipa hiwahiwa me ke aloha, a ua nui na mahalo ana a kela a me keia no kona kulana, no kona ano a me kana mau hana” [In all the places the King visited, honorable welcomes were given with affection and gratitude of everyone according to his status because of his personality and deeds]. This could be the catch phrase for the entire tour—and similar statements appeared repeatedly in the domestic newspapers over the following months. Kalākaua sent back his own observations as well—he found the Red Sea “nani” [beautiful]. As for his arrival in Cairo, *Ko Hawaii Pae Aina* reported that while Kalākaua had not informed the Egyptian government that he would be visiting, he nevertheless received this welcome:

> Ua haohao oia, i ka hiki ana aku o kekahi mau elele, a hoolauna aku la ia lakou iho i ka Moi, me ka olelo ana: He mau elele makou malalo o na kauoha a Khedive, (oia hoi ko Alii Kui o Aigubita) i hoounaia mai nei mai Cairo mai, (no

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ka loihi he 155 mile) e hookipa mai ia oe e ka Moi ma na kaiaulu nani o ke kulana kauhale o Cairo nei\(^{874}\)

[He was astonished at the arrival of some messengers and they introduced themselves to the King saying, We are messengers under the Khedive’s order (he was the “Second in command” of Egypt) sent from Cairo (the distance of 155 miles) to welcome you, the King to the beautiful communities of the city of Cairo].

As the guest of the Khedive of Egypt and Sudan, Tewfik Pasha, on the 24\(^{th}\) of June Kalākaua attended a large banquet with ballroom dancing in his honor at the royal palace in Alexandria. A twenty-one gun salute was sounded in the harbor on the day when Hawai‘i’s royal entourage departed.

In Chapter Two, I mentioned that Kalākaua learned in Cairo of that many international newspapers were printing stories claiming that his real reason for traveling around the world was to find a buyer for his kingdom. *Ko Hawaii* informed Kānaka Maoli the source for such stories was domestic: “kekahi poe e noho nei maloko o ko kakou anaina e huwahuwa nei, a e ukiuki ana no ko ka Moi hele makaikai honua ana aku nei”\(^{875}\) [some people residing within our audience are stirring up trouble and they are vexed because the King’s tour of the globe]. Kalākaua himself felt the story originated with a “palaualelo i mea e hoeha ai i ke Kuikahi Panailike”\(^{876}\) [ne’erdowell in order to impair the Reciprocity Treaty] and encouraged *Ko Hawaii*’s readers to disregard the rumor. *Ko Hawaii* then declared “Aohe oiaio o keia mea i hapaiia e na nupepa Amerika” [There is no truth to this message which was carried by the American newspapers],

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\(^{874}\) “Ua Loaa mai na Lohe” 2.
\(^{875}\) “He Mea Hilahila” 2.
\(^{876}\) “Ka Moi Kalakaua ma Berelina” 3.
and encouraged Kānaka Maoli to work together for “ka lohi o ko kakou noho Aupuni kuokoa ana ma keia mua aku” [the longevity of our independent Kingdom in the distant future].

From Egypt the mōʻi went to Italy. On August 13, 1881, Ko Hawaii printed a letter from James Kāneholo Booth and Robert Nāpuʻako Boyd to Joseph Kawainui about Kalākaua’s June 30th stop in Naples. Under the mōʻi’s newly-established Study Abroad program, Booth was attending the Royal Military Academy in Naples and Boyd the Royal Naval Academy in Leghorn. They left Hawaiʻi in August 1880, so one can only imagine their feelings upon seeing their beloved mōʻi again. Hoping that all of Hawaiʻi would read their account, these young Hawaiians celebrated their aloha for Kalākaua and the lāhui:

I ka hookokoke ana mai o ka mokuahi Asia i ke awa ma ka hora 11 A.M., me ka hae Hawaii e welo ana ma kona kia waena, e hai mai ana hoi ei ae o Kalani [. . . ]
Ia makou i kokoke aku ai ma ka aoao o ka Asia, ua ike koke aku la no maua i ke Alii e ku mai ana me ka hiehie nui.879
[When the steamship Asia neared the harbor at 11 A. M. with the Hawaiian flag fluttering on its main mast, the Royal One approaches [. . . ] When we neared the side of the Asia, we quickly saw the King standing in grand magnificence].

In Naples, the mayor, admirals, and other city officials greeted Kalākaua.880 At the hotel, “O ka poe a pau i hele aku e ike a lulu lima me ia. Aole e hiki ia lakou ke umi iho i ko lakou hoomaikai ana ka mahalo piha ana nona”881 [All the people who went to see and shake hands with him. They were not able to restrain their congratulations, full of respect for him]. On July 1st,

877 The Honolulu Rifles would later shoot and kill Boyd on July 30, 1889, when Boyd joined in Robert Wilcox’s attempts to restore King Kalākaua’s powers after the Hawaiian League overthrew him via its 1887 “Bayonet” constitution.
879 “He Leta mai Italia mai” 1.
880 “Ua Loaa mai na Lohe” 2.
881 “He Leta mai Italia mai” 1.
Kalākaua met with King Umberto and Queen Margherita, “a ua apo mai laua me ka puili pumehana, a hookipa aku la i ka malihini me ka hanohano kiekie” [And they two grasped [him] in a warm embrace and welcomed the visitor with distinguished honors]. Though Boyd’s and Booth’s Italian was rudimentary, they could tell that Kalākaua made a good impression: “Buon uomo. Bel uomo. Bel cuore. A pela aku ma ka waha o na mea a pau” [Good man. Good-looking man. Good heart. And this was in the mouths of all of them]. On July 8, 1881, Robert Kalanihiapo Wilcox, then training at the Regia Accademia Militare, sent Joseph Kawainui a letter reporting that when they learned that Kalākaua was coming their way, the people of Milan decorated the streets, and were disappointed when he detoured to Turin. In a second letter to Kawainui and his readers dated July 12, 1881, Wilcox wrote that the “City of Milan” was still hoping to see Kalākaua when he would return to Berlin and Vienna. The mōʻī made his way to Rome, where he met with Pope Leo XIII. His letter to Severance from there showed that he was following the press coverage of his journey: “If this is the way and manner by which I am sent away to die, as I see some of the American Newspapers have it, I assure you, it is one of the most agreeable and pleasant ways of dying.” But he was also there on business. Ka Elele reported that he was searching intently for a Roman specialist to discuss the spread of leprosy in Hawaiʻi.

From there Kalākaua went on to England, as the special guest of Queen Victoria. In an interview with the Hawaiian Gazette, Armstrong acknowledged that Kalākaua “received a great deal of attention from her Royal Majesty, from the Royal family, and from the nobility.”

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882 “Ua Loaa mai na Lohe” 2.
883 “He Leta mai Italia mai” 1.
884 “He Leta mai Italia mai” 2.
885 “He Leta mai Italia mai” 2.
886 Letter to Severance.
888 “King Kalakaua’s Tour: A Talk” 4.
Kalākaua described the first moments he spent with her this way: “Ua hōohaaha loa iho au i kaʻu kunou ana. Ua hele mai oia a imua oʻu, lalau mai la i koʻu lima a noho iho la maluna o kekahi punee me ke noi pu mai e noho au i lalo ma ka noho kokoke e huli aku ana iaia”889 [I bowed very low. She came before me, grasped my hand and then sat upon a settee requesting that I also sit on the settee nearly facing her]. He added that Victoria was very impressed with his English.890 *Ko Hawai‘i* reported that in addition to the Queen herself and the heir, the Prince of Wales, many England nobility wished to meet, shake hands with, and spend prolonged visits with Kalākaua. Treating him as her personal guest, the Queen lent him the royal carriage and her royal box at the theater,891 granting him access to public spaces where he could see and be seen. *Ko Hawai‘i Pae Aina* concluded that he responded in the appropriate manner to this attention:

> Ua hāwi iā mai imua o ko kakou Moi, na hookipa hanohano a me na malama oloulo loa ana a ko kakou Moi i mahalo loa ai. Ua hōike aku hoi oia imua o na aupuni nui, ma na wahi a pau ana i kipa aku ai, i kona malama naaauao i kona kulana, he Moi no Hawai‘i nei892

[Presented before our King honorary welcomes and exceeding care that our king greatly appreciated. He displayed his enlightened care according to his rank, the King of Hawai‘i before great kingdoms at all places where he visited].

*Ka Elele Poakolu*‘s reprints of European newspapers’ accounts of Kalākaua in London shared with his people the honors he received,893 and *Kuokoa* and *Ka Elele* repeatedly shared accounts

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889 “Ka Moi Kalakaua ma Ladana” 3.
890 “Ka Moi Kalakaua ma Ladana” 3.
891 “Ua Loaa mai na Lohe” 2 & “We have Seen” 2.
892 “Ua Loaa mai na Lohe” 2.
893 “Mailoko” 3.
of them. Kalākaua’s own appreciation was great: “O kekahi hoi keia o na la haaheo loa o ko’u ola ana” [This is one of the most proud days of my life].

From England, the royal entourage stopped in Brussels and Vienna. Ko Hawaii printed a foreign newspaper account of Kalākaua’s visit to Vienna: “He keu ka hialaai nui o na Keiki Alii o Europa a puni i ke Alii ka Moi Kalakaua o Hawaii, no kona oluolu launaole” [The Royal Princes throughout Europe are excessively fond of His Majesty King Kalākaua of Hawai’i because of his unmatched kindness]. When he toured the Imperial Arsenal, one journalist reported, “His Majesty made everywhere a very favorable impression, and evinced a surprising knowledge of all the technical sciences,” and at the Imperial Castle of Schoenbrunn another reporter observed that he “made several remarks which showed him perfectly conversant with Austrian history.” The PCA also quoted a Viennese newspaper: “The King makes a good impression at first sight. A thorough gentleman in dress, manners, and speech; his affability and kindness are such as to make him beloved by everyone with whom he comes in contact.”

From Vienna Kalākaua went on to Paris. He wrote back to Hawai’i, “Ua hookipa hanohano loa ia makou maanei, a ua haawi mai na makaainana ia makou i na aloha ana ohaoha ma na wahi a pau a makou e kipa aku” [We were welcomed very honorably here, and the people gave us affectionate greetings in all the places we visted].

Then on to Madrid and Lisbon, where Kalākaua was serenaded with “Hawai‘i Pono‘i,” attended a state reception, and received a royal welcome “greater and more imposing than at any other European capital.” He met with King Louis, to whom Kalākaua presented several orders

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895 “Ka Moi Kalakaua ma Ladana” 3.
896 “Ka Moi Kaapuni Honua! Ka Ike” 2.
897 “The King’s Tour round the World. The King at Vienna” 2.
898 “The King’s Tour round the World. The King at Vienna” 2.
899 “The King’s Tour round the World. The King at Vienna” 2.
900 “Ka Moi Kalakaua ma Berelina” 3.
and decorations. As for important business, after his meeting with officials there, the Hawaiian Commissioner for Immigration negotiated passage for 300 Portuguese families to Hawai‘i. They arrived there before Kalākaua. He then returned to Madrid, meeting with the Minister of Foreign Affairs there. On his first day back in Paris he posed for some photographs taken with that new innovation, electric light. He sat in the Presidential box at the Besseliéore concert, listening as “Kalakaua March,” written in his honor, was played. After visiting the Louvre, more orders and decorations were exchanged. Back in London, the mō‘ī dined with the royal family. In Scotland, he attended a special masonic meeting, where he was presented the Knight Grand Cross of the Imperial Council of Scotland, and congratulated by the “thousands of Freemasons” of Scotland who knew of the mō‘ī’s “great talents as a Mason and the high position” he had reached. At the train station, a large crowd bid him adieu with “Alohas” and “Hurrahs.” From Liverpool, he made his way to America—but not before those who met him on that 1881 journey had this to say about him:

His manner and deportment are [ . . . ] those of a thoroughly well-bred gentleman.

He is very affable, while retaining the natural dignity befitting his position.

 Possessed of remarkable conversational powers, he expresses himself well in English with a slight foreign accent. He is acute in his criticisms, which manifest culture and originality of thought, and when speaking of his travels shows that he is keen-sighted, and has received impressions which are not likely to be lost in furthering the comfort and happiness of the people over whom it is his lot to rule.

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The Significance of the Tour, and of the Welcome Home

After a swift passage across the Atlantic, and across the American continent, Kalākaua returned to Hawai‘i on October 29. The *Gazette* praised his efforts, and his success: “That he has been so well received—at all points in his travels must be a matter of pride to the Hawaiian Nation—and that a more intimate knowledge of our affairs as well as interest in our welfare and future will be the result, no one can doubt.”904 The *Gazette* published from the *Whitehall Review* in its entirety. Parts were discussed in Chapter Two, but the concluding estimation, published in a Hawai‘i newspaper, speaks to his people’s own pride that their mō‘ī was not only treated well, but admired as a truly remarkable leader: “I parted from His Majesty with regret, envying his subjects, and with a forlorn patriotic wish that the taste of English country life of which he had spoken so warmly might induce him to settle in our own island.”905

The 1881 tour around the world was treated by Kalākaua’s critics, and many later commentators, as a self-indulgent and expensive publicity stunt. At the time, however, the Hawai‘i newspapers provided compelling documentation that this journey was discussed in terms of its importance for Hawai‘i’s future prosperity. Or as a contemporary source declared, “It ought not to be supposed for a moment that His Majesty has spent so long a time and incurred so considerable an expense, to say nothing of the inevitable fatigues and inconveniences of such rapid travelling, with no purpose before him but that of pleasure and sight-seeing.”906 His desire to secure his nation’s independence by implementing other nations’ successful and progressive ideas constantly motivated him, and to a remarkable degree, his people at home could follow in the newspapers his actions on their behalf.

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904 “Our San Francisco” 5.
905 “Portraits” 6.
906 “Contemplation” 2.
The amount of time and the nature of coverage reflected the publishers’ politics. With regard to the domestic English-language newspapers, the *Saturday Press* started in early September 1880 by Thomas G. Thrum, a known critic of Kalākaua and the native lāhui, printed a mere two-thirds of a column of coverage on page five, largely about Kalākaua’s return to Honolulu. When Gibson discontinued his *Ka Elele*, and took up the *PCA*, however, this newspaper powerfully supported the lāhui’s independence, and the wisdom of Kalākaua in embarking on his journey: “The King’s tour round the World, may be regarded as an advertisement of this Kingdom of incalculable value. Measure and negotiations are now feasible, which would hardly have been entertained some time ago.” Such contrasts also affected what the three main Hawaiian-language newspapers—*Nupepa Kuokoa*, *Ko Hawaii Pae Aina*, and *Ka Elele Poakolu*, which the *Saturday Press* noted in 1881 each published 3,000–5,000 copies weekly—told their readers about their mōʻī’s travels. Whitney’s *Kuokoa* printed fewer than ten accounts, mostly brief, taking up roughly six columns, or one page, of reports from a correspondent or second-hand articles for the entire journey. Some articles mirrored those of a gazette, simply listing the monarch’s itinerary. Not surprisingly, given the paper’s politics, Kalākaua was not corresponding with the editors. Nineteenth-century readers who relied on *Kuokoa* exclusively for coverage of the 1881 global tour therefore received a sketchy version, and would have known little about the honors and the pageantry that the most powerful nations of the world offered Kalākaua on their shores, or about the expressed regard, admiration, and respect their leaders felt for him. *Kuokoa*’s intention seems to have been to present the 1881 trip almost as if it never happened, or certainly not in the way it did, leaving its readers unaware of

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907 “The King’s Return” 5.
908 “The King’s Tour round the World” *PCA* 3 Sep. 1881: 2.
909 “Native” 3.
the recognition and respect the mōʻī had gained for the Hawaiian kingdom—a true triumph for native independence and the throne, neither of which *Kuokoa* supported.

On the other hand, *Ko Hawaii* printed more than thirty stories, including letters clearly intended for general circulation from the mōʻī to the Kawainui brothers. The result was six full pages, or thirty-two columns, of Kalākaua’s personal accounts of his travels, replete with names, places, and minute but meaningful details, such as the prominent yachts, carriages, and theater boxes lent to him throughout his journey, the impressive décor of the many palaces and grand halls he visited, the large crowds that gathered to catch a glimpse of him, and the countless favors and gifts that many leaders and officials presented to Hawaiʻi’s mōʻī. Gibson’s *Ka Elele* *Poakolu* also had access to the mōʻī’s letters, and published twenty-four stories about the circumnavigation, ranging in length from one paragraph to six columns, and making up roughly twenty-seven columns, or four pages.910 *Ka Elele* also kept a running account of the mōʻī’s journey, even if it was only a single paragraph assuring readers of his good health and informing them of welcoming receptions in the last place he had stopped. Both *Ko Hawaii*’s and *Ka Elele*’s accounts of the journey are informed by a Hawaiian nationalism, or aloha ʻāina, that was crucial to sustain within Kanaka Maoli hearts at that time. Or as Gibson put it:

> E hauoli ana na puuwai Hawaii ke heluhelu iho i na olelo o ka Leta Alii a ko kakou Moi aloha, e hoike mai ana i na mea ano nui e pili ana i kekahi mau mea o kana huakai kaapuni honua. Aole wale no hoi o ka hauoli no kona hookipa hanoahano ia mai e like me kona kulana, aka, o na manao hoomaikai a aloha kekahi i na lahua—mai na Poo a i na makaainana—a pau i pahola mai ia mau haawina kilakila e poina ole ia ai e Hawaii uuku nei. He oiaio, ma keia mau

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910 *Ka Elele*’s columns were shorter than those in *Kuokoa* and *Ko Hawaii Pae Aina* so these page numbers are equivalent to *Kuokoa* and *Ko Hawaii* standards.
Hawaiian hearts will be gladdened when they read the words of our beloved King’s Royal Letter relating the rather important things related to certain of the details of his journey around the globe. Not only of the joy of his honorary welcomes according to his rank, but the congratulatory and loving thoughts towards all the nations—from the leaders to the commoners—who spread out these majestic honors, which will not be forgotten by little Hawai‘i. Truly, through these wondrous presentations the people of this nation have a great debt to those Nations for their kind deeds; and as for us the transformation of all the features upon the King’s travels will become continually perpetuated between one and the other with love in our doing good works before those of the world].

It is important therefore to note that while the nineteenth-century Hawaiian-language and English-language newspapers tended to differ greatly in their allegiances to native-based national movements, there were also stark divergences within these language groups in their editors’ loyalties to the throne. Even within the Hawaiian-language newspapers, the dichotomy between foreigners who desired American annexation, and Hawaiians devoted to preserving and strengthening the nation’s independence, profoundly affected the coverage of one of Kalākaua’s most notable acts. Though often referred to as a “native press” because of its language of publishing and its many important series on Hawaiian history and culture, Kuokoa was editorially a business and foreign influence advocate. As a result, those reading its account of the

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911 “Ka Leta Moi” 2.
mō‘ī’s travels could conclude that the trip was purely recreational, absent of any political significance. Whitney would later publish pamphlets that attacked Kalākaua and Gibson. Ko Hawaii’s and Ka Elele’s presentations are so different from Kuokoa’s because of sharply diverging editorial positions on Kalākaua. Ko Hawaii’s and Ka Elele’s articles stressed the public honors, but also provided Kalākaua’s own accounts of his actions to improve his nation. Kalākaua’s choice to send his letters to the Kawainui brothers and Gibson for publication in Ko Hawaii and Ka Elele was clearly a political act. He needed to present himself, his journey, and the world’s reception of him in ways that would make his native readership proud and secure. Even at a distance, their mō‘ī was working tirelessly on their behalf, and Ko Hawaii’s, Elele’s, and even the English-language PCA’s accounts of the 1881 journey are calls to Kānaka Maoli to have a legitimate and personal pride in their mō‘ī and their lāhui. Or as Gibson’s PCA put it: “The generous and magnificent hospitality of the Emperor of Japan, and of his Princes and dignitaries, to our King, calls for the warmest and liveliest expression of gratitude on the part of the Hawaiian people; because, evidently, the great honor and distinction accorded, was intended for them, as well as to mark a personal regard for the Sovereign.”

The celebrations organized for Kalākaua’s return home further demonstrate maka‘āinana unity and loyalty to the throne. Even the Gazette admitted that “We never remember having seen such an amount of excitement about the streets; the enthusiasm was genuine.” As early as August, the people of Honolulu established committees to decorate the city, invited residents of all races to create their own adornments for the streets, and coordinated the processions escorting Kalākaua all the way from the Moloka‘i channel to the palace. One meeting identified his reception abroad as a challenge to his own nation. Thanks to the newspapers, people had been

913 “The King has Returned” 2.
following the mōʻī “with pride from the East on to Great Britain, where he was received with all
the honors of an independent sovereign, and this pride of ours is the same as though we were
millions instead of thousands.” 3914 Three “roaring cheers” for Kalākaua concluded the meeting. 3915
Liliʻuokalani was another eyewitness to the excitement:

With that enthusiasm always shown by the Hawaiian people in doing honor to
their sovereigns, the grandest preparations were made throughout the islands to
welcome the arrival of the king [. . .] The streets were given up to the people,
and were crowned with triumphal arches. The mottoes, in the selection of which
numberless parties had consulted me, were displayed in every part of the city, and
there was an especial arch designed for each district of the island of Oahu. 3916

Evergreens, maile, ti, ferns, and other flowers and plants were strewn all along the streets from
the harbor to ʻIolani Palace. Dozens upon dozens of inscriptions in Hawaiian and English were
dedicated to the mōʻī, including: “Welcome to Our King,” “We Are All the King’s Own,”
“Hawaii Kui Lima me Kina” [“Hawaii and China Have Joined Hands,”] “Ka Hiwa Hiwa Aloha”
[“The Best Beloved,”] “Long Live the King,” “Aloha nui Oe ka Moi KALAKAUA, Koolauloa,
Oahu” [“Great love to You, King Kalakaua from Koʻolauloa, Oʻahu,”] “Mau ka welo o ka Hae
Hawaii” [“May the Hawaiian flag ever wave,”] “Welcome Beloved David; King
Circumnavigator,” “Aloha Nui ka Moi Kalakaua” [“Greetings, King Kalakaua,”] 3917 and in a
significant adaptation of Julius Caesar, “Ua hele, ua ike, ua hoi mai” [“I went, I saw, I
returned”]. One hundred latter-day saints from Lāʻie traveled to Honolulu for the morning
procession, joined by delegates from parts of ʻOʻahu; from Maui, including residents of Lahaina,

3914 “His Majesty’s Return. Meeting at the Lyceum” 3.
3915 “Meeting at the Lyceum” 2.
3916 Liliʻuokalani 93.
3917 “The King at Home! Enthusiasm” 2 & “Huli” 2
Wailuku, Hāna, Kā‘anapali, and ‘Ulupalakua; and from Hawai‘i’s southern Kona district. About 1,000 children marched in the procession. That evening, 200 firemen marched in a parade to greet the mō‘ī in front of ‘Iolani Palace. Some of the arches and homes along the streets were illuminated. Aliʻiōlani Hale was lit up with different colors and flags in each of its windows; bonfires were ablaze atop Puōwaina; and Honolulu harbor was “made as bright as day” by electric lights. Even Kuokoa could not at this time avoid nothing the grandeur of Kalākaua’s trip and the triumph of his return:

Aohe Alii o Hawaii i makaikai nui i ko na aina e a kaapuni hoi i ka honua e like me ka Moi Kalakaua. Aohe no hoi o kakou Alii i hele i na aina e me ka paholaia ana mai o na hookipa hanohano nui imua ona e like me keia. A pela no hoi ma kona hoi ana mai nei, aohe Alii i apo ia aku me na hana hoohiwahiwa ma ka aoao o na makaainana e like me ko ka Moi a kakou i ike pono iho nei ma Honolulu iloko o keia mau la 919

[No other King of Hawai‘i has made such an important visit to people of foreign lands around the world as King Kalākaua. Certainly no other of our Kings has gone to foreign lands with the extension of great honors before him as this king. And indeed in that way was his return; no other King was embraced with the honors on the part of the people as those of our King as we personally witnessed here in Honolulu these days].

As for Gibson’s PCA, it predictably reported that “Loyalty and enthusiasm, and mottoes dictated by the warmest and highest regard for the Sovereign, met the royal gaze on every side, on

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918 “The King at Home! Enthusiasm” 2.
919 “Ka Hoohiwahiwa” 2.
proceeding up Fort street.” Business agent Joseph E. Wiseman, who had already printed up a pamphlet entitled “Sketches of King Kalakaua’s Tour round the World,” presented a copy to the mō‘ī and distributed 100 more that morning as he was entering the harbor. And perhaps the last honors paid to Kalākaua on his journey around the world were in his own kingdom, in the form of two mele composed by Inikiwaiokapua, yet more hō‘ailona of makaʻāinana aloha for the mōʻī.

**Kalākaua’s Investment in Photography**

Visual consumption has always been a hot ticket, and certainly in the later nineteenth century. As Kamanamaikalani Beamer has noted, “aliʻi took what they wanted to use from the Euro-American world while maintaining their identity as aliʻi and Hawaiians,” and Kalākaua was keenly attentive to the value of new technologies, and especially for sustaining his position. There is no question that today he would have his own Instagram and email accounts, Facebook page, twitter feed, and blog, as well as an i-phone. In his own day, in addition to his exchanges of correspondences, orders, and decorations, the mōʻī employed emerging technologies—photography, telephones, electricity, and the transportation innovations that made possible his rapid tour around the world—to strengthen his traditional claims for his own sovereignty, and that of his nation. The result was a Polynesian chief far more up-to-date and savvy about technology than the U. S. president and most other international leaders.

“In essence, the reign of Kalākaua was all about legitimacy,” Jonathan Osorio writes, so the mōʻī looked for as many ways as possible to show audiences in and outside of Hawaiʻi that he was the rightful and accomplished leader of a legitimate Hawaiian nation. Fatimah Rony

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920 “The King at Home! Enthusiasm” 2.
921 A digitized copy of that pamphlet is now available online.
922 Beamer 4.
923 Osorio 147.
has noted that “racialized people who have been objectified by the ethnographic gaze have developed a ‘third eye’ as they experience themselves being looked at—an eye that enables a critique of their objectification.” Kalākaua had read the speculative histories about him, and was aware of people’s ridicule of himself and of Hawai‘i as a primitive island state. He countered these “King of the Cannibal Islands” stereotypes not only through his physical presence in America and many other countries on his 1874 and 1881 travels, but also through the new image technologies. Foreign commentary shows that it worked. In 1881, the *Alnwick Mercury* informs its London readers that while catching an actual glimpse of him might be difficult, because “His life has been one of almost perpetual motion,” there is an alternative: “King Kalakaua has been photographed at least once since his arrival, and his counterfeit presentment will therefore be in every printseller’s window before long.” The impressiveness and nobility of the mō‘ī’s physical body in these photos was intended to personify the majesty of the Hawaiian kingdom. At home and abroad, he used photographs to transmit this identity to a large audience. Kalākaua had stamps printed, coins minted and paper currency and postcards produced, all with his images on them. Almost immediately after ascending the throne, he and the royal family posed for portraits specifically designed to enter local and global channels of photographic discourse, and to present himself, his ‘ohana, and by extension the Hawaiian people, as noble.

In Hawai‘i, people looked at these materials every day, but the

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924 Rony 4–6 & Imada 250.
925 Grimshaw and Ravetz 3.
927 Vann.
928 “Miss” 8.
stamps, paper currency, coins, and postcards also left the islands, presenting his image to the rest of the world—and very successfully. As Anne Maxwell explains, “people everywhere were purchasing and exchanging photographs of famous people and mounting them in specially designed albums decorated with Victorian verse and hand-painted borders.” 929 For his own purposes, the mōʻī cleverly fed this demand: “photographs of King Kalākaua of Hawai‘i were much sought after at the height of the postcard-collecting craze, but they also formed part of an imaginative public relations campaign by the royal family to raise their international profile and mobilize European support for their continued independence of their island nation.” 930 Kalākaua concluded that presenting a multidimensional, noble, yet Victorian image to people outside of Hawai‘i would create an audience of admirers and supporters. And he was right. Maxwell confirms that the widespread approval of the sovereignty of the Hawaiian throne was due to the “support of the international press” and the royal family’s “greater number of photographic portraits.” 931

These pictures reached all parts of the world. In a letter of Feb. 16, 1880, the Japanese consul wrote that he had received the photographs of Kapiʻolani and Kalākaua, framed in black walnut, from the Hawaiian consul to be presented to the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs. 932 On July 13, 1882, the Hawaiian consul in London wrote to say that he had received the portrait of Kalākaua, to be presented to the Prince of Wales “at the request of His Majesty.” 933 Kalākaua was therefore very adept at nineteenth-century international social networking, and the welcome his individual and family portraits received from world leaders and an eager public indicate that politically, the images were well worth the effort to create and distribute.

929 Maxwell 194.
930 Maxwell 202.
931 Maxwell 193.
932 “Consul Letters.”
933 “Consul Letters.”
Preparing such photographs was a constant activity. Menzies Dickson, an early photographer in the Hawaiian kingdom, was known for his Victorian gentility props and costumes, and the royal family often visited his studio. Two of his best known photographs are the portrait of Leleiōhoku, and another of the young Ka‘iulani, the eventual heir of Lili‘uokalani, posing in front of Dickson’s popular Lē‘ahi backdrop. Both portraits place the ali‘i in Victorian costume and surroundings. Dickson’s success “depended on velvet drapes, fringed chairs or braided uniforms” to present Hawaiian royalty as contemporary nobility, but sometimes the ali‘i acquired their own props. To add to his already handsome and noble look Kalākaua purchased horn-rimmed tinted spectacles and a lorgnette; the king knew “that the royal family’s survival depended on being able to project an image of civility.” In addition to individual portraits, he produced galleries. In 1875, Kalākaua commissioned Honolulu engraver Max Eckhart to compile a “fold-out book of photographs and paintings of the royal family,” similar to those of European royal families circulating throughout that region at that time. A year later, the mō‘ī drew on the talents of Colombian photographer Andreas Montano, an expert in carte-de-visite photos, sending members of the royal family to sit for him. The famous Kapi‘olani portrait is a

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934 Abramson 50.  
935 Abramson 50.  
936 Schmitt 137.  
937 Maxwell 208.  
938 Maxwell 201.  
939 Montano was married to Mary Jane Fayerweather Davison, a part-Hawaiian woman who maintained close ties to Hawaiian society in Honolulu. His subjects were primarily Hawaiians.  
940 Abramson 60.
Montano. In 1883, a portrait of Kalākaua printed on “special gilt-edged card” was featured in the window of San Francisco retailer Bradley & Rulofson’s. While less formal, other photographs also contributed to presenting him as mōʻī. He wisely had the photographer Joaquin A. Gonsalves accompany him on his tours of the kingdom,\(^{941}\) and around 1879, Christian J. Hedemann captured the “only known image of the king giving an audience” in Kailua, Hawaiʻi.\(^{942}\) New photographers presented new opportunities for portraiture. In 1880, American portrait photographer, daguerreotypist, and ambrotypist Isaiah West Taber spent six weeks in Hawaiʻi. Kalākaua commissioned him to take three full-length portraits, and a year later, during the world tour stopover in San Francisco, he visited Taber’s studio to pose for additional photographs.\(^{943}\)

Maxwell notes that the strategic production and reproduction of these royal family portraits in publications like London’s *Graphic* were so successful in attracting sympathy and support for an independent Hawaiian kingdom that these images were “still frustrating the US government well into the next century.”\(^{944}\) Part of the effect came from the posing itself. Kalākaua’s family “confront the camera’s gaze directly in the manner that European viewers associated with the [ . . . ] colonized, but adopted ‘the cultivated asymmetries of aristocratic pose’ characteristic of the bourgeois portrait.”\(^{945}\) Photographs of Kalākaua in a group show a similar level of calculation. As Joanna C. Scherer notes, “The subject [of a photograph] can

\(^{941}\) Abramson 75.
\(^{942}\) Davis and Foster 31.
\(^{943}\) Palmquist and Kailbourn 538.
\(^{944}\) Maxwell 193; Today, there is a series of the Hawaiian royal family photographs, including portraits of Kapiʻolani, Kalākaua, Kaʻiulani, and scenic photos of Hawaiʻi, including pictures of ‘Iolani Palace, Haleakalā, the bungalow residence of the mōʻī and mōʻī wahine, and the home of Archibald Cleghorn and Miriam Likelike, housed in the University of California at Los Angeles’ Charles E. Young library. Dating between 1882 and 1889, the photos are said to have once belonged to a well-traveled ambassador, or a high-ranking government official, or businessman who would have been interested in collecting the photos of the royal family and have a reason to have them in his possession.
\(^{945}\) Maxwell 198.
control the content by determining costume and pose and deciding when the image is to be made. This can be seen, for example, by studying images of the same individual. In his planned photographs, Kalākaua is always front and center, making him the most important figure, and he is always dressed in his Victorian uniform or in white clothes, signifying his nobility.

Because “photography was a mechanical by-product of the European technological revolution, the period during which scientific facts, invention, mass production, ownership of products, and conspicuous consumption began to rule in Western society,” Kalākaua identified several advantages to having his likeness captured and distributed. First, simply by taking part in the newest, latest technological craze, he was displaying his modernity. Maxwell further notes Kalākaua’s “decision to exploit the network of global markets that emerged in the late nineteenth century as political forms of colonial control gave way to the vicarious forces of consumerism, for this meant that the ethnographic model of representation could be counteracted.” In short, he avoided the anthropological by appearing directly in front of the consumer. Kalākaua gave the world’s largest tobacco company, Duke and Son of New York, permission to put his portrait and Hawai‘i’s coat of arms “on an elegantly designed cigarette packet.”

The clothing adorning the royal family in their portraits and public appearances also spoke of their agency as Hawaiian and Victorian nobles. Adrienne L. Kaeppler notes, “Hawaiian chiefs almost immediately became aligned with British and European royalty. They looked noble but not savage. Hawaiian chiefs learned quite early not to let themselves be exploited by outsiders,” starting with Kamehameha I. On November 24, 1816, the Russian Captain Otto von Kotzebue landed his ship Rurick at Kamakahonu, Hawai‘i. Artist Louis Choris was on
board, and after peaceful relations were established, he asked the mōʻī, dressed in a red malo, black tapa, and a folded cape of black cloth, to sit for a sketch:

This prospect seemed to please him very much, but he asked me to leave him alone an instant, so he could dress. Imagine my surprise on seeing this monarch display himself in the costume of a sailor; he wore blue trousers, a red waistcoat, a clean white shirt and a necktie of yellow silk. I begged him to change his dress; he refused absolutely and insisted on being painted as he was.\footnote{Charlot, \textit{Choris} 17.}

However politically effective it might have been, Kamehameha’s wish to pose in a sailor’s attire shows an acute awareness of controlling what the Western gaze upon him could reproduce.\footnote{For analysis on Kamehameha II’s dress as symbols of royalty and power see Beamer 79.}

Later that day, Kotzebue himself met with Kamehameha, and unaware of the earlier sitting, asked the mōʻī to pose for Choris. Kamehameha refused at first. Only when told that the portrait was for the Russian emperor did he agree, presumably because he felt an obligation to another absolute ruler.\footnote{Charlot, \textit{Choris} 27.} As a matter of policy, then, Kamehameha, and many of his successors thought carefully about how they would be portrayed, and for what audience.

Kalākaua and his family took this not only to the level of being up to date on the latest European fashions, but even to becoming fashion trend setters themselves. The \textit{Alnwick Mercury} reported that during his 1881 stop in London, Kalākaua was “wearing the usual complement of rings, and the gold bracelet originally brought into fashion by Prince Achille Murat,”\footnote{\textit{“King Kalakaua” Alnwick Mercury} 23 Jul. 1881: 2.} and when Kapiʻolani and Liliʻuokalani attended Queen Victoria’s Jubilee in 1887, a dressmaker went along. Maxwell notes “the importance that the royal family attached to appearances,”\footnote{Maxwell 203.} but in this case, Kapiʻolani managed to draw attention to herself even though surrounded by the

\begin{quotation}
951 Charlot, \textit{Choris} 17.
952 For analysis on Kamehameha II’s dress as symbols of royalty and power see Beamer 79.
953 Charlot, \textit{Choris} 27.
954 \textit{“King Kalakaua” Alnwick Mercury} 23 Jul. 1881: 2.
955 Maxwell 203.
\end{quotation}
crowned heads and nobility of Europe in their finest apparel. The dress she wore to the
celebration became known around the world as the “peacock dress,” as seen in a portrait taken
by Queen Victoria’s personal photographer. In addition, she had a portrait taken of a second
gown made in Japan—an astute choice, given the European fetish for things Asian at that time.
After presenting herself as a strikingly handsome figure in the finest European and Asian
fashions of the time, distinguishing herself from, but belonging among, the hundreds of
noblemen and women in London there, she also made sure to capture the images for immediate
distribution near and far. “Photographs have been conceived as capable of unravelling the deeper
meanings and metaphors of cultural being,” Edwards has written, and Queen Kapiʻolani’s
complex self-representation captured in these Jubilee portraits can still be read as a successful
assertion of nobility and distinctiveness to this day.  

Perhaps the most important point to make here, however, is that awareness and
calculation in self-presentation cannot be equated with deception. By dressing in a Victorain
military uniform, in his portraits Kalākaua constructs a recognizably Western image that is at the
same time an accurate representation of his nature. No separation between the private v. public
or realism v. convention is discernible here. As Kamanamaikalani Beamer notes in a different
context:

David Laʻamea Kalākaua was a confident Hawaiian and a competent ruler.
Standing well over six feet tall, his policies matched the boldness of his stature as
he sought to [. . . ] demonstrate the significant role that a mōʻi could play in
reforming society.  

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956 See Maxwell 204–207.
957 Edwards 59.
958 Beamer 176.
His photographs pointed to the actual talents and accomplishments of the mōʻī. He was a Hawaiian statesman, educated and well-read by western standards, who spoke four languages fluently; served as an active chairman of several boards, including the History and Microscopical Society; re-established the Hale Nauā as an institution for Hawaiian knowledge; studied and practiced law; learned about science and electricity; read military history; researched geothermal power as a new way to sustain Hawaiʻi; memorized genealogies and the names of feathers, birds, plants, people, and places; prepared sketches of submarines long before they were operational; invented a modern-day water bottle; constantly read newspapers, periodicals, journals, and the Western literary canon; composed songs, including the lyrics to “Hawaiʻi Ponoʻī”; sang exquisitely, known for his impressive voice; enjoyed opera; loved the theatre; played several instruments, including the piano; choreographed hula performances; expertly performed ballroom dances; played billiards; corresponded frequently with international leaders; impressed peoples around the world with his eloquence and mastery of English and his familiarity with and curiosity about the history, cultures, and peoples of the places he visited; and like most of the Hawaiian aliʻi of the time, had an appreciation for things American, British, European, and Asian.

The citizens of his kingdom knew this. According to Rev. Mahoe, the mōʻī was “He aliʻi naauao, ua ao ia i ke olelo Beritania, ua loaa ua ike elua ia ia, he Hawaii a he haole, a ua hoohana oia ia i ho me ia mau ike, a ua ike kanaka makua” [An enlightened chief, taught English, knowledge of the two was obtained by him, Hawaiian and English, and he conducted himself

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959 See Beamer 182–185.
960 But Kalākaua did not only possess the eye and mind to successfully mingle things European and Hawaiian. In his musical compositions he joined Hawaiian poetry with “the western musical chords, melody, and harmony [. . . ] in the somber hymns of the New England missionaries” (A Tribute). And he created compositions “that married the uniquely Hawaiian forms of poetry and folk music with a foreign musical style, and included the newly introduced instruments, the ‘ukulele, piano, autoharp and guitar” (A Tribute).
961 See Imada.
with said knowledge, and his knowledge has matured], adding, that he “ua maa i na hana
hooponopono aupuni a me na hana loea e akaka ai ke kulana naauao a me ke akamai o ua o
Kauliluaikaneuwaiialeale”⁹⁶² [he knew thoroughly the affairs of the government and the skillful
duties by which the wisdom and skill of the one called Kauliluaikaneuwaiialeale were made
clear]. Walter Murray Gibson’s PCA offered a similar portrait of the mōʻī during his lifetime:

His Majesty speaks the English language with perfect purity, and has the style and
manner of a highly cultivated gentleman. His Majesty is a very diligent student,
and has studiously persued the work of Darwin, Huxley, Haeckel, and other
modern thinkers of great eminence; and as his tastes are decidely military, His
Majesty has a collection of military works, remarkable for variety and extent. It
comprises the works and biographies of all the notable Captains of the eighteenth
and nineteenth centuries, and the principal modern works on artillery and
engineering.⁹⁶³

Kalākaua’s acuity was known by all, and immediately struck others when first encountering him.
As he appears in the photographs, he was a Hawaiian and Victorian noble, a renaissance man.
The image is a reality. He could travel comfortably outside of Hawaiʻi because he was
handsome, intelligent, accomplished, and eloquent—almost perfect, according to one witness:
“Kalakaua’s triumph surpasses that of any of his predecessors. All political parties and all classes
of men have vied with each other to pay him suitable homage. A becoming kingly dignity
without pride, pretense, or ostentation, has gained him universal admiration.”⁹⁶⁴ Even when he
tried to tour the world incognito, he immediately failed. Officials everywhere insisted on
publicly recognizing Kalākaua as Hawaiʻi’s mōʻī. Of his time in Germany, the Standard reports:

⁹⁶² Na Palapala i ke ‘Kuokoa” 2.
⁹⁶³ “His Majesty King Kalakaua” PCA 22 Jan. 1881: 3.
⁹⁶⁴ “From our Correspondents” 18.
“King Kalākaua while enjoying the sights of this metropolis, himself seems to be considered a most remarkable personage by the Berliners. Few Potentates have enlisted so much attention and applause as the affable Ruler of the Hawaiian Islands.”965 The favorable nineteenth-century favorable Hawaiian, American and international representations of Kalākaua were therefore considered to be accurate, and synonymous with the person. As an individual and as an image, Kalākaua recast the Polynesian potentiate, and altered how at least some colonizers gazed at the colonized. During his lifetime, people of the world and in Hawai‘i recognized him as a brilliant man, and the responses to his character encompassed both admiration for him, and respect for the kingdom that in important ways he embodied. His iconic recasting of racial identity also made it possible for people to reconsider Hawai‘i as a progressive kingdom. Kalākaua was a deliberate and actual Hawaiian and Victorian mō‘ī.

Mele Dedicated to Kalākaua

The Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum’s archive catalog lists close to 400 mele dedicated to Kalākaua. All but a few of these mele are written in Hawaiian. Most of the mele were composed by his Kanaka Maoli subjects, like Joseph Poepoe’s Moolelo, and are evidence of their aloha for him. Among the mele mele ma‘i [procreative chants], mele inoa [name chants], mele honoring Kalākaua’s ancestors, mele memorializing special events during his reign, and kanikau [funeral dirges]. In particular, the mele about the mō‘ī’s 1874 and 1881 journeys demonstrate Kanaka engagement with the newspapers. Hawaiians were carefully reading the Hawaiian-language newspapers’ accounts of his travels abroad. They more than amply demonstrate the facility and adeptness of native composition, but moreover, they confirm a steadfastness and personal affection for the mō‘ī. The importance of incorporating these mele into any attempt at

965 “Germany” 5.
obtaining a fuller understanding of nineteenth-century Kanaka ʻŌiwi loyalty and aloha for Kalākaua is crucial, yet mainstream narratives about the mōʻī have failed to reference these mele. Specifically, the lyrics of the mele demonstrate the depth of native loyalty to him, as in this mele, one of the earliest written for him after he ascended the throne. “Aloha ae ana Makou” [“We Recall with Affection”], by native William Hokiku of Kawainui, Hilo, Hawaiʻi, commemorates the mōʻī’s first trip to that island on his 1874 royal tour of the kingdom:

Aloha ae ana makou           We recall with affection
I ke ehu wawae o Kalani     The footsteps of the Chief

*                          
E ola hoi oe e Kalani       Long may you live, O chief
A kau i ka pua aneane      Till you reach extreme old age
Haina ia mai ka puana      This is the end of our praise
No Kalakaua he inoa         In honor of Kalakaua.966

Another mele, written in 1881, while Kalākaua was journeying around the world is “He Inoa no ka Moi” [“A Name Song for the King”] or “Alo i ke Anu o ka Mauna” [“He Faced the Cold of the Mountain”], which demonstrates again how Kānaka ʻŌiwi followed newspaper accounts of that journey and were inspired to compose mele memorializing it:

Ka luluu a ka ono i ka maka   He saw sights that pleased the eyes
E ola o ka hiwa kuu lani     Long live the choice one, my chief
Ka wohi kukahi oluna          The royal one standing alone above.967

966 Hokiku 110a–111b.
967 “He Inoa no ka Moi” 1158–1159.
Native pride for Kalākaua as he circumnavigated the globe can be felt in a third mele, entitled “He Inoa no ka Moi” [“A Name Song for the King”] or “Kuikui ka Lono i Inia” [“News of Him Went Abroad in India”], which recounts:

Kuikui ka lono i Inia  
News of him went abroad in India

I ka laula o Europa  
[And] over the breadth of Europe

I ka ulu wehi o Palika  
To the beautiful site of Paris

I ke kaona i lohia e ka nani  
The town that is filled with beauty

Hele aku o ka loa o ka moana  
[He] travelled the length of the ocean

Na mile pau ‘ole i ka helu  
Over uncounted miles

and ends with this praise:

Ka iini pau ole ilaila  
There was an endless admiration

O ka puuwai poina ole  
Not to be easily forgotten by the heart

E hoi ko Hawaii kupa  
The native of Hawaii turned homeward

Ua laiku mai ka moana  
The ocean was still and calm

Ua aukahi mai la ka ale  
The billows moved quietly on

Ua malino ka Pakipika  
The Pacific ocean was smooth

E ola o ka hiwa kuu lani  
Long live the choice one, my chief

Ka wohi kukahi o luna  
The royal one standing alone above.968

Many of the mele in this collection were composed by Princess Virginia Kapo‘oloku Po‘omaikelani, the younger sister of mō‘īwahine Kapi‘olani, who under Kalākaua’s reign served as the President of the Board of Genealogy, President of the Board of Health, and Governess of Hawai‘i island. In the mele “Ka Hiku Kapu o na Lani” [“The Seventh Sacred One of the Royals/Heavenly Ones”], Po‘omaikelani wrote, “Ua kini ua lau ke aloha / Ua mano ka heluna i ke kino”

968 “Mele Inoa no ka Moi” or “Kuikui ka Lono i Inia” 1160–1161.
“Love is given to him / Four hundred times four hundred thousand”]. Many Kānaka Maoli described Kalākaua as “Kahikukapuonalani,” or the seventh monarch after Kamehameha I, in their mele because of their reverence for him as mōʻī, which they had felt as well for the Kamehamehas who ruled before him.

Another mele from this collection is “No Kauli lua” [“For Kaulilua”]. On March 20, 1875, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* printed another, longer version of this mele on its front page, written by D. Maoli from Pu‘unui, O‘ahu on March 5, 1875. Both mele honor Kalākaua’s trip to America to help negotiate the Reciprocity Treaty. The mele from Bishop Museum is eighty-two lines long, while Maoli’s version is 113 lines long—not unusually long for mele of that era. Most native Hawaiians along with Kalākaua did not want to cede Pearl River (Pearl Harbor) to the U. S. as part of the Reciprocity Treaty, but they showed their loyalty and aloha to the mōʻī from the day he departed Hawaiʻi’s shores until he returned. Californians received Kalākaua honorably, and the newspaper accounts emphasized the receptions there, which must have been inspiring:

Anu o Kaleponi, he aina malihiai Cold was California, an unfamiliar land
Hoonua lia mai na hoohilulu There was much putting on of displays
Hoike na moku me na papu On the ships and in the forts
E na kolo na pu ko welo na hae The guns roared, the flags waved
Olehala na pele, hone ana na pilia Bells tolled and music played
E maki na koa, kau lele na pahu The soldiers marched, the drums were beaten
Ulu wehiwehi lua na mea a pau And everything looked so grand.

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969 “Ka Hiku Kapu o na Lani” 984.
970 Kalākaua inherited this name, Kaululiaokeanuwaialeale, [Doubly cold is Mount Waiʻaleʻale] from a chant.
Kalākaua’s entrance into America’s capital surely touched Kānaka ‘Ōiwi as they read the newspapers’ accounts of the honors extended to their mō‘ī there. A pride and reverence for the mō‘ī as an equal to the American officials are described here: “Hiki aku oukou i Wakinekona / Halelu me ka lani pale na hoa” [“When you all reached Washington / The heavens sang his praises, his equals eagerly greeted him”]. In the big and important city of New York, Kalākaua had captured the people’s attention there as well: “Ma Nu Ioka i wawalo na leo / I ka ui ninau auhea o ka lani / O ka ike lihi aku he mau noia” [“At New York voices were loudly heard / Asking the question, ‘Where is the King?’ / A glimpse of him was better than none”]. The Hawaiian-language newspaper accounts must have impressed upon readers the honors that Americans everywhere presented to Kalākaua for the mele recounts them:

- Kipa aku i ka hale neia kupulani My sacred one was entertained in the homes
- Malihini kamahao ma ke komohana mai This wondrous guest from the west
- Aole i ike me nei mamua Nothing like this was ever seen before
- A o ke kuhina ia maoli ili hau He was a true ambassador.

When Kalākaua returned to Hawai‘i on February 15, 1875, native Hawaiians must have felt relieved and exhilarated to see the mō‘ī, and that aloha concludes this mele:

- Huli hoi e Kalani ma ke one oiwī The Royal One returned to the native sands
- Ua ike na lani a me ka moana Recognized by the heavens and the ocean
- Ua ike na kai polohua a Kane Recognized by the dark blue sea of Kāne
- Ua ike ke kaupu au o ka moana Recognized by the large bird that travels out to the ocean
- Ua ike na iwa noio au kai Recognized by the ‘iwa and noio birds that fly to sea
Ua ike ka uila e lalapa i ka lewa  Recognized by the lightning that flashes in
the sky

Ua ike na pola o pua i ke ao  Recognized by the clusters of cloudlets
above

Ua ike ka onohi ame ke anuenue  Recognized by the rainbows spanning the
sky

Ua ike na ale ame ke aumiki  Recognized by the billows and passing
currents

Ua ike Molokai mokupuni o Hina  Recognized by Molokai, island of Hina

Ua ike e ka ua ame ka makani  Recognized by the rain and the wind

Ua ike ka la ame ka mahina  Recognized by the sun and the moon

Ua ike Makapuu lae o Kawaihoa  Recognized by Makapuu and Kawaihoa

Ua ike Ihiihilauakea e  Recognized by Ihiihilauakea

Ua ike Leahi hae o Kaimuki  Recognized by Leahi and the flag at
Kaimuki

He inoa kaulana no Kaulilua  This is in honor of Kaulilua’s famous
name.971

One of the last mele in the Bishop Museum collection is the kanikau “Kanikau no Kaulilua.” It is
comprised of four stanzas lamenting the deceased Kalākaua: “E Kalani moe nei / I ke kapa manu
hulu o’o” [O Royal One/Heavenly One sleeping / In the feathered bedclothes]. Kapi‘olani and
Lili‘uokalani are remembered, too, “Eia na Lani ua eha loko” [Here are the Royal ones/Heavenly
ones pained within]. And the mō‘ī is memorialized in the chorus, which is repeated four times:

971 “Anoai ke Aloha i Nalo a Ehu” 59a–63a.
“Auwe aloha oe / E Kalani Kaulilua e moe loa nei” [Alas, farewell to you / O Royal One/Heavenly One, Kaulilua sleeps forever].

**The 1883 Coronation**

The changing roster of Hawaiʻi’s nineteenth-century newspapers reflects native and non-native responses to the shifting political, social, and economic tides within the kingdom. Helen Chapin has remarked that the “establishment lineup” of papers “furnished an excellent example of the way a power structure meshes its political, economic, and social interests with journalism.”

The striking increase in the number of English- and Hawaiian-language newspapers during Kalākaua’s reign mirrors the emergence of different political agendas—most notably, native Hawaiians and a minority of foreigners who wanted to preserve Hawaiʻi’s independence; Hawaiians who wanted independence, but under a sovereign other than Kalākaua; and foreigners who actively and increasingly sought America’s annexation of Hawaiʻi. For much of Kalākaua’s reign, the throne also had its own “organ” or newspaper to represent its interests, usually under the direction of Walter Murray Gibson. Chapin explains that while the “English language journals reached far fewer readers than the Hawaiian language papers,” they were sponsored by “the planter-missionary-business alliance,” whose forces were “gathering the power to enforce their will,”—that is, to install members of the Hawaiian League in government seats, and eventually, to push Gibson and ultimately Kalākaua out of power.

Partly because Kalākaua’s 1883 coronation was a key intersection where non-native and native criticism of the mōʻi collided with nationalist support, four new newspapers appeared that year. Three were published in Hawaiian: *Hoku o ke Kai*, edited by Joseph Poepoe, Samuel

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972 “Kanikau no Kaulilua” 5.
973 Chapin, *Shaping 77*.
974 Chapin, *Shaping 77*. 

Kaaikaula, and His Majesty Kalākaua;\textsuperscript{975} *Koo o Hawaii* by Thomas Spencer;\textsuperscript{976} and *Ka Nupepa Elele Poakolu* by F. J. Testa, J. S. Sheldon, Isaac Sherwood, and Thomas Spencer, which replaced Gibson’s *Elele Poakolu*. All three supported Hawaiian independence and the throne.\textsuperscript{977} These new papers were in part a response to the growing severity of other journalistic attacks against Kalākaua, Gibson, native Hawaiians, and the kingdom’s independence. Some of these attacks appeared in Hawaiian-language newspapers formally supportive of the mōʻī. Whereas the Kawainui brothers and their *Ko Hawaii Pae Aina* served as loyal supporters of the monarchy from the later 1870s up through the world tour, but then began to lodge protests against the Gibson administration—a critical break in native newsprint loyalty to the throne.\textsuperscript{978} In 1883, the mōʻī dismissed Joseph Kawainui from the cabinet. In 1893, *Hawaii Holomua*, a strident nationalist paper run by Sheldon and Nakanaela, called Joseph Kawainui a “disreputable sycophant” and “of all Hawaiians the most despised by all his countrymen.”\textsuperscript{979} After the imposition of the Provisional Government, Kawainui was the first Hawaiian to align with it.\textsuperscript{980} Although papers were already becoming confrontational in 1882, when Gibson became Premier in 1883, the language of the newspaper critics—including Joseph Kawainui—became exceedingly harsh and sharp about both the premier and the mōʻī, often provoked by the coronation festivities. The acute partisanship even affected how the papers reported on attendance. Although *Kuokoa* opposed the coronation, it did acknowledge that makaʻāinana supported it in large numbers.\textsuperscript{981} The pro-monarchy *PCA*, however, reported that thousands of natives and foreigners attended, including some 1,100 school children who marched in the

\textsuperscript{975} Moʻokini 17; Moʻokini notes that *Ka Hoku o ke Kai* was a “Literary paper [f]or the amusement and instruction of Hawaiians,” which translated “European stories into Hawaiian” (*Hawaiian Newspapers* 16–17).

\textsuperscript{976} *Ke Koo o Hawaii* published “patriotic Hawaiian articles” and “mele” (Moʻokini, *Hawaiian Language* 21).

\textsuperscript{977} Chapin, *Guide*.

\textsuperscript{978} “Ka La 12” 3.

\textsuperscript{979} “Another of the Saints” 4.

\textsuperscript{980} Mookini. *Hawaiian Newspapers* x.

\textsuperscript{981} “Ka Poni” 2.
procession, some 4,000 individuals who occupied the amphitheater, and 3,000 situated in the pavilion, not to mention the thousands who filled the palace yard—an attendance that “certainly indicates the full and cordial acceptance of this ceremony, and its recognition as appropriate to our King and his sovereignty.”\textsuperscript{982} As for the ceremony, the \textit{PCA} reported that nature itself offered approving hōʻailona:

The brilliant weather continued, and strange to say, the morning star was seen in the heavens at 8 a.m., shining contemporaneously with the sun. The Hawaiians regard this as a happy omen. At 11 a.m. the sun was obscured by clouds, and remained so until the very moment of “Crowning” was being solemnized. Like a mechanical transformation scene to take place at an appointed minute, so did the sun burst forth as the clock struck twelve, and immediately after their Majesties had been crowned.\textsuperscript{983}

The \textit{Daily Bulletin} reporter apparently went to a different event: “Those who thought the Coronation would be simply attended by Hawaiians must have been disappointed for very few even of these were there.”\textsuperscript{984} But regardless of how many were there, the anti-monarchy papers denounced the event as an example of the monarchy’s irresponsibility. Take for example this objection from \textit{Ko Hawaii}: “Heaha la keia mau hana no ka lehulehu? Heaha ka waiwai o keia mau hana a pau i hanaia aku la? Aole he pomaikai hou, he poho wale no ma ka waihona o ka lahui”\textsuperscript{985} [What indeed are these events doing for the masses? What is the worth of all of these events that were conducted? It is not a new benefit, it is simply a waste of the nation’s funds].

During the week of the coronation, most newspapers that opposed it repeatedly used the term

\textsuperscript{983} “The Ceremony of the Coronation” 4.
\textsuperscript{984} “Those who Thought” 2.
\textsuperscript{985} “Ka La 12” 2.
“lapuwale” [worthless] in condemning the government’s spending on it. A J. N. wrote to Kuokoa lamenting not only the cost, but even that people were celebrating:

Hu ae la na manao aloha a walohia iloko lilo o ko’u waihona ike, no ka puai ana ae o na hoomanao ana no na wahi kenikení auhau a ka luahine, a me ka elemakule, na wahine kanemake a me na keiki makua ole, a me ka lahui holookoa e uhauha a e kiolaia nei ma na mea lapuwale a kupono ole986

[Sympathy and remorse swelled within my memory when I recalled the tax pennies/dimes from the elderly women, elderly men, widows, orphans, and the entire nation that were wasted and tossed away on things that were wasteful and improper].

Kuokoa grimly predicted disaster: “He nui ka hopohopo i keia mau la e nee nei, oiai, o ke kulana o ke aupuni i keia wa, aole ia he kulana maikai; ke alakai ia nei ke aupuni iloko o ka pilikia”987 [The uncertainty of these days has been considerable, since the state of the kingdom at this time is not good. The kingdom is being led into a dilemma]. Gibson’s response to such attacks was equally intense: “The unnatural bitterness, savage denunciations and cowardly innuendos of illegitimate opposition have calumniated the nation abroad. Such is the sole effect of an acrimony without reason or excuse, and slanderous vituperation without cause to justify or palliate its shameless utterance.”988

Though they also condemned the wasteful spending on the week-long festivities, the American-edited papers, joined by George Washington Pilipō, were especially upset about the hula performances at the palace.989 As Jonathan Osorio explains, “It was not just that the mission

986 “Nawai” 3.
987 “Ke Kulana” 2.
988 “The Chief Bugler” 4.
989 Osorio 204–205.
children conceived the hula to be evil, but that its enjoyment was the clearest sign of weakness and degradation of the Natives.” For these reasons, *Kuokoa*, in an article entitled “Ka Lapuwale o ka Poaono Nei,” [“The Foolishness/Vanity of Last Saturday”] denounced “na hula pegana kahiko o ka wa pouli loa” [ancient pagan hula of a very dark age] which it called “haumia” [obscene] for being performed right in the palace’s yard before children and parents. But Osorio also claims that the hula was especially controversial because it “represented the very finest art of an ancient civilization and was itself political because many of the mele were praises of the Ali‘i genealogies and their relationships to the akua.” The performances served two purposes. First, they were the first sizeable public presentations of hula to be organized by the crown since its banning due to missionary influence, therefore announcing Kalākaua’s desire not only to preserve native culture, but to celebrate it. Augustus Marquez explains that to insure that the vanishing mele would survive, the mō‘ī had called to Honolulu, from every part of the Islands of the Group, all the old Hawaiians, men and women, who were known to still retain the knowledge of the ancient mele and hulas, wherein these traditions were stored; and their recitals were continued in his presence, day and night.

By literally putting native traditions on a public stage at his coronation, Kalākaua sought to restore to Hawaiians the right to practice them on their own terms, defying western religious impositions and asserting the lāhui’s nationalism. Nor were the performances all devoted to the distant past. The new hula kuʻi stands out in particular. As Amy Kuʻuleialoha Stillman explains, “With Kalākaua’s encouragement, *hula kuʻi* was used as a vehicle for reinforcing pride in Hawaiʻi and being Hawaiian and also for validating Kalākaua’s right to rule. He was, after all, an

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990 “Ka Lapuwale” 2.
991 Osorio 203.
992 Marquez 97.
Hula specialists S. Kalaimano, Kalua, Ioane, Ehu Keohohina, I, Kaonowai, and S. Ua performed more than 200 hula in honor of Kalākaua, and the coronation program lists such mele as “O Kalani i poniia” [The Heavenly One was crowned], “Eia Davida o ka heke o na pua” [Here is David, the greatest of descendants], “Noho mai Davida i ke Kalaunu” [David possesses the Crown], “Eia ko Lei Alii Poni” [Here is your Royal Crowned Garland], “O ka Pua Kalaunu i Halealii” [The Crowned Flower at the Royal Palace], and “O oe ka ia e Kalani Hoola o ka Lahui” [You are Him, o Heavenly Savior of the Nation]. Another mele, “Hoomaikai oe e Hawaii” [Congratulations to you, o Hawai‘i] declares the coronation a victory for the entire kingdom. The arts employed in this celebration continued to do the work of native nationalism for years afterward. “In the ten-year period between 1883 and 1892, a search through nine Hawaiian-language newspapers yielded a total of 134 mele in the hula ku‘i format,” Amy Stillman writes, adding that the mele were entirely concentrated in five newspapers that backed the monarchy. No mele in hula ku‘i format were located in pro-annexationist newspapers, thus demonstrating that the format was very much a channel for royalists and anti-annexationists—in other words, nationalists.\(^{994}\)

To these must be added other mele commemorating the crowning of Kalākaua: “O Kalani i poniia i ka ua noe” [The Heavenly One is crowned in the mist], “O Kalani i poniia i Waiolama” [The Heavenly One is crowned in Waiolama], “O Kalani i poniia i ka wai Iliahi” [The Heavenly One is crowned in the Sandalwood water], “O Kalani i poniia i ka wai Aniani” [The Heavenly One is crowned in the Cooling water], and so on.\(^{995}\)

\(^{993}\) Stillman, “History” 23.

\(^{994}\) Stillman, “No ka Po‘e” 19.

\(^{995}\) More examples of mele were: “O Kalani i poniia i ka wai Liula” [The Royal One is crowned in the twilight waters], “O Kalani i poniia i ka wai Kuauhoe” [The Royal One is crowned in the waters of Kū‘au hoe], “O Kalani i
Held a little more than two weeks after the ceremony, the coronation lūʻau was hailed as a success. The PCA described it this way:

On the balconies of the Palace, under the covering of the vast amphitheatre, and beneath the shelter of the mammoth tent, there were assembled not less than four thousand persons; while the throng within the Palace grounds, though beyond accurate estimation, may be fairly put down at as many more as were under cover.

It was a common remark made during the evening that about two-thirds of the population of the town was present.\(^{996}\)

Such a display led the heavily pro-monarchy PCA to declare that any objection to Kalākaua is “a loud sound and nothing more. It is substantially played out. This opposition is not an expression of the masses of the people.”\(^{997}\) The significance of the first coronation ceremony in the kingdom of Hawaiʻi could not be lost on the thousands who attended the luʻau and hula performances—or on those who opposed the monarchy, or native rule of any kind. The event celebrated the authority and legitimacy of Kalākaua as mōʻī of an independent nation of Hawaiians, in part through the performance of hula and mele—traditions freed from banishment that affirmed the power and rightness of the monarchy, and its mōʻī.

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\(^{996}\) “The Scene” 2.

\(^{997}\) “The Scene” 2.
Kalākaua’s 1886 Jubilee

Kalākaua’s fiftieth birthday on November 16, 1886 was a significant and hopeful milestone for the monarchy and lāhui, and makaʻāinana paid tribute through mele, performance, and attendance at the many events during the Jubilee week. As early as 1860, the Hawaiian-language newspaper Ka Hae Hawaii had urged the public to help save mele from disappearing:

“O ka mea e mau aku ai a nalowale ole na mele, oia ke pai ana ma ka buke a ma ka nupepa paha; alaila, he hiki no i na hanauna hou aku ke heluhelu a e kawiliwili iloko o ka manao”\(^{998}\) [The thing that will continue and keep the mele from vanishing perhaps is printing in a book and in the newspaper; then the future generations will be able to read and integrate it into their thought]. Kalākaua himself had long been collecting the mele printed in the newspapers,\(^ {999}\) and as mōʻi, he promoted composing and collecting mele, in the face of missionary-influenced opposition. Stillman tells us that “throughout the 1870s and 1880s, the composition of mele in the hula kuʻi format was an activity very much centered around the aliʻi,” who recorded the mele in books as “souvenirs.”\(^ {1000}\) And Elizabeth Tartar notes that “King Kalākaua, who reigned from 1874–1891, was, perhaps, the monarch who was the most insistent about ‘perpetuating and preserving’ traditional Hawaiian music and dance; at least he has been characterized as such.”\(^ {1001}\) Although Stillman points out that far more mele were composed in honor of the aliʻi wahine Kapiʻolani, Emma, Liliʻuokalani, and Kaʻiulani,\(^ {1002}\) even so, in its Mele index, the Bishop Museum lists more than 300 mele under Kalākaua. In 2001, the Hawaiian Historical Society published *Na Mele Aimoku, Na Mele Kupuna, a me Na Mele Ponoʻi o ka Moi Kalākaua I: Dynastic Chants, Ancestral Chants, and Personal Chants of King Kalākaua I*, a collection of mele honoring

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\(^{998}\) “No na Mele” 204.
\(^{999}\) See Hawaiian Manuscript Collection.
\(^{1000}\) Stillman, “No ka Poʻe” 7–8.
\(^{1001}\) Tartar 29.
\(^{1002}\) Stillman, “No ka Poʻe” 14.
Hawaiʻi’s aliʻi. Some were composed to honor the mōʻi on his fiftieth birthday, and the mele written for him include “Kiekie Kona i ka Hapai ia e ka Pohu” [“His Majesty is Carried by the Calm”], “He Hume Malo no Kalakaua” [“A Bound Loincloth for Kalākaua”], “He Inoa no Kalakaua” [“A Name Chant in Honor of Kalākaua”], and “He Mele Kahiko i Hooili ia ia ka Moi” [“An Old Mele Inherited by the Mōʻi”]. As for the papers, Ka Nupepa Elele alone printed over a dozen mele for Kalākaua’s Jubilee.

Many English- and Hawaiian-language newspapers were being published at the time of the Jubilee. Prominent newspapers included The Daily Bulletin and The Daily Herald, edited by Canadian Daniel Logan. These were critical of Kalākaua. The Daily Bulletin reported that an old native claimed that the rains during Jubilee week revealed the gods’ anger at the high costs of the celebrations,1003 and the Daily Herald referred to other newspapers’ “sneers and misrepresentations” regarding the Jubilee.1004 But generally, newspaper coverage of the week’s events was supportive, and concluded that the impressive attendance and participation represented strong makaʻāinana support for Kalākaua in 1886. Ko Hawaii Pae Aina, now solely edited by Joseph Kawainui, reported that in the days leading up to November 16th, makaʻāinana from districts outside of Honolulu were preparing gifts for Kalākaua, as Hawaiians had traditionally done for their aliʻi ʻaimoku.1005 Kuokoa reported that the festivities began a day early, and that as Monday, November 15th came to a close, “Ua hoomalamalama ia ae la ka pa alii me na kukui uwila” [the royal enclosure was illuminated by electric lights] and “loheia aku la ka leo o na mea kani a me na leo mele” [the music of the instruments and vocalists were heard] performing mele composed for the royal birthday. Speeches were given at the palace, and gifts were presented to the mōʻi by the different native societies. From the summit of Puōwaina, “e

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1003 “Two Views” 2.
1004 “The Luau” 3.
1005 “Ka Makahiki” 4.
“lele maopu mai ana na ahikao” [fireworks cascaded] in the sky along with “na ahi nani o na waihooluu like ole” [stunning bonfires of a variety of colors]. *The Daily Bulletin* and *The Hawaiian Gazette*—the latter a major critic of the throne—reported that at midnight the battery atop Puōwaina let out a salute, church bells tolled, the bells of the local firehouses rang out, and the people filled the city with noise for an hour.\(^{1007}\)

The newspapers further tell us that from the early morning of November 16\(^{th}\) on, the people gathered to honor their mōʻī for many successive days and nights. *Kuokoa* reported that as early as 5:00 a.m. societies and other groups were forming lines within the palace’s enclosure to present their gifts to the mōʻī: “He nani ka huakai, he malie ke kakahiaka, a ua waihoa aku na makana iloko o na leo hoolana manao o ka hauoli”\(^ {1008}\) [The procession was beautiful, the morning was serene, and the gifts were presented amid uplifting voices of happiness]. *Ko Hawaii Pae Aina* remarks that “Ka poe no a pau i hooulumahiehieia e ke aloha alii e kiai ana iloko o ko lakou mau puuwai”\(^ {1009}\) [All of the people were decorated by a royalist love to be safeguarded within their hearts], and *The Daily Herald* noted that “The Palace within and without was decorated as beautifully as bunting, foliage and flowers, conjoined with tasteful arrangements of works of art, could make it.”\(^ {1010}\) All the day long, guards bearing illuminated torches stood at the palace entrance while the royal band played. As *Kuokoa* observed, “He nui na mea hoonani i kinohinohi ia a puni, a ku iho la o Iolani Hale iwaena o kona nani a me ka hano hoano”\(^ {1011}\) [The beautiful things that were adorning the surroundings were many, and ‘Iolani Palace stood in the middle of its beauty and magnificence]. The *PCA* was highly effusive:

\(^{1006}\) “Ka Iubile La Hanau” 2.
\(^{1007}\) “His Majesty’s Jubilee Birthday!” 2 & “1836” 1– 2.
\(^{1008}\) “Ka Iubile La Hanau” 2.
\(^{1009}\) “Ka Makahiki” 4.
\(^{1010}\) “The King’s Jubilee” 3.
\(^{1011}\) “Ka Iubile La Hanau” 2.
Crowds of natives and foreigners flocked to the scene, having donned their holiday attire, the leis and other floral decorations being conspicuous among the personal adornments. As the day wore on the crowd thickened, outrivaling anything of the kind witnessed in the city for many years passed.\(^{1012}\)

Attired in white with red sashes and bearing a variety of kāhili, the native societies were especially stunning. “Above nine hundred names were entered on the Visitors’ Book during the day,” the Herald reported; the Gazette said nearly 1,000, and added that the societies and individual natives had presented Kalākaua with a great deal of cash.\(^{1013}\) And these numbers were hardly comprehensive as “vast crowd of curious spectators together with the callers surged round the gates from morning till evening.”\(^{1014}\) Throughout the day, “all classes of his loyal subjects and foreign residents of the Kingdom” presented the mōʻī with gifts, leading the PCA to report that “so numerous were they that the space at our disposal would be utterly inadequate even to catalogue the rich and costly array, much less to attempt anything in the way of a detailed description.” Maui, Hawaiʻi, and Kauaʻi had gifts presented as well; Molokaʻi sent hundreds of live animals.\(^{1015}\) Other gifts included gold, silver, a koa table, mats made of sugar cane, two ivory elephant tusks, calabashes, a carriage robe, mele, paintings, a smoking outfit, vases, tea sets, Bibles, live animals, and vegetables. Other unique gifts were the kāhili made especially for Kalākaua and Kapiʻolani. Makāʻāinana took special notice of the mōʻīwahine, and through mele memorialized their aloha for her as well.\(^{1016}\) Ko Hawaii remarked that the royal couple patiently stood for the entire day “e hoomaikai aku i ka poe a pau i kipa mai e pahola i ko lakou mau.

\(^{1012}\) “The King's Birthday” 3.
\(^{1013}\) “1836” 1–2.
\(^{1014}\) “The King’s Jubilee” 3.
\(^{1015}\) “Na Komite” 3.
\(^{1016}\) “Aia i Waimānalo” 134–135.
hoomaikai i ka Moi nona ka la hanau” [to show their gratitude for all the people who visited to present their congratulations to the King on his birthday].

Processions, performances, and displays were also important tributes. *Ko Hawaii* reported that under the direction of the Hon. Edward Lilikalani, the ‘Ahahui Ho‘oulu Lāhui marched from Kalākaua’s original home at Honuakaha to the palace bearing 124 kāhili, created for the procession. The ‘Ahahui Ho‘oulu Lāhui of Kaumakapili church had twenty-six new kāhili as well. Both organizations had been created as part of Kalākaua’s plans to ho‘oulu the lāhui. The royal band offered its own tribute to Kalākaua. Printed in *Ko Hawaii Pae Aina*, the first sentence declares “Ma ka inoa o ka Puali Puhi Ohe o Kou alo aliʻi ponoi, ke haawi aku nei i ko makou aloha nui ia Oe e ke Alii, me na manao makee a pau i ko makou umauma”1017 [In the name of the Band of Your own royal court, we are offering our deep love to You, the King, with all the affection in our hearts]. They continued:

Nolaila ua kuwili ae makou me ka manao lokahi o ka hauoli no ka manawa mua loa e makana aku ia Oe e ke Alii, i kulike ai me ko makou mau manao ohohia i ulupuni ia e ka hauoli, e haale nei i ko makou mau umauma pakahi1018 [Therefore we stand together in unity in our happiness that for the very first time we present to You, the King, united in our enthusiastic thoughts that are overwhelmed by happiness that is causing each and all of our hearts to overflow].

During the firemen’s evening parade, the firehouses and other buildings along King Street were illuminated by hundreds of colored lanterns. Windows were decorated with wreaths, and the following words were illuminated: “Kalakaua ka Moi” [King Kalākaua], “1836,” “1886,” “1836–1886,” “Hoomanawanui” [Persevere], “Long Live our Fireman King,” “Kalakaua,” and

1017 “Haiolelo o ka Puali” 4.
1018 “Haiolelo o ka Puali” 4.
“Long Live the King.” Dressed in soldiers’ uniforms, students of the Kahehuna Royal School also marched, and as the procession made its way to the palace, fireworks of different hues exploded in the sky. *Ko Hawaii* reported that when the parade arrived at the place, “Ua oluolu ka Moi e pane pokole mai me na huaolelo kupono a eehia no keia hookakahaka kuikui” [The King was kind to briefly respond with suitable and awe-inspiring words for this united exhibition]. Then the new electric lanterns were turned on, illuminating the palace grounds as if night were day; a fireworks show, said to be “the finest pyrotechnical display ever witnessed in this city,” concluded the evening. Clearly, the result was impressive. The *Herald* declared that “Taken altogether, the firemen’s demonstration, the illuminations and fireworks formed a series of spectacular displays the grand beauty of which could not be adequately described in any pen picture,” and according to *Kuokoa*, “Nani a moakaka na hoikeike ahi, a he nui maoli no hoi na nuhou e pau ole ai i ke *Kuokoa* ke haano’u aku” [The fire show was beautiful and distinct and so many new things were seen that the *Kuokoa* is unable to boast of them all]. Light, ranging from illuminated torches by day, to fireworks, bonfires, electric lanterns, or electric torches by night, was a key component of the fiftieth birthday celebrations, reminding people not only of the symbols of royal authority first presented during the 1874 royal tour of the kingdom, but also of Kalākaua’s introduction of electricity to Honolulu. Thanks in part to this, in the evenings, the palace enclosure was filled with Hawaiians singing, chanting, and performing hula for the mōʻī.
On the following day, Saturday, Nov. 20th, the PCA reported that “The sun shone out gloriously and shed the radiance of his countenance upon a scene which led the majority of the population of Honolulu to don their holiday attire.”\textsuperscript{1025} The schedule featured a regatta of fifteen boat races, and a historical procession up King Street to ‘Iolani Palace. Attired in the ancient style of native dress, the participants rode in floats, some constructed as long canoes, or by foot. \textit{Kuokoa} told its readers that “Ua houluwehi like ia hoi keia mau mea a pau me na kahiko o ke au i hala loa aku la me na luhiehu po o ka waonohele”\textsuperscript{1026} [All of these [floats] were similarly adorned with adornments of a time long ago with the fragrant flowers of the forests]. Such a procession, featuring traditional Kanaka Maoli attire and customs, and representing and celebrating such native heroes as Kamehameha I, Keawenuiaumi, Kaumuali‘i, Paka’a, and Kuapaka’a, was designed to spark pride, hope, and a sense of Hawaiian nationalism in makaʻāinana.\textsuperscript{1027} Clearly, the parade was a highlight of the celebrations:

An hour before the time announced for the procession to start for the Palace the streets were lined with crowds of whites and natives [. . .] jostling and crowding their neighbors in the most good-natured humor and familiar fashion imaginable, each desirous of getting the best view possible of the historical procession, the like of which had never before been seen in the Islands.\textsuperscript{1028}

According to the PCA, “Rarely has the merry laughter of the vivacious, pleasure-loving Hawaiians echoed and re-echoed on every hand with greater unanimity.”\textsuperscript{1029} Kalākaua and the

\textsuperscript{1025} “Saturday’s” 2.
\textsuperscript{1026} “Ka Iubile La Hanau” 2.
\textsuperscript{1027} “Ka Iubile La Hanau” 2.
\textsuperscript{1028} “The Historical” 3.
\textsuperscript{1029} “Saturday’s” 2.
royal family reviewed the parade from the front verandah of ʻIolani palace; the mōʻī wore a white suit and was “loaded” with lei.1030

The Jubilee lūʻau, held on November 23rd, was another impressive occasion. Kuokoa reported that “Maloko o ka lanai loihi ma ke alo iho o ka hale alii, ua hoopahaia na ka poe hanohano a haahaa i kono ia a i kuu akea ia hoi e ai e inu i na mea ai i hoomakaukau ia”1031 [Inside of the long veranda on the front of the royal palace was filled with the “high and low” who were invited and were allowed free rein to dine and drink the foods prepared]. The 300’ x 30’ lānai was decorated with bunting, evergreens, maile, and ferns, and some 1,500 guests partook of pig, fish, chicken, and other foods from two in the afternoon until just after sunset. The affair was a total success for all, and “Ua hoomau ia a [ . . . . ] Ilaila no a lawa ka ii; nui na hauoli, nui na kulaia, mahalo, a me na hoomaikai lehulehu”1032 [It was continued [ . . . . ] until desires were gratified, and the festivities, gratitude, and the crowd’s congratulations were amply provided]. Long after Kalākaua had retired to bed, and on until the next morning, hula performances continued within the palace enclosure before a large gathering of natives.1033

Among the final events of the Jubilee was the ball, which the PCA considered “one of the most successful of the series of entertainments devised for the gratification of the people in commemoration of his fiftieth birthday.”1034 Some 500 guests attended. On the day featuring athletic competitions, “there was a brisk demand for carriages for Makiki,”1035 where according to the PCA “a large and interested concourse of spectators” watched baseball, a 100-yard foot

1030 “The Historical” 3.
1031 “Ka Iubile la Hanau” 2.
1033 “Hoikeike” 4 & “Ka Iubile la Hanau” 2.
1034 “Birthday” 2.
1035 “The Athletic” 3.
race, shot put, broad jump, running bases, and other track and field events. A military parade and play at the Opera House in Honolulu were also part of the Jubilee celebrations. The state dinner at ʻIolani palace concluded Kalākaua’s birthday festivities. The menus, place cards, and food were long remembered by those who attended. And *Kuokoa* reported that the celebrations were not confined to Honolulu. Throughout the kingdom, makaʻāinana observed the mōʻī’s Jubilee with their own festivities.

In his Jubilee speech to Kalākaua, the Hon. John Cummins, marshall of the celebrations, and someone known for his high standards and talent for executing royal orders, linked the event to the heartbeat of the Hawaiian nation:

> Ua hooko pono ia na hana i na manawa i hala ae, ke manaolana nei makou, me na hooikaika hou ana a me ka ike e loaa mai ana, e hiki ai ia makou ma keia mua aku e hoomahuahua hou aku ai me ka holopono i ka maluhia o Kou Aupuni, a e malama hoi me na manao aloha alii i hoonui ia i ka hanohano a me ka ihihi o Kou Noho Kalaunu. [1037]

[The activities in the times passed were properly completed, and with a renewed fervor and with a forthcoming understanding we hope in the distant future that we will be able to successfully increase again the peace of Your Kingdom, and to maintain with thoughts of royalist love increased in the honor and reverence of Your Throne].

Taken together, the many newspaper reports of the Jubilee, and by papers not necessarily supportive of Kalākaua, suggest that in late 1886, less than a year from the Bayonet Constitution, the people of Hawaiʻi, and certainly the makaʻāinana, felt a strong affection and loyalty toward

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1036 “The Athletic” 3.
1037 “Ka Makahiki” 4.
Kalākaua and Kapiʻolani as the mōʻī and mōʻīwahine of a proud and independent Hawaiian kingdom—a very different picture from the one often painted by his contemporary foes, and later chroniclers.

The Success of the Sugar Industry

By the mid-1880s, it was clear that Kalākaua’s efforts on behalf of the sugar industry had brought substantial profits to Hawaiʻi. Of course, the sugar industry was well-established before his reign, and its leaders were often heavily involved in international diplomacy and setting government policy. For instance, the founders in 1849 of one of the earliest plantations, Henry A. Pierce & Co., were the U. S. Minister to Hawaiʻi, Henry Augustus Pierce; Supreme Court Justice William Little Lee; and banker and eventual pro-annextionist Charles Reed Bishop. All three were involved in negotiating reciprocity treaties with America, and Lee actually went to Washington D. C. in 1855 to arrange for Hawaiian sugar to enter the U. S. duty-tax free. At least partially through Kalākaua’s efforts, treaties, water diversion, machinery, and rail transformed the sugar trade. After the 1876 Reciprocity Treaty that Kalākaua personally helped to negotiate with U. S. Congress, more than 100 investors opened sugar plantations in the islands, and their appetite for more land, more water, more laborers, faster and more efficient machinery, speedier ways to transport their sugar, and above all increased profits, all of which led to seeking greater power in the government, was insatiable. The scale of operations became huge. Gordon-Cumming writes that in 1883, a new sugar refinery had been built to meet Hawaiʻi’s growing production—one that could accommodate 225,000,000 pounds of sugar.

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1038 Osorio 202.
1039 Wilcox 21.
Of all the various demands the sugar planters made, the one the mō‘ī, “an enthusiastic fan of new technology,” responded to most was the desire for rail. Kalākaua had ridden across the country on a train on his trip to Washington D. C. in 1874. On August 1, 1878, he signed “An Act to Promote the Construction of Railways,” which created a rail boom in the islands, and a sugar boom for the planters. The Wai‘anae Sugar Company built one of the kingdom’s earliest railways in 1879, with a steam locomotive from England’s Ransome and Rapier. Two years later, another locomotive was purchased. Because the mō‘ī was said to have ridden the trains on two visits in 1884, passing through Makaha, Wai‘anae, and Lualualei, the cars later became known as “Kalākaua cars.” In 1880, the Waimānalo Sugar Company, run by the mō‘ī’s friend Thomas Cummins, built a rail line to haul in its first crop in January 1881. And “Like all plantations, acquisition of steam locomotives made an immediate improvement in Waimanalo Sugar Company’s productivity which allowed the plantation to expand.” Kalākaua rode on this train at least three times between 1882 and 1883. Railroads in the United States and Britain carried freight, merchandise, and passengers. The ones in Hawai‘i were primarily for sugar, and in fact, advancing haole business interests soon became the supposed key to any future for Hawai‘i. The Reverend Gowen made the following observation about the sugar barons’ hold on the islands’ economy:

It is sugar which has caused the present political importance of Hawaii, which has been the cause of her commercial prosperity, which has attracted the vast majority of her foreign population, which has made her merchants millionaires, and it is

1041 Treiber, Vol. 3 40.
1042 Treiber, Vol 3 68
1043 Treiber Vol 3 68.
difficult to appreciate what the extent of the calamity would be if a sudden failure of the sugar were to take place.\textsuperscript{1044}

Nor were the sugar barons the only ones who stood to profit from building railroads. Within months of signing the Railroad Act, on November 22 America’s #2 railroad car manufacturer, Brooks Locomotive Works, founded in 1869 by Horatio G. Brooks, the former chief engineer of the New York & Erie Railroad, sent a letter to the mō‘ī. It began with this: “The American people congratulate your Majesty upon the many marked improvements inaugurated during your reign, especially the recommendations for the introduction of railways upon your Islands.”\textsuperscript{1045} The letter also contained complimentary photographs of Brooks’ locomotives for the mō‘ī’s consideration.

Haole businessmen, some attracted to the islands because of the Reciprocity Treaty, were soon building railroads and mills to expand their stakes in the sugar industry. Barely a year after the passage of the Railway Act in 1879, California businessman Claus Spreckels started his railway at the Spreckelsville Plantation,\textsuperscript{1046} and in 1881, he used Hobron’s Kahului Railroad to transport his sugar to the newly established port of entry at Kahului.\textsuperscript{1047} On November 17 of that same year, Queen Emma toured Spreckels’ Pu‘unene plantation mill. In a letter to Mrs. Pierre Jones, she described her visit:

Everything is carried on on the most extensive scale, and the newest inventions are used of machinery, etc. Mr. Spreckels showed us the electric machines where electricity is made & conducted through wires to every part of the mill.\textsuperscript{1048} You have seen the light no doubt, so can fancy how like unto day was the entire

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[1044] Gowen 62.
\item[1045] “Letter to King Kalakaua.”
\item[1046] Treiber, Vol 4 42.
\item[1047] Adler 72.
\item[1048] Electricity first came to the kingdom at the Spreckelsville mills in 1881.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
interior & exterior of [the] building. It really was wonderfully grand, he explained the various process[es] of sugar making, giving scientific names & meanings of things, he was awfully patient with us. There was music, vocal & instrumental, wine & cake at his house & music in [the] train.1049

In July 1881, Kalākaua approved the expansion of Kahului Railroad’s thirteen miles of rail. The Pioneer Mill in Lahaina soon had a locomotive and twelve sugar cane cars, which “replaced 150 oxen and twenty carts and allowed the plantation’s entire sugar crop to be harvested in six weeks instead of the previous six months.”1050 In 1888, the mōʻī authorized a fifteen-mile track from Honolulu to Aiea.1051 The Honolulu Station was opened on November 16, 1889—his birthday. More than 4,000 people climbed aboard eleven trains for a free ride on Dillingham’s newest eighteen-mile roundtrip line.

As he struggled to maintain his rule and his nation’s sovereignty, then, Kalākaua decided that agricultural yield and economic productivity were keys—and railroads increased both. In 1960, economist and theorist Walt Whitman Rostow wrote that “‘the introduction of the railroad has been historically the most powerful single initiator of take-offs.’”1052 A perceptive yet daring investor, Kalākaua used his power to introduce rail to his part of the world, and with great success. Unfortunately, the prosperity such leadership brought the wealthy businessmen only provided them with more resources to press for more direct control, making the mōʻī irrelevant and ultimately removing him from consideration altogether. That Kalākaua’s effectiveness in publicly providing incentives for business would prove to be one of the causes for an ever-

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1049 Adler 74–75.
1050 Treiber, Vol 4 41-42.
1051 Treiber, Vol 3 5.
1052 Rostow 302.
increasing desire for annexation of his nation to the United States is one of the grimmest ironies of his reign.

**The 1887 Bayonet Constitution**

At two o’clock in the morning of July 6, 1887, the Hawaiian League and the Honolulu Rifles forced Kalākaua at gunpoint to sign their new constitution and install their members in the cabinet. Members of these two groups would overthrow Mō‘īwahine Lili‘uokalani in 1893, but this moment in 1887 marked the beginning of the loss of native Hawaiian sovereignty. The new constitution abolished Kalākaua’s veto right, creating the situation advocated by the anti-mō‘ī Gazette on June 28, 1887: “Nothing but a Cabinet composed of *upright and able men*, and a distinct understanding that the King shall *reign*, and not *rule*, will satisfy the people.”¹⁰⁵³ The mō‘ī and his cabinet were accused of corruption, and a failure to act for the good of the people—that is, the *upright and able men* of the Hawaiian League. Other scholars have carefully laid out and analyzed the imposition of the Bayonet constitution.¹⁰⁵⁴ I will focus on how Hawai‘i’s newspapers variously represented Kalākaua during this reduction of his powers and authority, for as David William Earle has pointed out, these publications, “imperfect as they may be, provide the best source on the detail and scope of political debate in Hawai‘i at that time [1887–1890] and certainly provide us with an account of the major and most influential political viewpoints.”¹⁰⁵⁵

For some time before July 6, 1887, the American-supported English- and Hawaiian-language newspapers has been repeatedly presenting Kalākaua as inept, corrupt, and easily swayed by Gibson and the cabinet. On July 7, they reported that the mō‘ī had fully cooperated

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¹⁰⁵³ “Report that” 4.
¹⁰⁵⁴ Osorio; McGregor-Alegado 33-75; & Earle.
¹⁰⁵⁵ Earle 36.
with the Reform Party and signed its constitution. Then, for the most part, Kalākaua was left alone. A few articles criticized him, but most of the attacks were aimed at Gibson and son-in-law Fred Hayselden. What news there was about the mōʻī concerned receiving dignitaries and hosting banquets at the palace. If however we look six weeks prior, we can see how the Reform Party was manipulating the newspapers to alarm Kalākaua and Gibson. What the Hawaiian League and the Honolulu Rifles—originally formed to be the mōʻī’s army, but now composed of more than 300 haole volunteers—did was publish accounts of their activities to fuel “public antagonism, especially in the Haole and foreign community” against the throne.\(^{1056}\) While secretive at first about their meetings, in 1887, the League and Rifles used the newspapers to declare their presence,\(^{1057}\) which Jonathan Osorio notes “exemplified the treacherous political climate” of the time.\(^{1058}\) And in some cases, through juxtaposition and layout, the papers added to the intimidation. The *Gazette*, for instance, placed news of the arrival of firearms in Honolulu next to accounts of the Honolulu Rifles’ shooting practice, held in lieu of its semi-annual July 4\(^{th}\) “Target Practice” competition. On June 29, 1887, the *Bulletin* announced a Honolulu Rifles mass meeting, right above a menacing story about the shipment of firearms that had just arrived on the *Australia* for William R. Castle’s company Castle & Cooke:

> This morning the arms and ammunition were placed on sale, and for several hours a regular run was kept up on the deadly weapons [. . . ] By noon there was but little left of the entire shipment. Men of all nationalities, classes, conditions, and ages could be seen marching boldly off with the formidable implements in their hands or thrown across their shoulders.

\(^{1056}\) Earle 41.  
\(^{1057}\) Osorio 235.  
\(^{1058}\) Osorio 239.
The following story was entitled “Barricading.” It described how mechanics were securing ʻIolani Palace with barricades against an attack. 1059 So entwined were the Hawaiian League and these newspapers that two years later, the Daily Bulletin would proudly recall that “When the League was ready for action [. . . ] an independent press had long given warning that serious measures would be taken if reform was not granted.” 1060 During the same period that the League was gathering at the Honolulu Rifles’ armory, plotting a revolution if Kalākaua did not concede, the Gazette, Daily Bulletin, and Herald were announcing the meetings, attacking Kalākaua and his advisers, and calling for change. Or as Thomas G. Thrum put it:

The Government of the country is rotten; that is acknowledged on all hands. From King downward, the Government positions are chiefly held by men who are notoriously corrupt and debauched. There is not a department of the Government that is not honeycombed with fraud. 1061

The Herald ranted at Gibson, the Cabinet, and Kalākaua: “Doubtless [Gibson] will still cling to office, like the limpet to the rock, if only the King fails to get a quartet subservient enough to pocket Ministerial salaries while wrongs are unredressed and the crown is unpurged of notorious scandals.” 1062 This article concludes with a Thrum death threat: “The people of this country have demands to make and demands which must be listened to, and any trickery in dealing with the taxpayers will recoil on the heads of those who attempt it with fatal effect.” 1063

These papers all presumed to claim that “the people” included large numbers of Hawaiians and other non-haole inhabitants. On June 28, 1887, the Gazette printed a letter dated

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1059 “Public Meeting” 2; “A Run” 2; & “Barricading” 2.
1060 “A Great Mistake” 3.
1061 “The Government of the Country is Rotten” 5.
1062 “A Cabinet” 2.
1063 “Report that” 5.
June 24 signed by seventy-one Kānaka Maoli from Kāne‘ohe who opposed Kalākaua and his then cabinet. The English translation, which followed the original Hawaiian, went this way:

We want a Government that will represent us honestly, and take some interest in our welfare and in our homes. The native Chiefs are all gone; “Lunalilo was the last one.” We never considered David Kalakaua a Chief. We did not elect him, and we did not want him, as we very plainly showed at the time of his election. We read in our paper that some very grave charges have been made against the King, and that he does not take any measures to refute them, or to punish those who make them. Therefore, we are compelled to believe that they are true. Our old Chiefs did not do such things. We always understood that the Chief could not do wrong—but Kalakaua is not a Chief. The white men put him in—so let the white men out him out again, if he is guilty of such wrongs.  

While seventy-one men can not be equated with Kāne‘ohe, as the Gazette claimed, this is clearly a group opposed to Kalākaua as mō‘ī. As Jonathan Osorio notes, such Hawaiian criticism had been intensifying. Almost more important, though, was what the letter was claiming. In an 1878 legislative speech supporting Kalākaua, Walter Murray Gibson had argued that “Royalty should be maintained for the welfare and independence of Hawaiians, and the position of their sovereign should not in any way be degraded to the status of a mere chief.” For the 1887 letter to declare that Kalākaua was neither a chief, nor the people’s choice for mō‘ī, not only denied him any legitimacy, but its bluntness and timing suggested that the writers felt no need to be respectful to him, or to his position. This was disastrous, for as Osorio explains:

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1064 “The Native Hawaiian” 5.  
1065 Osorio 180.  
1066 “Legislative Jottings” 2.
Ultimately, it was the king as symbol of the nation’s independence that compromised kānaka unity. The more Kalākaua was constructed as an unreliable and incompetent ruler, the more daring the haole became in their assertions that monarchy, national independence, or both, were fated to extinction.\footnote{1067 Osorio 224.}

That the newspapers were assisting in compromising this unity cannot be denied. While the haole politicians, business leaders, and journalists had been attacking the mōʻī for years, the Kāneʻohe natives’ letter was far more effective in undermining Kalākaua’s authority. Certainly the Hawaiian League must have been pleased when the statement appeared in the anti-monarchy Gazette, and especially happy with the letter’s claim that Kalākaua was the white community choice for mōʻī in Hawaiʻi. Given that, how could anyone claim that the haole opposition had any influence on the letter’s extreme opposition?

This argument for an ethnic diversity of dissent was put forward even when there was little to support it. On June 30, 1887, the Bulletin published an account of the mass meeting where the Reform Party outlined its plans for taking over the kingdom that claimed “The room was jammed full including a large smattering of Chinese.”\footnote{1068 “Mass Meeting” 2.} The Herald went further, claiming that “Here are gathered people of all nationalities—Hawaiians, Americans, English, Portugese and Chinese.”\footnote{1069 “Reform!” 3.} The PCA agreed that “A large crowd of all nationalities nearly filled the building, but comparatively speaking there were very few Hawaiians,” and its list of attendees included only fourteen Chinese men.\footnote{1070 “Mass Meeting” 2.} And years later, Jonathan Osorio pointed out the obvious: there were no native members of the Hawaiian League.\footnote{1071 Osorio 237.} And yet, although Caucasians made up almost the entirety of the opposition, the opposition-backing newspapers
continually suggested that a very small minority of the population represented the thoughts of the whole. The *Daily Herald*, for instance, had no problem claiming that “All honest men really want a new constitution, but the point with some is how to get it,” and on July 5, 1887, the *Hawaiian Gazette*’s front page screamed: “Government Reform! The People Roused! 2,500 Freemen in Mass Meeting! A New Constitution and a New Government Demanded! Downfall of the Gibson Cabinet! Gibson and Hayselden Arrested! A New Ministry!” The following article declared that the “largest” and “most enthusiastic gathering” ever seen in Honolulu had resulted from the people’s demand for a new cabinet, led by William L. Green, and a new constitution. But while the *Gazette* counted 2,500 persons the *PCA* saw more like 150, and Helen Chapin writes that “newspapers inflated numbers of attendees at events they supported and deflated numbers at those they didn’t.”

Clearly among friends, the pro-Hawaiian League papers were able to publish detailed accounts of the meeting. A committee of thirteen was created to present the mōʻī with the meeting’s demands: the dismissal of Gibson, Kalākaua’s refunding of $71,000 to the government, and his vow to remove himself from the elections of representatives. He was also no longer to draw on government funds, supposedly because “The public moneys belonging to the people had been thrown aside and spent in every possible way.” The attacks directed at Kalākaua were not only published in the newspapers, but attributed by name to the men who made them. While some Honolulu Rifles stood with fixed bayonets outside their armory at the corner of Beretania and Punchbowl, those inside listened to Sanford Dole and Lorrin Thurston

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1072 “The Programme” 2.
1073 “Local” 3.
1074 Chapin, *Shaping* 82.
1076 “Mass Meeting” 2.
stir the crowd into going straight to Kalākaua with their demands. The criticism was personal. Alexander Young declared that “Kalakaua had had a great many years to let us see whether he was a man or not. The tension about our hearts had long been strained, and to-day the strings had broken, and we must express ourselves.” Therefore, “If the King would not do what was wanted, he must be made to do it.” Cecil Brown added that

*We want the King to think of the public good, not of his personal ends. We have just seen the Jubilee of Queen Victoria, and if Kalakaua would follow her example, he might reign as long. But, if Queen Victoria were to act as badly as Kalakaua, she would not live an hour.*

As for E. M. Walsh of Pā’ia plantation, he claimed that although the crowd “did not want to use threats” against Kalākaua, “to-day they were prepared.” Lt. Clarence W. Ashford claimed that he joined the Honolulu Rifles three years ago “in anticipation of trouble such as they saw that day,” and declared that “King Kalakaua had a great many very pleasant qualities, and many which were not so pleasant.” Ashford agreed that the mōʻī should be presented a new constitution.

These non-Kanaka Maoli residents repeatedly claimed that they were “Hawaiian” by virtue of being born there, or naturalized years before. They therefore claimed that they were representing the good of all the people in the face of not just Kalākaua’s tyranny, but the tyranny of monarchy itself. Or as Ashford complained, the current constitution did not protect citizens’ rights, because “it gave the King power which no monarch in a civilized country in the present day possessed.”

On the next day, July 6, the Hawaiian League forced Kalākaua at gunpoint to sign what became known as the Bayonet Constitution. Through this document the Reform Party and Hawaiian League ended his right to appoint Nobles and disband the cabinet. Now made up of

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1077 “Government Reform!” 1, 8.
members of the Hawaiian League, the cabinet must ratify each of Kalākaua’s decisions. As Osorio explains, “Indeed, the constitution removed every paradox that had previously confounded haole citizens and other white residents by making the nation belong to them without requiring that they belong to the nation.” 1078 In short, the cabinet, made up of self-proclaimed “upright and able men,” became the mōʻī, leaving Kalākaua to “reign, and not rule.” 1079 In a 1886 campaign manifesto, Kalākaua and Gibson had warned the Kānaka ʻŌiwi that “The foreigners want to get the power in the Legislative Assembly by having the majority in the House on their side so that the Hawaiians cannot have a voice in the administration of the affairs of the government of their country.” These foreigners

Will deprive the Hawaiian people from having any voice in the Government, because by taking your lands they rob you of your right to vote and will reduce you to the level of the commonest laborer, depending on your living on the foreigner, the very ones who will rob you of your lands [. . . ] If these foreigners who are against the Hawaiian race be victorious, then, as true as there is light in the sun at mid-day, so will it also be true that all native Hawaiians will be kicked out from all Government positions [. . . ] And who will fill their places? Who else but the white man? They have not the greediness that a man has, but the greediness of beasts, and even those Hawaiians who are not helping them and are treacherous to their country will be without anything [. . . ] Their (the foreigners’) only wish and desire is that all Hawaiians die off, so that they can come in possession of all the natives’ lands and money [. . . ] If these white people get elected then they will put a tabu on the native Hawaiian from [. . . ]

1078 Osorio 197.
1079 “Report that” 4.
going up in the mountains or picking wild flowers will be tabued [ . . . ] For the white man is now increasing in numbers and is trying to fasten his power on the land.1080

The Gazette, Herald, and Bulletin all criticized Kalākaua and Gibson for making such predictions; they would however prove to be true in the years to come.1081 In keeping with their earlier efforts to suggest “the people” were united against the mōʻī, on July 19, the Gazette reported that when people at Lahaina harbor heard the news about the new constitution and Reform Party’s success, “The enthusiasm was unbounded, by nearly all present. There were a few ‘sore heads’ including an ex-minister and the Governor, who apparently did not seem to relish the news and quietly slunk away.”1082 What is striking, however, is the lack of a public response from Kalākaua. Earle tells us that he asked for help from foreign representatives, but was denied.1083 He certainly did not respond in print to the anti-monarchy newspapers’ assaults. Did he fear retaliation? The Hawaiian League had threatened to kill him if he did not sign the constitution. Could a letter to his people in the newspaper cause the same result? In any case, many interpreted his silence as acquiescence.

But native Hawaiians and other non-natives responded immediately with petitions, newspaper articles, mass meetings, and campaign speeches. Amy Stillman observes that “The acceleration of political events, beginning with the Bayonet Constitution of 1887 and the insurrection of 1889, commanded everyone’s attention. Nothing less than the future of the kingdom was at stake.”1084 During that period, those who opposed the forced government reforms organized, and gained back control of the legislature in 1890. Finally, on his last trip to

1080 “The Other Side” 8.
1081 “The Other Side” 8.
1082 “The News on” 3.
1083 Earle 42.
1084 Stillman, “No ka Po’e” 17–18.
America, Kalākaua was on his way to Washington D. C. to seek assistance. The moment was crucial. As Osorio explains,

This was the true danger for the Natives, who had lived through disease, death, the loss of land, and the steady assaults on their dignity. The constitution, an instrument that they had been taught to respect and rely on to symbolize their nationhood, had now been used to remove the last traces of their honor as people. Their Mōʻī was now a figurehead; what then were they?\textsuperscript{1085}

Davianna McGregor-Alegado elaborates:

If Hawaiian resistance could grow into a broad, active and organized force in the next period, the monarchy might survive the challenge to its power. If the Hawaiian people would not rally to defend the King and government, then the monarch would have to co-operate with the Reform Government and surrender more and more of his power or be overthrown.\textsuperscript{1086}

People resisting the Bayonet Constitution broke into different groups. Some advocated for a reformed constitution with Kalākaua as mōʻī; others for a reformed government with a new mōʻī. These dissenting groups made themselves heard in the newspapers, largely through detailed reports of their activities.

The newspapers kept the people informed about continuing dissatisfaction and anger. The \textit{PCA} reports on a July 26 meeting at Kaumakapili church, where some 300 native Hawaiians gathered to nominate candidates for the House of Nobles and Representatives. Poepeo went to the pulpit and rallied his applauding listeners around Kalākaua:

\textsuperscript{1085} Osorio 245.
\textsuperscript{1086} McGregor-Alegado 47.
He said that the country which heretofore had been jubilant was now in mourning. [ . . . ] There are two classes of people—the rich and the poor. The former are treading on our rights. [ . . . ] In the next Legislature the new Constitution will be finally approved. Its aim is to make Hawaii a republic. The Americans have no respect for royalty, for they have no King. [ . . . ] We who cherish our King ought not to allow this to be done. Therefore we must unite together, heart and soul, and elect candidates who will remove this oppression.\textsuperscript{1087}

These Hawaiians clearly still supported Kalâkaua, and saw the upcoming election as their chance to reverse the changes to governance made by the Hawaiian League. Thanks to what McGregor-Alegado calls the “inter-island network of communication among Hawaiians,”\textsuperscript{1088} Poepoe and his team gathered signatures from supporters throughout the archipelago, displaying collective support and encouragement for Kalâkaua even when the mōʻī himself seemed hesitant to act. After Poepoe gave him the people’s petition, he and Gibson responded with written statements that did not align them with the Hawaiian signatories.\textsuperscript{1089} McGregor-Alegado reminds us, however, that “If one considers the King’s weakness at the time of the coup and the unorganized state of the Hawaiian people compared to the better organized, armed, forces of the Hawaiian League and Honolulu Rifles, his action made good sense.”\textsuperscript{1090}

But in the face of the chaos, some writers spoke out. The outspoken and loyal \textit{Nupepa Elele} editor F. J. Testa sent a sharp rebuttal to \textit{The Daily Bulletin}—a known defender of the Bayonet Constitution—and therefore to the Hawaiian League and its followers. Testa declared that Kānaka Maoli will not stand idly by as the reform party attacks their mōʻī. As we have seen,
in their newspapers, Kalākaua’s enemies had been insulting and mocking him for years. Testa’s editorial is extraordinary, not only because it identifies the source and the motive for these attacks, but also says that Kānaka ‘Ōiwi will defend their mōʻī, even if he himself will not:

Hawaiians will not quietly permit that their Ruler and Father, shall have base epithets thrown at him, and his kingly seat put in question, upon the affidavit of any number of avowed pagan lawbreakers; and they not resent the base, unworthy, cowardly defamation. If the King is silent, his people will speak for him, through the columns of the “Elele,” and elsewhere.1091

As this editorial suggests, Kānaka Maoli were passionately loyal to Kalākaua long after the coronation, and remained so after the Hawaiian League’s attacks on the mōʻī and his cabinet. Take for example Elias Helekunihi, who petitioned the legislature in 1887 to reframe the constitution by restoring these parts of Kamehameha V’s 1864 constitution that sustained the mōʻī and his ʻohana: “ʻI Pakui o ka pauku 3 o ke Kumukanawai, penei ka heluhelu ana, ʻKoe wale no na Kanawai Kupono e hoomalu ana i ka Moi a me ka Ohana Moiʻ”1092 [Appended to article 3 of the Constitution, it reads, “Except such laws as may be necessary to protect His majesty the King and the Royal Family”].1093

Other native Hawaiians who immediately responded to the Hawaiian League’s coup with support for Kalākaua and petitions for restoration were Enoka Johnson, W. H. Kahumoku, the Rev. Keawemahi, and the already-mentioned Joseph Mokuohai Poepoe. They started up the significantly-titled Ke Alakai o Hawaii [The Leader of Hawaiʻi] on August 31, 1887 to rally Hawaiians to take their kingdom back from the Reform Party. The first issue was aggressive and purposeful, and the account of its founding shows how native Hawaiians by this time have fully

1091 “The Editor” 2.
1092 “Petition No. 11.”
1093 1864 Constitution of Hawaiʻi, Article 3.
appropriated the missionary-introduced printing press as a tool for exposing and counterattacking the missionary party’s heirs. “E kakoo ikaika ana keia pepa i na kumuhana hoololii Kumukanawai no ka pono like o ka lahui mai o a o”1094 [This paper will strongly support issues concerning altering the Constitution for the improvement of the people everywhere]. Ke Alakai o Hawaii declared, and as the first native-edited Hawaiian-language newspaper supporting Kalākaua to start up following the July 6 coup, its articles fill the apparent vacuum of native response to the Hawaiian League’s illegal government reforms. The front page calls for people to reaffirm their loyalty to the mō‘ī through a parody of the Ten Commandments. Here are the most striking:

I: Aole ou Moi e ae, o ka mea wale no e noho ana ma ka Nohoalii o Hawaii
[Thou shalt have no other King, only the one reigning on the Throne of Hawaii],

II: Mai hoohiki ino oe a hailiili i ka inoa o kou Moi kou Alii ma ka noho Aupuni ana
[Thou shalt not take violent oaths nor revile Your Majesty Your King on the throne],

IV: E malama oe i kou Moi Kane a me kou Moiwahine i loii ai ko kakou mau la e noho aupuni Moi ai [Thou shalt protect your King and Queen in order to lengthen our days to rule],

V: Mai pepehi Moi oe, aole hoi e hookahuli i kona Aupuni
[Thou shalt not commit regicide; certainly not overthrow his Government], and

IX: Mai kuko oe e hookahuli i ke aupuni Moi o Hawaii i aupuni Ripubalika
[Thou shalt not overthrow the monarchy of Hawai‘i to a Republic].

1094 “Na Kahua i Kukulu” 4.
As the first article in the first column on the front page of its first issue, these nationalist and monarchial Ten Commandments are essentially the editorial policy of *Ke Alakai*, and the principles advocated for “ke kanaka Hawaii, ka oiwi nona ka aina” who in 1887 desire an independent Hawaiian nation under a mōʻī, and not a republic.

On page three appeared a letter from a Lahea [the stench], calling on people to rise from the slumber that had apparently fallen upon Kānaka ‘Ōiwi. Lahea denounces the Hawaiian League’s insatiable greed for Hawai‘i’s land, and at a time when as Osorio explains, the “lack of commitment to the nation became more explicit.” Lahea declares that two opposing groups have come into existence: “ka aoao hoomaemaemae aupuni” [the reform party] and “ka aoao hoomaemaemae Kumukanawai” [the party to reform the Constitution]. The first faction is the Hawaiian League, which has dethroned Kalākaua, thrown out his cabinet, installed members of its own circle, and replaced the constitution created by Lot Kapuāiwa Kamehameha V with one of its own creation. Lahea denounces this group: by curtailing the authority of the mōʻī, it also crippled native Hawaiians’ rights to vote and to determine the uses of their own lands. As for those in the second group, Lahea explains that because these Hawaiians already have “o ke aloha paa i kakia ia iloko o ko lakou puuwai no ko lakou Moi a me ko lakou aina hanau” [a steadfast love secured firmly in their hearts for their King and their birth land], at this time, “ke imi nei lakou i ke kahua kaulike o ke hoonipaa ana i ke aloha alii, ke aloha aina no ka wa pau ole” [they are searching for a just foundation to firmly establish love for the chiefs and love for the land forever]. Lahea urged those native Hawaiians who could still vote to take back the government at

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1095 Osorio 180.
1096 “E Ala e Hawaii!” 3.
the polls, and restore Kalākaua’s powers: “E kupaa e Hawaii Pono no kou pono pilipaa a hiki i ka hopena”\(^{1097}\) [Be firm, Hawaiʻi’s people, in your moral tenacity until the end].

*Ke Alakai* printed a list of candidates for districts on Oʻahu, Maui, and Molokaiʻi who supported the mōʻī, land, and a reformed constitution, and swore to their steadfastness:

> No Hawaii lakou i keia la! No Hawaii lakou i ka la apopo!! No Hawaii lakou i na la a pau. A e paio ana lakou no ka hooonipaa ia ana o ka Nohoalii o Hawaii, ka hoomau ana i ke Kuokoa o ke Aupuni Moi, a me ka Pono Kaulike o ka Lahuikanaka o ka aina. “Imua a Lanakila”\(^{1098}\)

[They are for Hawaiʻi today! They are for Hawaiʻi tomorrow!! They are for Hawaiʻi every day. And they will contend for the firm establishment of the Hawaiian Throne, continuing the Independence of the Monarchy and the Rights of the People of the land. “Forward until Victory”].

Despite these efforts, in the 1887 election, the Hawaiian-League created Reform Party did well at the polls because the new constitution allowed for more foreigners of “the right sort,” and those newly arrived in the islands, to vote. Years later, Commissioner James Blount explained that “large numbers of Americans, Germans, and English and other foreigners unnaturalized” in 1887 “were invited to vote [. . . ] to neutralize further the native voting strength.”\(^{1099}\)

### Robert Wilcox’s 1889 Coup

Another native Hawaiian who acted against the Reform Party’s actions and attempted to restore Kalākaua’s authority was Robert Kalanihiapo William Wilcox, whose military training in Italy ended when the Reform Party cut the government funds for the mōʻī’s study abroad

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\(^{1097}\) “E Ala e Hawaii!” 3.  
\(^{1098}\) “Ka Balota Alii” 4.  
\(^{1099}\) Blount Report 13.
program. Several authors have presented the history of Wilcox; I will examine how Hawai‘i newspapers of the time presented Kalākaua in the wake of the Wilcox rebellion. The only two Hawaiian-language newspapers publishing were Nupepa Kuokoa and Ko Hawaii Pae Aina; the major English-language newspapers were the PCA, The Daily Bulletin, and the Gazette. The Bulletin was the only somewhat “neutral” newspaper. The remaining papers opposed Kalākaua, the PCA changing dramatically after Gibson’s fall. My reading of each newspaper’s accounts of Wilcox’s failed restoration leads to two conclusions not drawn by others writing about the event. First, all the papers present Kalākaua as unaware of and then unsupportive of Wilcox’s plan, out of fear for his personal safety. Many years later, though, in his character assassination of Kalākaua, Lorrin Thurston will claim that the mō‘ī was in favor of Wilcox’s revolutionary plans, and therefore violently antagonistic to the current government. In 1889, the English-language newspapers strongly argued for the mō‘ī’s innocence, at least in part because of their earlier claims that he had willingly signed the July 1887 Bayonet Constitution, and generally accepted the Reform Party’s new government—an ongoing attempt to deny Hawaiians a mō‘ī willing to lead them against his enemies. My second

1100 After July 30, 1889, the American-backed PCA criticized Wilcox for rebelling against the very government that had sponsored his education in Italy. See “Great Riot! Attempt to Overtake the Government by Bob Wilcox and 150 Natives. The Palace Grounds and Gov’t House taken Possession of by Armed Rioters. The Honolulu Rifles Called out. The Opera House Bombarded by the Rioters. 7 Hawaiians Killed and 12 Wounded! The Queen’s Bungalow Ruined by Dynamite Bombs. Surrender of the Rioters. Notes and Incidents” PCA 31 Jul. 1889: 3; “The Events of the Past Twenty-Four Hours” PCA 31 Jul. 1889: 2; “A Great Folly of the Past is Illustrated in Bold Relief by this Squelched Uprising” The Daily Bulletin 1 Aug. 1889: 2; & “The Riot, or Insurrection as it may be More Properly termed” PCA 1 Aug. 1889: 2.


1102 See “A Great Mistake is Made by Some People when They Look upon Wilcox’s Attempted Coup d’etat as a Similar Movement to the Reform Revolution and Justifiable by that Event” The Daily Bulletin 2 Aug. 1889: 3, wherein the Bulletin criticizes the Reform Party for failing to make good on its promises of government reform. McGregor-Alegado has asserted that “There is no tangible evidence for the claim that the ‘Rebellion’ was another plot to replace the King with Lili‘uokalani. All of the testimony presented in the trials made it clear that the express purpose of the ‘Rebellion’ was to support King Kalākaua and the Hawaiian people, as a whole” (96).

1103 Thurston 193. To note, on July 31, 1889, Thurston happened to be on Moloka‘i.
related point is that whereas the accounts of the July 30, 1887 coup provide little or no
description of the Hawaiian League and Honolulu Rifles breaking in to ‘Iolani Palace and
holding the mōʻī at gunpoint, the coverage of Wilcox’s actions meticulously details the stakeout
of the palace, framing him as a “native” captain of the “armed native rioters” whose
“insurrection” or “rebellion” not only failed, but to the contrary, was utterly without precedent:
“This is the first time, in the history of civilized Hawaii, that Riot and Rebellion have shaken
their gory locks at constitutional reform, and assayed to destroy the Government and the peace of
our hitherto peaceful isles.”¹¹⁰⁵ The extent of the coverage was remarkable. The papers published
special issues covering Wilcox’s rebellion—the Bulletin called its own the “Insurrection
Editions”¹¹⁰⁶—and the relatively small number of English-language readers was clearly intensely
interested. The Bulletin boasted of selling more than 2,600 copies of its July 31 edition,¹¹⁰⁷ while
the Advertiser reported selling 2,500 copies of its morning edition,¹¹⁰⁸ undoubtedly to many of
the same people.

What is at issue here is how closely the motives attributed in the public press for both
Wilcox’s and the mōʻī’s actions actually align with their real intentions. One thing is clear: when
Wilcox and his supporters initially created the Liberal Political Association, designed to “obtain
the rights of the natives by legislative or some fair ways,” they knew that the mōʻī was crucial to
their plans: “I saw that some Hawaiians were not satisfied with the affairs of the present
Government. They said the whole power was taken away from the King.” When more Hawaiians
were invited to participate in the planning meetings, Wilcox later recalled, “They agreed to join
as they thought it was for the good of them and the King [. . . ] I told them the object of the

¹¹⁰⁵ “The Events of the Past” 2.
¹¹⁰⁸ “The Issue” 3.
meeting was nothing but to uphold the King and the people, both natives and whites.”¹¹⁰⁹ McGregor-Alegado argues that “a sense of patriotism for the Hawaiian people and loyalty to the King” motivated this group: “They seemed to think that the interests of the Hawaiian people and that of the King were inextricably linked.”¹¹¹⁰ In fact, Wilcox and others seemed to believe that the restoration of the mōʻī’s authority would actually make Kalākaua a more effective ruler. Wilcox says that when Testa read the constitution proposed to replace the Bayonet he “thought it good, approved of it and thought that the King might change for the better when he got into his new position.”¹¹¹¹

But what about Kalākaua himself? Some writers have argued that his decision to go to Honuakaha and then to Healani on the night of Wilcox’s rebellion was an act of cowardice. But The Daily Bulletin reported that “One of the native women within the Palace” telephoned the mōʻī at the queen’s private residence at Honuakaha, where he was slumbering. (They rarely slept at ʻIolani Palace.) Rumors of a plot were already circulating around town,¹¹¹² and after the woman informed him of “the situation,” Kalākaua “immediately” telephoned Jas. W. Robertson, Vice-Chamberlain, “who repaired with all haste” to the mōʻī, and they “hurried off” to Healani.¹¹¹³ McGregor-Alegado suggests that this relocation to Healani “seems to imply that he had already made up his mind not to co-operate with Wilcox and his forces.”¹¹¹⁴ Healani has often been branded a heathenistic hideaway for Kalākaua; McGregor-Alegado more accurately identifies it as a strategic location on the night of July 30 because it “allowed for ample notice of intruders,” as well as “afforded the possibility for escape to the U. S. S. Adams, which was

¹¹⁰⁹ “Supreme Court” 3.
¹¹¹⁰ McGregor-Alegado 88.
¹¹¹¹ “Supreme Court” 3.
¹¹¹² “Great Riot!” 3.
¹¹¹³ “Unsuccessful” 3.
¹¹¹⁴ McGregor-Alegado 97.
anchored in the harbor, should the rebel forces attempt to coerce the King into signing their constitution.” Finally, though, “it would have been more difficult for the King to move from this location should he have changed his mind and decided to join the Hawaiian insurgents.”

This reading agrees with the PCA’s report of the order of events according to Wilcox’s testimony; specifically, that Kalākaua had warned him “not to put my soldiers in the palace. It was understood I must get more men before the favorable opportunity arrived.” McGregor-Alegado suggests that when Wilcox sent Robert Hoapili Baker to Healani with a message to Kalākaua, Hawaiian League-supported cabinet members were there with him, and “If the King had still been undecided about lending his support to Wilcox and signing his constitution, the conference with the Cabinet members probably convinced him that the Cabinet was prepared for a confrontation and that he could not side with Wilcox without jeopardizing his position on the throne.” Wilcox had only half as many men as the Honolulu Rifles, and he sensed that Kalākaua would not go along with the revolution until he was sure Wilcox’s association had enough men and arms to carry out the takeover without endangering Hawaiians. While Ko Hawai‘i Pae Aina and Kuokoa reported that “He nui ka hoohuoi mawaena o kekahi poe, ua komo pu no ka Moi iloko o keia hookahuli aupuni” [There is a lot of suspicion among some people that the King joined together in this effort to overthrow the government], in actuality, “ua hoole loa ka Moi ma kekahi palapala i hoolaha ia ma ka nupepa haole, aole oia i lihi launa iki aku i keia hana ino” [the King vehemently denied through a document that was published in the English-language newspapers that he was not in the least part of this terrible undertaking].

1115 McGregor-Alegado 97.
1116 “Supreme Court” 3.
1117 McGregor-Alegado 97.
1118 “Kipi Kuloko ma Honolulu! Wilikoki” 2–3.
Kuokoa also asserted the mōʻī’s separateness from Wilcox, going so far as to print the mōʻī’s letter to Samuel Damon insisting on his non-involvement: “Ke hai aku nei Au me ka oiaio loa,—aohe oiaio o ia mau lono, a aohe no hoi he like me ka mea i waiho ia aku imua o ka Aha Kuhina ma ka la inehinei”\textsuperscript{1119} [I make this solemn declaration that this report has no truth, nor is there resemblance with the matter before the Cabinet yesterday].\textsuperscript{1120} Remarking that “We are glad to be able to contradict the report which was certainly current yesterday,” the PCA also published his letter on July 31,\textsuperscript{1121} and in the August 2\textsuperscript{nd} special “Insurrection Edition,” asserted Kalākaua’s lack of involvement by reporting that when he was on his way to Healani Tuesday morning, one of Wilcox’s accomplices tried to speak with the mōʻī, but he refused.\textsuperscript{1122} What is important here is that by denying his involvement, all the papers, regardless of their politics, contributed to retaining Kalākaua as mōʻī, however reduced his power might be. And in the end, Wilcox was acquitted of all charges, implying “approval by the jury of the ‘Wilcox Rebellion,’” that was “clearly an affront to the Reform Government which had been the target of the July 30 uprising.”\textsuperscript{1123} Within weeks of the attempt, on August 19, 1889, John E. Bush, J. W. Mikasobe, F. Meka, J. K. Kaunamano, S. P. Kanoe, and Thomas Spencer started \textit{Ke Alakai o Hawaii}, the Hawaiian-language newspaper that was “devoted to the best interests of the Hawaiian nation and maintenance of its autonomy.”\textsuperscript{1124} \textit{Ke Alakai} represents resilience of the support for Kalākaua and Kānaka ʻŌiwi, just as the start up of \textit{Ka Leo o ka Lahui} would become another print forum for native Hawaiians to resist—with Kalākaua still in place, as a symbol of the desired independence.

\textsuperscript{1119}“Ka Haunaele Kuloko” 2. 
\textsuperscript{1120}“The Impression was very General” 2. 
\textsuperscript{1121}“The Impression was very General” 2. 
\textsuperscript{1122}“More Particulars” 2. 
\textsuperscript{1123}McGregor-Alegado 107. 
\textsuperscript{1124}Chapin, \textit{Guide} 54.
Hawai‘i’s Celebration of Kalākaua’s Last Birthday and His Travels to California

Before departing for California, Kalākaua enjoyed one last birthday celebration with his people, on November 16, 1890. Although the Gazette’s account of the events appeared on page nine of its twelve-page November 18th issue—a sign of its continuing opposition to acknowledging public support for the mō‘ī—the other newspaper reports of the tributes and merriment confirm Hawaiians’ steadfast aloha for him, sixteen years into his reign and after the failed Wilcox rebellion. Thomas Cummins was once more in charge of the celebrations. Preparations began on November 1, and Honolulu businesses closed for the day on November 15, when most of the events would take place—the 16th being the Sabbath. The events were familiar—ho‘okupu at the palace, sailing and rowing races, baseball, railway excursions to the countryside, a torchlight procession, speeches, a banquet and feasts throughout Honolulu, and music by the Royal Hawaiian Band. The next day, services were held at St. Andrew’s cathedral, Kawaiahaʻo, the Latter-day Saint church, and the Roman Catholic church, followed by dinner at the Cummins residence. Honolulu was beautifully adorned with colorful flags. The warships docked at Honolulu Harbor sounded their salutes to the mō‘ī on the 15th. Ko Hawaii Pae Aina reported that as early as 6 a.m. the people sleeping within ‘Iolani Palace’s enclosure woke up and began to present their gifts to Kalākaua. Among them were the native equestrians. For six hours, the mō‘ī received the consular and diplomatic corps, foreign dignitaries, military officials, local government leaders, and makaʻāinana bearing gifts. The warships Charleston, Mohican, and Tsukuba sounded a total of 84 gun salutes. At least according to the newspapers, this last day held in honor of Kalākaua was entirely agreeable and successful.

Two weeks after his fifty-fourth birthday, Kalākaua readied himself for California. Convalescence was the goal—he had not been feeling well. On the morning before his departure, *Ko Hawaii Pae Aina* reports that the royal family met for several hours at ‘Iolani Palace.\(^\text{1128}\) *Kuokoa* did not cover Kalākaua’s departure from Honolulu, but thanks to *Ko Hawaii* we know that people had already gathered at ‘Āinahou to say farewell when the royal carriage arrived at the harbor.\(^\text{1129}\) But Hawai‘i’s newspapers did report on the mō‘i’s every move in California, and recorded the people’s fondness for him there—from his arrival, through his activities, to his final illness and funeral services at Trinity Church in San Francisco.

As they had on his previous visits, the people of California honored and entertained him, their attention remaining constant through his reign even as his opponents in Hawai‘i attacked or mocked him. One California reporter described Kalākaua’s reception in 1890 this way:

> It is no exaggeration to say that no visitor to the Pacific Coast has ever before received such a magnificent reception as was accorded the King by the people of California. There seemed to be a universal cordiality [ . . . ] he was always greeted enthusiastically by the audience; again when the King and his suite visited a baseball game [ . . . ] ten thousand people arose in their seats and cheered lustily for five minutes, while the bands were playing the Hawaiian ode.\(^\text{1130}\)

He arrived in San Francisco on December 4\(^\text{th}\), then traveled south, eventually returning to San Francisco, where he died on January 20\(^\text{th}\) of what sources identify as Bright’s disease. When he first stepped back on the shores of California, a 21-gun salute from Fort Alcatraz and the American warship *Swatara* greeted him.\(^\text{1131}\) *Ko Hawaii Pae Aina* reported that the welcoming

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\(^{1128}\) “Ka Moi Kalakaua” *Ko Hawaii Pae Aina* 29 Nov. 1890: 4.

\(^{1129}\) “Ka Moi Kalakaua” *Ko Hawaii Pae Aina* 29 Nov. 1890: 4.

\(^{1130}\) “The Announcement” 2.

\(^{1131}\) “Ka Moi Kalakaua ma Kapalakiko. Ka Pii” 3.
crowd was anxious to make its way to its guest. As he moved around the city, spectators crowded the streets, hoping for a glimpse, and the PCA reported that “He has attended everything in sight, and has been received everywhere with the eminent respect due his royal rank.” Once in the south, he visited San Diego, where he toured the dam and an orchard in Sweetwater, then made it to Tiajuana. During these visits, as always, “All who met the King were impressed with a sense of his social and intellectual accomplishments.” According to the PCA, at the Santa Barbara train station, “several thousand” people were there to greet him. On January 1, 1891, Kalākaua, “the cynosure of all eyes,” was the honored guest at the recently-built and magnificent Loring Opera House in Riverside, where famous opera voice Emma Juch presented Gounold’s Faust. The mōʿī’s name appeared on the handbill, and he himself was described as “an intelligent looking, polite and affable gentleman, well dressed, wearing on his breast a number of decorations of honor” that evening. In an almost deliberate insult to the perpetrators of the Bayonet Constitution, San Diego’s press described Kalākaua as “probably the most democratic king on any throne today . . . (he was) well educated, easily approached and not given to offensive presumption” and noted that “He played polo, poker and other social games with American and English people of social standing.” George E. Whitney, a former resident to Hawaiʻi and friend of the mōʿī, joined with other masons in accompanying the royal entourage

1132 “Ka Moi Kalakaua ma Kapalakiko. Ka Piʻi” 3.
1133 “Paani” 2.
1134 “King Kalakaua. His Movements in Southern” 2.
1135 “King Kalakaua. His Movements in Southern” 2.
1136 “King Kalakaua. His Movements in Southern” 2.
1137 Patterson B2.
1138 Patterson B2.
to southern California. Here is a portion of Whitney’s description of Kalākaua to the *Tribune* that was reprinted in the *PCA*:

> He is a very agreeable traveling companion; a quiet, observing man, not given to gabbling, but is appreciative and interested. During the trip there was manifest the usual curiosity and also the usual kindly feeling, and the King received many courtesies. There were indeed more proffers of attention and hospitality than the limited time at his disposal would permit him to accept. He is a careful traveler, all the time looking out for ideas to incorporate in his plans for the improvement of his islands.\(^{1139}\)

This is the impression that his enemies and the later writers who relied on them suppressed. In his last few days, this is how Kalākaua struck his contemporaries—as an inquisitive and observant man, always learning from the successes of other nations, kingdoms, and principalities, and always looking to benefit his country.

**Kalākaua’s Death, January 20, 1891, and the Aftermath**

David Laʻamea Kamanakapu Mahinulani Nalaiaehuokalani Kalākaua died on January 20, 1891 at 2:30 p.m. in the Palace Hotel in San Francisco. On January 26, Honolulu merchants were still raising flags, banners, arches and other decorations to welcome him back from California. The people in Hawaiʻi did not learn of his death until January 29, when the *Charleston* returned to Honolulu harbor with his remains.\(^{1140}\) They were expecting him on January 31, when the battery at Kakaʻako would fire three shots, notifying them of his arrival. When the *Charleston* arrived early, the people knew something was wrong, because the “beloved” Hawaiian flag was

\(^{1139}\) “King Kalakaua. His Movements in Southern” 2.

\(^{1140}\) “Quite” 2.
flying at half mast. In its story, *Nupepa Elele* notes “the King was reported last mail as being indisposed.”\(^{\text{1141}}\) *Ka Leo o ka Lahui* captured the scene this way:

He manawa keia no ka pioloke o ka lehulehu o ke kulanakauhale nei, e ninau aku ana a ninau mai, e ui aku ana hoi a ui mai aka nae i ka loaa ana mai o ka loaa ano nui a kaumaha e pili ana i ko ke ‘Lii make ana ma ka aina malihini ana i hoona aku ai me ka mana o e loaa ke ola kino lanakila, ua aahu iho la ke kulanakauhale nei a me ka Lahui Hawaii i ke koloka o ke kumakena a me ke kanikau—Auwe! Lihaliha wale ia oe “DAVIDA LAAMEA E”\(^{\text{1142}}\)

[This was a time of confusion of the populace of the city, asking here and there, appealing everywhere, but, nevertheless, when the important and sad details were obtained concerning the King’s death in a foreign land to convalesce, the city and the Hawaiian Nation were draped in a cloak of grief and mourning—Alas! We are devastated because of you, “DAVID LAAMEA”].

As for the *PCA*, it declared that “The announcement yesterday of the death of Kalakaua fell like a clap of thunder from the skies.”\(^{\text{1143}}\) The unexpectedness and the contrast were particularly hard for makaʻāinana to deal with: “Instead of triumphal arches, gaily decorated with evergreens and inscribed [sic] with joyous inscriptions, the ominously black draped them [ . . . ] and in place of the smiling faces that would have beamed with pleasure and voices strong with cheers, the mournful countenances of the immense gathering, hushed to quietness by awe, lined the way from the wharf to the Palace.”\(^{\text{1144}}\) *Ko Hawaii*, Kalākaua’s opponent, lamented his death: “Me ka luluu, ke kaumaha a me ka mokumokuahua makou e puka aku nei i keia kakahiaka, ma ka

\(^{\text{1141}}\) “Death of the King” 2.

\(^{\text{1142}}\) “Make ka Moi Kalakaua. Kona mau Sekona Hope” 2.

\(^{\text{1143}}\) “The Announcement” 2.

\(^{\text{1144}}\) “Procession” 2.
[With sorrow, grief and pity we appear this morning in our reporting before the Hawaiian Nation of the Royal One Kaulilua] that Kalākaua had died. The subtitle of the *Ka Leo o ka Lahui* story mirrored the people’s confusion and suffering: “Ka La e Alohi nei, Auhea ia?—Ke Alii Kaapuni Honua ua Hala—Ka Onohi o Hawai‘i, Aole—Ka Hae Aloha ou e Hawai‘i ua Hapa—O Hawai‘i Hauoli ua Kaumaha—A o Kalanikaulilua ua Hala! Ua Hala!! A ua Hala Loa aku!!” [The Day of Shining, Where is it?—The King who Traveled around the World is Gone—The Beloved of Hawaii, No Longer—Your Beloved Flag, Hawai‘i is at Half Mast—Hawai‘i’s Happiness Turned to Sorrowing Grief—And Kalanikaulilua has Died! Has Died!! And is Gone Forever!!!] Perhaps most tellingly, although *Nupepa Elele* had ceased operations on October 25, 1890, it started up again on January 31, 1891 to report on the death of Kalākaua.

In their ongoing coverage of his death, Hawai‘i newspapers reprinted accounts from California of the San Francisco funeral services, and the honors and tributes shown him there. [The shock of reversed expectations continued to be a subject for commentary. “One of the saddest events that Hawaiian historians will ever be called upon to inscribe on the annals of the history of the Hawaiian Kingdom occurred

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1145 “Make o ka Moi Kalakaua ma Kapalakiko” 2.
yesterday,” wrote the PCA, stressing that “For some time past preparations were in progress to celebrate the return of Hawai’i’s King; his reception to have been one of the grandest gala days Honolulu ever would have witnessed.” As Kalākaua’s body was conveyed from the harbor to the palace, “Piha kumakena ka uwapo ma ka la inehinei i na ewe ponoi makee Alii i ka wa i manele ia mai ai kona kino make” [The wharf yesterday was filled in grieving with the native royalists at the time when his remains were carried]. The PCA observed that “Every available point of view at that wharves was literally crowded, as well as the streets and buildings along the route [. . . ] by an immense throng, perhaps the largest Honolulu ever witnessed.” Ka Leo commented on the hō‘ailona: “Mai ka wa a ka moku ‘Kaletona’ ihoea mai ai, pela iho la i nee malie ai ke anuenue, a hiki i ke komo ana o ke kino make o Kalani Kalakaua i ka ipuka o ka Pa Alii Iolani” [From the time when the ship Charleston arrived a rainbow peacefully moved along until the moment the remains of King Kalākaua entered the gate of the grounds of ‘Iolani Palace]. Several rainbows arched over the city. One sat just above the palace, the center directly over the flagpole. Another, a perfect bow that vaulted the sky, appeared as the sun was setting: “Probably a more perfect picture of the king was never seen, and this occurred just as the coffin was taken into the Palace. There must have been fifteen or twenty thousand spectators present. The natives call it an omen of peace, and certainly a more beautiful omen could not have been desired.” Ka Leo saw it as a symbol of nobility as well: “I ka ike ia ana o ka hoailona o ka lani mai, ua ku-ia iho la na mea a pau, a me he la, a hooia ana lakou i ke kapu a me ke alii o ka mea i make” [When the sign of the heavens was seen, all people were astonished and it was
as though they confirmed the tabu and royalty of the one who died]. Another familiar hōʻailona welcoming Kalākaua home began at the gate: torches, lit during the day, lined the palace yard.

Once the mōʻī’s body was at ʻIolani Palace, Kānaka Maoli gathered in the unrelenting rain, filling the palace’s enclosure and thronging the streets. Over the next two weeks Kānaka Maoli would gather and sleep there; in the evenings, they would form choirs to chant and sing mele, many of which were recently composed for Kalākaua. On the next day, his body lay in state, and the PCA reported that people filed through the throne room, silent with handkerchiefs and in tears, until 2 that afternoon. Elele explained the response this way: “Kalākaua was endeared to the people of this country both foreign and native, not so much for his statesmanship as for kindness of heart and gentlemanly deportment, and a friend to every one in need.”

The extent of the newspaper coverage suggests just how important an event this was for Hawai‘i. The PCA almost bragged about its attention to Kalākaua’s funeral services: “There is not a doubt but the largest edition of any Honolulu paper was put out by the Advertiser yesterday” with 1,600 copies of its daily edition, and 3,100 copies of its weekly two editions for a total of 4,700 papers. Since Whitney, one of the mōʻī’s severest critics, was editing both the Advertiser and Gazette at that time, their stories were the same length: 3 ½ columns, which was generous for Whitney. As for the Hawaiian-language papers, Ko Hawaii devoted four columns of coverage, while Kuokoa’s coverage was only 1 1/3 columns. Nupepa Elele had 2

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1154 “A Large Number” 2 & “Notwithstanding” 2.
1155 “Lying” 2.
1156 “The King’s Death” 2.
1157 “There is not a Doubt” 2 & “There has been a Large Demand” 2.
columns in English, and 3 columns in Hawaiian. As for *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, Kalākaua’s main advocate, it described his death in 3 columns, but continued to report on the events in California, and comment on the significance of the loss for the lāhui ʻōiwi.

Kalākaua’s death marked a transition in how the newspapers represented the current political situation. The nationalist press held the white oligarchy and cabinet accountable, and grimly began predicting that if these forces could get away with humiliating and all but murdering the mōʻī, then they could do almost anything. The language became direct and precise. Kānaka Maoli declared that they were fed up with decades of haole efforts to usurp native land. Of all the native-edited Hawaiian-language newspapers that ran during Kalākaua’s reign and after, *Ka Leo o ka Lahui* was certainly the most emphatic in expressing its disgust with the post-Bayonet white oligarchy. Noenoe Silva has noted that “It was also Kalākaua’s misfortune that the sons of the first missionaries came fully of age during his reign,” and largely in response, in the later stages of this same period, *Ka Leo* featured some of the most explosive and exhilarating nationalist writers and editors—John Bush, J. W. Mikasobe, F. Meka, J. K. Kaunamano, S. P. Kanoe, and Thomas Spencer. They publicly declared their deep-seated Hawaiian nationalism, were often fearless in their language and accusations, and expressed anger against Kalākaua’s opponents. They could be meticulous in their investigations, and undeniably steadfast in their devotion to the mōʻī and Kānaka ʻŌiwi. Printing their allegations in English as well, *Ka Leo* boldly sought the attention of the Hawaiian League. Take for example this attack on the hypocrisy displayed during Kalākaua’s funeral procession:

It is scarcely more than three years since, when some of the very man [sic] who are now conspicuous with their mourning and their resolutions in honor of the departed, raised the red flag of revolution in Hawaii, and placed a price on the

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1159 “O ke Koho Balota” 2.
head of the same King, at the point of the bayonet, they forced the King to sign a Constitution, which is faulty and unjust and is not respected by the Hawaiian people. They continued to belittle the person and the dignity of the Sovereign, and made him the appendage of the four unanointed monarchs whom they save to the country in the persons of four unpopular Ministers. Are these then crocodile tears that we have been witnessing, or the conscientious regret of repentants who try to atone for the deeds that helped to hurry the King to his grave.  

This resistance continued into Liliʻuokalani’s reign. Bush and his team used Ka Leo to fight against annexation, even printing the queen’s “protest” and “appeals.” Eventually Bush himself would go to jail for the paper’s protests against the Provisional Government and then the supposed Republic.  

Hawaiʻi paid its last respects to Kalākaua on February 15, 1891. Given their politics, the newspapers’ accounts naturally vary. Whitney’s papers described the casket in detail, but passed over the huge numbers of Kānaka Maoli present, or their tributes and expressions of aloha for their mōʻi. Nor does Whitney or Kawainui mention the thousands of people who turned out early. Ko Hawaii tells us that men, women, and children were filling the street fronting ʻIolani Palace well before the mōʻi’s services, and began lining up for the funeral procession long before its start. Thousands of flowers surrounded the casket in the throne room when the royal family, kingdom officials, and foreign dignitaries attended the service. In fact, the next day, after the funeral, Ka Leo o ka Lahui protested the Premier’s decision to let only kingdom

1160 “Tempora” 4.  
1161 Chapin, Guide 54.  
1162 “Moe i ka Maha” 2.  
1163 “Kuu e ka Luhi” 2.  
1164 “At Rest” 2.
officials attend the ceremony, barring Kalākaua’s own people. Ko Hawaii reported that at the end of the service, “Keiki Oiwi o Hawaii” [“The Native Children of Hawai‘i”] carried the coffin to the carriage outside while “ua mele ia mai ke mele kahiko o na kupapau kaulana e himeni ia ai” [the ancient mele of the famous remains were chanted]. Native societies, school children, and choirs accompanied the casket to Mauna ‘Ala in Nu‘uanu. “The procession was one of great length, taking one hour and fifteen minutes to pass a given point,” the PCA observed: adding that

At no other time during the past history of Hawaii has been or is likely to be for some time in the future, such a large cosmopolitan concourse of people assembled in Honolulu. Thus has been the last look of the public upon the remains of Kalakaua.

Ko Hawaii estimated that 11,000 maka‘āinana were gathered on the sides of the procession, watching the mō‘ī’s remains climb to Mauna ‘Ala. Warships sounded farewell gun salutes from the harbor, church bells tolled, and the minute guns atop Puōwaina shot out, where bonfires burned. When the casket arrived at Mauna ‘Ala, according to Ko Hawaii, the enclosure was immediately filled with the sound of the people’s weeping—something Whitney ignored. After most people had left the area, the Masons performed their own funeral service, with the royal

Maka‘āinana gathered at Mauna ‘Ala. Courtesy Hawai‘i State Archives

1165 “Ka Hui Oiwi” 2.
1166 “Kuu e ka Luhi” 2.
1167 “At Rest” 2.
1168 “Kuu e ka Luhi” 2.
1169 “Kuu e ka Luhi” 2.
family in attendance. On February 16, a mele kanikau appeared in *Ka Leo*, written by Mary Kinimaka from Kawaiaha’o. And as for the *PCA*, its summation was a telling one: “The death of Kalakaua will go down in the history [sic] of Hawaii, marking the end of an epoch that during his seventeen years’ reign has been a prosperous one.”

On the day of the funeral procession a biography of the mōʻī, entitled *Moolelo o ka Moi Kalakaua I: Ka Hanau ana, ke Kaapuni Honua, ka Moolelo Piha o kona mau La Hope ma Kaleponi, Amerika Huipua, na Hoike a Adimarala Baraunu me na Kauka, Etc., Etc., Etc.: Hoohiwahiwaia me na Kii* [The History of King Kalākaua I: The Birth, The Journey around the World, a Full Record of his Last Days in California, United States of America, the Reports of Admiral Brown and the Doctors, Etc., Etc., Etc. Illustrated with Pictures], written by Hawaiian intellectual, attorney, newspaper editor and publisher, and legislator Joseph Mokuohai Poepoe was sold for $1. The thirty-nine year old Poepoe already had thirteen years of print experience, beginning with translating European tales into Hawaiian to be printed in Hawaiʻi’s weekly newspapers. Poepoe’s 74-page biography also contains a kanikau, newspaper articles documenting events of the mōʻī’s life, and doctors’ letters describing the days leading up to Kalākaua’s stroke and death in California, one of which was written on the *Charleston* as it made its way to Hawaiʻi from San Francisco with the mōʻī’s body on board. The Gazette Publishing Company printed it in time to be sold at the king’s funeral. The swiftness with which Poepoe completed the moʻolelo is more than astounding. “Met with a ready sale,” the published biography stands with those about Robert William Kalanihiapo Wilcox, Kaluaikoʻolau, Joseph

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1170 Kinimaka was the daughter of David Leleo Kinimaka, the son of Haʻaheo and Kinimaka, the hānai parents of Kalākaua. David Kinimaka was the commander-in-chief of the Royal Troops and served in the king’s privy council, and Mary was very close to Kalākaua and the royal family, and in 1891, Mary had already lost both of her parents so her kanikau has layers of meaning here (“Dr. John Atcherley of Hawaii and his Family.” Atcherley.org.uk).
1171 “At Rest” 2.
1173 “Biography” 3.
Kahoʻoluhi Nāwahīkalaniōpuʻu, and Kamehameha I, also by Poepoe, which served “to inspire Hawaiians and call them to action during a time of great social, political, and cultural unrest.”

Poepoe’s mele kanikau, a form of mele oli or funeral chant, is the shortest section in the moʻolelo—just short of four pages. But in it, Poepoe describes the land’s mourning for its mōʻī and the mōʻī’s own devastation due to his departure from his land. The style is typical of nineteenth-century mele kanikau that honor the places the deceased once frequented and visited. C. Kanoelani Nāone has said, “The significance of ‘āina for Hawaiians is made apparent through its abundance and prominence in moʻolelo, mele, oli, and moʻokūʻauhau,” and because Kalākaua traveled throughout Hawaiʻi nei, Poepoe’s references to place names are numerous. Most cannot be found on contemporary maps of Hawaiʻi; some of the spellings for other place names have changed. Nor does Place Names of Hawaiʻi by Mary Kawena Pukuʻi, Samuel Elbert, and Esther Moʻokini, considered today as one of the primary sources on place names, contain some of the names in the Moolelo’s kanikau. But the allusive richness of these references was well known. Samuel Kamakau once said, “If I were to tell the story of each place in this archipelago from Hawaiʻi to Niʻihau, I would not be finished in twenty years.”

The kanikau also records the people’s love for their mōʻī—an example of a nineteenth-century mourning tradition no longer practiced to the extent it once was in Hawaiʻi. These kanikau appeared daily in Hawaiian-language newspapers of the nineteenth- and early twentieth-centuries. Commenting on the value of these printed kanikau, John R. Clark writes that at their height in the mid-1800s, kanikau “served as permanent eulogies.” Rubelite Kawena Johnson adds that

1174 Kuwada 55.
1175 Nāone 317.
1176 Kamakau 16.
1177 Clark 6.
Between 1834 and 1900, kanikau were the most voluminous compositions found in the Hawaiian language newspapers. As the art of writing became a ready skill and the poetry of the kanikau was widely practiced, the liberal policy of Hawaiian language newspapers was an open door to publication of these creations. Many people even had the advantage of writing their own farewell pieces.1178

The disappearance of kanikau in the mid-1900s has been largely attributed to the closing of Hawaiian-language newspapers.1179 With regard to Poepoe’s contribution, though, “A kanikau for the ali‘i also expressed pride in the greater Hawaiian family and nation.”1180 Written immediately after Kalākaua’s death on foreign shores, and just two years before the overthrow, this kanikau for Kalākaua was a political call for the Hawaiian nation to rise up together. Furthermore, it distinguishes Poepoe’s text from every English-language biography on Kalākaua because it was so Hawaiian in nature. Poepoe’s Moolelo “is typical of traditional Hawaiian stories, which is in contrast to the narratives that were created about Hawai‘i by nonindigenous people.”1181

The second section of Poepoe’s publication is a brief prose biography of the mōʻi, covering from his youth to his ascension to the throne, his travels to the U. S. and abroad, and his eventual death in San Francisco. The third section contains Poepoe’s Hawaiian translations of the secretary’s and doctors’ reports to John A. Cummins, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, concerning the mōʻi’s illness and death in San Francisco. Poepoe placed the letter of George P. Blow, Secretary and Escort of the Admiral of the Pacific of the American Army Fleet, first. It records Kalākaua’s travels in southern California from December 26, 1890 to January 3, 1891. One

1178 Johnson.
1179 Leidemann.
1180 Johnson.
1181 Nāone 318.
interesting observation in this letter is that Kalākaua abstained from alcohol the entire time, explaining to Blow, “I promised the Admiral [Brown] not to drink anything.” When he toasted, the mōʻī lifted the glass to his lips but never drank. The second letter was by Admiral George Brown of the American War Fleet and captain of the U. S. S. Charleston, who joined the mōʻī and his entourage on January 3, 1891. His account ends with the evening of January 13, when a Mr. Gillig and Mr. Unger arrived at the Palace Hotel to escort Kalākaua to a banquet. Both Admiral Brown and Dr. George Woods told them about the mōʻī’s serious medical condition, and then implored the gentlemen to postpone the banquet. The persistent Gillig and Unger, however, refused, and took Kalākaua to their dinner. Woods was a medical inspector for the U. S. Navy, and wrote the last letter in this section, offering a detailed medical summary of the mōʻī’s symptoms beginning on January 4, and continuing on through to his death. Poepoe clearly absolves these correspondents from any blame for the mōʻī’s sickness and eventual death. At the end of his translation of Wood’s account, Poepoe adds a line not printed in the original letter: “In my conclusion of this account, it is necessary I say, the King was a truly sick man before His departure from Honolulu for His convalescence, moreover, that illness continued to afflict the King for more than a year before His death.” The final part of the biography includes a timeline of the mōʻī’s life, extending up to his funeral procession on February 15, 1891. Advertisements appeared the beginning and end of the Moolelo; among the sponsors for Poepoe’s biography are pro-annexationists in Honolulu. An English translation of Ka Moolelo appears as an appendix to this dissertation, as a detailed example of a substantial nineteenth-century Hawaiian-language publication that resonates with aloha and loyalty to the mōʻī.

The day after the funeral, the Hawaiian-language newspapers began publishing letters from maka'āinana throughout the kingdom. Addressed to Kapiʻōlani, Liliʻuokalani, and
Poʻomaikelani, they expressed condolences for the family’s loss, asked god to comfort the ali‘i women, and most importantly for my purposes, publicly declared their own profound grief and steadfast aloha for Kalākaua. The number of letters published was substantial.1182 On February 16, Ka Leo published letters from Hāna, Maui, Kōloa, Kauaʻi, Molokaʻi, and from Hansen’s disease patients in Kalihi. Very familiar with feeling alone, separated forever from loved ones, the patients’ empathy for the mourning ali‘iwahine is strong: “O makou pu me oe iloko o ke kumakena, a ke noʻi nei makou i ke Akua mana loa e hoomana mai i kou naau luuluu, a nana no e kiai mai i kou maluhia”1183 [We are together with you in grief and we beseech the omnipotent God to strengthen [you] in your bereavement, and may he take care to guard your rest]. The letter from Hawaiians in Kōloa declared their devotion and loyalty to Kalākaua as mōʻī.1184 Compare this with the Kāneʻohe natives’ letter of 1887, which claimed that Kalākaua was never a chief, and certainly not their choice in the 1874 election. These letters of mourning and condolence actually continued a tradition. When former mōʻī Lunalilo and Lot died, makaʻāinana sent letters to the papers; now in 1891, they were publicly grieving for this mōʻī of the Keaweaheulu, rather than the Kamehameha line.1185

These 1891 letters also show how makaʻāinana used the newspapers to form alliances and express solidarity with others in the kingdom. For this reason, the letters kept coming—and not just to Ka Leo’s office, but to Ko Hawaii’s as well, which on February 21 published five letters received from makaʻāinana in southern Kohala, Kōloa, and Kaʻū, re-expressing the aloha

1185 “Na Manao Hoalohaloha” Ke Au Okoa 19 Dec. 1872: 2; “Na Manao Hoalohaloha” Ke Au Okoa 26 Dec. 1872: 2; & “Na Olelo Hoalohaloha” Ko Hawaii Ponoi 11 Dec. 1874: 2. My search for those condolences that appeared in the newspapers after ʻIolani Liholiho, Kapuāiwa, Lunalilo, and Kalākaua died proved that makaʻāinana wrote the most condolences for Kalākaua, but that may be due to the increase of Hawaiian-language newspapers printed during this last mōʻī’s reign.
for Kap‘iʻolani and Liliʻuokalani offered earlier, and in another paper. With repetition, the declarations became bolder, as in a letter to Kapiʻolani that referred to Kalākaua as the Father of the nation from Hawaiʻi to Ni‘ihau. On page four of the same issue of Ko Hawaiʻi, seven more letters appeared, from places such as Kailua-Kona, Miloliʻi, and Kapua, Hawaiʻi. Even Kuokoa felt it necessary to publish on page three two letters from makaʻāinana in Hilo ʻākau [north] to Kapiʻolani, and then ten more letters from Wailau and Waimea, Kauaʻi, and even from wāhine with Hansen’s disease on Molokaʻi. One letter was addressed to Poʻomaikelani.

* * *

Hawaiʻi’s newspaper industry grew exponentially in the late nineteenth-century, due in part to the controversies that came to a head during Kalākaua’s reign, and to the intensity of Hawaiians to regain their national sovereignty after 1893. Looking at all of the coverage and debate in the English-language newspapers, and above all in the Hawaiian-language newspapers of that period, results in a far more accurate and nuanced understanding of how his contemporaries understood, and disputed the role and nature of this mōʻī. A little more than 140 years ago, lunamakaʻāinana elected Kalākaua as mōʻī of Hawaiʻi. As I hope I’ve shown, from that time on, writers have published their impressions of him—many demonstrably exaggerated and insulting, created specifically to undermine this mōʻī by presenting a counterfeit. Some of these contrived representations were presented so loudly and insistently that they have drowned out far different ones.

On one of the last nights of my initial research into the spectrum of representations of Kalākaua, I came across one of the boldest statements I had yet read. On January 30, 1891, the day after the U. S. S. Charleston appeared off Lēʻahi with the Hawaiian flag at half mast, Ka Leo

1186 “Na Hoalohaloha” Ko Hawaiʻi Pae Aina 21 Feb. 1891: 3.
1188 “Na Piha” 4.
publicly accused the current cabinet not only of opposing the mōʻī’s efforts to help his people during his reign, but of sending him off to America to die. The article addresses the dead Kalākaua directly:

Ua kue ia e lakou kou makemake e hoopomaikai i kou lahui ponoi, a ua hoouna ia oe e hele ma kahi o ka make, no ka imi hou i pono no ka poe nana i kuko e lawe e kou kalaunu. Ua aʻo aku o Dr. Trousseau, aole oe e ola ke hele, &c, a ua kauʻa aku ia oe aka ua pai mai ka leo mana o ke aupuni mamuli o ka makemake ia e hoolaula ia aku ko Amerika poe i loaa hou ona pono no lakou, e puipui ai na aoao a huli hou mai e nahu ia oe e powa i na pono o ko lahui, ka lahui a ou mau kupuna a me na kupuna o ko lahui e eha ai ka ili.1189

[Your desire to benefit your own people was resisted by them, and you were sent to go to the place of death seeking again the good of the people who desired to take your crown. Dr. Trousseau advised that you will not be cured should you go, & etc. and commanded you [to stay] but the voice of the kingdom urged you away because it was desired that American people be entertained in order to obtain again benefits for them. The sides will be fattened and they will turn again to bite you robbing you in the nation’s benefits, the nation of your ancestors and the ancestors of the nation by which the skin will hurt].1190

During my eleven years of studying Kalākaua’s life, this was the first time I had read something that essentially accused the post-Bayonet cabinet of killing him. The only value of David Kalākaua to such men was as a tool for their interests, and then as a corpse.

1189 “Ua Make” 2.
1190 A reference to Kamāmalu’s speech.
Referring to a time before Kalākaua, Kamanamaikalani Beamer called the mōʻī “a centralizing political force in the ancient Hawaiian governmental structure.” But the thought continued into the later nineteenth-century. In the eyes of many Kānaka ʻŌiwi, without a mōʻī, Hawaiʻi could not be a nation, and with one, it could never become a part of the United States.1191 Support for Kalākaua as an essential component of the lāhui appears in many places, and most notably, perhaps, in many of the native-edited Hawaiian-language newspapers. The facts are clear. Through gossip, newspapers, and periodicals at home and abroad, and in later written narratives of writers dedicated, sometimes unconsciously, to criticism and defamation, his enemies actively tried to drown out, and then to silence that support. What I have shown is that throughout his reign and beyond, many, and at least arguably the vast majority of Kalākaua’s people remained loyal to him—for some because he was Hawaiʻi’s mōʻī, and for others because he was the active and effective protector of Hawaiian independence. Even a pragmatic figure like Theo. H. Davies acknowledged that “The Hawaiian throne is not a piece of personal property. It is a trust, and is as much the embodiment of Hawaiian nationality as the Hawaiian flag.”1192 In 1883, just after the mid-point of Kalākaua’s reign, Ke Koo o Hawaii celebrated his centrality as mōʻī to the idea of a Hawaiian nation. “O kekahi o na hana mua loa a na makua i ka wa e kuhikuhi ai i ka lakou mau keiki, oia no ke ao ana ia lakou e aloha i ka Moi” [“One of the first tasks of parents at the time they instruct their children is teaching them to love the Monarch”],1193 the writer declares, and then suggests what binds all Hawaiians together:

Ma na wahi a pau o ka honua nei a ke kanaka Hawaii e hele ai, ke halawai oia me kekahī kanaka i hanauia noloko o kekahī lahui naauao, e halawai pu ana oia iloko o ua kanaka nei me kana mau mea i hiipoi mau ai ma kana mau wahi a pau i

1191 Beamer 21.
1192 Davies 6.
1193 Stillman, “No ka Poʻe” 20.
kaahele ai malalo iho o ka la, oia hoi—ke aloha i kona Moi; ke aloha i kona Aupuni; ke aloha i kona Lahui; ke aloha i kona Aina hanau 1194

[Everywhere in the world where the Hawaiian travels, whenever he meets with another person born in an enlightened nation, he converses together with that person about those things he cherishes in all the places he has traveled under the sun—love for his King; love for his Kingdom; love for his Nation; love for his Birthland].

The marrow in the iwi of the nineteenth-century Kānaka Maoli was made up of several elements, one of which was love for the mōʻi. Unabashed, Ka Leo declared everlasting loyalty and aloha for Ka Lani Kaulilua, and for his memory, before all of Hawaiʻi. In this, it spoke for the Hawaiian nation—those men, women, and children who throughout Kalākaua’s reign were demonstrably constant to him, loving and admiring him even as the tide of traditions rose and fell, driven by harshships, attacks, disagreement, and doubt. “Me oe e Ka Lani Kalakaua ko makou aloha a hiki i ko makou hopena” 1195 [With you, King Kalākaua is our love until our end], said Ka Leo o ka Lahui, yet looking with hope as well to his sister Liliʻuokalani—now mōʻi, and yet also the newest and most important hōʻailona of the Kalākaua regime. Nupepa Elele agreed: “His mantle falls to Her Royal Highness the Heir Apparent Princess Liliuokalani, who has on more than one occasion presided as Regent with becoming, dignity, intelligence, firmness, and at the same time in a conservative and constitutional manner.” 1196 Like her brother, she is recognized as a sign, symbol, and emblem of a regenerating hope for the lāhui. She will restore, the people believed, native rights and entitlements through the power of the throne. Like her brother a

1194 “Ke Mele Hawaii” 5.
1195 “Ua Make” 2.
1196 “Death of the King” 2.
descendant of aliʻi and aliʻiwahine, into her hands passed the responsibility for the kūʻokoʻa of
the lāhui, as she became the next hōʻailona for Kānaka ʻŌiwi:

E ola ka Moiwahine Liliuokani i ke Akua. Aia maluna ou e ke Aliiwahine a na
ʻLii Kapaakea a me Keohokalole, e kau aku nei kahi manaolana hope loa o ko
olua lahui, ma keia poepoe honua. E lilo oe ma kou ano hou, i milimili na ka Lani,
a i Alii i hoonohoia he Moi no keia lahui, ma ko ke Akua lokomaikai, i Makua no
keia lahui mahope o ka Leo o ke Akua.1197

[God save Queen Liliʻuokalani. There above, you, o chiefess, of Chief Kapaʻakea
and Keohokalole, placed upon you is the very last hope of your people on this
earth. You will become anew, a favorite of the Heavens and as a Chief appointed
as a Ruler for this people, through the grace of God, as a Parent for this nation
after the Voice of God].

What happened next is another, intimately related story. But this invocation confirms that for all
the challenges he faced, all the public controversy, and all the efforts to erase parts of his legacy
forever, Kalākaua managed to preserve and pass on intact this understanding and representation
of mōʻī.

1197 “Ua Make” 2.
Introduction

When analyzing the contemporary representations of Kalākaua’s life, I frequently consulted Joseph Mokuohai Poepoe’s Ka Moolelo o ka Moi Kalakaua I because it is arguably the longest and most significant nineteenth-century Kanaka Maoli narrative in Hawaiian about Kalākaua. To make Ka Moolelo available for readers not relatively fluent in Hawaiian, Lalepa Koga, an instructor in the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa’s Ke Ke‘ena ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i o Kawaihuelani, worked with me to translate it into English; as a further aid, I have added diacritical markings to the Hawaiian transcription. As a supplement to my dissertation, I provide here that marked Hawaiian transcription, and our English translation of Poepoe’s original Moolelo, including Poepoe’s Hawaiian translations of the English letters written to John A. Cummins, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, by George P. Blow, Secretary and Escort of the Admiral of the Pacific of the American Army Fleet; by Admiral George Brown of the American War Fleet and captain of the U. S. S. Charleston; and by George Woods, Medical Inspector for the U. S. Navy, concerning the mō‘ī’s illness and death in San Francisco.

Both the original English letters, and our translations of Poepoe’s Hawaiian translation of the letters appear here, to allow readers to note modifications in Poepoe’s Hawaiian texts. He did not include the original letters by Blow, Brown, and Woods, most obviously because they were written in English, and the book is in Hawaiian. But second, Poepoe was urgently trying to get his account in print in time to sell it as a pamphlet at Kalākaua’s funeral. And third, Poepoe was also committed to speed because he wanted to dispel any circulating rumors that the mō‘ī may
have been murdered. Because the mō‘ī died unexpectedly away from home, Poeoe’s *Moolelo* contains comprehensive explanations from several sources regarding Kalākaua’s last days—and Hawaiians of the time were certainly looking for explanations.
KALĀKAUA! UA HALA!!

E Hawaiʻi o Keawe; Aloha! Noʻu kēia mānewanewa;
E Maui o Kama; Eia lā! Noʻu kēia pilihua;
E Molokaʻi-nui-a-Hina; Walohia wale! Noʻu kēia Paumākō;
E Lānaʻi a ka Ululaʻau; Walania wale! Noʻu kēia Kaniʻuhū;
E Oʻahu o Kakūhihewa; ‘Eha lā! Noʻu kēia mānaʻonaʻo;
E Kauaʻi o Manokalanipō; Pouli loko! Ua nāhaehae;
E Niʻihau i ka Mole o Lehua! Noʻu kēia Naʻauʻauā!!

‘Ae! Ua hala, ua nalo, ua pio ke kukui o kō Kalākaua Hale; ua makeʻe maila ka Mana Kahikolu i ke aka ‘uhane o kona hale kino aliʻi, a ua kāʻili akula e hoʻokokoke aku ma nā pōhai o Kona Nohoaliʻi Hemolele ma ka Paredaiso lani. ‘Aʻohe āna mau noʻonoʻo a hoʻoluhi hou ana iā ia iho no nā pono a me nā pōmaikaʻi o ka lāhui a me ka ‘āina āna i hiʻipoʻipo aloha nui ai; ua pau o ia ma ‘aneʻi; ua ʻōʻili pulelo akula ka ‘uhane ke aho o ke kino, a waiho ihola ma hope nei he lāhui i poʻipū ʻia e nā ʻēheu o ke kanikau kūmākena i loko o ka pilihua luʻuluʻu u nui. Aloha!

Aloha wale ʻoe e ka ʻaeone o Hilohanakāhi, e haʻo haʻo ana ʻoe, no ka mea, ua pau ka hōʻeha ʻana a kona mau kapuaʻi i kou ʻili; a e ka ua Kanilehua, ʻaʻole e kāpīpī hou kou mau ʻōmaka kilihune i kou mau pāpālina mōhāhā; e ka Ulu Lehua i ʻŌlaʻa, o haʻi aku kā ʻoukou e hoʻonuʻa, ʻaʻole ʻo ia e pāwehi hou i kō ʻoukou nani; a e ke Aliʻi wahiʻena o ka Lua; ua pau kona mau haʻihaʻiʻōlelo pū ʻana me ʻoe. E nā Hīnānalo a me nā Hala o Naue-i-ke-kai, ʻaʻole loa ʻo ia e honi hoʻopē hou i kō ʻolua onaona; a e ka wahine kino ʻoni ʻo Hōpoe, pau ke kilohi ʻana a kona mau maka aliʻi iā ʻoe.
E ke kūono liʻulā o Waiʻōhinu i ka ua Hāʻao, ‘aʻole ‘o ia e hiʻolani hou ana ma loko o kou poli; a e nā ‘ehukai o Kaʻaluʻalu, ua pau ka ‘oukou mau hone hoʻokipa ‘ana aku ʻi ʻi ia; no ka mea, ua hoʻi akula kēlā ma ʻō.

E nā Kona! Kona Kai ʻŌpua i ka Lai; Kona Kai Malino a Ehu; Kona Kai Māʻokiʻoki—walohia wale; mai ka Lae ʻauʻau kai Kaulananauma a hōʻea i ka Puʻu Haemakani o Kaʻūpūlehu—auwē—ka lihaliha paumākō—ē. Aloha ʻoe ē Hoʻokena, me kou puʻuwai makeʻe Aliʻi, o kona inoa wale iho no kāu e makeʻe aku ana, ʻoiai, ‘aʻohe ʻo ia e kipa hou aku ana ma kou ʻaekai; e ka Palikapu o Keōua, ʻaʻohe āu mālama hoʻokapukapu hou hou ia ʻi ia; ʻa ka wai huʻihuʻi o Hāliʻilua, iā wai kāpīpī a nā ʻLii, na kona kino wailua paha e hōʻoniʻoni hou aku kou lana mālie ʻana: a e Kealakekua, me kou umauma polinahe, ʻaʻole ʻo ia e luakaha hou ma loko o kāu pūʻili aloha ʻana. E ka Ua-koko o ʻĀlanapō, ua pau kāu hōʻailona ʻana no ia Aliʻi āu.

E ka Uluniu o Keauhou, o kō haʻi makewai kā kou mau niu haohao e hoʻolawa aku; a e ke kiaʻi hale o nā Lani, e ka Hoapili makeʻe Aliʻi, ua oki kāu kaunui ʻana nona, ʻoiai, ‘aʻole iā me ʻoe. E Kailua—ē! E Kamakahonu ē! A e Mokuʻaikaua hoʻi! Pūanuanu ka Hale ua hala o Kalani. Nāu i hoʻopumehana iā ia i loko o kona pūanuanu ʻana a nāu i hoʻomāʻona i loko o kona la pōloli. a nāu i hoʻoluʻolu i loko o kona lā ʻoluʻolu ʻole. Aloha! Aloha ke kiʻowai ʻauʻaukai o ke Aliʻi; aloha ka nalu heʻenalu o ke Aliʻi, aloha nā nālū kapu o ke Aliʻi. Aloha ka ʻāina o nā lā ʻōpio o Koʻaʻea, kaniʻuhū nā Hēiau o Haʻilualani a me Kaʻiʻili, a haʻohaʻo nā Nālu o Kamo, Mapuna, Kahakikī, Mokupālahalaha a me ka Nalu Kākua o Haula. Pau kāu hoʻauʻau ʻana i kona mau pāpālina e kahi wai malu i ka Loʻulu o Puʻu, a ʻaʻole ʻoe e halawai hou me ia e ke Kuhonua o uka.

E Hulihe ʻe—ē! Ua pau kāu hoʻopūnana makeʻe ʻana iā ia, ʻaʻole loa ʻo ia e hiʻolani hou ana ma loko o kou poli pumehana, na ka mea ʻokoʻa aku e luakaha kou mau ea ʻoluʻolu, a o kō
ha'i mau hiohiona kāu e ke kēhau o ka Hoʻioilo e hōʻope aku ai. E kahi wai hui i ke kai o Kīʻope, ʻaʻole ‘o ia e ‘auʻau hou i kōu wai, a e ke one o Kaiakeakaua, ʻaʻole loa e hehi hou kona mau kapuaʻi aliʻi iā ʻoe; e ke ana o Lanikeha a me ‘oe pū e Mailehahei, pau kona kiʻei ʻana aku ma kō ʻolua mau ʻipuka ʻeʻehia; a e ke Anawaikulukulu i ke kāhela o Huaumi, ʻaʻole loa ʻo ia e mākaʻikaʻi hou aku i kou hiʻona kupaihana. E Kamakahonu, ia pūnana o na ʻLiʻi, a me ka hau o Māʻihi, ua hoʻokoʻoʻo akula kēlā a nalo mai a ʻolua aku. Aloha! Aloha ʻoe e Keailua, ua hala akula kō Lei ʻIhilani, ʻaʻole āu hiʻipoʻi hou ana iā ia, a o kāu nani ʻana i hilo pāwehe ai, ʻoia kāu makana e mālama hoʻomanaʻo ai nona.

E ke Kaihāwanawana—ʻaʻole loa e hāwanawana hou kou e lelehune i kona mau pepeiao; a e nā Hēʻiau kaulana o Puʻukoholā a me Mailekini, ua lawa mau kaukau ʻana me ʻolua. Aloha wale ka Uhiwai o Mana; aloha ia ʻāina mauna me kona ʻaʻahu kapahau a ka noe ʻiniki ili, aloha ia home hiʻolani a Kalani, ua pau ia, ua hoʻopale maila, ua niau palanehe akula ma ʻō, a nāu auaneʻi e ke kuahiwi kilakila o Maunakea e haʻawe ka ukana nui o ka ʻū a me ka minamina.

E ka makani ʻĀpaʻapaʻa, ua pau ka pāʻani ʻana a kōu ʻēheu aheahe me kona mau maʻawe lauoho; aloha ʻo Pili me Kalāhikiola, nā Puʻu haeleʻlua, pau kō ʻolua haele pū ʻana me Kalani a kākou. A e uluwehi o Hāmākua me kou mau wailele mai i nā pali; e ka wai o Hiʻilawe, ia wai miliʻapa i ka lima, a “heha Waipiʻo i ka noe,” ʻaʻole loa ʻo ia e mahalo hou aku ana i kō ʻolua kilohana.

A e Maui! E ka piko haʻaheo hoʻi o Haleakalā, pau kāna kaena ʻana aʻe nou. E ka ʻŌpua hoʻi i ʻAwalau a me ka ua ʻŪkiuki o Piʻiholo, ʻaʻole ā ʻolua mau ʻāʻumeʻume hou ana nona; e ka ʻāina ua Lanihaʻahaʻa, e Kauwiki ʻau i ke kai; e kahi wai o Kānewai, me kou leo hone i ka ʻiliʻili, no ʻoukou nā waimaka luʻuluʻu. E ke kai holu o Kahului, ʻaʻole ʻo ia e māʻalo hou aku iou ʻla. A e nā Waiʻehā, e ka malu Hēkuawa, pale kō ʻolua hoʻokipa ʻana aki iā ia. E ka Paniwai...
o ‘Iao, ka Pelakapu o Kaka’e a ma nā pua i mohala i Kapela, aia paha me ‘olua kona kino wailua kahi i walea ai, ‘oiai, ua nalo aku nei kona mau helehelena.

Aloha ‘oe e ka Malu Ulu o Lele, ia ‘āina ona’ia e nā ‘Li‘i; ka papakū o ke Kānāwai a Lua’ehu, ke kānāwai hikimuia i pa’a ma ka palapala, ke ‘awa ‘ōpu‘u la‘ahia o ke make’e Ali‘i, ua hiki ‘oe me kou mau ‘ōmaka wai halo‘ilo‘i, ‘oiai, ua ha‘alele maila kēlā no ka noho ma‘alahi ‘ana ma kēlā ao.


E Manokalanipō a me kōu mau Pōkiʻi! Walania wale; luʻuluʻu a kaumaha ka haʻawe o ke kūmākena paumākō. E ke onaona lei mokihana, nā haʻi aku ʻoe e lei. E ke onekani o Nohili, ke hili nei nā maʻawe o ke kaniʻuhū iā ʻoe, a e ke Ahikaoele o Kamaile, ua lele akula kēlā hoʻokaʻawale maia ʻoe aku. Aloha, aloha walohia kona naloḥia ʻana aku.

A e ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi! E ka ‘Ī, ka Mahi, a me ka Palena!! Ua haki aʻela kekahi o nā iwikuamoʻo o kou kūlana. Ua paʻina akula kekahi o nā maʻawe o kou kahua; a ua kūpono kou uwē paʻiāuma ʻana nona; nāu e kanikau a nāu e naʻauʻauā, no ka mea, ua ʻilihune ʻoe i ke Aliʻi ʻole; a i loko o kou pilihua, nā ke Akua Kahikolu ʻoe e hoʻonānā mai.

** WAlohia wale! **

KONA HĀNAU ʻANA—KA ʻŌLELO WĀNANA KAMAHĀʻO—KONA MAU LĀ ʻŌPIO

I ka ʻēkolu o nā makahiki o ka nohoaliʻi iʻana o Kauikeaouli Kaleiopapa Kamehameha III., ua ʻōpuʻu mai lā i loko o kēia ao o

** DAVID—LAʻAMEA—KAMANANAKAPU—MAHINULANI—NALOʻIAEHUOKALANI—LUMIALANI—KALĀKAUA! **

Ka Mōʻi, ka Alihi kaua Nui, ke Aliʻi Kapu, Hoʻāno, ka Wela, ka Moe, Kaikuhaipuhilaninuʻu, Wohi Kuakahili, Haku o ka ʻŌhiakō a me ka Palaoa Pae, Kukuiakeawakea, Kamā Aliʻi Hānau o ka ʻĀina, ka Haku I-kā-Pō-ʻIuʻiu-Lani a Ikū Haʻi no ka Hale Naua, i ka wā e ikuwā ana ka moa kuakahī i ka moku ʻana o ka pawa o ka pō a huli ke au no ka wehekiaio, ʻōʻili ka mālamalama, hānau kea o pale ka pō, a ʻo ia ke kuhi ana o ka uwaki o ka Manawa i ka hora ʻelua o ka poniliʻulā wanaʻao o ka lā ʻumikūmāono o Kāʻelo, (Novemaba) ma ka helu o kō Oʻahu nei poʻe (a ma ka helu ʻa ka Hale Naua a ke Aliʻi ponoʻi nō i hoʻonohonoho ai, ʻo ka malama ia o Kaʻaona,) i ka M. H. 1836, ma Hale Uluhe, Mānana, Honolulu, ma kahi kokoke i ke kahua e kū nei ka Halemai Mōʻi wahine. ʻO kona lūʻauʻi makuakāne ʻoia nō ke Aliʻikiʻekiʻe KAHANU
KAPA‘AKEA, a ‘o kona lū‘au‘i makuahine ‘o ia nō ke Kamā‘li‘i wahine [Kamā‘li‘i wahine]

I loko ona ua kīloulou‘ia nā wa‘awe koko Ali‘i lehulehu mai kēlā a mai kēia mokupuni mai o Hawai‘i nei—e kokolo ana mai Kaua‘i mai o Manokalanipō a ‘eli‘eli kūlana i Hawai‘i o Keawenuia‘umi. He Ali‘i ki‘ekī‘e ‘o ia ma kona koko, a he lehulehu nā Manawa i hō‘ike mai ai nā ‘ōuli lani i ka loa‘a ‘i‘o ‘ana o kēia kūlana iāia, ‘oiai Kona mau lā e ola ana, a pēlā nō ho‘i ma nā lā mamua iho, a ma ka lā nō ho‘i i pae kinowailua mai ai ‘o ia i ke one ‘ōiwi o ke kino. I loko o kēia mau lā, ua ‘ikea nā ‘ōuli kupaihanahe he nui, e hō‘ike ana, e like me nā mea i ma‘a mau i nā ‘Li‘i ko‘iko‘i o ka ‘Āina, o KALĀKAUA I. he Ali‘i ‘i‘o nō ‘O ia, he Kapu, Ho‘āno, he Wela a he La‘ahia i ka Pō‘iu‘iu Wehi Lani i ke Kapu Ali‘i o Hawai‘i. I hō‘oia‘i‘o no kēia mea, ke lawe mai nei mākou i kēia mau hō‘ikena a kekahī mau nūpepa o ke kūlanakauhale nei:
“Mai ka wā a ka moku ‘Kaletona’ i hōea mai ai, pēlā iho lā i ne’e malie ai ke ānuenue, a hiki i ke komo ‘āna o ke kino make o Kalani Kaulilua i ka ‘iipuka o ka Pā Ali‘i ‘Iolani; ia manawa i pi‘o ai ke ānuenue pālua ma luna pono o ka Haleali‘i, o ka waenakonu ma luna pono ka pahuhae, a o nā kū ma nā ‘ao‘ao o ka Haleali‘i, a pēlā ihola i kau ai a hiki i ka pō‘ele‘ele ‘ana. I ka ‘ikea ‘ia ‘ana o ka hō‘ailona o ka lani mai, ua ku‘ia ihola nā mea me pau, a me he lā, e hō‘oia ana lākou i ke kapu a me ke Ali‘i o ka mea i make, ‘oiai, e hō‘ike ana ka pō i kēia hō‘ailona. Pēlā nō ho‘i, he hekili kō ka Mō‘ī Lunalilo waiho ‘ia ‘ana ma kona ilina hope ma kēia ao ma Kawaiaha‘o.

No mākou iho, ‘a‘ole mākou he ho‘omanamana a he puni wale i nā hana ho‘opunipuni o ka wā kahiko, akā, he hilina‘ia nō mākou i ka ‘oi'ai o nā mea e hō‘ike ‘ia ana i kēlā a me kēia manawa i kō ka lani aloha i ka po‘e i koho ‘ia e noho ma kahi ki‘eki‘e. ‘A‘ole wale kēia mau hō‘ailona i kuluma i nā Ali‘i o Hawai‘i nei ma ke ‘ano he mea ‘ole wale nō, akā, he mea ‘ano nō, e like me ke‘a no o nā hō‘ailona a pau mai ke Akua mai.”

* * *

He mea mau kēia kāhoaka i kō kākou mau Ali‘i Nui mai kō kākou mau kūpuna mai, a hiki wale mai iā kākou i ka ihu o ka wa‘a, a e like auane‘ia me ka ‘oni ‘ana a nā mea kino lani a me kekahi mau kāhoaka ‘o ia ‘ano like, e ‘ike ai kēia lāhui a ka na‘auao nui wale i waena o ka pu‘uwai o nā lāhui kānaka o ke a‘o nei, i kō lākou mau ali‘i nui ‘aimoku mai nā kūpuna mai; no laila me ka waimaka a me ke kaumaha lu‘ulu‘u o ka na‘au mākou e hō‘ike aku nei i mua o kō mākou mau tausani po‘e heluhelu i nā kāhoaka a ka po e pili ana i kō kākou Mō‘ī i aloha nui ‘ia, e ho‘omaka iki ana mai ke ‘Li‘i Lunalilo mai, a ‘o ia kēia ma lalo iho:
I ke ‘Li‘i Lunalilo, lohe ‘ia e nā tausani kānaka ka leo nui halulu pa‘apa‘a‘ina o ka hekili, ka mea ho‘i i hana ‘ole ‘ia e ka lima o ke kanaka, a ua ‘ike pū ‘ia ho‘i me ka ‘ōlapa a ke ahi e nā tausani kānaka i hele ma kona huaka‘i ho‘olewa ma ia la; a iā Ema Kaleleonālani ho‘i, wehe hāmama ‘ia nā mākā-hā o ke kapu wai nui a Kūlanihāko‘i no kekahī maula lō‘ihi, a pēlā nō ho‘i i kekahī mau ali‘i ‘ē a‘e, ke kahe a ka pele, ke kū hoa-kua a ka i‘a, a pēlā aku. Pēlā mai nei a hiki wale i ke ‘Li‘i nona kēia manawa o ka ‘ū a me ke kūmākena lihaliha a kākou a pau e ‘a‘ahu nei me koloka o nā waimaka i loko o ka ‘eha‘eha, iā ia ‘ike ‘ia iho nei ka ua koko i ka noho mau i ka po‘opo‘o o Mānoa i loko o ka pule ihola i hala, a o nā kupa o ua awāwa aloha ala nā hō‘ike ‘oia‘i‘o no kēia kāhoaka a ka pō; a pēlā nō ho‘i me ke kau mau a ka ‘ōnohi i ka luna o Ka‘imukī, a ua ‘ike paha kō nā kaha ‘elua o Kamō‘ili‘ili a me Waikīkī i loko o kēlā mau la aku nei i hala. Mawaho a‘e o ia mau hō‘ailona ali‘i ua ‘ike pū ‘ia aku e kekahī po‘e lawai‘a ka mokukaua Kaletona ma waho aku o ka Læ o Lē‘ahi, e ‘au pū mai ana me ka pūnohu-‘ula a mai iā lākou nō ho‘i i loa‘a mai ai ka lono e pila ana i ka huaka‘i ho‘olewa nui a ka ‘ihe‘ihe i loko o ke kai nāna i ho‘olilo a‘e i kekahī mau ‘upena i mea ‘ole, a no ka mea ho‘i e pili ana i nā ao hākumakuma e pūlo‘u mau nei ma luna o ke kūlanakauhale a me ke kulu maoli ‘ana o nā kulu waimaka pūanuanu o ka pae ʻōpua i loko o kēia mau la, ua ‘ike like ‘ia ia mea e nā mea a pau, o ka ‘oi loa aku a mākou i ‘ike ai, ‘o ia ka hoʻihoʻi i ʻia ‘ana mai o ke kino make o ka Mōʻi no ‘Iolani Hale i ke ahiahi o ka Pōʻahā nei ʻoiai nā wāwae o nā ānuenue ʻekolu e kuea pono ana ma kēlā a me kēia ‘aoʻao o ka Halealiʻi, ia kāhoaka a ka poʻe e pili ana i ka mea i hala."

*(Unuhi‘ia mai ka Nupepa Puka-Lā P. C. Advertiser, Feb. 2, 1891)*

“Ua kamaʻilio‘ia a‘e kekahī mea no ke ʻanuenue nani i ‘ike‘ia ma ka ʻauina lā i pae mai ai ke kino wailua o ka Mōʻi. ʻAʻole hoʻokahi wale no ʻanuenue i ‘ike‘ia ma ia lā, akā, he
lehulehu loa nō, ‘oiai e loku ana ka lehulehu ua mauka, a he lahilahi loa nā wahi lelehune ua i hā‘ule mai i loko nei o ke kūlanakauhale. ‘O nā pi‘o ‘anuenue i ‘ikeʻia ma kakahiaka aku, ‘a‘ole nō i mōakaka la‘ela‘e loa a kū ho‘i i ka hano-hāweo. ‘O ke ‘anuenue hope, ‘oia kai ‘ike‘ia ma ka hapaalua hora 5, i ka wā a ka Lā e iho ana ma ka hui‘a ouli komohana. Ua ki‘eki‘e kēia pi‘o ‘ana, ua mōakaka a ua kilakila nō ho‘i kona kūlana. E ke‘ehi ana kona wāwae ‘ākau ma kahi kokoke i ka Ilina Aliʻi ma Maunaʻala, ma Nuʻuanu, a o kekahi wāwae ma Kulaokahua, a kūpono loa iho la ka Halealiʻi ma ke Hae Kalaunu e welo ana iwaenakonu (o ua Piʻolani kamahaʻo nei).

‘Aʻole paha he wā e aʻe i ‘ikeʻia ai he piʻo ‘anuenue mōakaka leʻa e like me kēia, a ua ‘ikeʻia kēia ma ka wā i aualoʻia aku ai ka pahu kupapaʻu i loko o ka Halealiʻiʻi. Aia mawaena o 15,000 a me 20,000 nā poʻe mākaʻiʻa i i ‘ike i kēia mea. Ua ʻōlelo nā kānaka Hawaiʻi, he ouli ia no ka maluhia, a he ʻoiaʻiʻo, ʻaʻohe paha hōʻailona maikaʻi e aʻe i makemakeʻia nō ia kāhoahoa ʻana. Inā i paʻi kiʻi hoʻoleleaka maoli ʻia kēia hiʻona, inā paha ua lilo ia i wahi mea hoʻomanaʻo maikaʻi maoli. Ke hoʻomanaʻo nei paha kekahī poʻe e noho ana ʻianei, ʻaneʻane 17 makahiki i hala aʻe nei, i ka wā i hoʻolewaʻia ai ka Mōʻī Lunalilo mai ka Halepule mai o Kawaiahaʻo, i kahakuʻi, nei, nākolokolo a ka hekili a me ka ʻōlapa a ka uwila, ʻoiai ke kino aliʻi e aualo ʻia mai ana iwaho o ka Halepule."

I ka wā i hānau mai ai ke Aliʻi ma ka Manawa i hōʻike mua ʻia aʻe nei ua lilo ʻo ia i ke Kamāliʻi wahine Haʻaheo Kaniu, a ua hoʻihoʻiʻia ʻo ia ma Honuakaha e hānai ʻia ai, ʻoiai naʻe o ke Kamāliʻi wahine Liliha kona makuaʻihine hoʻokama i manaʻo mua ʻia ai a i holo ai hoʻi ia ka ʻōlelo ma waena o kona mau luauʻi. Na kēia Aliʻi wahine, na Liliha kekahi ʻōlelo wānana kaulana loa no ke Aliʻi, ʻoiai kona mau la ʻōpio, a ʻo ia kēia: “Ma ʻo kēia keiki ala e ola ai nā iwi
o kō kākou mau kūpuna.” He ʻoiaʻiʻo, ua hoʻokōʻia kēia ʻōlelo wānana ma ʻōna ala, ua ʻikea kona huli ʻana a me kona hōʻuluʻulu ʻana i nā iwi aloha o nā kūpuna aliʻi o Hawaiʻi nei.

I ka wā i hoʻi aku ai ka nohoʻana Aloaliʻi ʻi o Kamehameha III ma Lāhainā, Maui, o ke Aliʻi ʻŌpio kekahai i laweʻia aku e kona kahu hānai. I ka ʻehā o kona mau makahiki ua hoʻihoʻiaʻia maila ʻo ia i Oʻahu nei, a komo akula ʻo ia i ke Kula Aliʻi i kahiko, ma lalo o ka noho aʻo ʻana a Mr. a me Mrs. Cooke. He ʻeiwa ʻona mau makahiki o ka noho ʻana ma kēia Kula a ua lehulehu nō hoʻi nā kumua ʻo na lākou ʻo ia i hānai i nā ʻōmaka mua o nei mea he ʻike a me ka naʻauao. I ka pau ʻana o kēia Kula, komo hou ʻo ia i ke Kula a Mr. Watt ma Kawaiahaʻo, no ka manawa pōkole, a laila, ua komo hou ʻo ia i ke Kula Aliʻi i hele lā, ʻo ia ke kula o Kahehuna i kēia wā, ma lalo o ka noho kumu ʻana a Mr. E. G. Beckwith, e noho kahunapule nei no Kaukeano i kēia wā. He ʻelua ʻona mahina o ka noho ʻana ma kēia kula, ua loʻohia ʻo ia i ka nāwaliwali a ua hoʻihoʻi ʻia akula ʻo ia i Lāhainā i ka malu ulu o Lele, a i ka nalu haʻi o ʻUo.

Ua ʻōleloʻia, ʻoiai kona mau lā ʻōpio e hele ana i ke kula, ʻaʻole nō i ʻikeʻia kona holomua ma ke kūlana ʻimi naʻauao, a o nā ʻahaʻawina i kaulana loa ai ʻo ia ma ia wā, ʻo ia kona piha leʻaleʻa a me ka hoʻomākeʻaka. He puni ʻo ia i nā hana hoʻoikaika kino, a e hoʻolilo mau anā ʻo ia iā ia iho i “pū-kaua” no kona kaikuaʻana Aliʻi ʻi ʻo ia o James Kaliokalani, ma nā wā a pau e hana ino ʻia ai ʻo ia e nā haumāna e aʻe o ke kula.

I ka ʻumikūmāmāhā o kona mau makahiki, ua aʻoʻia ʻo ia i ka ʻoihana koa, ma lalo o Kapena Funk, he kanaka Perusia. Ma kēia ʻoihana ua holomua ʻo ia, a he ʻoihana nō hoʻi i ia nāna i makahehi nui. No kona hiʻipoʻi loa i kēia ʻoihana, ua unuhi maoli ʻo ia i ka buke o ka ʻOihana Koa Perusia ma ke ʻōlelo Hawaiʻiʻi. Ma ka M. H. 1852 pau kona aʻo ʻana, a loaʻa ke kūlana Kapena ma loko o na ʻliʻikoal ukali o Liholiho, ka Aliihikaua Nui ia wā. ʻO kona kūlana maoli ma loko o ka Pūʻalikoa, he Lutanelaʻekahi ia no ka māhele koa o Kapaʻakea, nona ka huina o nā koa
he 240. Ma ia mahihiki mai, ua ho‘omaka ‘o ia e a‘o kānāwai ma lalo o Hon. C. C. Harris. Ma hope koke mai ua lilo iā ia ka ‘Oihana Kākau‘ōlelo no ka ‘Oihana Koa ma lalo o W. E. Maika‘i ka ‘Akukana Kenela ia wā, a ma ka wā i noho Mō‘i ai ke Ali‘i Liholiho, ‘o ia ho‘i ‘o Kamehameha IV, ma ka M. H. 1854 ua ho‘oki‘eki‘e‘ia a‘e ‘o ia ma ke kūlana Mekia no na ‘Li‘ikoa Ukali o ka Mō‘i. I ka M. H. 1856 lilo ‘o ia i Hoa no ka ‘Ahakūkā Malū, a ma ka M. H. 1858 lilo i Ali‘i no ka Hale o na ‘Li‘i, ‘oi'ai e noho ana ke Aupuni ma lalo o ke Kumukānāwai o Kamehameha III. Ua komo ‘o ia i loko o ka ‘Oihana Hui Malū, a ma ka M. H. 1874 na loa‘a mai la iā ia mai a Kenela Pike mai o Virginia ke degere 33 ma loko ‘o ia ‘oihana.

I ka lā 29 Auguste M. H. 1860 ua holo pū aku ‘o ia me ke Ali‘i Lot Kapuāiwa i Victoria, Vanakoua (Keomolewa) a me Kapalakiko, a o kēia kāna huaka‘i mua loa i kō nā ‘āina ‘ē. I kona huli ho‘i ‘ana mai kēia huaka‘i mai, ua ho‘okohu‘ia ‘o ia i Kākau‘ōlelo ‘Ekolu no ke Ke‘ena Kālai‘aina, a ua noho ‘o ia ma ia ‘oihana a hiki i ka mahihiki 1863 ua lilo ‘oia i Luna Leta Nui. I ka M. H. 1865 ha‘alele ‘o ia i kēia ‘oihana a lilo ‘o ia i Pu‘ukū no Kamehameha V. ‘Elua mahihiki ma hope mai, loa‘a maila iā ia kona ke‘a ho‘ohanohano mua ma ke ‘ano he Hoa Naita no ka Papa Ali‘i o Kamehameha. I ka 1869 ha‘alele ‘o ia i ka ‘Oihana Pu‘ukū a ho‘omau akula ‘o ia i ke ao o Kānāwai ‘ana a ma ia mahihiki no ‘Aperila 14, ua ae‘ia ‘o ia e lawelawe i ka ‘Oihana Loio, a no laila, he hoa ‘o ia no ka Papa Loio Hawai‘i. He hoa nō ho‘i ‘o ia no ka Pū‘ali Kinai Ahi o Honolulu. Ma ka wā i kū mai ai ka Mea Ki‘eki‘e ke Duke o Edineboro o Hawai‘i nei ma ka mālama o Iulai 1869 ua ka‘a ke ko‘iko‘i o ka ho‘okipa ‘ana mai iā ia i ke aloali‘i i ‘ihikapu o Hawai‘i ma luna o ke Ali‘i nona kēia mo‘olelo, ‘oi'ai ‘o ia ke Ali‘ikoa ki‘eki‘e loa i loko o na ‘Li‘i Ukali o ka Mō‘i.
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Ma ka lā 19 o Dekemaba 1862, ua mare’ia ‘o ia me ke Kamāli‘i wahi Kapi‘olani, a
‘oiai nā lā i pa‘a ai ke kaula gula o ka materemonio a hiki i kona ha‘alele ‘ana maila i kēia ‘ao‘ao
o ka honua, ‘a‘ole a lāua keiki i hānau mai.

LILO ‘ANA I MŌ‘Ī—MĀKIA O KONA AUPUNI

Ma ka make ‘ana o ka Mō‘ī Lunalilo I, ma ka lā 3 o Feberuari 1874, a ma ka lā 12 mai
ua koho‘ia ‘o ia e nā ‘Li‘i a me nā Lunamaka‘āinana i ‘ākoakoa ma ke Kau ‘Aha‘ōlelo Kūikawā
i mālama ‘ia ai ma ia mahina. ‘O ka nui o nā balota i loa‘a iā ia ma kēia koho ‘ana, he 39 no loko
mai o nā balota he 45 i ha‘awina‘ia ma ia koho ‘ana. Eia ho‘i nā ‘Li‘i a me nā Lunamaka‘āinana
i koho iā ia:

Nā Kuhina—C. R. Bishop; E. O. Hall; R. Stirling; A. F. Judd.

Nā ‘Li‘i—P. Naha‘ōlelolua; J. O. Dominis; P. Kanoa; H. A. Kahanu; J. Moanauli; W. T.
Martin; J. P. Parker; A. S. Cleghorn; S. G. Wilder; J. I. Dowsett; P. Isenberg.

Nā Lunamaka‘āinana—S. Kipi; R. P. Ku‘ikahi; D. S. Kūpahu; S. K. Ka‘ai; D. H. Nahinu;
J. H. S. Martin; G. W. Napaepae; A. J. Kaukau; J. W. Lonoae‘a; T. N. Birch; C. K. Kapule; C. K.
Kakani; D. W. Kaiue; S. K. Kupihea; E. Mikalemí; W. L. Moehuna [sic]; J. Kakina; J. Kahai; J.
Komoikaehuehu; J. M. Naukana; W. C. Lane; J. A. Cummins; D. Kaukaha; P. F. Koakanu.

I kona koho‘ia ‘ana ua ho‘ouna‘ia akula i mua ona he Komite o ‘elima lālā mai ka
‘Aha‘ōlelo aku, ‘o ia na Hon. Kaukaha, Moehonua, Aholo, Martín a me Kaiue, no ka hō‘ike ‘ana
aku iā ia no kona koho‘ia ‘ana e ka ‘Aha‘ōlelo i Mō‘ī no Kō Hawai‘i Pae ‘Āina, e like me ke
Kumukânāwai. A ‘o kēia ka wā i ulu ai ka haunaele mai ka ‘oehu ‘ana aku a nā kānaka ma waho
aku nei o ka Hale ‘Aha‘ōlelo, a pēlā paha i kō ai ke ō ‘ana o kona inoa—KA-LĀ-KAUΑ—‘o ia
ho‘i, o kona LĀ i koho‘ia ai i Mō‘ī no Hawai‘i, he LĀ ia i kīhe‘ahe‘a ‘ia me KAUA. ‘O ka pane
a ke Ali‘i ia Mō‘ī i ka ‘Aha‘ōlelo ma o ke Komite lā i ho‘ouna‘ia aku ai i mua ona, penei nō ia:
Haleali‘i ‘Iolani, Honolulu, Feb. 12, 1874.

I ka Mea Mahalo‘ia Nahaolelua—Peresidenia o ka Hale ‘Aha‘ōlelo o Kō Hawai‘i Pae ‘Āina. Aloha ‘oe:

Ua loa‘a mai nei iā’u ma ka lima o kou Komite ka Palapala Hō‘oia o Ko‘u koho‘ia ‘ana i kēia lā e ka ‘Aha‘ōlelo i Panihakahakaha no ka Nohoali‘i o kō Hawai‘i Pae ‘Āina. Makemake Au e hō‘ike aku i ka ‘Aha‘ōlelo ma ou la, i ka‘u mau ho‘omaika‘i ‘ana no kēia hō‘ke kiʻekiʻe o kō lākou hilina‘i, a e haʻi aku hoʻi ua ae au i ka ‘Oihana Aliʻi. KALĂKAUA.

Ma ka lā 13 aʻe ua lawe ʻo ia i kāna hoʻohiki Aliʻi ma lalo o ke Kumukānāwai ma loko o ka luakini o Kawaiahaʻo; a ma ka lā 16 ua hāʻawi maila ʻo ia i ke Kuahuua e hoʻolilo ana i kona Kaikaina Aliʻi, ka Mea KiʻekiʻeWilliam Pitt Leleiōhoku i Hoʻoilina no ka Nohoaliʻi, a i kona make ʻana ma ka lā 10 o ʻAperila, 1877, ua kūkala maila ʻO ia ma ka lā 11 aʻe, i ke Kamāliʻi wahine Liliuʻokalani i Hoʻoilina no ke Kalaunu ke Aliʻi hoʻi e noho Mōʻī wahine nei i kēia wā. ʻO kēia mau hoʻokohu ihanaʻia ai e Ia he hōʻike ʻana ʻia i ka hohonu kūliʻu o ka ʻike alakaʻi a kālai Aupuni i loaʻa iā ia, a pēlā i kō ai ka ʻōlelo pūhili ʻole a kahiko “I luna no ka ua waele e ke pulu.” Iā ia i lawe aʻe ai i ka hoeuli o ka Waʻa Aupuni o Hawaiʻi nei, ua hahei ihola ʻo ia i ke Au o kona Nohoaliʻi ʻana, me ka mākia ʻē ʻō ʻana ma nā hulilau a pau o ka ʻāina, HOʻOULU A HOʻOLAUPAʻI I KA ʻĀINA. Ma kēia mākia o Kona nohona Aupuni, ua makemake ʻo ia e hoʻoulu hou ia kona lāhui-kānaka ma ka hoʻopae ʻana mai i nā lāhui kūwaho, a e hoʻolaupaʻi ʻia hoʻi ka holomua o nā kālai waiwai ʻana i loko o Kona Aupuni.

KA MŌʻĪ IMI PŌMAIKAʻI

I loko o ka hapa hope o ka makahiki 1874 ua hoʻomaopopo ʻia ke ʻano kūpilikiʻi o ka ʻoihana mahikō a me ke kālepa waiwai o ka ʻāina nei, a ua ʻaneʻane e hoʻopau ʻia ka wili ʻana o kekahi mau mahikō, a ua kokoke loa hoʻi kakahi mau ʻoihana ma nā ʻīpuka o ke poho a me ka
banekarupa. Ua nui nā nūnē a me ka noʻonoʻo ʻana o ka poʻe kālepa a me ka poʻe mahikō i kahi e pakele ai mai nā pōʻino e hoʻohālua mai ana ma muli i ka emi o nā loaʻa ma mua o nā lilo, a ma muli pū hoʻi o nā ʻauhau dute i kau ʻia ma luna o nā waiwai i hoʻopuka ʻia aku a me nā waiwai i hoʻokomo ʻia mai.

A ʻoiai kēia mau hiʻona e kau ana ma luna o ka ʻāina a e noʻonoʻo ʻia ana ka mea kūpono e hana ai, i wahi e pakele ai nā ʻōihana mikiʻala mai ke poho ʻana aku, aia hoʻi, ua kū aʻela kō kākou Mōʻī i aloha nui ʻia i hala akula, a ʻimi kino akula i ka puʻuhonua, ma ke kau ʻana ma luna o ka moku kaua Amerika Benecia, a haʻalele ihola i nā ʻae kaʻi o kona Aupuni ma ka lā 17 o Novemaba, e ukaliʻia ana ʻo ia e kona kaikoʻeke Aliʻi, ka Mea Hanohano ke Kiaʻāina John O. Dominis, e ka Mea Hanohano John M. Kapena a me ke Kuhina Noho o Amerika Huipūʻia ma Hawaiʻi nei, ka Mea Hanohano H. A. Pierce.

I loko o ia manawa, ʻaʻole nō i ʻoluʻolu loa ke kūlana o kona olakino, a ua hoʻāʻo kekahī poʻe koʻikoʻi o ka ʻāina e kāohi mai i kō ka Mōʻī manaʻo hele, akā, ʻoiai ua lilo ka pono a me ka pōmaikaʻi o kona lāhui a me kona Aupuni i mea nui a o ka hikimua hoʻi i loko o kona noʻonoʻo, no lai, ua aʻe akula ʻo ia ma luna o nā ʻale kāwaha o ka moana, a ua ʻalo hoʻi i nā ʻiniki walania a ka hau anu o ke kau Hoʻoiolo o Amerika.

Ua hiki aku ʻo ia i Amerika ma ka lā 29 o Novemaba, a ua hoʻolilo ʻia ʻo ia i malihini hiwahiwa na ke Aupuni o Amerika. Ua haʻawi ʻia i kō kākou Mōʻī nā kaena a me nā hoʻohanohano ʻana a ka lāhui ʻo ia Repubalika nui ma ke ʻano, ʻo ia ka Mōʻī mua loa i hehi i kona mau kapakai, a ua hui o Kalani Mōʻī ʻAimoku o Hawaiʻi me Kalani Mōʻī Makaʻāinana o ke Aupuni Repubalika o America Huiʻia, “he ʻalo no a he ʻalo, he maka no a he maka,” i loko o nā kipona i pōlenaʻia me nā kaula gula o ka nohona hoaloa hoʻiaʻiʻo. A ke haʻaheo nei o Hawaiʻi ʻuʻuku ma ke kaena ʻana ae, “Noʻu ka Mōʻī mua loa ma luna iho o ka poʻe pōʻe honua i keʻehi
hiwahiwa i ka lepo o ke Aupuni Repubalika holomua loa o ke ao nei; a o ua Mōʻī lā aʻu, kuʻū hiwa, ke nehe-ihi-kapu a kuʻu hiʻipo mai lani ʻana. ʻO ia—ʻO—ia wale nō! ke Aliʻi. ka Mōʻī ʻAimoku mua loa i lele kona aho ma ia ʻāina kamahaʻo.” Aloha nō me ka walohia!

Ua noho ka Mōʻī ma Amerika no ʻekolu mahina, a i loko o ia manawa, ua hoʻokauwā ʻo ia iā ia iho ma ka hoʻoikaika ʻana e hoʻoholo ʻia ke Kuʻikahi Pānaʻilike ma waena o ia Aupuni a me Hawaiʻi nei. Ua nānā ʻole ʻo ia i kona olakino, ua kāpae aʻe ʻo ia i kona kūlana Mōʻī, a ua hoʻopalaka i kona mau hōʻoluʻolu ʻana, a o ka hopena o ia mōlia ʻana i kona kino, ʻo ia no ka hoʻoholo ʻia ʻana o ua Kuʻikahi Pānaʻilike la, a pakele ai nā ʻoihana mikiʻala o ka ʻāina nei, a loaʻa ai he mau pōmaikaʻi nui i ka poʻe mahikō a me ka poʻe kālepa, a loaʻa pū hoʻi ka holomua a me ka waiwai i ka ʻāina i like ʻole ʻia kona lua ma mua aku.

ʻO ke Kuʻikahi Pānaʻilike a me nā mea o kona hoʻoholo ʻia ʻana, he kia hoʻomanaʻo kamahaʻo ʻia e poina ʻole ʻia ai no ke Aliʻi ka Mōʻī Kalākaua i hoʻi akula ma kēlā ao; a ua kūpono ke kaniuhū ʻana o ka poʻe a pau i pōmaikaʻi ma muli o ia Kuʻikahi, no ka mea, ua hala akula kō lākou puʻukālā pōpilikia ka Mōʻī i mōlia i kona kino no lākou.

KA MŌʻĪ KAʻAPUNI HONUA NO KA HOʻOLAUPAʻI ʻĀINA

He aloha e ka Lā e alohi nei

Ma nā welelau o ka honua;

E haʻi ae ʻoe i kou nani,

I ka mālamalama ʻoikelakela;

Nā na e noʻiʻi nowelo aku,

Pau nā pali paʻa i ka ʻikeʻia;

ʻIke ʻoe i ka nani o Himela,

I ka hene wai ʻolu lawe mālie;
He mauna i lohia i ke onaona,
Kaulana i ka nani me ke kiʻekiʻe;
Kiʻekiʻe ʻo Kalani noho mai luna,
Nāu i ʻaʻe nā kapu o Kahiki.
Hehihehi kūlana i ka ʻōhuku ʻale;
I ke kai hālaʻi lana mālie;
Kiʻina ʻia aku nā pae moku,
I hoa kuilima nou e Kalani;
Ma ia mau alanui malihini,
Au i ʻōlali hoʻokahi aku ai;
Lilo ai mea ʻole nā ʻenemi,
Nā lehelehe ʻeuʻeu hana loko ʻino;
ʻO ka lama o ke ao kou kōkua,
Ka Hoku Loa no kou alakaʻi;
E ola ʻōe e Kalani a mau loa,
A kau i ke ao mālamalama.

I ka hora 6 ponoʻi o ke kakahiaka o ka Pōʻahā, lā 20 o ʻIanuari, 1881, ua haʻalele ihola ke
Aliʻi ka Mōʻi Kalākaua i nā kapa kai o kona Aupuni nei a kau akula ma luna o ka mokuahi
“Kūlanakauhale o Kikane,” no kāna huakaʻi kaʻapuni honua, ʻimi ʻana i kahi e hoʻokō ʻia ai kona ʻiʻini nui, ʻo ia hoʻi, ka loaʻa ʻana o kekahi lāhui ʻano like me kō Hawaiʻi nei, i hiki ai ke hoʻokipa mai i mea e hoʻolaupāʻi hou ai i ka ʻāina me nā kānaka.
ʻO kēia ka lua o nā huakaʻi a ka Mōʻī i au ai i na kai loa a i alo ai hoʻi i ke anu o nā ʻāina mamao, ma ka ʻimi ʻana i mea e loaʻa ai he pōmaikaʻi i kona ʻāina hānau a me kona lāhui kanaka. Ua ʻōleloʻia e kekahi mea kākau ma ka M. H. 1883, no ka mea e pili ana i kēia huakaʻi kaʻapuni honua a ke Aliʻi ka Mōʻī: “ʻO ke Aliʻi Kalākaua ka Mōʻī mua loa i kaʻahele i ke ao nei; a ua hoʻokōʻia kēia huakaʻi ʻana no kekahi kumuhana poʻokela loa o ka hanohano e konoʻia ai kahi Aliʻi e hana aku. I ka ha-lo ʻana aku i nā au kahiko; e ʻike ana kākou i kekahi Aliʻi o Helene i kaʻahele i ka honua, i mea e hoʻomāliliʻia i ai ka ʻenaʻena o kona naʻau no ka hoʻohaʻahaʻa ʻia ʻana o kekahi o kona mau hoaloha; e ʻike ana kākou he Alekanedero e hele ana i ka loa a me ka laula o Asia, me ka waiho ʻana iho he mau mōʻali a ka mānaʻona o ma hope ona; a i loko mai nei hoʻi o ke au hou, e ʻike ana kākou he Kale o Suedana, kai kaʻahele aku e hoʻopaʻi i ka ʻino no ka ʻino, ma luna o kona hoalauna, eia naʻe ʻo ia ponoʻi no kai komo i loko o ia pōʻino; e ʻike ana kākou he Emepera no Peresis e kaʻahele ana ma luna o ka ʻili o ka honua, no ka ahuʻai wale ʻana i ka nui o kona waiwai; e ʻike ana no hoʻi kākou he Emepera no Berazila e kaʻahele ana ma ka honua no ka huli ʻana i ka ʻike a me ka naʻauao; akā, ʻo Kalākaua I., kō kākou Mōʻī—ke Aliʻi noʻeau1198 a me ke aloha kanaka o ka Pākīpika, ʻaʻole ʻo ia i kaʻahele i ka honua no kona pōmaikaʻi pilikino iho, akā, i mea e pōmaikaʻi ai kona Aupuni, a me kona lāhuikanaka hoʻi, a i kō ai hoʻi ka makia o kona Aupuni, ʻo ia ka HOʻOULE LĀHUI.”

Ma mua o kona hele ʻana aku a haʻalele iho i kona mau makaʻāinana, ua mālama ʻia he mau anaina haipule ma loko o nā luakini, e noi ana i ka Haku Mana Loa e mālama maikaʻi iā ia ma kāna huakaʻi a e hoʻihoʻi maʻalahi mai iā ia. Ua hōʻike ae ka lāhui i kō lākou aloha no kō lākou Mōʻī ma ke kakahiaka poniponi o ua Pōʻahā [a]la, ma ka huliāmahi ʻana ae ma kai o ʻĀinahou, no ka pāhola ʻana aku i nā hōʻoia o ka makeʻe a me ke ohohia Aliʻi, a laila lākou i haʻawi aku ai i nā leo mele a me nā hīmeni i haku ʻia no ia manawa kūpouli i ke aloha. A i ka 1198 Two different ways of spelling (noʻeau and noʻiau) appear in this biography.
manawa a ua halelana `aukai nei i ho‘omaka aku ai e ne‘e, a e lawe aku i kō Hawai‘i Mō‘ī ma luna o kona umauma, ua `ike‘ia akula ua Lani Ali‘i [a]la e pi‘i ae ana ma ke ki‘eki‘ena, wehe mālie ae la `o ia i kona pāpale, kūnou maila, a puana maila i nā hua‘ōlelo, me ka leo i poni‘ia me ka paumākō—“Aloha `oukou a pau loa!” Ia wā nō i olowalu a‘e ai nā leo hoʻōho o nā kānaka e ‘ikuwā ana: “Alo—ha!” Aloha ‘oe, e ke Ali‘i! E hele nō ‘oe—a ho‘i mai!” Ne‘e akula ka moku me kāna ukana makamae a kau akula nā maka o nā maka‘āinana ma hope nei, me nā mana‘o ohohia no ka ukali pū `ana aku o ka lākou mau leo pule no ka palekana o kona ola a hiki i kona huli ho‘i hou `ana mai.

‘AU I KE KAI NO KA MOKU‘ĀINA GULA

A ma hope o ka hala `ana o nā lā `eiwa o ka niau `ana a ka moku i loko o ka la‘i malino maika‘i o ka moana, ua kū akula ma ka awa o Kapalakiko, ma ka Pō‘aono, lā 29 o ia malama. Ua hele ke Ali‘i ka Mō‘ī ma kēia huaka‘i ma ke `ano he Ali‘i hānau no Hawai‘i, `a‘ole ho‘i ma kona kūlana Ali‘i ‘Aimoku no ke Aupuni Paredaiso o ka Pākīpika Ākau. Ma kēia huaka‘i, ua hele maoli no ka Mō‘ī ma ke `ano huna iā ia iho, i kumu ho‘i e lilo `ole ai kona manawa ma nā ho‘okpia `ana a nā luna Aupuni a me nā kāna maka o ka ‘āina a kona mau kapua‘i Ali‘i e hehi aku ai; akā, ua hiki `ole na‘e iā ia ke pale ae i nā apo pumehana `ana mai a nā kama‘āinana make‘e ali‘i o ka Moku‘āina Gula `ana i pae aku ai. ‘Oiai, i ka pāhola `ana o ka lono a puni ke kūlanakauhale eia o Kalani ‘Aimoku o Hawai‘i ma luna o ka mokuahi Kūlanakauhale o Kikane, e ho‘okoke aku ana no ka ‘īpuka Gula o Kaleponi, aia ho‘i, ua ala lokahi maila ka lehulehu, a ha‘awi maila i nā ho‘okipa hiwahiwa `ana, a ua ulumāhiehie a‘ela ke kūlanakauhale holo‘oko‘a, a punia na kāna maka me nā pi‘i‘ō‘ō hau‘oli. Huliāmahī nā kāne ma ke hō‘ike `ana i kō lākou mau mana‘o maika‘i, a o nā wāhine ho‘i e uhaiāholo ana ma ‘ō a ma ‘ane‘i me ka piha ilihi a me nā ho‘ohihi `ana e lō‘ihi nā lā o ka Mō‘ī e ka‘ulua iho ai i loko o ke kūlanakauhale. A penei ka
hō‘ike a kekahi palapala i loa‘a mai i Hawai‘i nei, mai Kapalakiko mai, e hō‘ike ana no kēia huaka‘i a ke Ali‘i:—

“I ka hiki ‘ana i ka ‘āluna ahiahi o ka lā 29 o ‘Ianuari aku nei, ua komo ha‘aheo akula ka mokuahi nui me kāna ukana ali‘i ma waena o ke kōwā o ka Puka Gula; a i ka hekau ‘ana ma ke awa, aia ho‘i, ua huli‘amahi maila nā hi‘ona lehulehu e haiamū ma uka o ka ‘āina, a e ‘ike ‘ia KAWAIAHAU. Ma luna aku o nā ka‘a a komo i loko o ka Hotele Haleali‘i (Palace) ma waena o nā makamaka hoaloha maika‘i. ‘A‘ohe i ku‘u pono iho ka nae ua ki‘i ‘ia maila Ia e holo ma ‘ō a ma ‘ane‘i o ke kūlanakauhale. * * * I kō ka Mō‘i pae ‘ana mai; ua ho‘oholo nā lede maka hanohano o ka Hotele Haleali‘i e ha‘awi i anaina ‘ike Ali‘i ma loko o nā ke‘ena ho‘okipa o ka hotele, a ua ho‘opuka‘ia nā palapala polo‘ai i kākauinoa‘ia e kekahi Komite o nā wāhine o ‘ewalu lālā, a o ia kēia mau lede: Mrs. F. G. Newlands, Mrs. Howard Colt, Mrs. A. G. Kinsey, Mrs. Mark Severance, Mrs. J. S. Hager, Mrs. H. Schmiedell, Mrs. W. H. L. Barnes a me Mrs. J. Lugsain. Ua mālama‘ia kēia anaina ‘ike Ali‘i ma ke ahiahi Pō‘akahi, Feberuari 7, (1881) i ka pō ma mua iho o ka lā a ka Mō‘i e ha‘alele ai iā Kapalakiko nei no ka ‘Āina Pua (Kīna) * * * * * Ua hā‘awi ‘ia he aha‘aina ho‘ohanohano no ka Mō‘i e ka Hui Heihei Moku Pākīpika (Pacific Yatch [sic] Club) ma lalo o nā alaka‘i ha‘iha‘i‘ōlelo ‘ana a Komodoa R. S. Floyd a me Kapena Menzies. A ma ia aha‘aina ua hō‘ike o Kalani i ke kilakila o kona kūlana a me ka ha‘imeoeipo o kāna mau ho‘okā‘au ‘ōlelo ‘ana, a ua nui kona mahalo ‘ia e nā po‘e a pau i ‘ākoakoa a‘e ma laila, ‘oiai ua pua‘i a‘e nā leo huro he nui e kiliwehi ana i ka nani o kāna mau ‘ōlelo pāna‘i no na ho‘omaika‘i i lū‘ia mai i mua ona e nā alaka‘i o ka Hui. * * * ‘A‘ole i pau ‘ia nei nā kākiwi ‘ana mai a nā leo polo‘ai i ke Ali‘i, ‘oiai ua loa‘a maila iā la he komo mai ke Kanikela-Kenerala mai o Kīna e luakaha aku ma kekahi ‘aha‘aina e hā‘awi‘ia ana ma kekahi
hale ʻāina Pākē, nona kaʻinoa o Hang Fer Low. Ma ka lā i hā‘awiʻia ai kēia ʻahaʻaina, ʻakahi no paha a ʻikeʻia ka nani o nā ʻaʻahu o nā Pākē waiwai o ke kūlanakauhale, ua kīnohinohi wale ʻia no me ke gula. He kū i ka nani ke nānā aku. Ua hauʻoli ʻia ka manawa, a ua piha mahalo nā keiki o ka ʻĀina Pua i nā ʻōlelo a ke Aliʻi i ka Mōʻi i waiho aku i mua o lākou no ke kūlana o kō lākou mau hoa kanaka e noho ana ma Hawaiʻi. *

He wahio hoʻomaha iki kō ke Aliʻi, a kau akula ma luna o ke kaʻaahi no ke kūlanakauhale o Sacramento. I laila ke Aliʻi, lūlū lima pū me ke Kiaʻaina, a hele mākaʻikaʻi akula ʻo ia i nā Hale Ahaʻolelo o ia mokuʻāina. Ua pāholaʻia mai no i mua ona na haʻiʻōlelo hoʻolana manaʻo a me nā hoʻohanohano ʻana. A i kona hoʻi hou ʻana mai i ke kūlanakauhale o Kapalakiko, ua konoʻia ʻo ia e hele i ka ʻAha Hulahula i hāʻawiʻia e ka Ligue Nationale Francaise, no ka hoʻohanohano ʻana i ke Kanikela Farani hou, ʻo ia ʻo Mr. Vauvert de Mean a me Madame Mean. Ua ukaliʻia ka Mōʻi e kona Puʻukū a me Mekia Makapolena. Iʻa neʻi ʻo Kalani i paheʻe ai i ka welowelo ma nei mea he hula haole. Ua hula mua ka Mōʻi me Madame Planet, ka wahine a ke Komisina Farani, a ma hope me Mrs. Dr. Julius Rosenstin. Ma ke ahiahi iho na ke Aliʻi no i kuikui-lima aku i kēia lede a ma ka papa- ʻahaʻaina. A ma ʻaneʻi au i hoʻomanaʻo aʻe ai i ke mele:

ʻNau i ʻaʻe nā kapu o Kahiki,
Hehihehi kūlana i ka ʻōhuku ale.ʻ

Ma kēia ʻaha hulahula, i ʻikeʻia ai ka nani lua ʻole o nā ʻaʻahu o nā wahine, ʻhewa i ka maka ka ua mea he nani.ʻ

He ʻewalu ka nui o nā lā a ka Mōʻi i kaʻulua iki ai ma Kapalakiko, a o ia mau lā a pau ua hoʻopihiaʻia me ka hauʻoli e like me kiʻekiʻe o nā lawena o nā hoʻohanohano i paneʻeʻia mai e nā keiki o ka ʻĀina Gula. Ma ka Pōʻalua, lā 8 o Feberuari, ua kau akula ʻo ia a me kona mau ukali ma luna o ka mokuahi Oceanic, a ʻau akula lākou i ke kai anu huʻihuʻi e kāmoe ana ma waena o
nā hapa poepoe ‘elua, a o ia ho‘i ke alahele e hō‘ea aku ai no Iāpana. Ua ‘ōlelo‘ia, i ka Mō‘ī i ha‘alele iho ai iā Kapalakiko, ua ha‘alele iho ‘o ia ma hope i nā pu‘uwai he nui i kukuni maoli ‘ia me ke aloha, no ka loa‘a ana aku o nā ‘ōlelo ‘olu‘olu, nā maka waipahē, a me ka leo naheahe mai iā ia aku, a no ia mea ua ho‘ohiwahiwa lākou iā ia ma ke kehakeha ‘ana “KALĀKAUA KA PU‘UWAI ‘OLU.”

KA HUAKA‘I ‘AUMOANA NO IĀPANA—KALĀKAUA IĀ KAPI‘OLONI—NĀ HO‘OKIPA HIWAHIWA MA IĀPANA.

I ka ha‘alele ‘ana iho o ka moakuahi Oceanic i ke awa lai o Kapalakiko, e halihali ana ma luna o kona umauma lahalaha i kāna ukana makamae—Kalani o Hawai‘i—ua niau a‘ela ‘ia ma kona alahele moana e hō‘ea aku ai no ke Aupuni Imeperiela o Iāpana. A ‘oiai ua moku la i ka‘alo a‘e ai ma ka merediana pololei i Honolulu nei, he mau degere ho‘i ma ka ‘ākau aku nei o ka pae moku o Hawai‘i nei, ua hō‘ala‘ia a‘ela i loko o ke Ali‘i ka Mō‘ī nā hā‘upu ho‘omana‘o aloha ‘ana o nā ‘ae kai o kona Pae Moku aloha. Ma ia wā ho‘okahi nō ho‘i, ‘oiai e niau loa aku ana ka moku ma kēlā huli, ua hahei ihola nā kipona aloha a ha‘awe ihola ma luna o kona hokua no kāna Mō‘ī wahine e noho ho‘omanaawanui ana me ke aloha poina ‘ole nona i ka ‘āina hānau. He ‘oiai‘o, ua lalapa a‘ela ke aloha i loko ona, ‘ōlino a‘ela ka hali‘a a nopu hulili a‘ela ka weli ho‘omana‘o no kāna Ali‘i wahine, a no ia mea ua haku ihola ‘o ia he mau wahi lālani mele e kānaenae ana no kāna Mō‘ī wahine, a ‘o ia iho kēia ma lalo nei, ma ka ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i a me ka ‘Ōlelo Beritania:

HE HĀLI‘ALI‘A.

KALĀKAUA IĀ KAPI‘OLONI.

[Kākau‘ia ma luna o ka mokumāhu Oceanic, Feb. 16, 1881.]

O ka ‘ike lihi aku i nā ‘ae one ma ‘ō
Ka ko‘u mau maka e ake nei
Me ke pule e hōʻea hou au i laila,
Mai ae i kaʻu ʻupu e kō ʻole!
ʻO nā nalu huʻakea lelehuna!
O ia ʻae one; he aloha au,
A ke huli kuʻu alo no ka huakaʻi home
E nalo nā manaʻo hele ʻauwana.
E kuʻu aloha e kali ala, nou koʻu hāʻupu
Me ka lei maile ma kou a-i!
O! e haʻi mai e ke kai kūpikiʻō inaina,
A hea pau kau kokōhi ʻana iāʻu?
ʻAno, o ka hui me ʻoe, he mea hiki ʻole
ʻOiai ua ʻokia e ke kai nui,
E puana aku naʻe au e ka ipo aloha,
He manaʻolana koʻu e hui hou kāua.
ʻO kou aloha me ka manaʻo ʻoiaiʻo
Ke kiaʻi ma koʻu alahele
A ke ʻike au i ka poepoe honua,
I makana naʻu ia aloha

SONNET
KALAKAUA TO KAPIOLANI.

[The Island King to His Queen.]
[Written on Board the Oceanic, Feb. 16, 1881]
To catch a glimpse of yonder shore
My eager eyes I strain,
And pray that I was there—once more!
Let me not pray in vain.
The surf its silvery crests display,
On that far shore I love,
When back, I make my homeward way,
No more I’ll care to rove.
Dear waiting one, I think of thee
The maile round thy neck!
O, tell me, wild and angry sea,
How long you’ll hold me back?
Since, then I cannot meet you now,
Divided by the main
Let me tell you fondly how,
I hope we’ll meet again.
A love like thine, so leal and true,
My devious way will guard;
And when the rounded world I view,
They love is my reward

* * *
Ma ke kakahiaka poniponi o ka lā 4 o Maraki, ua ho'okomo akula ka mokuahi Oceanic i loko o ke awa o Iokohama. E mōkū ana ia wā ma loko o ke awa he kanahā kūmamālua mau mokuaua me nā mokuahi nunui. A penei ka hō‘ike a kekahi nupepa lāpana:

"I ka hora 7:30 o kēia kakahiaka, ua hō‘ike‘ia a’e ua ‘ike‘ia ka mokuahi Oceanic, a ia manawa koke no ua ‘ike ‘ia aku nā pī‘ō‘ō ‘ana ma waena o nā moku o ke awa, ‘oiiai ua ‘ike‘ia akula ka welo mai o ka Hae Hawai‘i ma kekahi kia o ka mokuahi. Ia manawa ua ho‘owehiwehi koke a‘ela nā mokuahi, nā manuwā, a me nā moku-pe‘a iā läkou iho me nā kahakahanaha hae, a ‘oiiai ‘o ia e niau a’e ana ma waena o nā moku i hele a ‘ohu‘ohu me nā hae, ‘o ia no ka manawa i hā‘awi ‘ia mai ai nā pū aloha he 21e nā manuwā, me ka pi‘i ‘ana a‘e o nā sela a uluāo‘a nā i-ā, e pāhola aku ana i ka ho‘okipa aloha i ka Mō‘i Kalākaua. ‘O nā hi‘ohi‘ona o ka Mō‘i o Hawai‘i he u‘i, he kilakila pu‘ipu‘i maika‘i kona kino, a he na‘auao kona mau helehelena."

Penei ho‘i ka hō‘ike a kekahi nupepa: "Ua kū mai ke Ali‘i ka Mō‘i o Hawai‘i ma nehinei, (Pō‘alima), ma ka hora 8 or ke kakahiaka. I ka holo ‘ana a‘e o ka moku me ka hae kalaunu e pulelo ha‘aheo ana, aia ho‘i ua kī koke mai nā pū kuni ahi o nā moku kaua lehulehu wale. Ua hele koke‘ia akula ka Mō‘i e ‘ike e ka Admirala Nakamura o ke ‘Aumoku Ali‘i o Lāpana nei, a me kahi mau Luna Aupuni e a‘e, a me ka Adimarala Rukini, a me kona mau ali‘imoku. Ua holo aku ho‘i ka Adimarala Lāpana ma ke ‘ano he ‘āha‘ilono ma ka ‘ao‘ao o ka Emepera o Lāpana nei, e hō‘ike ana e ‘olu‘olu‘ia e ke Ali‘i ka Mō‘i o Hawai‘i e lilo ‘o ia i malihini noho hale ma lalo o nā kia‘i a me nā mālama ‘ana a ka Emepera, ‘oiiai nā lā o kō ka Mō‘i noho ‘ana ma Lāpana. Ua ae ke Ali‘i ka Mō‘i i kēia leo heahea a kona hoa Po‘o Aupuni, a no laila, ua kau ihola ‘o ia a me kona mau ukali ma luna o ka wa‘apā mokuahi a ho‘opae akula no ka ‘āina. E ukali ana ma hope o ua wa‘apā [a]la he ‘ewalu mau wa‘apā nunui e ho‘ohanohano ana i ka huaka‘i Ali‘i. I ka hō‘ea ‘ana o ka Mō‘i a me kona ukali ma ke Ke‘ena o ka Adimarala Lāpana, hora 9 a ‘oi paha ia, ua
ho'okipa ʻia akula ʻo ia, me ka hano hano nui, e nā po'e lāpana o ke kūlana kiʻeki'e, e nā lālā o ka ʻohana Aliʻi, a me ke keikialii'i Date, a o Mr. R. Irwin kekahī, kō Hawaiʻi' i Kanikela ma lāpana nei, i hele a'e e ʻike i ka Mōʻī. Ma ka hora 10:45 ha'alele ke Aliʻi ka Mōʻī ia wahi, ma luna o ke ka'a aliʻi, a holo akula no ka Halealiʻi Noge Yama, kahi i hoʻokaʻawaleʻia nona, ʻoi ai nā lā kaʻulua ai ʻo ia ma nā kaiakau o lāpana nei. Ma ke alanui a ka Mōʻī i holo aku ai, me ka hoʻohanohano ʻia ʻana e nā pūʻali koa, no ʻaneʻaneʻe elua mile ʻokoʻa, e kuʻuwelu like ana nā kahakahana hae Hawaiʻi me kō lāpana nei ma kēlā a me kēia ʻaoʻao o ke alahele. Ua lēhau kēlā a me kēia ʻaoʻao o ke alanui me nā kānaka hoʻou na, me kō lākou hoʻounsana ʻana a'e i nā leo ʻikuwe o ka hoʻōho huro ʻana no ka Mōʻī o Hawaiʻi. Ua hōʻea aku ka huakaʻi Aliʻi no ka Halealiʻi Makaliʻi, a ma laila i hoʻokipa ʻia aku ai nā kamahele o Hawaiʻi e ke keikialiiʻi Higashi-Fushimoto-Miya."

He halealiʻi nani kēia, akā, ʻo ka nani e alohi ana i nei hale, he keʻehina mua wale no ia no ka nani e alohi ʻanapa ana ma ka halealiʻiʻi Imeperiala o ka Emepera o lāpana. ʻIa neʻi i hōʻaumoe ai ke Aliʻi ka Mōʻī a me kona mau hoa ʻauʻau kai ia pō a ao aʻe o ka Pōʻaono ia. Ma ka hora 11 kakahiaka o ia lá, ua haʻalele ihola ka huakaʻi Aliʻi ia wahi, ma luna o ke kaʻa ahi, no ke kūlanakauhale o Tokio, he 18 miles ka mamao mai ia wahi aku. I ka hōʻea ʻana aku i laila, ua ʻapo hiwahiwa ʻia maila ke kāoʻo aliʻi e nā Keikialiiʻi Imeperielia kiʻekiʻe ʻekolu, a ukali akula lākou i ka huakaʻi kaʻaule honua a Kalani a hōeʻa a i ka Halealiʻiʻi Imeperierala Enriokawan. Ua halawai maila ka Mōʻī Emepera me ka Mōʻī ʻAimoku o Hawaiʻi ʻuʻuku ma ke ʻena auolo mua o ka halealiʻi, a hoʻokipa akula iā ia me ka pumehana ʻoiaiʻo. A laila, alakaʻi loa ʻia akula ka Mōʻī no ka rumi o ka Emepera wahine, a ma laila i pāhila ʻia mai ai i mua ona nā hoʻokipa lua ʻole o ka hanohāweo ma nā mailani ʻana i nei mea he makeʻe Aliʻi. He lua ʻole ka nani a me ka hiwahiwa o nei halealiʻi o ka Mōʻī Emepera o lāpana. (A he mea makehewa i ka mea kākau
Moʻolelo ke helu papa aku i kēia mau luhiehu hanohāweo i hoʻolupalupa aʻe i nei hale, ʻoi'ai he hāiki kahi waʻa.)

Ma kekahī la aʻe a ka huakaʻi Aliʻi i Tokio, ua hele akula ke Aliʻi ka Mōʻī a me kona mau hoahele no ka Hale Keaka Shintomiza. Ua ʻōleloʻia he 28 ka nui o na kaʻa e halihali ana i nā Keikialiiʻi a me nā Kamaliʻi wāhine o ke Aloaliʻi Imeperiela o Iāpana i ukali i kēia huakaʻi a ka Mōʻī no ka hale Keaka. He ʻaneʻane 4,000 mau ipu-kukui Iāpana i hoʻomālamalama aʻe ia waho a me loko o ua hale keaka la, a ua like ʻia mau lamalama me nā tausani hōkū e ʻōlino ana i loko o ka lani pōʻiʻiʻiʻu. I loko o kēia hale keaka i like ai ka Mōʻī i nā hana kamahaʻo hoʻokalakupua a na Iāpana. Ua hāʻawi makana aku nō hoʻi ʻo ia i kēia hale keaka, ma ke ʻano he hoʻomanaʻo no kona kipa ʻana aku i ke kūlanakauhale aliʻi o Iāpana, he pākū pale e like me ka pākū ma ke alo iho o ka nuʻu hōʻikeʻike o ka Hale Mele hou ma Honolulu. He pākū lole velveta ʻulaʻula kēia, i ʻōmiloʻia o waena konu me nā milo lopi gula e hōʻailona ana i ke kalaunu Aupuni o Hawaiʻi nei, a me nā huaʻōlelo penei: “Makanaʻia e Kalākaua I, Mōʻī o Hawaiʻi, i ka Hale Keaka Shintomiza, ma ka malama ʻelua o ka makahiki 2541 (helu makahiki Iāpana).” Ma ka malama o Iulai, ma hope iho o kō ka Mōʻī kipa ʻana ma Iāpana i paʻa ai kēia pākū, a na ke Kanikela Hawaiʻi e noho nei ma laiʻa, ʻo ia ʻo Robert Irwin i hāʻawi aku i ka Luna Nui o ua Hale Keaka la, ma ka inoa o ka Mōʻī. A ua lilo kēia hoʻomanaʻo poina ʻole no ke Aliʻi ka Mōʻī a me kona wahi Aupuni pananā iki, ma loko o ke Kūlanakauhalea [sic] Aliʻi o Iāpana, mai ka lā i kalena mua loa ʻia ai kona loa a me kona laulā ma loko o ua hele keaka la a hiki i kēia lā.

Ma kēia lualaliiʻi ʻana a ke Aliʻi ka Mōʻī ma Iāpana ʻaʻole ʻo ia i hoʻopoina iki i nā koena hāpuaea o nā mākua mua na lākou i lawe mai i ka lama o ka naʻauo i Hawaiʻi nei, ʻoi'ai i kekahī lā ma ka wā i hāʻawiʻia ai kekahī ʻahaaina nui ma Iokohama e nā poʻe kiʻekiʻe o loko ʻo ia kūlanakauhale no kona hanohano, ma mua o kona mēʻala e ana aku i laila, ua hele mua akula ʻo
ia e ‘ike ‘ia Kulika wahine, e noho ana ma laila, ‘oiai ho‘i nā po‘e maka-hanohano e kali ho‘omanawanui mai ana nona.

Ma ka lā 16 o Maraki, ha‘alele ihola ka huaka‘i ka’ahele honua iā Iokohama, ma luna o ka mokuahi Tokio Maru, no ke kūlanakauhale o Kobe, he wahi kēia aia ma ke kūkulu komohana hemamai Iokohama mai. I kēia wahi i hele aku ai ka huaka‘i Ali‘i e māka‘ika‘i i ka heiau o ka ho‘omanana Budha, a ua ho‘okipa‘ia akula lākou e 24 po‘e kahuna i ʻa‘ahu ʻia me nā lole silika like ʻole o kēlā a me kēia ʻano i hana maiau ʻia me nā lopi gula. Mai kēia wahi aku, kau ka huaka‘i Ali‘i ma luna o ke ka‘a-ahi a holo no Osaka he 24 mile ka mamao, i loko o 4 hora hō‘ea i laila. Kaʻulua iki ma ʻaneʻi, a mai ia wahi aku no ke kūlanakauhale o Nangasaki. I kēia wahi, ua haʻalele nā Keikialiʻi kiʻekiʻe o Lāpana, he ʻehā kō lākou nui, i ka huaka‘i Ali‘i, a ma ka lā 22 o Maraki haʻalele ka huaka‘i ka’ahele honua ia wahi, ma luna no o ka mokuahi Tokio Maru, i hāʻawi manawaleʻa ‘ia mai e ka Emepera lāpana, no ka holo ʻana i Kainahai (Shanghai) Kina.

KA MŌʻĪ MA KA ʻĀINA PUA

Ma ka lā 25 o Maraki ua hōʻea akula ka mokuahi Tokio Maru ma ka nuku o ke awa o Kanahai a kau ihola ka huaka‘i Ali‘i ma luna o kau wahi mokuahi ʻuʻuku no ka pae loa ʻana i uka o ka ʻāina, a ua lawe loa ʻia akula no ka Hotele Astor. ʻElua lā o ka huaka‘i kaʻalele honua ma kēia kūlanakauhale, haʻalele ia laila no Tinetsin, kahi a Li Hung Chang, kō Kina Kuhikuhi Puʻuone, ma luna aku o ka mokumāhu Pautah. Ma ke kakahiaka nui o ka lā 29, ua hōʻea ke kāoʻo Ali‘i i Tientsin. Ua pāhola ʻia mai nā hoʻokipa hanohano ʻana i mua o ke Aliʻi ka Mōʻī e ke Kuhikuhi Pu‘uone o ka ʻĀina Pua, nā luna aupuni koʻikoʻi a me nā maka hanohano o ka ʻāina. Ma ka lā 2 o ʻAperila, kau hou ka huaka‘i kaʻapuni honua ma luna o ka mokuahi Pautah a huli hoʻi no Kainahai. A ma mua o kō ke Aliʻi haʻalele ʻana iho iā Kainahai, ua hoʻouna leta maila ʻo
ia i kō hope nei ʻohana e noho aku ana me ka hāʻupu ohohia o ka pae wahi palapala mai a Kalani Kaʻapuni Honua mai. A eia iho kekahhi hapa o ua palapala Aliʻi ia:

ʻKainahai, Kina, ʻAperila, 1881.

ʻALOHA ʻOE:—I kō mākou kū ʻana mai nei i Kainahai nei mai Tientsin mai, ua kiʻi mai ke kaikaina o ke Kanikela o kākou ma Honakaona e hoʻi i kona wahi, a eia mākou ke noho nei ma kona hale. He hale maikaʻi kēia, a ua ʻoluʻolu loa mākou e noho nei, ʻo J. Johnstone Keswick kona inoa. A ka lā 9 ʻo ia ka Pōʻaono, e haʻalele ai mākou īa Kainahai nei a holo aku no Honokaona, e noho ma laila no nā lā ʻelua, a holo loa aku no Siama, ʻo ia ʻāina kaulana ia o Asia. I ka lā ʻapōpō mākou e hele ai i ka hale o Tau-Tai, na Luna Aupuni kiʻekiʻe o kēia Apana o Kainahai nei, a ua nui nā makana i hāʻawiʻia mai iāʻu ma kēia wahi. * * * * Ua huhū nā kamaʻāina o kēia wahi i kō mākou hele malū me ka haʻi ʻole aku īa lākou ma mua. Ma Tientsin, halawai ihola mākou me William French, ke kaikunane o Paʻakaiʻulaʻula, eia ʻo ia he Luna Aupuni ʻOhi Dute no Kina nei, ma Faku ma ka nuku muliwai o Peiho kona wahi i noho ai e lawelawe ana i kāna ʻoihana. Piha kō mākou mau naʻau i ka ʻoliʻoli a me ke aloha i ka ʻike ʻana iā ia, ʻoiai, ʻo ia no kekahi hoa hele kula holoholo pū i ka wā kamaliʻi, o ka ʻike ʻana no ia wā, a hoʻi ike aʻe i Honolulu i ka makahiki 1862, a nalowale ʻakahi nō a ʻike hou. E aloha ana o Paʻakaiʻulaʻula ke ʻike iho ʻo ia i kēia wahi moʻolelo ʻuʻuku e pili ana i kona ʻohana hoʻokahi i koʻe a me Nila Hana (Wm. Hunt.)

ʻHe nani nō ʻo Kina nei, ʻaʻole naʻe e loaʻa aku o Lāpana. A e like nō hoʻi me kākou e ʻike la i ke ʻano o kō Kina lāhui kanaka ma kō kākou ʻāina, pēlā nō nā helehelena ma ʻaneʻi, waiwai a waiwai loa kekahhi poʻe, ʻilihune a ʻilihune loa nō hoʻi kekahhi poʻe. Ma Lāpana, ʻaʻole kūʻia kō mākou mau maka i ka poʻe hune loa e like me Kina, akā, he kumu nō naʻe hoʻi kō kēia noho ʻilihune ʻana o kekahhi poʻe. Ke hoʻomanaʻo aʻe kākou, he mau wī nui kō ka ʻĀkau o Kina,
a he mau pō‘ino kaua me Rukini. He wā pāpa‘a lā ‘ino loa a me nā hoʻokaumaha pū ‘ana kekahī. Ke hui ‘ia nā kumu lehulehu wale, me ka nui launa ‘ole o kēia lāhui kanaka, aia ma ka hō 400,000,000 miliona a ‘oi aku paha e loa’a ‘i'o nō ia ha‘awina ma nā wahi o ka honua nei.

“I ka nānā iho i ke ‘ano o nā mana‘o a me nā hī‘ohi‘ona o nā Luna Aupuni o Kīna nei, he po‘e kanaka no‘iau me ka ma‘alea nui ma la hoʻoponoʻono a kālai ‘āina ‘ana, ‘o ia nō ke ‘ano o ke kālai ‘ana i kekahi mau ali‘i kahiko o Hawai‘i, ‘o ia ‘o Kekuawahine, Kalaʻikuaʻahulu, David Malo, a Malo iho nō, a ‘o Pakoa i ke au iā ‘Umi, a he nui wale i loko o kō kākou moʻolelo kahiko. Ke mau nei nō ‘o Kīna ia mau haʻawina, a pāku‘i ‘ia mai hoʻi me nā kālai ‘āina o kēia au hou, ma lai lā e ‘ike ai kākou, ua māhuahua a kiʻekiʻe ka noʻiau a me ke akamai o kō Kīna a me kō lāpuna mau Luna Hoʻoponoʻono Aupuni. * * * He hoʻokahi ‘ino nui nana e hoʻoemi mai i kō Kīna piʻi loa ‘ana aku i ke kiʻekiʻe loa, ‘o ia hoʻi, o ka piha o ka ‘āina i ka puhi ‘opiuma. Nui ka poʻe helehelena ‘onawaliwali e ‘ike mau ‘ia ‘ana ma nā alanui. Ma lāpuna, ‘aʻole e loaʻa kēia mea i waena o lākou, he kakaʻikahi loa ia poʻe, na kō Kīna poʻe nei i lawe aku i laila. Mai ‘Īnia mai ka nui o ka ‘opiuma i hoʻopae ‘ia mai i Kīna nei, a ma lai lā mai nō hoʻi ke kumu a me ka moe o nā wahi a pau o ka honua nei.”

Ma ka lā 9 o ‘Aperila, haʻalele ka huakaʻi Aliʻi iā Kainahai ma ka mokuahi a kū akula i Honokaona (Hong Kong) ma ka lā 12. Ua mālamaʻia he mau anaina hoʻokipa Aliʻi ma ‘aneʻi me ka hanohano nui. Ma hope iho o kō ke Aliʻi Kaʻapuni Honua lualʻi ike ‘ana ma kēia kūlānakaʻahale, ua haʻalele ihola ‘o ia a me kona mau hoa-hele ia lai lā a holo akula no SIAMA.

Ma ke kakahiaka o ka lā 26 ua hoʻokomo akula ka mokuahi e halihali ana i ka huakaʻi Aliʻi ma ka muliawai o Menan. ‘Oiai ka mokuahi e hoʻokomo aku ana, ua ‘ikeʻia akula ka mokuahi holo leʻaleʻa o ka Mōʻi o Siama e holo mai ana. I ke kokoke ‘ana mai o ua wahi
mokuahi la ua holo maila he 'elua mau wa'apā e hali ana i ka hae Ali'i o Siama, 'o ia ka hae i hō'ailona 'ia he Elepani Ke'oke'o. Pili maila ua mau wa'apā la i ka mokuahi, ua piʻi maila kekahī mau kānaka i 'a'ahu 'ia me nā 'a'ahu koa hano hano. Hoʻokahi he 'Eleʻele mai ka Mōʻī mai o Siama me kekahī palapala mai iā ia mai e hea mai i ka Mōʻī kaʻahele honua o Hawaiʻi, E kipa hale wale e ke Kamahele, E luaʻaʻi ma koʻu mau Kaiāulu Ma nā pōhai o koʻu Aupuni I ka ulumāhiehie o Siama.

A e hōʻike pū ana hoʻi ia palapala i ka minamina loa o ka Mōʻī o Siama i ka hiki 'ole 'ana iā ia ke hele kino mai e halawai me ke Aliʻi ka Mōʻī o Hawaiʻi, ‘oiai, ua palamino hikiwawe loa ka hōʻea 'ana aku o ka Mōʻī, a ua loaʻa 'ole ka manawa iā ia e hoʻomākaukau ai iā ia iho no ka hele kino 'ana mai. ‘O ka lua o nā 'eleʻele i hoʻouna 'ia mai, ‘o ia no ke Keikialiʻi Dissaworksamaru, he Aliʻiʻkoa ukali ponoʻi no ka Mōʻī o Siama.

Ma hope iho o nā pānaʻi ‘ōlelo ‘ana, ua kau akula ka huakaʻi aliʻi ma luna o ka mokuahi Roiala (Aliʻi) o Siama a holo akula no ke kūlanakauhale o Bangkok, i loko lilo o ka muliwai, a he ʻaneʻane 26 mile mai ka nuku aku o ka muliwai. He wahi mokuahi nani keʻia, a ua piha mahalo ke Aliʻi i ka maʻemaʻe a me ka maikaʻi o ua wahi moku la. I ka hora 6 a ʻo i hōʻea akula ua wahi moku la me kāna malihini Aliʻi. Kau ihoʻa ka huakaʻi Aliʻi ma luna o kekahī waʻapā e hoe ʻia ana e nā kānaka he 24, a hoʻopae loa akula no uka o ka ʻāina. ‘Oiai ka huakaʻi Aliʻi e pae ana no ka ʻāina ua kī maila nā mokukaua i nā pū aloha, a mai ka uapo aku ua lawe loa ʻia akula no ka Halealiʻi o kekahī o nā Keikialiʻi o ka ʻāina. I kekahī lā mai ua mālamaʻia he ʻike Aliʻi ma waena o na Mōʻīʻelua—kō Hawaiʻi a me ko Siama. ‘O kēia Mōʻī o Siama ma ia wā i halawai pū ai me kō kākou Mōʻī, he kanaka ʻōpiopio loa ia, ‘o ia hoʻi he 27 nō ona makahiki. He kū i ka
nani na kahiko o kēia Ali‘i o Siama. Ua kīnohinohi‘ia me ke gula a me nā pohaku momi waiwai nui. ‘O ke apo e kāhei ana i kona pūhaka a i ho‘opa‘a‘ia ai kāna pahikaua, ua ‘ōmau‘ia ma laila nā pohaku daimana, rube a me ka sapeira. Mai kēia wahi aku ua holo ka huaka‘i i Ali‘i no

‘ĪNIA

Ua hō‘ea aku ka huaka‘i ka‘ahele honua ma ke kūlanakauhale o Singapore, a ua pāhola‘ia mai no nā ho‘okipa hanohano ‘ana e kō laila mau kini. Ma ka lā 10 o Mei, ua ho‘ouna maila ka Mō‘ī o ia wahi i kona wa‘apā mokuahi e ki‘i mai i ka huaka‘i Ali‘i no ka hele ‘ana aku e halawai pū me ia, ‘o ia o ke ka‘awale o kona haleali‘i mai Singapore aku he 40 mile. A ‘o kēia nō ho‘i ke Suletana i ho‘ouna mai i ka hoʻālohaloha kūmākena i kona wā i lohe aku ai ua make ka Mō‘ī Kalākaua ma Kapalakiko ma ka lā 20 o ‘Ianuari o kēia makahiki. ‘Aʻole paha he hōʻike maikaʻi a ʻae no nā mea e pili ana i kēia hele ‘ana o ka Mōʻī e ʻike i kēlā Suletana (Mōʻī) o ‘Īnia, ʻo ka palapala no ia ‘ana i kākau mai ai i kāna Mōʻī wahine e noho nei me ka ‘eea‘eha nona, mai Singapore mai, ma ka lā 14 o Mei, 1881, a eia ua palapala [a]la:

“Singapore, Pōʻahā Mei 12, 1881.

“Ke haʻalele nei i kēia wahi no ka māʻau hou aku i Penang a hiki aku i Rangoon a me Calcutta. Ua hele aku nei mākou e ʻike i ka Maharaja o ʻIahoa. He aliʻi maikaʻi kēia; he wahi helehelena like iki me kō Leleiōhoku mua o ke kakaʻa ʻole o kō ia nei maka. Nani a maikaʻi kona aupuui [sic] a me kona halealiʻi. Ua hoʻokipaʻia mākou me nā ʻoihana ʻihiʻihi o kō ʻÎnia mau aliʻi, a me kō lako mau kahiko, Ua hoʻouna mai ʻo ia i kona mokuahi ʻuʻuku no mākou a i ke kakahiaka Pōʻalua hora 7:30 A. M., ua hele aku a hiki a hora 11:13. Hele maila nā kaikaina o ua aliʻi nei i luna o ka mokuahi, ma luna lākou o ka waʻapā ahi, e hoʻokipa iāʻu. Lele akula mākou i uka me kō mākou mau kāhiko piha, a piʻi akula he ʻanuʻu hou, a laila, iho maila ua aliʻi nei me kona mau kāhiko piha me kona mau aliʻi. Iāʻu kekah māmalu aliʻi, a hele ʻokoʻa mai nō hoʻi kēlā
a halawai māua a lulu lima. Iā'u i lele mai ai, hele maila nā kaikaina o ua aliʻi nei ma kuʻu ʻaoʻao a hiki i kō māu halawai ʻana me ka Maharaja. Hoʻokipa mai kēlā iāʻu i kona mau aliʻi o ia no nā kaikaina ona. ʻO ka ʻili a me ka helehelena o kēia mau aliʻi ia ua like loa nō me kākou. E like nō me kuʻu ʻōlelo pinepine iā ʻoe. Pau ka hoʻokipa ʻana, pāʻina liʻiliʻi i ihola mākou, pau ka pāʻina liʻiliʻi ʻana pahupahu ihola māua me ua [a]liʻi la. * * *  I kō māua pāʻani ʻana i ke kemu mua make au iā ʻia ala] i ala, akā, i ke kemu ʻalua iho hoʻi make iāʻu. Pau kō mākou leʻaleʻa ʻana, hele maila mākou a ma ka lānai ma kahi e pā mai ana ka makani ma laila kō mākou wah i hoʻonanea ai, a hiki i ka hora 5 o ke ahiahi hele mākou e hōʻikeʻike mai ua [a]liʻi ala i ka mala kope āna i kanu ai, a mala ti. He aliʻi mahiʻai kēia a hoʻoulu hana i mea e pōmaikaʻi ai kona aupuni a me kona lāhui kanaka. He aliʻi akamai i ke kālai ʻāina a noʻiau nō hoʻi. Ua hāʻawi ʻo ia i kona mau ʻāina e mahi nā haole o kēlā ʻano kēia ʻano, nā pākē, ʻo ka pākē naʻe ka ʻoi aku o ka nui. ʻŌlelo mai kēlā iāʻu i kona mahalo i ka pākē i ka ikaika i ka hana. Nui nā lāʻau i kamaʻāina iā kākou e ulu nei ma ʻaneʻi. ʻO ka hau, milo, kamani, haole, kamani Hawaiʻi, ka ʻieʻie, ka palai, ka hala, ka ʻōhiʻa, a ma ʻaneʻi he kanu ʻia no ke kalo e nā kamaʻāina a me nā pākē * * *  I kekahi lā aʻe hoʻi mai mākou ma nā kaʻa, he wā pōkole he hoʻokahi hora me ka hapa hiki hou mākou i Singapore. I ka pō ʻana iho hele mākou e komo hou o Kale i ka hui malū. A i kēia lā ke haʻalele nei i kēia hora 4 no Penang.”

He ʻehiku ka nui o nā lā i kaʻulua ai ka huakaʻi Alīʻi ma Singapore, a haʻalele ihola ia laila no Calcutta, ma ke alahele e kāmoe loa ana no Europa. Ma nā lā hope o Mei, ua hiki aku ka huakaʻi Alīʻi no Calcutta. ʻElua wale nō lâ o ka noho ʻana ma laila, a ua kapae aʻe ke Alīʻi ka Mōʻī i nā hoʻokipa laulaha a kō laila poʻe; a ma laila aku a i ʻAgra, Delhi, a hiki i Allahabad. A ma ke kakahiaka o ka Pōʻakahi, lune 20, hōʻea maʻalahi akula ka huakaʻi aliʻi no ka pūʻali o Sueza. Ma laila kau ma ke kaʻa ahi i hoʻouma ʻia mai ai e ka Mōʻī o Aigupita, a holo akula no
Hōʻe'a o Kalani i ka nani o Italia—Luana me ka Mōʻī Humebatō—ʻIke iā Leone XIII—Ilihia o Kalani i ka Nani o Roma

Ua hōʻea aku ka huakaʻi kaʻapuni honua ma Napela, a mai kēia kūlanakauhale i hoʻouina mai ai he palapala a e hōʻike ana penei:

“Napela, Italia, Iune 30, 1881.”

“Ua hiki mai mākou ma Napela, Italia nei, a eia mākou i ka Hotele Roiala kahi i noho ai. Ua hoʻokipa ʻia mākou e ke Aupun [sic] o Italia, e nā Luna Aupuni, nā Luna Kūlanakauhale a me nā Luna Koʻa o ke Aupuni * * * * * I kō mākou hele ʻana
e ‘ike i ka Mōʻī a me ka Mōʻī wahine o Italia nei, ua hoʻohoka ‘ia hoʻi ʻo Moreno e nā keiki Hawaiʻi.

* * *

Ua hiki mai mākou ma Roma nei i ka lā 4 o Iulai, hora 10 o ka pō. Ua ‘ike mākou i ka Pope, a ua lōʻihi ka māua kamaʻilio ʻolūʻolū ʻana, me kona ninaninau mai i ka noho ʻana o ka poʻe Katolika ma Hawaiʻi. Haʻi aku au, he maikaʻi, haʻahaʻa a he akahai ke ʻano o kō läkou noho ʻana. Aloha mai iāʻu, a haʻi mai i kona aloha iā Lui, i kūʻu wā i waiho aku ai i kāna palapala. He hapa hora paha kō mākou noho ʻana. ʻO Cadinela Howada ka mea nāna i unuhi ka māua ʻōlelo, a ʻo Cadinela Jakobini i ka mea nāna mākou i hoʻokipa, me ke kū o nā koa koko aliʻi ʻo ia i o kiaʻi ana i nā puka.

“Nani ʻo Roma nei. ʻO Vatican kahi i noho ai ka Pope, ma laila ka nui o nā kiʻi i o pena ʻia e Rafaela, ke kanaka i ʻōleloʻia, ʻo ka ʻoi hoʻokahi o ke akamai pena kiʻi o ka honua nei. Nani nō hoʻi ka luakini o Petero, hihiu nō hoʻi nā mea a pau o ka luakini o Petero me Paulo. ʻAʻole hiki ke kākau, ʻo ka ʻike maka wale nō ka pono, pau kuhihewa. Na wai e ʻole ka ʻeʻehia a me ke anoano maoli no i ka ua mea o ka nani lua ʻole. Na ka nani nō i uhi o ka haʻule nō ʻia o nā kuli i lalo e pelu ai. Ua hele nō hoʻi mākou e mākaʻkaʻi i ke Korisiuma, he wahi kaulana ia no nā ʻoihana hakakā mokomoko a pēlā aku. ʻ*

E hiki ana mākou i Ladana ma ke ahiahi o ka lā 6 o Iulai.”

KĀMOE LOA KA HUAKAʻI ALIʻI NO LADANA—KUʻUPAU ʻO KALANI I KONA ʻIKE ʻÖLELO ENELANI.

Ma ka lā 4 o Iulai, haʻalele ka huakaʻi Aliʻi iā Roma a kāmoe akula no Ladana ka pahu hopu, ʻoi mai ua ake loa ke Aliʻi ka Mōʻī e ʻike i ka paikau hōʻikeʻike o nā koa Pelekane e mālama ʻia ana ma ka lā 9 iho. Ua hōʻea aku ke Aliʻi ka Mōʻī a me kona mau hoa ʻauʻau-kai i Ladana ma ka lā 6 o Iulai, a ma ia lā ua kākau ihola ʻo ia i mau mea hoʻomanaʻo no nā hana ʻano nui āna i launa ai ma laila:
“Ladana, Enelani, Iulai 6, 1881.”

“Eia mākou i Ladana nei kahi i noho ai mai Roma loa mai no a hiki ‘ia neʻi i ka hora 7 o kēia ahiahi, o ka holo o ka lele hiki ‘ana i Ladana. Ua hoʻokipaʻia mai e nā Luna Aupuni. ‘O Sir Charles W. Dilke ka mua, a ma hope mai ‘o Mr. Synge, keiki a ke Komisina Synge i noho ai i kahi o Kuakua, a mau mākua bapetizo hoʻi o ka Haku o Hawaiʻi. Hele pū maila ‘o Hapakini kō kākou Kanikela. Haʻi maila ua keiki nei a Synge, ua hoʻouma ‘ia mai ‘o ia e ka Kuhina o nā ʻĀina ʻÊ, Earl Granvile [sic], e haʻi mai iāʻu, e hiki mai ana o Lord Tenderton e hoʻokipa iāʻu ma ka inoa o ka Mōʻī wahine.

“I kō mākou holo ‘ana mai mai Roma mai, pō a ao, a i ka hora 12 o ke awakea, puka mākou ma nei ‘aoʻao o Mauna Cenisa, i ʻeliʻia a puka. He hapa hora ka lōʻihi o ka wā e pouli aia puka mai ma nei ‘aoʻao. Ia lā a pō, hiki ma Parisa, mākaʻiʻi i kī iihola, a nui nā wahi a mākou i ʻike ai, ‘o ia ke kia hoʻomanaʻo o Napoliona, nā halealiʻi o nā Aliʻi o Farani, ka hale Aupuni, ka Piʻo o Napoliona I, ka hale keaka, ka hale ʻAhaʻōlelo a me ka Tullerias Champs Flyxe, a lehulehu aku i ka wā pōkole. Holo akula ma luna o ke kaʻa ahi no Boulona, a kau maila i ka moku no Folkstone, Enelani. A ma ka lokomaikaʻi o nā luna kaʻa ahi, ua hoʻouma ‘ia mai he kaʻa ahi ʻokoʻa no mākou. I ka lā ʻapōpō, he nui ka hana.

“Iuai 7. Ua piha mākou i nā hoʻokipa ʻia ‘ana mai i ʻō a ia neʻi. * * * * Ua hele mai ke Kuhina o nā ʻĀina ʻÊ, Earl Granville, ‘o Lord Charles W. Dilke, Lord Tenderton na hope o nā Kuhina ala, a ‘o Haku (Lord) Charles Beresford a ‘o ka Bihopa o kākou kekahai, a lehulehu wale aku. I ka pō hele mākou i ke Keaka, a hoʻouma maila ka Mōʻī wahine i kona kaʻa noʻu e hele ai, a ma kona pahu noho nō hoʻi o ka hale Keaka Opera e noho ai. Hele nō hoʻi a piha me nā nani o nā kāhiko o nā wāhine. He ia kinipopo nui kēia, a ua nui ka poʻe e hele ana e ʻike i ke i ke kinipopo a nā keiki Kula o Eaton me Harrow. Ua hele mākou e ʻike i ka hōʻikeʻike
Koa pualu, a i ka lā 10 o Iulai, ua hele i ka pule i Westminster [sic] Abbey. Mai laila aku a kahi o Mr. a me Mrs. Paget, ke kaiko’eke o Lord Beresford, a he mau ali‘i nō.

“Iulai 11. I kēia lā, ua hele mākou e pā‘ina me ke Kuhina o kō na ‘Āina ‘Ē, Earl Granville, a ma laila halawai mākou me ke Kuhina Nui Gladstone a me nā lalo Kuhina iho. Ma laila aku mākou a ke ka‘a ahi, no ka hele ‘ana e ‘ike i ka Mō‘i wahine. Hiki mākou i Windsor i ka hora 2:30, i ka hora 3, hiki mākou ma ka haleali‘i, a ‘ike aloha a launa ‘olu‘olu me ka Mō‘i wahine a me ka ‘Ohana Ali‘i i mua o kona alo.


Nīnau mai ke Ali‘i wahine i ko‘u wahi i a‘o ‘ia ai, ha‘i aku wau, i Hawai‘i nō.  *

Pā‘ina mākou ma laila, a pau lawe ‘ia mākou e ho‘omāka‘ika‘i i i ka haleali‘i.

Nani nā mea o loko o ka hale, a piha nō ho‘i i nā mea kahiko o ka ‘ohana mai ka wā kahiko mai, kokoke 2,000 makahiki. Na ke Keikiali‘i Leopold mākou i lawe e pā‘ina a ho‘omāka‘ika‘i. Ho‘i maila mākou ia lā, a hele i ke keaka ia pō. Ma ka Pō‘alua hele mākou i ka Hāleaniani Crystal Palace. Ma nehinei, ua hele e ‘ike i ka Ho‘oilina Mō‘ī o Geremania a me kāna wahine, ke kaikamahine makahiapo a Victoria. Ma hope iho, ua hele mākou i ka nānā kanaka li‘ili‘i i 2 kapua‘i ke ki‘eki‘e, a hele i kahi o ka Bihopa o Canterbury, a i ka pō nei ma kahi o Lady Spencer, i laila ka Ho‘oilina Mō‘ī me kāna wahine ‘o Princess Luisa, Princess Teck, ke Duke o Cambridge a me ka Prince Teck.

“Ua piha pono ka manawa i ka hele ʻana i ʻō a i aneʻi, a me ka hoʻokipa maikaʻi ʻana o ka ʻohana o kēia Aupuni. Ua pumehana kō lākou hoʻokipa ʻana mai me ka launa ʻoluʻolu.

“KAWAIHAU.”

HOʻI HOʻU ‘O KALANI KAʻAPUNI I KA HUIKAU O EUROPA.

Ma hope iho o nā hoʻohialaʻai ʻana a Kalani Kaʻapuni honua iā Ladana, ma ka lā 24 o Iulai, haʻalele ihola ʻo ia a me kona mau hoa hele iā Ladana, ma hope iho hoʻi o ka lūlū lima aloha ʻana me ka Hoʻoilina Mōʻi o Pelekane a me kāna Aliʻi wahine kaulana, ʻo ia ka Uʻi o Denemaka, a kāmoe ke alahele no Belegiuma. Ma mua naʻe o kona haʻalele ʻana iā ʻEnelani, ua loaʻa maila iā ia mai ka Mōʻi wahine ponoʻi mai, ke Keʻa Hoʻohanohano o ka Papa ʻEkahi o Sana Mikaele me Sana Geoki.

Pae ka huakaʻi aliʻi ma Belegiuma ʻike ʻo Kalani i Leopolo II, a mai laila aku hōʻea no Geremania. Ma ka lā 30 o Iulai hōʻea ka huakaʻi ma Berelina a noho ma laila no ʻeono lā. A ʻoiai ʻo Kalani ma laila ua hāʻamaʻamaʻa maila nā kānaka e mūʻia mau a puni ka hotele āna i noho ai, e ake ana e ʻike iā ia. Ua hāʻawi ʻia maʻaneʻi he paikau hōʻikeʻike o nā koa Geremania a ua nui kō ke Aliʻi mahalo. Ua hui a ua halawai pū nō ʻo ia me nā Poʻo Aupuni koʻikoʻi o ka ʻāina. Pau nā kilohi ʻana a Kalani i nā wehi o Berelina, ma ka lā 4 o Augate ua haʻalele ihola ka huakaʻi Aliʻi iā Berelina no Auseturia. Ma ke ahiahia o ka lā 5 aʻe, hōʻea ke kāoʻo Aliʻi i Viena, a apo pumehana ʻia maila ʻo ia e kō laila mau poʻo Aupuni me ka hano hano nui. ʻOiai ua hala ka Emepera Francis Joseph i Bavaria, no laila ʻaʻole i halawai pū ka Mōʻi kaʻapuni honua me ia. Kaʻulua ka huakaʻi Aliʻi ma Viena no ʻehā lā, a haʻalele ihola ia no Parisa. Noho ka huakaʻi maʻaneʻi a hiki i ka lā 15 o Augate. ʻOiai ka huakaʻi ma laila, ua loaʻa maila i ka Mōʻi he palapala mai ka Emepera ponoʻi mai o Belegiuma, me ke Keʻa Hoʻohanohano o ka Papa o Leopolo. A ma mua o kō ka huakaʻi haʻalele ʻana i ka ʻāina puni ʻole o Europa no Enelani, eia


Ma ka lā 31 o Augate, pae ka huaka‘i Ali‘i no

LADANA, ENELANI

Garfield, me ka hoʻouna pū ‘ana aku iā Mr. E. H. Allen, ke Kanikela Hawaiʻi ma Nuioka i Wasinetona, e hele ma ka huakaʻi i hoʻolewa ʻo Peresidenia Garfield, ma kona inoa. Ua huli hoʻi mai ʻo Kalani Kaʻapuni Honua a hōʻea i Kapalakiko, ma ka lā 29 o Okatoba, ua pae maila ʻo ia a me kona mau hoa i Hawaiʻi nei. A ʻo ka panina ihola kēia o ka moʻolelo Kaʻapuni Honua a ke Aliʻi ka Mōʻi, a no kēia huakaʻi i kaʻahele a Kalani i ke Ao nei, a ʻike i nā Aupuni kaulana o ka honua nei, ʻaʻole loa ʻo ia i poina i kona wahi Aupuni ʻuʻuku e oʻioʻina ana i loko, ʻo ka moana hohonu o ka Pākīpika, a nona kāna i kaena aʻe ai, o “Hawaiʻi no ka ʻOi.” A eia iho ke kaena a KALANIKAULĪLUAIKEANUWAʻALEʻALE:

KE KAENA A KA MŌʻI KALĀKAUA.

Ua kaʻahele au ma luna o ka ilihonua me nā moana,
A ʻĪnia ma mao, a me Kina kaulana;
Hōʻea i nā ʻaeʻai o Aferika, a nā palena o Europa,
A halawai me ka ikaika o nā ʻāina a pau;
A iāʻu i kū ai ma ka ʻaoʻao o nā Poʻo Aupuni,
Ka poʻe mana ma luna o ka lākou, me ka hiehie Aliʻi;
Hoʻomaopopo ihola i ka uku-iki, a nāwaliwali o koʻu,
Me koʻu Nohoaliʻi i hoʻokahuaʻia ma luna o kahi puʻu Pele;
A ma kahi o nā miliona i hoʻokō i kā kēia mau Mōʻi.
He mau tausani wale iho nō ma lalo o koʻu malu;
Akā, ke upu nei loko, naʻu ke Kaena hiki,
Aia he mau nani ma loko o nā pōʻai o koʻu mau ʻaeʻai—
I ʻoi aku ka makamae i kā oʻu mau hoa Mōʻi.
ʻAʻohe oʻu kumu hopo ma loko o koʻu Aupuni,
He hiki ke hui me koʻu lāhui, me ka weli ʻole;
ʻAʻohe makaʻu noʻu iho, me ke kiaʻi pili-paʻa ʻole ʻia,
A naʻu ke Kaena, he momi i hoʻounaʻia mai luna mai naʻu—
Eia iaʻu ke aloha ʻoiaiʻo o koʻu Aupuni.

KING KALĀKAUAʻS BOAST

Oʻer land and sea I’ve made my way
To farthest Ind. and great Cathay;
Reached Africʻs shore, and Europeʻs strand,
And met the mighty of every land;
And as I stood by each sovereignʻs side
Who ruled his realm with a royal pride
I felt how small my sway—and weak;—
My throne based on a mere volcanic peak,—
Where millions do these Kings obey,
Some thousands only own my sway.
And yet I feel that I may boast,
Some good within my sea-bound coast,
Richer than any of my grander peers.
That I within my realm need have no fears:—
May mingle with my people without dread;
No danger fear for my unguarded head,
And boast a treasure, sent me from above
That I have indeed, my peopleʻs love.
KE AU HO‘OPONOPONO AUPUNI O KA MŌ‘Ī KALĀKAUA.

He mea makehewa nō ka mea Kākau Mo‘olelo ke kueka‘a ana i nā mea a pau i hana‘ia a i ‘ike‘ia i loko o kona ho‘okele ‘ana i ka Wa‘a Aupuni o Hawai‘i nei, ‘oi'ai, ua kama‘āina ka hapanui o ia mau mea i kona mau maka‘āinana e noho nei me ke kūmākena nona. He ‘oi'ai o na‘e ua ho‘okele ‘o ia i kona Aupuni me ka no‘iau kamaha‘o loa i mahalo nui‘ia e nā Aupuni holo mua e a‘e o ka poepoe honua. Ua halawai nō ka wa‘a Aupuni o Hawai‘i nei ‘oi'ai ka hoeuli ma lalo o kāna pilalana ‘ana me nā poina nalu ‘ōkaikai e ho‘onaue‘ia ai ‘iliwai like o ka pahe‘e maika‘i o ka ne‘e ‘ana i mua; akā, ua hala a‘e ‘ia mau ‘ale po‘ipū me ka alo ho‘omanawanui ‘ana o ke Ali‘i, a hiki wale i ka waiho ‘ana o kona mau iwi i ka ‘āina ma mao, i ke kanalimakumamāhā o kona mau makahiki a me nā malama keu ‘elua. ‘A‘ole hiki ke ho‘ole‘ia, ‘a‘ole ‘o ia i hi‘ipo hiwahiwa i nā ho‘oholomua ‘ana i nā pōmaika‘i o kona Aupuni a me kona lāhuikanaka, a me he mea la, ke ‘ole ka mea kākau e kuhihewa, na ia mana‘o ho‘okahi no i ho‘olale iā ia e au hou i ke kai loa o ka Pākīpika, i loko o ka nāwaliwali o kona kino, a no ia mea, ua make! Ua hala! Ua Nalo! Pale nā maka! ‘O Kalākaua I ka ‘Imi Pono! Ka Na‘i Pōmaika‘i! Ka Ho‘olaupā‘i Waiwai o ka ‘Āina! Ka Ho‘olako Hale o ka Lāhui! ‘Oiai nō ‘O ia e hana ana i ka hana ho‘olaupā‘i waiwai no kona Aupuni, a i ka ‘Umikumamāhiku o nā makahiku [sic] o kona ho‘okele ho‘omanawanui ‘ana iā Hawai‘i Aloha.

Eia ma hope a‘e nei ka mo‘olelo piha o Ka Huaka‘i Hele Loa a Kalani no Kaleponi.

KA MŌ‘Ī NO KA ‘ĪPUKA GULA.

I loko o nā lā o ka hapa hope o ka makahiki 1890; ua ho‘omaopopo ‘ia ke ‘ano maika‘i ‘ole o ke olakino o ke Ali‘i ka Mō‘ī. Ma muli o ia kumu, ua ‘upu a‘ela ka pō‘ai o ke alo Ali‘i e ‘imi i kahi o na ea ‘olu‘olu no ka ho‘olana ‘ana aku i ke ola o ka Mō‘ī. A i ka ho‘omaopopo ‘ana o ka Adimarala Baraunu o ka moku kaua Amerika Kaletona i kēia mea, ua hā‘awi akula ‘ia ka
polo'ai i ke Ali'i e holo i Kapalakiko, me ka pâhola ʻana aku i kona moku kaua nui a maikaʻi ma lalo o kō ka Mōʻi ʻoluʻolu ke ae mai, no ka lawe ʻana aku iā ia no ka ʻimi ʻana i ka ʻoluʻolu ma ia ʻāina. Ma hope o ka noʻonoʻo o ʻia ʻana o kēia poloʻai a ka Adimarala, ua hoʻoholo ihola ka Mōʻi a me kona ʻAha Kuhina e ʻapo aku ia manaʻo; a no laila, ma ka Pōʻalua, lā 25 o Novemaba, ua kau akula ia ma luna o ua moku kaua la, a ʻau akula i ke kai no ka ʻĪpuka Gula o Kaleponi.

Me nā hōʻike ʻana a ke aloha Aliʻi kona mau makaʻāinana i hāʻawi aku ai iā ia i kō lākou mau manaʻolana ohohia me nā pule no ka loaʻa i kō lākou Mōʻi ka palekana a me ke ola maikaʻi ma kāna huakaʻi, a me ka huli hoʻi hou mai i loko o nā haʻawina maikaʻi me ka ikaiaka o kona kino.

I ka hala ʻana aku o ka moku i wahia, ua piʻi aʻela ka Mōʻi i luna o kahi kiʻekiʻena o ka ʻoneki, a huli maila kona mau maka me ke aloha ʻāina a nānā maila i ka waiho aku o ua oneoiwi nei. Pēlā i kau mai ai kona mau maka a nalowale o Oʻahu, malo maila hoʻi o Maui ma, a ke piʻi ala ka moku ma ka ʻākau aʻe o Hawaiʻi. A i ka hōʻea pono ʻana ma luna aku nei, ʻike ʻia akula ke kilihune iho o ka Uhiwai o Mānā, a kokolo aʻela hoʻi ka ʻohu a hūnā akula i ka ʻāina mai nā ʻōnohi Aliʻi aku; ia manawa i ʻike ʻia aku ai ka hāʻoloʻiloʻi ʻana mai o kona mau waimaka, a uwē ihola ia. Me he lā, ua hāʻupu hāliʻaliʻa wale aʻe nō i loko ona, o nā kulu waimaka ʻia o ka ʻāina e kanikau aku ana nona, a e hailona mai ana hoʻi ka noʻe o ka hūnā ʻana aku, ʻo kāna ʻike hope loa ʻana ʻia; a eha ihola, a uwē kaniuhū ihola. Aloha! Aloha wale ka puana ʻana aʻe o kona puʻuwai i nā manaʻo kaukau, a minamina wale ka lohe ʻole ʻia o ia mau kokoina no ka ʻāina; a me he lā, e puana aʻe ana i nēia mau māmā ʻōlelo:

Ke hāliʻaliʻa hoʻālohaloha aʻe nei loko,
Ke anoano aʻe nei nou e ka ʻāina;
Ke hāʻupu aʻe nei o ka hope na paha auaneʻi kēia,
‘Akahi ke anu mā‘e‘ele walania i ku‘u houpo—

Aloha! E hele au me ka ukana he waimaka.

HŌ‘EA I KAPALAKIKO.

Ma ke kakahiaka o ka lā 4 o Dekemaba, 1890, ua ho‘okomo akula ka mokukaua Amerika Kalekona ma loko o ka Īpuka Gula o ke awa o Kapalakiko me ka welo ha‘aheo ‘ana o ka hae Kalaunu o ke Aupuni Hawai‘i ma kona kia hope. E lawe aku ana i ka Mō‘ī Kalākaua ma nā ‘ae nei o Kaleponi, no ka ho‘ohala ‘ana i kekahi manawa ma lai lilo, a no ka hō‘olu‘olu ‘ana ho‘i i kona ola kino, ‘oiiai, ua luhi kona no‘ono‘o ma muli o ka nui o nā hana i loko o ke kau ‘Aha‘ōlelo e noho ana, a ‘a‘ole ‘uo ho‘i i maika‘i loa kona ola kino.

Ua ‘apo ‘ia maila ‘o ia me nā ho‘ohiwahiwa a pau e nā kupua o ia ‘āina kaulana, a ua ho‘okipa‘ia aku me ke aloha pumehoana [sic] ma ke ‘ano he malihini kamaha‘o na ke Aupuni, a he malihini Mō‘ī ho‘i na nā maka‘āinana.


I loko o nēia mau ho‘olaule‘a a me nā ho‘okipa‘ia ‘ana, ‘a‘ole loa i poina ka Mō‘ī i ka no‘ono‘o a‘e, aia nō he manawa no kēia mau ha‘awina o ke kino, a aia nō he manawa no nā ha‘awina o ka ‘uhane, a ua hele akula ‘o ia ma ke anaina ha‘ipule ma ka luakini Trinite ma ke Sabati. Ua hele pū aku nō ho‘i ‘o ia ma kekahi mau ‘aha ‘imi kōkua manawale‘a, a ua hā‘awi aku i kāna mau kōkua no ka ho‘oholomua ‘ana, ‘o ia ho‘i nā moa [sic] e pili ana i ke Home o nā Keiki Mākua ‘Ole.
NO NĀ KŪLANAKAUHALE KŪWAHO.

I loko o kēia manawa, ke hāʻawi ʻia nei i kēlā a me kēia lā, a i kēlā a me kēia pō, nā ʻahaʻaina a me nā hoʻohiwahiwa nani, a ua ʻike ʻia aku ka hoʻomaka ʻana aʻe o ka mohala mai o nā helhelena o ka Mōʻī. A ma multi o nā leo uwalo ikaika o nā makaʻāinana o na wahi e aʻe i ake nui e hōʻike mai i kō lākou aloha iā ia, ua ae akula ia e māʻalo iki aku ma waho o nā palena o ke kūlanakauhale o Kapalakiko; a no laila, ua haʻalele ihola ia ia wahi ma ka lā 27 o Dekemaba, ma lua o kekahi kaʻa māhu i hoʻomākaukaunia nona a me kona mau ukali, a holo akula nō nā kūlanakauhale o Los Angeles a me Sana Diego. Ma kekahi lā aʻe, ua holo akula ia i Los Angeles, a ua lilo koke akula ʻo ia i malihini hiwahiwa na kō laila mau Luna Aupuni a me nā kamaʻāina, a ua wehe ʻākea ʻia ka noa o nā wahi a pau o ke kūlanakauhale iā ia. Ua hāʻawi maila nā Luna Aupuni i ka lākou mau hoʻohiwahiwa kiʻekiʻe, a ua nui nā papa ʻaina i pāholaʻia mai i mua ona. I loko o kēia manawa, ua hoʻomaopopoʻia ka maikaʻi o ke ola o ka Mōʻī, a ua ikaika kona mau hiʻohiʻona, ʻaʻole hoʻi i hāʻupu ʻia e kau aku ana ka pilikia. Ma hope o ka mākaʻikaʻi ʻana i nā nani o ka ʻāina, ua loaʻa maila i ka Mōʻī he kono mai kekahi kanaka hānai holoholona, nona kekahi ʻāina nui he mau tausani ʻeka, a he mau lio nani kona. Ua ʻōleloʻia, o kona pa hānai holoholona ka ʻoi o ka nani ma ka mokuʻāina holoholo kekahi ʻāina hoʻokoʻa o Kapaʻa, a nona nō hoʻi nā lio maikaʻi loa. Ua holo akula ka Mōʻī no ua wahi nei, he 80 mile ma waho aku o ke kūlanakauhale o Los Angeles, a aia ma ia huakaʻi, ua pulu ihola ka Mōʻī me nā kulu paka ua, a ua loaʻa i ke anu. Ua ʻōleloʻia, ʻo kēlā loaʻa ʻana i ke anu ke kumu i ulu mai ai ka maʻi ma luna o kona kino a loʻohia ai i ka pilikia. He mea nō paha i maʻopopo ua ʻōmaʻimaʻi no ka Mōʻī i kona wā i haʻalele iho ai i kona ʻāina hānau nei; akā, ʻaʻole naʻe i manaʻoʻia ʻo ia ihola la maʻi nāna e lawe aku i kona ola. Mai loko mai o kēlā ʻana i loaʻa ai i ka Mōʻī, ua loli aʻela a lilo i fiva, a ua ʻāwīwī ka
huaka‘i a ke Ali‘i no ka huli ho‘i ‘ana no ke kūlanakauhale o Kapalakiko, a ua pale‘ia ka hele ‘ana aku i nā pā‘ina ho‘olaule‘a i ho‘omākaukau‘ia.

Ma ka Pō‘akolu, ‘o ia ka lā 14 o Ianuari, me ke kaohi ikaika aku nō o nā kauka, ua ha‘alele ihola nō na‘e kēlā i kona wahi moe me kona ‘onawaliwali nō, a hele akula i kekahi ‘aha‘aina nui i hā‘awi‘ia no ka ho‘ohiwahiwa ‘ana aku iā ia e ka ‘Ahahui Malū (Free Masons), a ma muli o ia hele ‘ana o ke Ali‘i ia ‘aha‘aina, ua mana‘o‘ia ‘o ia nō ke kumu nāna i hō‘oi aku ka ikaika o ka pāhola ‘ana iho o ka ma‘i pōpilikia ma luna ona.

Ua ho‘omaka koke maila ka nāwaliwali, a ua hō‘ike manawa ‘ole pū maila nō ho‘i ke ‘ano ‘ē o nā helehelena o ke Ali‘i. Ho‘omaopopo ihola nā kauka i kēia, no ka mea, ua loa‘a ‘ole kekahi mau kahoaka e hā‘awi mai ana i nā hi‘ohi‘ona o ka palekana ma muli o nā lā lā‘au e hā‘awi ‘ia ana. Ua ‘ike ‘ia ke ‘ano ‘oi aku o ka ikaika o ka ma‘i ma mua o ka hiki i ka lā‘au ke paio aku. Ua mau kēia mau ha‘awina ma luna o ke Ali‘i a hiki i ka lā Sabati, ‘o ia ka lā 4 o Ianuari, ua ‘ano mohala iki maila nā hi‘ona o ka Mō‘ī, a ‘upu nui ‘ia nā mana‘olana no ka pohala loa a‘e, akā, ‘a‘ole nō i ho‘okō ‘ia ia mau ‘i‘ini, no ka mea, ua kaholu hou ihola ka ma‘i ma ka pu‘upā‘a, ka ma‘i ho‘i i kapa‘ia o ka “Bright’s Disease;” a ua ho‘omaopopo pū ‘ia nō ho‘i ka ho‘omaka ‘ana mai o ka hui pū o nā ‘ano ma‘i me ka ikaika, a i loko o ia kūlana ‘o ia i waiho ai no kanahā kumamāwalu hora, a ua hiki ‘ole iā ia ke moni aku i nā mea ho‘oikaika kino i hā‘awi ‘ia aku.

Ma ka pō Pō‘akahi, lā 5 o Ianuari, ua ‘oi loa aku ka nāwaliwali o ka Mō‘ī, a ua ki‘i ‘ia ka Rev. F. H. Church, ‘o ia ho‘i ke kōkua Kahunapule o ka luakini Tirinite o ka ‘Oihana Ekalesia Episekopoly. Ua noho pū ia Kahunapule ma ka ‘ao‘ao o ka moe o ka Mō‘ī ia pō a ao, me ka hā‘awi mau i nā leo pule no ka ‘uhane o ke Ali‘i i ‘ane‘ane e pauaho i ke kino a ha‘alele mai i kēia ola ‘ana. A ua ho‘ā‘o ‘ia e hā‘awi aku i mua o ke Ali‘i i nā hō‘ailona hope loa o ke Ekalesia, ua hiki ‘ole na‘e iā ia ke ho‘omaopopo mai. Aia nō na‘e i loko o kēia mau hā‘awina o ka
nāwaliwali, ua hoʻomaopopo ʻia aku nō ka ikaika o kona aho, me he lā e hoʻoikaika ana e pūʻili paʻa ahi i nā maʻawea o ke ola me ia no kekahī wahi manawa hou aku i hiki ai paha iā ia ke hōʻike mai i kekahī manaʻo e hoʻoni ana i kona houpo a e haehae ana hoʻi i kona puʻuwai. Aloha wale!

NA HORA HOPE LOA O KA MŌʻĪ.

He haʻawina kū i ke aloha a me ke ʻeʻehia launa ʻole kai kauhola iho ma luna o ka rumi kahi a ke Aliʻi ka Mōʻī e moe ʻāʻumeʻume ana me ka ʻānela o ka make. Ma kekahī ʻaoʻao o ka moe e kū aku ana he ʻelua mau kahanapule, nā kauka hoʻi o ka ʻuhane, e lawelawe ana i ka lāua hana, ʻoiai, ua waiho maila nā kauka o ke kino o ke Aliʻi i i kō lāua hoʻoamaopopo ʻana iho me ka mōakaka ua pau kō Kalākaua kuleana ma kēia ao.

Ma ke poʻo o ka moe, e noho ana ka ukali o ka Mōʻī, ʻo ia hoʻi ʻo Konela Robert Hoapili Baker, a me kona puʻipuʻi a ikaika, ua hiki ʻole iā ia ke hoʻopololei aʻe i kona kino, no ka mea, ua uhi pū ihola ke kauhola o ke kaumaha a kūlou ihola kona poʻo me ka helemakawalu ʻana o nā waimaka, a me ka hoʻoikaika e ʻuʻumi aku i ka haʻalulu kapalili o kona houpo. Lalau akula ʻo ia i ka lima hema o kona Haku Mōʻī a pūʻili maila me ka hoʻope ʻana iho o kona mau kuluwaimaka o ka ʻehaʻeha.

Aia hoʻi ma kekahī ʻaoʻao o ka moe e kūlou mai ana ka Konela G. W. Makapolena, ka Puʻuku o ke Aliʻi, me kona helehelena i hele a luʻuluʻu, ʻoiai, ma muli o kēia loʻohia ʻia ʻana o ka Mōʻī me ka maʻi kūpilikiʻi, ua lilo ʻia mea nāna e hahau iho i ke kaumaha walania ma luna ona, a ua loaʻa iā ʻo ia i kekahī ʻano ʻōmaʻimaʻiʻi; a ua hōʻike pū mai kona mau helehelena i ka hoʻopulu pē ʻia e nā waimaka.

Aia ma ke kūono, e ʻōkuʻu ana i lalo o ka papahele o Kahikina Kahului e uwē haloʻuloʻu ana me ka hiolo o nā waimaka ʻehaʻeha o ke kanikau. E ʻalawa aku ana i nā hiʻohiʻona o kona Haku Aliʻi a huli hou ihola i lalo me ka pūʻiki ʻana o kona mau lima i kona mau pāpālina. A ʻoiai

He kīhei kilika ke uhi ana i ke kino o ke Ali‘i, a ‘oiai ‘o ia i loko o nā ‘ā‘ili pauaho, ua kā a‘ela kekahī o kona mau lima a waiho wale, ia manawa i ‘ike ‘ia aku ai kō Kalua kokolo ‘ana aku a lalau mālie akula i ka lima o ke Ali‘i, a ho‘omaka ihola e lomi me ka ho‘oku‘u ‘ana aku i kona mau waimaka e hele makawalu. A i ka nānā ‘ana aku o nā makamaka kaka‘ikahi i ‘ākoakoa mai a puni kēia moe hope loa o ka Mō‘ī, a ‘ike akula i nā hana a kona kahū wahine, ua ho‘opīha ‘ia lākou me ke aloha kūpouli a helele‘i like maila kō lākou mau waimaka.

I ke kakahiaka o ia lā, ua hō‘ea a‘e nā Kauka Woods, Watts, Sanger a me Taylor, a ua hui pū ihola lākou e no‘ono‘o no kō ka Mō‘ī kūlana, a ua hō‘ike a‘ela, ma kō lākou mana‘o, ‘a‘ole e hala nā hora kaka‘ikahi i ka Mō‘ī n alohia aku ‘o ia. I kēia manawa, he kanahā a ‘oi hora o kō ka Mō‘ī waiho ‘ana me ka ‘ike ‘ole a‘e i nā mea i mua ona, a ho‘okahi wale nō manawa i ho‘i mai ai ke ao ali‘i, ‘o ia kona ‘ike ‘ana mai ka Adimarala Baraunu a minoaka maila, me he lā e hā‘awi mai ana i kāna mau kānaenae aloha hope loa nō ke Ali‘imoku nāna i hi‘ialo aku īa ia me ka hiwahiwa a hō‘ea i nā kapa kai o ia ‘āina kamaha‘o; a ia manawa nō ho‘i ‘o ia i huli a‘e ai a pane
a’ela i kāna mau hua’ōlelo hope loa iā R. Hoapili Baker i ka pane ‘ana a’e i nēia mau hua’ōlelo o ka hō’e ha’e ha—

“Auwē; he kanaka au eia i loko o ke kūkonukonu o ka ma‘i!”

‘O kā ke Ali‘i mau hua’ōlelo aokanaka hope loa ihō kēia, a ‘o ka pau ‘ana ia. Ma hope mai, he mau hua’ōlelo wale nō i loko o ka waonahele o ka no‘ono’o i nāwaliwali a i loko ho‘i o ka ‘auwana; a i loko o ka manawa a kona kino wailua e ‘ane‘ane aku ana e niau palanehe i loko o nā ‘ēheu o ke awāwa kūpouli o ka make, ua puana a’ela ‘ia i nā mea hope loa e kau ana i mua o nā onohi o kona mau ho‘omana‘o ‘ana, a hō‘ike maila ua huli hope akula kona no‘ono’o i loko o nā ‘auwana a aia i waena o nā lā o kona au ma mua aku o ka noho ‘ana a’e ma luna o ka Nohoali‘i o Hawai‘i, i he mau mahāiki lehulehu ho‘i i hala hope akula. Ua puana a’ela ‘ia i kāna mau māmala ma ka ‘ōlelo o kona ‘āina makuahine nei, a hiki akula ma ka ‘ae one o Kaiakeaakua, a me he lā, i loko o ia manawa, aia ‘o ia e kūkilakila ana me ka nānā aku o kona mau maka Ali‘i ma luna o nā nalu o ia kū‘ono kai malino, a e kilohi ana i nā ale hānupanupu ka moana Pākīpika, e like ho‘i me kāna i hana mau ai i nā lā i au wale akula. Ua pau a’ela kona no‘ono‘o a me nā ho‘omana‘o ‘ana i kona kūlana Ali‘i a me ke kilakila, a aia ‘o ia i kahi e ‘ike hope loa aku ai i ka nani molale maika‘i o kona ‘āina kulāiwi.

I loko o kēia manawa, ‘a‘ole loa i ho‘omaopopo ‘ia aku nā hi‘ona e mana‘o ‘ia ai aia nā minute hope loa o ka Mō‘ī i loko o ka ‘eha‘eha, akā, ‘o ka nape ‘ana o kona umauma a me ka pūanuanu o kona mau pāpālina nā mea i nānā i hō‘ike mai eia aku ka ‘ānela a ka make ke ne‘e ho‘okokoke maila.

I ka hora 12:30, ua ‘ike ‘ia akula ke ka‘aka‘a ‘ana o nā maka o ka Mō‘ī, a holo a‘ela nā hi’ōhi‘ona o ke ‘ano aokanaka, e like me ka mā‘alo ‘ana a’e o ke aka kukuna o ka lā a nalo koke akula, pēlā nō ia mau hi‘ona i mā‘alo a‘e ai a nalo hia koke akula mai luna aku o nā helehelena o
ka Mō‘i. ‘O ka po‘e a pau e pō‘ai punī ‘ana i ka moe o ka Mō‘i, ua haka pono akula kō lākou mau maka me ka pīhōihoi nui, me ka mana‘olana e puana mai ana ‘o ia he mau mapuna ‘ōlelo, akā, ua ho‘onele ‘ia kō lākou mau mana‘olana, no ka mea, ua pili mālie hou ihola nā maka o ke Ali‘i.

Ma hope koke iho o ka hora ‘ekahi, ua puana a‘ela ‘o Kauka Woods, ua pau ka pono o nā ho‘oikaika ‘ana e kāohi mai i ka ‘uhane o ka Mō‘i. “‘Ānō, e nā hoaloha,” wahi a ua Kauka Woods nei, “‘o ke kali wale aku nō ka kākou hana i koe no ka hopena. ‘A‘ole e mau aku kona aho ma mua o ka hapa hora, a ke kanalua nei au ‘a‘ole nō paha e hala ‘ia kōwā iā ia.

Aia i loko o kēia manawa i ho‘omaka ai ka ‘ike ‘ia ‘ana o ka hanu paupauaho o ke Ali‘i ka Mō‘i, a ‘ōkūkū maila nā ‘ōmaka hou pūanuanu ma kona mau pāpālina, a na nā lima aloha o kona mau ukali i holoi aku me ka hainakā, ‘oiai, aia nō lākou ke kū ho‘opuni ala i kahi moe o ka Mō‘i. Ua maopopo ihola iā lākou a pau ‘o ka hopena kēia o ka Mō‘i, a ke nānā akula a nānā mai me ka ho‘oku‘u o nā maka nā ka waimaka nō e hele.


‘O Kahikina ho‘i, ke kauwā i mālama mau i ke kapu o kona Ali‘i ma ke kukuli ana i nā manawa a pau āna e hō‘ea aku ai i mua ona me ke kolo, a ‘ānō, i loko o ia manawa, ke kukuli la ‘o ia ma ka ‘ao‘ao o kona Mō‘i; me nā maka piha i ke kaumaha, nānā akula i nā helehehelena āna i make‘e ai, a ho‘omaka a‘ela ia e uwē ha‘alipo me ka pū‘iki ‘ana a‘e i kona mau oho lauoho.
I loko o ka rumi ia manawa ka Adimarala Baraunu, Kanikela Kenerala McKinley a me ka wahine, ke Aliʻi C. R. Bihopa; a me kekahi mau lede e aʻe a me kō ka Mōʻi mau Ukali, ua hoʻopulu wale ʻia nō kō lākou mau maka me nā kipona ʻehaʻeha o ka waimaka.

ʻOiai e kukuli ana ke Kahunapule Rev. J. Sanders Reed, ua heluhelu aʻela ʻia i ka Halelū iwakālua—“ʻO Lehova koʻu Kahuhipa.” Ua lohe ʻia kēia me ka ʻeʻehia, a ma hope koke iho, ua kūlou ihola ʻo Konela Makapolena ma ke alo o ka Mōʻi, a me ka nānā iho ma luna o kona mau maka, pane ihola: “ʻOia ike nō aneʻi ʻoe iāʻu e kuʻu Haku Aliʻi? Ua ʻike nō ʻoe iāʻu?” ‘Aʻole loa he mau hōʻailona no ka ʻike mai o ke Aliʻi, akā, me he lā ua oni lihi aʻe nō nā lihlihi maka o ka Mōʻi me he lā ua makemake ʻo ia e hōʻike aʻe ua hoʻomao poʻopopo nō ʻo ia i kona Puʻukū, akā, ua nāwaliwali a nele i ke aho ka ikaika o ke kino.

I ka hora 1:34, ua pane aʻela ka Rev. Mr. Reed i mua o ke anaina kaumaha: “E kukuli anei kākou no ka pule?” Ua kukuli ihola nā poʻe a pau, a ua hoʻomaka ka pule me nā hīmeni, me ka hoʻomaha liʻiliʻi ʻana; a ma waena o kekahi o nā manawa hoʻomaha, ʻoiaina e kū ana ʻo R. A. Baker me ka pūʻili i nā lima o ka Mōʻi, ua kamaʻilio ihola i ke Aliʻi, e ake ana e ʻike aku i ka huli hoʻi mai o ka noʻonoʻo o a me ke aoaliʻi o kona Haku, akā, ʻaʻole hiki, no ka mea, ua ʻaneʻane maila ka hopena.

Ia manawa, kukuli ihola ke Kahunapule i lalo ma ka ʻaoʻao ma ke poʻo o ka Mōʻi, a hāʻawi aʻela i kāna pule no ka ʻUhane Aliʻi, a penei kāna pule ʻana aʻe:

“E ka Haku! E Iesū Kristo! Ke pule aku nei mākou i mua Oʻu e nānā aloha mai i kāu kauwā, ka mea hoʻi nona ka ʻuhane e ʻaneʻane ana e neʻe aku i mua o Kou alo, a ke noʻe aku nei mākou e kau mai i Kāu mau hoʻomaikaʻi ma luna ona. E Iesū, e like me Kāu alakaʻi ana iā ia i loko o kona ola ʻana, pēlā ʻOe e lawe aku ai iā ia ʻānō i loko o Kou poli. Ke waiho aku nei mākou i kona ʻUhane me Kāu mālama ʻana. E ae mai iā ia, e ka—
A i kēia manawa, ua meha ihola a maha ka pule no kekahi mau sekona; ea like aʻela nā maka o nā mea a pau, ua oki ihola a meha ka hanu ʻana o ka Mōʻī, a me he lā ua hala akula ke aho o ka Mōʻī. A no ka hapalua minute, ua moe oni ʻole aʻela ke kino Aliʻi, a ʻaʻole loa kekahī mapuna leo i puka aʻe, a laila, ua piʻi hou aʻela ka umauma o ke Aliʻi, a pohala hou aʻela ka hanu, a ua hoʻi hou maila kona aho, a ia manawa ua hoʻomau akula ke Kahunapule i kāna mau kalokalo ʻana i mua o nā Lani, a penei ʻo ia i hoʻomau aku ai i kāna pule:

ʻE hāʻawi mai iā ia e ka Haku i ke ola mau loa ma ʻō. E ka Haku Iesū, e hāʻawi mai iā ia i Kou ʻUhane Hemolele mau loa. E ae mai iā ia ia wahi manawa o ke aokanaka i loko o ka manaʻoʻiʻo, i loaʻa ai iā ia mau hōʻoluʻolu a me Kāu aloha huikala. E ka Haku, e komo aʻe ʻOe i loko o kona puʻuwai, a e—

I kēia manawa, ua haʻalele hou maila ka hanu Aliʻi i ke kino; a ma ka nānā aku me he lā o kona hopena loa ia, akā, a hala aʻela he manawa pōkole ua hoʻomaka hou aʻela ka Mōʻī e hanu, a holo akula ke ea i loko o kona puʻuwai, a hoʻomau hou akula ke Kahunapule—

ʻE hoʻomaʻemaʻe i kona ʻuhane. E ka Haku Iesū Karisto, e noho pū mai me ia ma ke kino, i hōʻea aku ai ʻo ia me ke kina ʻole i mua o ka Hemolele o nā Hemolele me nā Hemolele me nā hauʻoli a pau. E hāʻawi mai iā ia e ka Haku i ka maha mau loa.”

Nalo hou ihola ka hanu o ka Mōʻī, a huli aʻela kona mau maka i luna i ka lani kahi hoʻi e hoʻoneʻe ʻia akula nā leo pule nona, a ua holo aʻela ka ʻeʻehia ma luna o kēlā a me kēia. A hala aʻela he hapalua minute me ka oni ʻole aʻe o kekahī mea; hala hou aʻela he hapalua minute, a ʻōʻili aʻela ka hanu pīhoihoi mai kēlā a me kēia, ua hala ua pau loa akula ʻo Kalākaua Mōʻī o Hawaiʻi, a ʻo ka hora ʻelua ia a me kanakolu minute i hala o ka ʻauinalā Pōʻalua, Ianuari 20, ma loko o ka rumi nui o ka Hotele Aliʻi ma Kapalakiko.

1199 Spelled Kristo
Caption: ‘O kēia kiʻi ma luna aʻe ʻo ia ka hiʻōhiʻona o ke Aliʻi ka Mōʻī ma ka wā i lele ai Kona
Aho ma loko o ka Hotele Halealiʻi, ma ka hora 2:30 P. M., ʻo ko lā 20 o Ianuari, 1891, i lawe ʻia
no loko mai o kekahi nūpepa Kaleponi.

Ma hope o ka lele ʻana o ka hanu o ka Mōʻī, ua huki ʻia ihola ka hae Kalaunu e welo ana
mai ka pahuhae mai o ka Hotele Aliʻi, a hoʻohapa ʻia ka hae Amerika, a ua holopuni akula ka
lono me he uwila la ma nā paia o ke kūlanakauhale, a ua panikū ʻia aʻela nā ʻipuka o nā hale
ʻOihana Aupuni a me kō nā ʻOihana Kalepa, ua hapa nā hae, a ua kau ʻia nā hōʻike ʻeleʻele o ke
kanikau. Ua hōʻike koke akula ʻo Adimarala Baraunu i kēia lono kaumaha i ke alo Aupuni o
Amerika ma Wasinetona.

NO KA LUAKINI TIRINITE

Ma ke kakahiaka o ka Pōʻakolu, ma hope o ka waiho mālie ʻia ʻana o ke kino Aliʻi i loko
o ka ʻolowaʻa i kīnōhinohi ʻia me nā mea nani, ua hoʻihoʻi ʻia akula no ka luakini Tirinite no ke
kali ʻana i ka wā e lawe loa aku ai no ka mokukaua Kaletona. Ma kēia huakaʻi, ua ʻōlelo ʻia,
ʻaʻole loa i loaʻa i kekahī kino make nā hoʻohanohano kiʻekiʻe ʻia ma ka Mokuʻāina o Kaleponi.
Ua hulīmahī nā kānaka ma ka hōʻike ʻana i kō lākou kaumaha no ka Mōʻī i make, a no ke aloha
i ka lāhui Hawaiʻi. Ua ukali ʻia ka pahu kupapaʻu e nā pūʻali koa ʻāina a me kō ka moana, nā
luna aupuni a me nā ʻahahui malū a me ka lehulehu ma lalo o nā hoʻoponopono ʻana a Adimarala
Baraunu, a ua waiho ʻia ma loko o ua luakini nei me ke kūkaʻi ʻia e nā mahele koa o ke Aupuni.

NO KA MOKUKAUA KALETONA.

I loko o kēia manawa, ua loaʻa maila iā Adimarala Baraunu ke kauoha mai ke Aupuni
mai, e hoʻomākaukau i kona moku no ka hoʻihoʻi ʻana mai iā Kalani no ke one hānau nei, a e
kauoha pū ana hoʻi i nā Luna Aupuni e hāʻawi aʻe i nā hoʻohanohano a me nā hoʻohiwahiwa a
pau ma ka inoa o ke Aupuni a me ka lāhui Amerika ma ka huakaʻi hoʻolewa a lawe aku ai i ke
kino o ka Mōʻī a kau i luna o ke Kaletona. A ua hoʻokō ʻia e like me ia kauoha. ʻAʻole he huakaʻi eʻehia a anoano piha hanohano i ʻike ʻia ma ia ʻāina ma mua aku, a ua koho ʻia ka heluna o nā kānaka i ʻākoakoa aʻe ma kahi i ka hoʻokahi haerī [haneri] tausani a ʻoi. I kēia huakaʻi i ʻike ʻia ai ka meha pū o nā kānaka, e hōʻike mai ana kō làkou mau helehelena—āia he Mōʻī na làkou i aloha i kona wā e ola ana, a i minamina hoʻi i kona make ʻana.

I ka hoʻomaka ʻana o ka huakaʻi, ua kō ʻia nā pū kanikau no hoʻokahi hora mai nā mokukaua a me ka Pāpū mai o ke awa, a i ka ʻauinalā ua kau ʻia ma luna o ka mokuahi Madron, a i ka hora 4 ua kau hou akula ke kino i luna o ke Kaletona, me ke kani o nā leo o ka Pūʻali Puhi ʻOhe i ke mele Lāhui Hawaiʻi.

I loko o ia manawa i uhau ʻia iho ai ke kaumaha i luna o nā mea a pau o luna o ua moku nei. Kukū aʻela làkou me nā pāpale i wehe ʻia a me nā poʻo kūlou, a he mea e paha kō lākou [sic] hoʻomanaʻo ʻana aʻe, aia he mau la helu wale nō, ua alo aku lākou i ke kai me ke kino ola o ka Mōʻī, akā, i loko naʻe o ka manawa a lākou i hāʻupu ʻole ai, ua kāʻili ʻia akula ke aho o ua Lani Mōʻī la, ka mea nāna i hoʻohanohano kō lākou halelana me ka hae kalaunu o ka Paredaiso o ka Pākīpika. He mea maopopo, aia i kō lākou ʻalawa ʻana aʻe ma ka ʻoneki a ka Mōʻī i holoholo ai, e hakukoʻi mai ana no kō lākou mau waimaka o ke aloha.

HŌʻEA HOU I KA ʻĀINA.

Ma ke kakahiaka o ka Pōʻahā, lā 29 o Ianuari, ua lawe hoʻopūʻiwa maila ka uwea ʻōlelo i ka lono a pāhola aʻela ma nā wahi a pau o ke kūlanakahale, eia aʻe ka mokukaua Kaletona ke neʻe maila ma waho aʻe o Māmala. Ua hoʻomaka koke aʻela ke pīʻolo ke ʻana a me ka pīhoihoi o ka lehulehu, e nīnau aku ana nīnau mai—ʻo ke Kaletona ʻiʻo anei? A ʻoi aia nā nūnē ʻana i waena o ka lehulehu, aia hoʻi, ua hōʻike hou ʻia maila ka lono—ʻo ke Kaletona ʻiʻo nō ua hapa nā hae!
He mea e ke pūanuanu o ka hoʻopā ‘ia ‘ana mai o kēia lono, a walania wale ka houpo. A no ka minamina o kekahi poʻe lehulehu i ke Aliʻi, ua kānalua nō lákou i ka manaʻoiʻo aku i kēia lono.

Akā, aia i ka hiki ‘ana i ka hora 9, ua hōʻike ‘ia maila ka lono e nā hae lawe ʻōlelo o ua Kaletona nei ka mokukaua Mohican, a ua kau hapa ‘ia ihola ka hae o ia moku, a ‘o ka manawa ia i hiki ‘ole ai ke kānalua iho—ua make ‘o Kalani! ‘O nā uwapo o ka ‘ae‘akai, ua piha ‘ū akula i nā makaʻāinana, a i ka wā a ke Kaletona e hoʻokomo mālie mai ana i ka nuku o Māmala, me ka uhipaʻa ‘ia me nā kāhanahana kanikau, aia hoʻi, ua haehae aʻela nā leo kūmākena o ka lehulehu i nā ʻēheu ea o ka lewa.

**NO KA HOME ALIʻI**

I ka hora 5 ka manawa hoʻi i hoʻoholo ‘ia ai e hoʻolele mai ai i ke kino o ke Aliʻi, ua hoʻokekē aʻela nā makaʻāinana, a me he lā, ‘aʻole paha i emi iho ma lalo o ‘umi tausani kō lākou nui. Ua kau ‘ia ihola ka pahu kupapaʻu nani o ke Aliʻi i luna o ka waʻapa o ke Kaletona, a ua ukali maila he huakaʻi kamahaʻo a ʻeʻehia i ʻike ‘ole ‘ia kona lua ma loko o kēia Aupuni. Ua kai lalani maila nā waʻapa o nā moku kaua me ka naue mālie loa, a ma lalo hoʻi o ke kī ‘ana o nā moku a me ka pāpū i nā pū kanikau. ʻO kahi i hoʻomākaukau ʻia no ka hoʻokipa ʻana aku i ke kino make o ke Aliʻi; ʻo ia nō kēlā uwapo o ka Hui Mokumāhu Holo Pili ʻĀina, kahi hope loa nō hoʻi a ka Mōʻi i kū ai ma luna o ka papakū ilihioua o kona ʻāina ma mua o kona haʻalele ʻana iho no ka ʻĀina Gula he mau mahina ʻehā wale nō ma mua aku. Ma kēa wahi, ua hoʻololi ʻia aʻela nā hiʻohiʻona o ka piʻo hoʻohiwaʻi manaʻo ʻia no ka hoʻokipa hauʻoli ʻana mai iā ia, a lilo aʻela he mau hiʻohiʻona hāʻeleʻele o ke kanikau kūmākena. Ia manawa, he mau helehelena kūʻōʻō o ke kaniʻuhū lihaliha ke kau ana ma luna o ka lehulehu, a ua ʻuhola aʻela nā ao hāʻeleʻele ma nā pōʻai o ka lewaluna a hiolo maila nā kuluwaimaka o Kulanihākoʻi, e hōʻike mai ana, ʻaʻole ʻo kō ka honua wale nō kai ʻike i ka luʻuluʻu, akā, ʻo kō ka lani kekahi, e uwē ana no ka
‘āha‘i kolonahe ‘ia ‘ana aku o nā mana‘olana o Hawai‘i i ka wā a ka Mō‘ī i ha‘alele hope loa iho ai.

Ma kēia uwapo, ua lele maila nā haneri koa me nā luina me nā ‘a‘ahu a me nā pū o nā manuwā Amerika Kaletona, Mohican a me kō Beritania ka Nymph, a kūkū lālani ihola ma kēlā me kēia ‘ao‘ao o ke alanui Pāpū. Ma kahi pono‘i e ho‘olele ‘ia aku ai ka hopena o ka Mō‘ī, e kukū lālani ana he mahele o nā māka‘i ma lalo o Kapena Kamanā a me na Lutanela Nahoe‘olewa a me Ka‘iana; a ma lalo ho‘i o ke Ali‘i Māka‘i o nā ka‘a, Mr. S. Macy, ua maluhia ke alahele mai ka huikau o nā ka‘a.

Ne‘e maila ka wa‘apa me kāna ukana i uhi ‘ia me ka ‘ele‘ele, me nā pua a me nā lau a kō Kaleponi mau pu‘uwai aloha i waiho iho ai ma luna o ka pahu, a pili a‘ela i ka uwapo. A ma laila e kakali mai ana nā Meahanohano na Kuhina o ka Lani i hala, John A. Cummins, C. N. Spencer, Godfrey Brown a me A. P. Peterson; ke Kanikela Kenerala J. L. Stevens o Amerika Huipū‘ia; A. L. Severance, Kanikela o Amerika Huipū‘ia; F. A. Schaefer, ke Po‘o o nā Kanikela ma Hawai‘i nei; Hon. C. P. Iaukea, Kākau‘ōlelo o ke Ke‘ena o nā ‘Āina ‘È; a me nā maka hanohano he lehulehu.

I ka pili ‘ana mai i ka uwapo, ua hāpai mālie ‘ia a‘ela ka ‘olowa‘a kanikau e nā lima o kekahī pū‘ali i wae ‘ia o nā luina o ka mokukaua Kaletona, a me ka nehe mālie i lawe ‘ia aku ai a kau i luna o ke ka‘a mānele o H. H. Williams, i ho‘omāka‘e ia no ka manawa, me nā lio ‘ele‘ele ‘ehā kō lākou nui e huki ana.

‘E‘ehia, mānewanewa a pilihua ka houpo i ke kaumaha i loko o kēia manawa; ‘o ka ho‘omaka ‘ana ia o ka huaka‘i e ne‘e, a ua ukali maila nā maka‘āinana me kō lākou mau waimaka a me nā leo kūmākena. Aia ka Pū‘ali Puhi ‘Ohe o ke Kaletona ma mua loa me nā leo kanikau kahi i ne‘e mālie aku ai, a me ka mālie i ne‘e pū aku ai me nā ‘umi tausani maka‘āinana.
ʻO na Kuhina, ka Adimarala Baraunu me nā Aliʻimoku, nā Luna Aupuni ua ukali akula ma hope pono o ke kaʻa.

Aia i ka neʻe ʻana aku o ka huakaʻi a hōʻea i ka puka pā Kauïkeaouli, ua ʻike ʻia akula ka piʻo ʻana aʻe o kekahī ānuenue nani kamahaʻo lua ʻole mai ke kūkulu ʻākau a i ka hema o ka Hale Aliʻi, a kilihune ihola nā paka ua ma luna o nā kukui o ʻIwikauʻikaua e lalapa aʻe ana ma kēlā a me kēia ʻaoʻao o ka Hale Aliʻi, a aia ia manawa hoʻokahi, ua ʻike ʻia akula ka Mōʻī wahine Kānemake Kapiʻolani i ka puka ʻana mai ma nā ʻīpuka o luna a me nā hiʻohiʻona i hele wale a ʻeha i ka pehua e nā kui houhou o ka walania, me nā maka i hoʻopulupē ʻia, ua ane peʻahi maila kona mau lima, a me ka leo uwē haʻaloʻuloʻu, puana maila i ka wā a kāna Lani e komo aku ana i ka ʻīpuka pa—ʻHe—ma—i!” Auwē! Ka manaʻonaʻo. Na ia leo Aliʻi i me ia mau huaʻolelo walohia i hoʻolauʻi aʻe i nā leo wawalo o ka lehulehu a olo aʻela kekahai o nā kūmākena nui i lohe ʻia ma loko o nā paia o ia pā ʻeʻehia.

Maʻa neʻi, e kukū lālani ana nā lālā o ka Pūʻali Kinaiahi Helu 4 a a me nā lālā o ka ʻAhahui o nā ʻŌiwi o Hawaiʻi i ma kēlā a me kēia ʻaoʻao hema o ke alaʻiʻi o ka Hale Aliʻi na Koa Pūʻali Aliʻi, a ma ka ʻaoʻao ʻākau ka Pūʻali Puhi ʻOhe Aliʻi e puhi ana i nā leo kanikau.

Na ka pūʻali manuwā i hāpai mālie hou aku i ka ʻolowaʻa o ka Mōʻī a lawe akula no ka lumi kalauʻun. Aia ma ka Hale Aliʻi e kū maikaikau mai ana no ka ʻapo ʻana aku i ke kino hopena o ke Aliʻi, ka Hon. J. O. Dominis; ke Kamāliʻi wahine Poʻomaikalani; Hon. A. S. Cleghorn; Ka Mea Mahaloʻia J. A. Cummins, Hon. A. F. Judd, Lunakānāwai Kiʻekiʻe, me nā Lunakānāwai McCully, Bickerton a me Dole o ka ʻAha Kiʻekiʻe; nā Hons. J. S. Walker me W. G. Irwin. Ma waena o ia poʻe ka Hope Puʻukū J. W. Robertson, Konela J. H. Boyd, nā Mekia J. D. Holt a me H. F. Bertlemann a me Kapena E. K. Lilikalani me kō lākou mau ʻaʻahu piha. Ma hope aku o ka
pahu i ka lawe 'ia 'ana aku i loko o ka lumi kalaunu ke Haku Bihopa o Honolulu a me nā Rev. A. S. Barnes me S. H. Davis o ka Ekalesia Ho'omana 'Enelani.

Ua lawe 'ia aku ka pahu a kau ma luna o kekahi wahi i ho'omāka'aukau 'ia i waenakonu o ka lumi kalaunu. Ma luna iho ke kalaunu o ka Mō‘ī i make a me kāna pahi me ke ko‘oko‘o Ali‘i ma luna iho o kekahi uluna veleveta i kīnōhinohi 'ia me ke gula. I ka pau 'ana o nā hana, ua hōʻike 'ia akula 'o Adimarala Baraunu me nā Aliʻimoku i mua o ka Mōʻī wahine, a ua 'eʻehia a piha aloha ia manawa.

KE KAOLA KŪMĀKENA

Ma ka Pōʻalima, Januari 30, ua 'ae 'ia maila ka lehulehu e kome aku e hōʻike i kō lākou aloha a makeʻe Aliʻi. A he mea 'ē ka wawalo o nā leo kūpinaʻi o ke kūmākena ma luna o ka lāhui. I ke komo ‘ana aku, e 'ike 'ia aku ana ua uhi 'ia kahi a ka pahu e kau ana me ka 'ahu 'ula nani a kahiko nō hoʻi o ke Aliʻi wahine Kiʻekiʻe Nahiʻenaʻena, a ua uhi ihola he 'ahu 'ula hou ma luna o ka pahu; a ma waena o ka pahu e kauhola ana nā pahi me ke koʻokoʻo o Aliʻi i uhi 'ia me ke kanikau, a ma luna iho ke kalaunu o ka Mōʻī.

Ma loko aku o ka ʻīpuka komohana o ka lumi kalaunu, he ‘elua mau kāhili nui, a he ʻekolu ma kēlā a me kēia ʻaoʻao o ka pahu, he ʻehā kāhili ma ke poʻo e huli ana i ka hikina a he ʻekolu ma nā wāwae e huli ana i ke komohana, a ma nā ʻaoʻao o ka pahu na paʻa kāhili. ʻO ke kāhili hulumamo kaulana ʻo ia o Kaʻohoaka, aia ma ke poʻo kahi i kū ai.

Ma ke poʻo, e kūlou ana ma luna iho o ka pahu, ka Mōʻī wahine Kānemake, e uwē ana me ka ʻehaʻeha, a he mea 'ē ke aloha i ka ʻike aku, a ma kahi e kokoke mai ana ka Mōʻī wahine Liliʻuokalani me kona helehelena i hele wale a ʻehaʻaha [ʻehaʻeha] i ka pehia e ka ua a ka luʻuluʻu, a e pōʻai mai ana nā lālā e aʻe o ke Aloaliʻi a me nā Luna Aupuni a e ʻike 'ia ke kiʻi o kēia hiʻona ma kinohi o kēia buke.
ʻO kēia ka panina o nā hana, a hoʻomaka maila ke kū kiaʻi ʻia me ke anoano o nā kāhili e kāmoe ana i ke ao a me ka pō, a me nā leo kanikau o nā makaʻāinana e paʻiāuma aku ana ma loko o nā pōʻai o ka pā Aliʻi.

ʻAʻole loa mai kinohi mai i ʻike ʻia ai ka uhi ʻia o nā kauhale o ke kūlanakauhale nei me nā kanikau e ʻike la me ka make ʻana o Kalākaua, e hōʻike mai ana, he Mōʻi ʻo ia i aloha a i makeʻe nui ʻia:

Aloha! Aloha Kaulilua-i-ke-anu-waiʻaleʻale,

Ua niau palanehe aku, i ke ʻala Polikuakāne;

Uhi e ka luʻuluʻuʻu, mai Hawaiʻi a Niʻihau,

Uwē waimaka pū, na Aupuni nui o ke ao.

KA WALOHIA ALIʻI

I ka hōʻea ʻana aku o ka lono i ke alo o ke Kamāliʻi wahine ʻŌpio Kaʻiulani no ka make ʻana aku o kona Makua Mōʻi, ʻoiai kēlā ma ʻEnelani, ua kauhola akula ke kaumaha nui ma luna o kona ʻōiwi ʻōpio, a hoʻouina koke maila ʻo ia i ke kauoha ma ke telegarapa i Kapalakiko, e hana ʻia i lei o nā pua nani a me nā huaʻōlelo i hoʻonohonoho ʻia ʻo nā ʻōpuʻu ʻala me nēia mau mapuna o kona aloha—“Aloha me ka Paumākō!” A e kau ʻia ma luna o ka pahu. Ua hoʻokōʻia kēia. Paumākō ka [sic] aloha walohia.

KA HANA ALOHA.

ʻOiai ka Mōʻi e waiho ana i loko o ka maʻi kūpilikīʻi, ua lawe ʻia akula ka lono no ka hoʻouina ʻana mai o kekahhi wahine haole i mua ona i kōkua, ʻoiai, ua loʻohia ʻia ʻo ia i ka maʻi a ua ʻilihune loa. I ka hōʻike ʻia ʻana aku o kēia mea, ua kauoha koke ka Mōʻi e hāʻawi ʻia nā kōkua a pau a e mālama maikaʻi ʻia ʻo ia a hiki i ka hopena. Ua hoʻokōʻia ʻia kēia kauoha hana
aloha manawale‘a hope loa a ka Mō‘ī. ‘O kēia wahine ‘o ia nō ‘o Mrs. J. W. Lunning, a ua noho mua ma Honolulu nei. Ua hō‘ike ‘ia a‘e, ua ha‘alele aku kāna kāne iā ia me ka waiho aku i loko o ka ma‘i a me ka nele. Aloha a hāmama ka pu‘uwai o ka Mō‘ī.

NĀ HUA‘OLELO HOPE LOA A KE ALI‘I KA MŌ‘Ī KALĀKAUA I MĀLAMA ‘IA I LOKO O KA IPU UWILA ‘OLELE. [‘OLELO]

Ma waho a‘e o kahi pō‘ai u‘uku o nā hoaloha pili pa‘a, a me nā kahu lawelawe o ka Mō‘ī i make, ka po‘e ho‘i i ‘ae ia e komo aku i loko o ke ke‘ena mai, ‘a‘ole na‘e i ho‘omaopopo ‘ia no nā lā he nui ma mua a‘e o ka lele ‘ana o ka hanu hope o ka Lani Mō‘ī, aia ho [ho‘i] e kū ana ma ka ‘ao‘ao o ka moe o kō Ali‘i he Pahu Uwila (Phonograph.) He lehulehu wale ka po‘e i ‘ike i ua wahi pahu ‘la [ala], akā ‘a‘ole na‘e i maopopo iā lākou, he aha la ka hana, a me ke ‘ano o ua wahi pahu la. ‘Oiai i loko o nā lā e pihoihoi ana nā mea a pau ma mua iho o ka make ‘ana o ke Ali‘i, a ‘oiai ho‘i e ho‘oikaika ana nā ‘ike a pau no ka ma‘alahi o ke kino ola o ka Mō‘ī, aia ho‘i ke kū maila ua wahi pahu la ma kona kihi ‘ano pōuliuli me ka nānā ‘ole ‘ia, a ho‘omaopopo ‘ole ‘ia aku hoe wale nō ka Pu‘ukū a me ke Kākau‘olelo pono‘i o ka Mō‘ī.

I ka manawa i lawe ‘ia mai ai o ua wahi pahu la i loko o ke ke‘ena ma‘i, he pula ma mua a‘e o ka make ‘ana o ka Mō‘ī e ka Pu‘ukū Makapolena, ua wehewehe mua akula ‘o ia i ka Mō‘ī i ke ‘ano o nā hana a ua wahi pahu la, me kona noi aku i ka Mō‘ī, he mea pono iā ia e kama‘ilio pinepine i ua wahi pahu la ma kahi o ka lawe ‘olelo. ‘A‘ole loa i ho‘omaopopo ‘ia ua kokoke mai ka hope na o ka Mō‘ī, akā, ua kono ikaika ‘ia aku na‘e ‘o ia he mea pono e kama‘ilio pinepine ‘o ia i loko o ua wahi pahu la, ‘oiai aia ma nā lā ma hope aku e loa‘a ana auane‘i he hau‘ole ki‘eki‘e no kona lāhui kanaka ka lohe hou ‘ana i ka leo o kō lākou haku mua i hala e aku. ‘A‘ole loa i mana‘o iki ‘ia mai ka Mō‘ī a me kāna Pu‘ukū aia he manawa pōkole loa mai kēlā manawa mai e lilo ana nā wahi māmala ‘olelo kaka‘ikahi i ‘olelo ‘ia loko o ua wahi pahu la i mea nui loa.
I ka manawa i a’e mai ai ka Mō‘ī ua ala maila ‘o ia, a noho i luna, a ho‘okomo maila i ke kū‘au o kahi o kama‘ilio ai i loko o kahi e kama‘ilio ai i loko o ka waha, a kama‘ilio akula me ke alahele loa ma kāna ‘ōlelo makuahine a hala nā minute he ‘umi, a i ka pau ‘ana ua hina akula ke po‘o o ka Mō‘ī i hope i luna o ka uluna me ka paupauho, akā ua ‘ōlelo mai nō na‘e ka Mō‘ī aia a ikaika iki a‘e a laila kama‘ilio hou ‘o ia no ka ho‘olawa ‘ana i kāna mau ‘ōlelo mu. Ma kekahī lā a‘e, ua ulu maila nā pīhoihoi no kekahī ‘aha‘aina nui i hāpai ‘ia no ka hanohano o ka Mō‘ī ma loko o ka Hotele Kaleponi a no laila ua poina ‘ia ihola ua wahi pahu la. Ma kekahī lā a‘e ho‘i aia ho‘i he ‘aha‘aina hou nō no ka hanohano o ka Mō‘ī, no ia kumu ia ua poina hou ia ihola no ua wahi pahu ‘ōlelo la.

Ma hope mai o ia wā a hō‘ea wale i ka wā i sila ‘ia iho ai nā lehelehe ali‘i i ke kākali ahonui akula ‘o Pu‘ukū Makapolena a me Kākau‘ōlelo Baker e ake nui ana e ho‘i hou mai nā no‘ono‘o maika‘i o ka Mō‘ī i hiki ai la ho‘i ke loa‘a hou hou mau wahi māmala ‘ōlelo hou i loko o ua wahi pahu la.

Ma ka Pō‘akolu a‘e ka lā ma hope mai o ka lele loa ‘ana o ka hanu o ke Ali‘i, ua kauoha ‘ia akula ke kanaka hana pahu ‘ōlelo e hele mai, a ma kona hō‘ea ‘ana a‘e ua wehe ‘ia kahi o ka leo mai ka pahu a‘e a hā‘awi ‘ia akula ua mea la iā Konela Baker, ka mea ho‘i āna i pūlama loa ai e like me he lā ‘o ia no kona ola pono‘ī.

Ma ka ho‘iho‘i ‘ia ‘ana mai o ke kino ali‘i ma luna o ka mokukaua Charleston,1200 ua ho‘iho‘i pū maila ‘o Konela Baker i ua waiwai makamae la, ‘oiāi ua ‘oi a‘e ka waiwai o kēlā mau wahi māmala ‘ōlelo me ka leo o ke Ali‘i aloha i make i mua o nā momi a pau.

Caption: ‘O ke ki‘i ma luna a‘e o ia ka hi‘ohi‘ona o ke Ali‘i ka Mō‘ī, kai lawe ‘ia mai no loko mai o kekahī nūpepa Kapleponi, i ho‘opili‘ia ma muli o kona ki‘i ho‘oleleaka i pa‘i ‘ia ma ka lā 27 o Dekemaba, 1890.

1200 Prior to this Poepoe used Kaletona, not Charleston to identify the warship.
KALĀKAUA ‘Ē!

K—ani ‘u‘ina ka pōhaku naka ka papakū honua,
‘A—napa ke ahi uwila ‘owaka ha‘alulu ka lewa,
L—oku ka ua kuluwaimaka ho‘omae i ka nahele,
‘Ā—ha‘i pupuhi ka makani mu‘u mōkākī nā pua,
K—auhola ka ‘ehe walania haehae i ke kānaka,
‘A—uamo i ka ukana ka ha‘awe a ka lu‘ulu‘u,
U—ha‘alipo i ke aloha paumākō lā—e,
A—loha Kalanikaulilua Ka Wohi Pu‘uwai Hāmama!

E—Kauliluaikaneuwai‘ale‘ale, paumākō ‘ehe‘ehe wale!

KA HUAKA‘I A KA MŌ‘Ī KALĀKAUA MA KALEPONI HEMA.

KĀKAU‘IA E GEORGE P. BLOW, KĀKAU‘ÖLELO A UKALI O KA ADIMARALA O KA PĀKĪPIKA O NĀ AUMOKU KAUA AMERIKA.

Dekemaba 26, 1890. Ua ho‘oponopono‘ia ka huaka‘i e Adimarala Baraunu, no ka ukali ‘ana i ka huaka‘i Ali‘i ma Kaleponi Hema me ka nānā pono ‘ana i ka hā‘awi ‘ia mai o nā ho‘ohanohano ‘ana i ke Ali‘i i kūlike ai me Kona kūlana.

Pō‘aono, Dekemaba 27. Ma ka hora 4 P. M. ua kau akula ka huaka‘i Ali‘i ma luna o ka mokuahi holo muliwai no ‘Okalana, a kau akula ma luna o kekahi ka‘a ahī kūikawā i pane‘e lokomaika‘i ‘ia mai e Mr. A. N. Towne, Hope Peresidena o ke Ala Ka‘a Hao o ka Pākīpika Hema.

Eia iho ka huaka‘i: Ke Ali‘i Ka Mō‘ī Kalākaua o Hawai‘i, Konela G. W. Makapolena, Pu‘ukū o ka Mō‘ī; Konela R. H. Baker, Ukali o ka Mō‘ī, etc.; G. P. Blow, Kākau‘olelo a Ukali o Adimarala Baraunu; G. E. Whitney o ‘Okalana, Kaleponi; Kahikina, Kahu lawelawe o ka Mō‘ī a
me ‘elua mau kahu lawelawe o luna o ke ka’a ahi. Ua ukali ‘ia maila ka huaka’i Ali‘i e Adimarala Baraunu, Kauka Woods a me Lutanela Field a hiki i kahi e hui ai o ke ala hao ma Valeo. Ma ia wahi ua hā’awi nā pū‘ili aloha ‘ana me ka hō‘ike pū ‘ana mai ‘o Adimarala Baraunu, ua ho‘omākaukau mua ‘ia nā mea a pau no ka‘olu‘olu o ka huaka’i Ali‘i, ‘oiiai ua telegarapa mua ‘ia aku nā Luna Ala Ka’a hao a pau e hō‘ike mai lãkou i kō lãkou mau ho‘ohanohano ‘ana i ka Mō‘ī i kūlike ai me Kona kūlana, Ua hō‘oia pū maila nō ho‘i ‘o ia e hui hou a’e ana ‘o ia me ka huaka’i ma Santa Barbara. Pā‘ina awakea ma luna o ke ka‘a ahi, a ho‘i koke nō e hō‘olu‘olu.

Sabati, Dedemaba 28. Ua hiamoe ‘ia ka pō me ka maika‘i, a ala a‘ela ma ka hora 9 o ke kakahiaka, he maika‘i a pumehana ua lā ala, ‘oiiai, ua wehe a‘ela mākou i nā kapa ‘a‘ahu ho‘opumehana. Ua nui ka hau‘oli a me ka mahalo o ke Ali‘i ka Mō‘ī i ka maika‘i o ka nānaina o ka ‘āina a me ka ‘olu‘olu o ke ea. ‘Ōlelo maila ka Mō‘ī, ‘akahi nō a loa‘a lā ia ka ‘olu‘olu maika‘i loa mai Kona pae ‘ana mai. Ua noho ihola ‘O ia ma ka papa o hope loa o ke ka‘a me ke puhi kīkā ‘ana, a ma ka ho‘omaopopoaku nō ho‘i ua maika‘i maoli ‘i‘o nō nā helehelena o ke Ali‘i. Ma kēlā a me kēia wahi kūlanakauhale li‘ili‘i aia he heluna nui o nā kānaka i ‘ākoakoa a’e no ka ‘ike mai i ka Mō‘ī, a ua pāna‘i mai lãkou i kō lãkou mau leo hurō. He ‘oiia‘o, ua nui ka ulumāhiehie o nā kānaka i ka Mō‘ī.

Hō‘ea akula ma Los Angeles ma ka hora 2 P. M., aia ho‘i, e kākali mai ana he anaina kānaka nui no ka ho‘okipa ‘ana aku iā mākou. Ua ka‘i maila kekahī kāo‘o kanaka i alaka‘i ‘ia e Meia Hazard (Po‘onui o ke kūlanakauhale) a me Kenerala McCook, a me lehulehu wale o nā lālā hui, a pi‘i maila lãkou i luna o ke ka‘a ahi, a lawe ‘ia akula e ho‘olauna me ka Mō‘ī. Ua hō‘ike pū maila nō ho‘i lãkou aia ma kekahī mau wahi ho‘olului o mua aku he ‘elima tausani po‘e e kakali maila o ka ‘ike mai i ka Mō‘ī, a no laila, ua nonoi maila lãkou e ‘olu‘olu mākou e hā‘awi
aku i manawa no ia poʻe e ‘ike ai i ka Mōʻi. Ua hāʻawi maila lākou he poloʻai, a ua ae ‘ia aku ʻoi aia a huli hoʻi mai ka huakaʻi, a laila e kipa ana ka huakaʻi ma Los Angeles.

Ma ka hora 9, ua hōʻea akula mākou ma Sana Diego, a e kakali mai ana he pūʻulu kanaka nui. Ua kaʻi huakaʻi maila nā kānaka koʻikoʻi a pau o ia wahi i alakaʻi ʻia e ka Meia Gunn, a me ka Bana Puhi ʻOhe, a na lākou i hoʻokipa aku i ka huakaʻi Aliʻi a hiki i ka Hotele Coronako. Ma hope iho o nā ʻike launa ʻana ua hoʻi akula ka Mōʻi e hōʻoluʻolu no ka pō.

Pōʻakahi, Dekemaba 29. Ua hiamoe ka Mōʻi me ka ʻoluʻolu ma ua pō ala, a ma ke kakahiaka aʻe, ua hele holoholo oʻelā ʻO ia ma ke kahua o ka Hotele. Hōʻike maila ka Mōʻi i Kona ʻoluʻolu a me Kona mahalo i ke ʻano o ia wahi. Hōʻike pū mai nō hoʻi ʻO ia ua ʻoi loa Kona ikaika a me Kona ʻoluʻolu ma kēia wahi ma mua o Kapalakiko.

Ua mālama ʻia he ʻiike Aliʻi ma loko o ke keʻena hoʻokipa o ka Hotele, a ʻo ka poʻe i hele mai, ʻo ia nō nā aliʻimoku o ka moku kaua Amerika, Army, ʻoiāi e kū ana ia moku ma ia wahi, a me kekahi poʻe e iho nō hoʻi o lako o ka Hotele.

Ma ka hora 1 P. M., ua lawe ʻia ka huakaʻi Aliʻi e holo kaʻa lio e nā Luna Nui o ke kūlanakauhale, ma ka hoʻomākaʻikaʻi ʻana i nā wahi ʻoihana nui o ke kūlanakauhale. Ma ka huli hoʻi ʻana mai, ua mālama ʻia ka pāʻina ʻana ma loko o kekahi keʻena malū. Hōʻike maila ka Mōʻi i Kona hauʻoli kiʻeki'e no Kāna mau mea i ʻike ai, a ma ka hora 10 o ka pō ua ʻeu aʻela ka Mōʻi a me nā hoa mai ka papa ʻaina aʻe, a hoʻi akula no ka hōʻoluʻoluʻolu ʻana.

Pōʻalua, Dekemaba 30. Maikaʻi ka hiamoe ʻana o ka Mōʻi, a ala aʻela i ke kakahiaka nui wale. Ua maikaʻi Kona ola kino, a e kamaʻilio mau ana ʻo ia no nā pōmaikaʻi nui o kēia kūlanakauhale ma kēia mua aku, a me ka mahalo mau ʻana i ka ʻoluʻolu maikaʻi o ka ea. Ua nīnau maila hoʻi ʻO ia iāʻu no kekahi palapala ʻāina aʻu i poina ai ma Wasinetona, me ka manaʻo
e lawe mai Nāna, a nīnau pū maila ‘o ia no ka waiwai nui e loa’a ana i kēia wahi ke ho‘omoe‘ia ona waea‘ōlelo\textsuperscript{1201} moana, a me ona laina mokuahi.

Ma ka hora 3:30 P. M. ua hele ka huaka‘i Ali‘i ma ka Pā‘ina Hui Malū i hā‘awi‘ia e Mr. McLure o Sana Diego. Ua mālama‘ia kēlā anaina a hiki i ka hora 7 P. M., a i loko o ia manawa ua piha hau‘oli mau ke Ali‘i, me ka hā‘awi ‘ana i Kāna mau pāna‘i, ‘ōlelo ho‘omaika‘i me ka mikioi a me ka loea o nā ‘ōlelo. Ma hope iho o ka ho‘oku‘u ‘ana, ua hele māka‘ika‘i akula ke Ali‘i ma nā Hui Malū o ke kūlanakauhale, a ua ukali‘ia Kāna huaka‘i e Mr. Whitney, a me kekahī mau hoa hui malū e a‘e.

Ma ka hora 10 P. M. ua ho‘i ki Mō‘ī no ka Hotele, me ka ‘ī ‘ana, ua hau‘oli loa ‘o ia a ho‘i koke no e hiamoe.

Pō‘akolu, Dekemaba 31. Ma ka hora 9, ua kau akula ke Ali‘i ma luna o kekahī ka‘aahi i pāhola ‘ia mai e Mr. Babcock, a i ukali ‘ia e kekahī po‘e lede a me nā keonimana no ka māka‘ika‘i ‘ana i kekahī mau lua wai momona, a mai laila aku a hōʻea i Tia Juana me ka aʻe ‘ana i ka palena o Mekiko. Na Mr. Babcock i hoʻomāka‘ika‘i aku i ke Ali‘i i ka lua wai, a ua nui Kona mahalo. Hōʻea hou ma ka Hotele Coronako ma ka hora 5 P. M., a ma hope o ka pā‘ina ‘ana, ua ho‘i e hōʻoluʻolu iki.

Ma ka hora 8:30, ua hele akula ke Ali‘i ma kekahī ‘Aha Mele i mālama‘ia ma loko o ke keʻena hulahula, a i hā‘awi‘ia no Kona hanoahano. Ma hope iho a ka pau ‘ana o ka ‘Aha Mele, ua hoʻomaka ka hulahula, a i ka hiki ‘ana i ka hora 10:30, ua hoʻoki ke Ali‘i i Kona leʻaleʻa ‘ana, ‘oiai ua ‘ano luhi ‘O ia no kēlā huaka‘i lō‘ihi āna i hele ai, a hoʻi akula e hōʻoluʻolu, me Kona haʻi mai e hele ana ‘O ia ma kekahī huaka‘i i ke kakahia iā nui aʻe, no laila, he makemake ‘O ia e loaʻa he hōʻoluʻolu pono ana lā ia iho.

\textsuperscript{1201} Uea a i ‘ole uwea.
Pōʻahā, Ianuari 1, 1891. Ma ka hora 7 A. M., ua kau akula ka huakaʻi Aliʻi ma luna o ke kaʻaahi Sakarameto no ka hoʻomaka ʻana i ka huakaʻi huli hoʻi. Hōʻea ma Riverside ma mua aʻe o ke awakea. Ma ia wahi ua hele akula ke Aliʻi e mākaʻikaʻi i nā mahina ʻalani nui, a ua nui ka mahalo o ke Aliʻi. Ma ka hora 8 P. M., ua hele ka Mōʻī e ʻiike a e lohe i ka Lede Mele Emma Juch in Faust, a ua nui ka mahalo o ke Aliʻi i kēia mea, a ua nonoi akula ka Mōʻī e lawe ʻia mai o Miss Juch i mua Ona, i pāhola aku ai ʻO ia i Kāna hoʻomaikaʻi ʻana iā ia ma muli o ka hauʻoli i loaʻa i ke Aliʻi mai kāna mau hana maikaʻi mai. Huli hoʻi no ke kaʻa māhu ma ka hora 11 P. M., a hoʻi nā mea a pau e hiamoe.

Pōʻalima, Ianuari 2, 1891. Ua hiamoeʻia ka pō me ka maikaʻi i ma luna o ke kaʻaahi, a haʻalele koke ihola ia laila no Sana Bemadino a me Pasakena. Pāʻina ka ʻaina kakahiaka ma luna o ke kaʻaahi ma ka hora 8:30 A. M. Ua hoʻohalaʻia ke kakahiaka ma nā kūkaʻi ʻōlelo ʻana, a me ke kilohi ʻana i ka waiho kāhela mai a ka ʻāina i ka laulā. I kō mākou hekau ʻana aku i Sana Bemadino, ua hele akula ka Mōʻī i ukaliʻia e Konela Makapolena a me ka Meia o ia kūlanakauhale. Aia hoʻi i kō lākou hala ʻana aku, aia hoʻi, ua loaʻa maila ka lono ua hāʻule hope loa ke kaʻa māhu o ka laina holo mau, a no ia kumu e hāʻule ana mākou he ʻekolu hora, a e hāʻule hope ana nō kō mākou hōʻea ʻana i Pasadina ke ʻole e loaʻa ona kaʻa kūikawā. Ma ka ui ʻana aku i kēia mea i nā Luna Nui o ka Hui Kaʻa Hao, ua kauoha koke akula ka Peresiden e hoʻokaʻawale ʻia ke alahao, a ua kauohaʻia i engine e aʻe no ka lawe hikiwawe ʻana iā mākou. Ma ia wahi aku a mākou i holo ai, ua holo ʻia he 65 mile i loko o ka hora hoʻokahi.

Ma ka hora 1 P. M., ua hōʻea akula mākou i Pasadina—ua hoamākaukau [hoʻomākaukau mua ʻia nā keʻena noho no ka huakaʻi Aliʻi ma ia wahi. Ma kēia wahi, ʻakahi nō ka Mōʻī a hōʻike mai i Kona luhi, no laila, ua wehe koke ʻO ia i Kona mau ʻaʻahu a hoʻi koke nō e hiamoe, a ma ka hora 6 P. M. ua maha maikaʻi ke kino o ke Aliʻi, a ma ia wā i pāʻina ahiahi ai; a ma ka hora.
7:10, ua ha‘alele ia wahi no Los Angeles no ka hele ‘ana e nānā i ka ‘Aha Keaka, a ua hō‘ike mai nā helehelena o ka Mō‘ī i ka ‘olu‘olu maika‘i o Kona kino. Ma kahi ho‘olulu ka‘a, ua halawai maila me mākou o Meia Hazark, [Hazard] Konela McCook a me nā Ukali, a na lākou i lawe aku i ka huaka‘i Ali‘i no ka hale keaka, a ‘o ke Keaka o ia pō ‘o ia no ‘o (Emma Juch as Carmen.)
Ma ka wā i ‘u‘u ‘ia a‘e ai o ka pākū, a kū maila ka u‘i le‘a o ka pō le‘a o Halāli‘i, ua hā‘awi kino akula ka Mō‘ī i ka Poke pua i ka u‘i o ka pō, e hō‘ike ana i Kona mahalo nui no ke ‘ano maika‘i o ka mea keaka, a me ka le‘a kohu O‘u o kāna hīmeni ‘ana. Ma hope iho o ka pau ‘ana o ke keaka, ua ho‘okipa ‘ia ia huaka‘i Ali‘i ma kekahai pā‘ina ‘ōlepe māmā, a i ka hala ‘ana o ho‘okahi hora, ua kau aku ka huaka‘i Ali‘i ma luna o ke ka‘ahai no Raymond, a hō‘ea akula i laila ma ka hora 1 o ka wana‘ao. I ka hiki ‘ana, ua ho‘i koke ka Mō‘ī e hiamoe.

Pō‘aono, Ianuari 3. Ma ke kakahiaka nui, ua kau akula ma ke ka‘ahai a hō‘ea i Los Angeles ma ka hora 9:55 A. M., a ho‘okipa ‘ia maila ka huaka‘i e nā luna nui nō nānā i ho‘okipa mua mai, a lawe ‘ia akula ma ka Hotele Hollenbeck, ma ke ‘ano he mau malihini na ke kūlanakauhale o Los Angeles. Ma ka hora 1 ua pā‘ina māmā, a ma ka hora 2, ua ho‘omaka akula e holo ma nā ka‘a lio no ka māka‘ika‘i ‘ana a puni ke kūlanakauhale. A ‘oiai ho‘i, ua loa‘a maila iā‘u he telegrama mai ā Adimarala Baraunu mai, e ha‘i mai ana e hō‘ea mai ana ‘o ia ma ke ka‘ahai o ka hora 2:55; no laila, ua holo akula au me Mekia Bonebreak no kahi ho‘olulu ka‘ahai no ka hui ‘ana aku me ka Adimarala. Ma kāna hō‘e a‘ana mai, ua holo like akula mākou ma luna o ke ka‘a lio no ka uhai ‘ana aku e loa‘a ka huaka‘i Ali‘i i hala e aku, a ma kō mākou ‘ike ‘ana iho ua ka‘a loa mākou ma mua, no laila, ua ho‘i mākou ma ka hale noho o Mekia Bonebreak, e ho‘oluana ai no ke kakali ‘ana i kēlā po‘e. ‘A‘ole i li‘uli‘u iho hō‘ea maila lākou, a ma ia wā, ua pāhola ‘ia maila kekahai papa‘aina i lulu‘u me nā ‘ono a pau, a ma ka pau ‘ana, ua ho‘oku‘u ‘ia nā ho‘oluana ‘ana.
Ma ka hora 6:30 P. M., ua pā‘ina māmā ma ka Hotele. I ka pau ‘ana, ua hoʻokipa ‘ia maila ‘o Kenerala McCook a me kona mau ukali ma loko o ke keʻena hoʻokipa o ka Hotele. Ma ka hora 7 P. M., ua hele ka huakaʻi Aliʻi i ukali ‘ia e Kenerala McCook a me kona mau ukali, Adimarala Baraunu, Meia Hazard a me nā luna nui e aʻe o ke kūlanakauhale no ke City Hall, ‘oi'ai e mālamaʻia ana he ‘ike Aliʻi ma laila.

Ua hōʻea aʻe ma kēia ‘ike Aliʻi nā kānaka he 5,000 a 6,000 paha, a ua lūlū lima ka Mōʻi me ka hapanui o kēia heluna nui. I loko o kēia manawa, ‘aʻole loa i hōʻike mai ka nāwaliwali ma Kona Kino Aliʻi.

Ma ka hora 9:30, ua hele akula ka Mōʻi i ukali ‘ia e nā ukali i hōʻike mua ‘ia aʻela ma ke Kalapu Kaleponi, no ka hoʻohanohano ‘ana aku a Kona Kino Aliʻi ma laila, ‘oi'ai ua hāpai ‘ia kekahi ‘ahaʻaina ma laila no Kona hanoano.

Ua hoʻomauʻia nā leʻaleʻa a o kēia ‘ahaʻaina a hiki wale i nā hora liʻiliʻi o ke aumoe. Ma kēia ‘ahaʻaina, ua nui nā haʻiʻōlelo hoʻolana i hāʻawi ‘ia, a ma ke kauoha a ke Aliʻi ua haʻiʻōlelo o Konela Makapolena, a me aʻu pū, a na Konela Baker hoʻi ma ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi i unuhiʻia mai e ka Mōʻi ponoʻi nō, a ma ka hoʻokuʻu ʻana, ua haʻiʻōlelo pōkole maila ka Mōʻi me ka loea maoli nō, me Kona hāʻawi ʻana i Kona hoʻomaikaʻi kiʻekiʻe i ka poʻe e a pau o Los Angeles, a kono pū akula iā läkou he mea maikaʻi e holo aʻe läkou no nā Mokupuni o Hawaiʻi ma kēia mua aʻe.

Ma ka hoʻokuʻu ʻana, ua pāpahiʻia maila nā hoʻohanohano ʻana a pau ma luna o ke Aliʻi ka Mōʻi, a hoʻi maila ka huakaʻi no ke kaʻaahi. Ua manaʻo mua ʻia e hoʻi no ma ka hotele e hiamoe ai, akā, ma ka ʻōlelo hoʻi a ka Adimarala Baraunu, ʻoi'ai e holo ana kākou no kā kākou huakaʻi ma ke kakahiaka nui, no laila, he mea pono e hōʻaumoe no ma luna o ke kaʻaahi, a pēlā ihola mākou i hāʻawi koke ai i ka ʻae.
‘Oiai he mau no ka maika’i o ke ola kino o ka Mō‘ī, no laila, ua hoʻomau akula nō ‘O ia i ke ala ‘ana me ke kukaʻi ʻōlelo ‘ana me kekahi mau hoa a hiki wale i ka hora 2 o ka wanaʻao. ‘O ke kumu o Kona hoʻi ‘ana e hiamoe no Kona hopohopo ke hoʻālaala loa nei ‘O ia i kekahi poʻe o mākou. ‘O kēia ihola ka manawa hope loa i ‘ike ‘ia ai ke ola maikaʻi maoli o ka Mōʻī.

I kūlike ai hoʻi me nā mea i hōʻike ‘ia e Adimarala Baraunu, nāna no auaneʻi e hoakaka aku mai ka manawa mua loa mai i hoʻomaka ai o ka huakaʻi Aliʻi, a ua ‘ike hoʻi i ke kūlana mua loa o ka hōʻea ‘ana mai o ka ‘onawaliwali o ka Mōʻī. No laila, ke hoʻōki nei i kaʻu mau hōʻike maʻaneʻi nei.

Ma mua naʻe hoʻi o ka hoʻōkī ‘ana, e hōʻike aʻe hoʻi au he maikaʻi wale nō ka ea mai ka haʻalele ‘ana iā Kapalakiko, ‘oiai ‘aʻole mau makani anuanu, a ‘o ke kūlana o ka ea he 70 degere. I ka wā a ka Mōʻī i haʻalele aku ai iā Kapalakiko, ua loʻohia ʻia ‘O ia me kekahi anu ikaika, akā ua ʻaneʻane e haʻalele loa mai kēia anu i kō mākou hōʻea ‘ana i Sana Barbara.

Ma ka huakaʻi holoʻokoʻa, ua hauʻoli mau ʻO ia, me ke ake nui i ke kamaʻilio. E kamaʻilio mau ana ‘o ia no Adimarala Baraunu no kāna mau hana ʻoluʻolu a lokomaikaʻi iā ia mai kona kau mua ʻana mai ma luna o ke Kaletona. Ma nā ʻaha leʻaleʻa a ʻahaʻaina a ke Aliʻi i hele ai, ua kamaʻilio nui ‘o ia, akā, ‘aʻole naʻe ona ai nui mai, a he ‘uʻuku loa kona hoʻopā ‘ana mai i nā mea inu.

I ka wā e nīnau ‘ia aku ai iā ia i ke kumu o kona inu ʻole, eia kāna pane: “Ua hōʻoia aku au iā Adimarala Baraunu, ‘aʻole au e inu i nā mea inu.”

He ʻelua wale nō aʻu manawa i hoʻomaopopo ai i ke ʻano o ka maʻi o ka Mōʻī. ʻO ka mua ma ka lā 31 o Dekemaba, a ʻo kekahi ma ka wā e pāʻina ana ma luna o ke kaʻaahi, ʻo ia hoʻi, Kona hāʻule ʻana i loko o ka hiamoe ano hihiʻo. Ua lohe naʻe au, he loʻohia mau ke Aliʻi i kēlā ʻano i kona manawa ma Honolulu, ma mua aʻe o kona holo ʻana mai no Kaleponi nei. I kuʻu
ho‘omaopopo ‘ana i kēlā mea ‘ano ‘ē o ka Mōʻī, ua maopopo le‘a ihola iā‘u ke kūlana ma‘i o ka Mōʻī, ‘oiai i Kona mau hāʻule ‘ana i loko o nā hihi‘o ‘elua i haʻi ‘ia a‘ela, ua ala ‘ano pūʻiwa koke aʻela ‘O ia me he lā, ‘aʻole ‘o ia i hiamoe, a hoʻomaka koke maila no e hauʻoli ma kāna mau kamaʻilio.

Ma ka hoʻōki ‘ana, he pono iāʻu e ī aʻe, ua pūlama mailani ‘ia ke Aliʻi ka Mōʻī a me kona mau ukali ma nā wahi a pau a ka haku Aliʻi i hele ai. Ua pāhola ‘ia mai nā hoʻohanohano ‘ana iā ia e nā Luna Aupuni a me nā kānaka koʻikoʻi o nā wahi a pau. Hoʻokahi wale nō pilikia i loaʻa iā mākou, ‘o ia no ka hoʻole ‘ana aku i kekahai mau kono he lehulehu wale. Akā ma nā mea e aʻe a pau, ua pāhola ‘ia maila nā hoʻokipa ‘ana me nā umauma akea o nā kamaʻāina. Ua hoʻoikaika nā Luna Nui o nā Alakaʻa hao e hana no ka ‘oluʻolu o ke Aliʻi ka Mōʻī ma nā ‘ano a pau, ‘oiai ma nā wahi a pau e hoʻohui ai o nā kaʻa, ua mālama loa ‘ia ka manawa i ‘ole ai e kakali wale ke Aliʻi, no laiʻa aʻohe wahi e hiki ai ke ī aʻe ua ane hemahema iki nā pāhola ‘ia ‘ana mai no ka ‘oluʻolu a me ka hano hoʻano o ka Mōʻī a me kona mau Ukali. I waena o nā ‘oluʻolu i pāhola ‘ia mai, he mea pono e hāʻawi ‘ia kekahai mau mahalo ‘ana i nā Aliʻimoku o ka mokukaua Amerika Army. Ua nui nā mahalo ‘ana a ke Aliʻi ka Mōʻī no nā lokomaikaʻi i pāhola ‘ia mai ma luna ona.

Me ka Mahalo,

Kau Kauwā hoʻolohe,

GEO. P. BLOW

Kākauʻōlelo a Ukali no ke Aliʻimoku Kiʻekiʻe o ka Moana Pacifica.1202

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1202 In other places Poepoe used Pākīpika to name the Pacific.
KA MO‘OLELO MAI KA HULI HO‘I ‘ANA MAI A KA MŌ‘Ī MAI LOS ANGELES A
KAPALAKIKO.

KĀKAU ‘IA E ADIMARALA BARAUNU O KE AUMOKUKAU A O AMERIKA.

Ua hui akula au me ka huaka‘i Ali‘i ma ka auina lā Pō‘aoono. Ianuari 3d, 1891, ma ka hale o Lutānela Bonebreak, kahi ho‘i e pāhola ‘ia ana he papa‘aina.

Ma ke ahiahi iho, ua mālama ‘ia he ‘aha ‘ike Ali‘i ma loko o ka City Hall, a me ka ‘aha‘aina ma ke Kalapu Kaleponi i hō‘akaka mua ‘ia e Mr. Blow. Ma hope iho o kō mākou hō‘ea ‘ana aku i kahi o ke ka‘a ahi, ua ho‘olako mua ‘ia no kō mākou mau wahi moe. Ma ka hora 1 A. M. o ke kakahiko a o ka lā 4 a‘e, he maika‘i loa ke ola kino o ke Ali‘i ka Mō‘ī, a ua noho ‘o ia me ke kuka‘i ʻōlelo ‘ana me nā hoa a hiki i ka hora 2 o ka wana‘ao o ua Ia [lā] ‘ala, me ke puhi ‘ana i kona ʻipuka, a ma ia manawa i ho‘i ai ‘o ia e hiamoe.

Ua haʻalele kō mākou kaʻaahi ma ka hora 7:25 A. M. iā Los Angeles; a, ma ka hora 8 a‘e, ua komo akula au ma loko o ke keʻena moe o ka Mō‘ī, a ua halawai akula au me ka Mō‘ī me kona ola kino maika‘i, a me ka piha hau‘oli. Ma hope iho, ua ‘a‘ahu ihola ‘o ia i kona ‘a‘ahu, a ho‘i akula a ma hope o ke ka‘a, ma laila ‘o ia i noho ai me ka nānā ‘ana i ka laulā o ka ‘āina, a me ka mahalo i ka nani o ka ‘āina, me ka hō‘ike mau o kona helehelena i ke ola maika‘i ‘o ia ho‘i ka hora 9 A. M. a‘e, ua pā‘ina ka Mō‘ī me ka ‘ono maika‘i o kāna ‘ai ‘ana a ma mua o ka pau ‘ana a ma mua o ka pau ‘ana o kō mākou pā‘ina awakea, ua hōʻea akula mākou i Kapanateria (Carpenteria) he 11 mile mai Sana Barbara mai. Ma ia wahi, ua hele maila ka Mea1203 Barber a me Kauka McNulty, a na Konela Makapolena i lawe aku iā lākou e hoʻolauna me ka Mōʻī, a ‘oiai ua launa mua ka Mō‘ī me Kauka McNulty, no ka mea, ua lawelawe mua ua kauka lā no ka Mō‘ī, a pēlā ihola i hauʻoli loa ai ‘o ia i ke ‘ike hou ‘ana mai iā ia, a ua hoʻomau kō lāua kuka‘i ʻōlelo ‘ana a hiki wale ke ka‘a ahi i Sana Barbara, a ‘o ia ka hora 12 awakea.

1203 Previously, Mayor was translated as Meia.
Ma kahi hoʻolulu, ua holo akula ka huakaʻi Aliʻi no Arlington Hotele ma luna o nā kaʻa lio hāmama. ʻO ke kaʻa mua, ʻo ia no ka Mōʻī, Mea Barber, Konela Makapolena a me aʻu.

I kō mākou hōʻea ʻana aku i ka Hotele, ua hoʻokipa ʻia akula ka huakaʻi Aliʻi ma loko o ke keʻena hoʻokipa, a ma laila i heluhelu ʻia mai ai kekahai palapala poloʻai e ka Mea Barber e hāʻawi mai ana i ke Aliʻi ka Mōʻī i ke kuleana ma ka hele ʻana e mākaʻikaʻi a puni ke kūlanakauhale. Ma ka noho ʻana iho o ka Mōʻī ma kona noho, ua haʻi ʻia maila ʻo ia e ka Mea Barber, ua mākaukau nā kaʻa lio no ka huakaʻi Aliʻi no ka hele ʻana e mākaʻikaʻi a puni ke kūlanakauhale, ua hāʻawi akula ka Mōʻī i kona hoʻomaikaʻi i ka Mea, a huli maila a kamaʻilio maila iāʻu, “E ka Adimarala, ʻaʻole anei ou manaʻo he mea pono e hoʻomaha au i kēia auina lā?” Pane aku nei au: “Ae; inā pēlā ka manaʻo ou e ke Aliʻi.” Ma ka hora 1:30 P. M., ua hoʻi ka Mōʻī e hiamoe ma loko o kona keʻena moe a hiki i ka hora 5:30 o ke ahiahi, ʻoiai ma ia manawa ua komo akula au a hōʻike akula iā ia e mākaukau ana ka pāʻina ahiahi ma ka hora 6:30, a ua loaʻa iā ia he hora ʻokoʻa no ka hoʻomākaukau ʻana iā ia iho. Ua lohe maila naʻe au ua inu kī ka Mōʻī ma ka hora 4:30, a me kekahai mau wahi palaoa pūlehu. Ma ka hora 6:30 P. M., ua pāʻina ahiahi ihola mākou, akā ʻaʻole naʻe he ʻai nui mai o ka Mōʻī. Ma ka hora 8 P. M. ua hoʻi akula ʻo ia e hiamoe no ka pō.

Ma ke kakahiaka aʻe, lā 5, ʻo ia hoʻi ka Pōʻakahi, ua hoʻoholo mua ʻia e hele ana ka huakaʻi Aliʻi no ka mākaʻikaʻi ʻana i ka Mahina Oliwa, nā lāʻau huakanu o kahi o Mr. Elwood Cooper, he 12 mile mai Sana Barbara aku, a e hoʻomaka ana ka Mōʻī e hele ma ia huakaʻi ma ka hora 9 A. M. Ma kora 7:30 A. M. ua komo akula au ma loko o ke keʻena o ka Mōʻī, a loaʻa akula iāʻu ʻo ia e noho ana ma luna o ka noho koki me ka hoʻāʻo ʻana e hōʻā i kona ipu paka. ʻĪ aku nei au, aloha ʻoe e ke Aliʻi, ke lana nei koʻu manaʻo ua ʻoluʻolu maikaʻi kou hiamoe ʻana i kēia pō.” ʻIke koke akula nō au ua ʻano ʻē kekahai mau mea, ʻoiai, ua ʻano kukule kona nānaina i kēlā
manawa me he lā, ma ka nānā aku ‘akahi nō ‘o ia a ‘ike iā‘u, akā, i loko na’e o nā sekona pōkole ua ho‘omaopopo maila ‘o ia iā‘u.

Nīnau aku au Iā ia inā ua kauoha aku ‘O ia i Kona ‘aina kakahiaka, i mai kēlā “‘a’ole,” ‘ī hou aku nō au Iā ia inā he makemake ‘O ia na‘u e kauoha aku, pane mai kēlā ‘ī “tī,” pane hou aku nō au he mea pono i hua moa kekahi ‘oi e holo ka‘a ana ‘Oe no kekahi mau mile lō‘ihi i kēia kakahiaka.

I kēlā manawa ua hele akula au ma ke ke‘ena o Konela Makapolena a hō‘ike akula au iā ia ‘a‘ole loa he maika‘i o ke kūlana o ka Mō‘ī, a hahai pū akula au iā ia no ka‘u mau mea i ‘ike ai ma ka‘u hele ‘ana ma ke ke‘ena o ka Mō‘ī. Ma waena o ia manawa a me ka hora 9:30, ua komo akula au ma ke ke‘ena o ka Mō‘ī no ‘ehā paha manawa, a ‘ike akula a e ho‘omākaukau ana ‘O ia i Kona ‘a‘ahu no ke hele ‘ana e holoka’a lio no ka māka‘ika‘i ‘ana i nā wahi pana. ‘Ī aku nei au i ka Mō‘ī inā ‘a‘ole he ‘olu‘olu maika‘i o Kona ola kino, a la ila, he mea pono e ho‘opau ‘opau ‘O ia i Kona mana‘o no ka hele ‘ana, a ua i mai kēlā e hele nō.

Ma ka hora 9, ua hō‘ea mai ‘o Kauka McNulty a ‘ōlelo maila ‘o ia ‘a‘ohe ona ‘olu‘olu maika‘i, a no ia kumu ‘a‘ole ‘o ia e hele ana. Ua ‘ōlelo akula na’e au he mea pono e hele pū ‘o ia me ka Mō‘ī, a ma ia noi ‘ana ua a’e maila ‘o ia e hele pū. Lawe akula au iā Kauka McNulty ma ke ke‘ena o ka Mō‘ī, a ‘ōlelo maila ‘o ia ‘a‘ohe pilikia e loa‘a mai ma muli o ka makani e pā ana, a malia he kumu ia e hō‘olu‘olu ai i ka Mō‘ī.

Ua holo akula mākou ma luna o ke ka‘a i huki ‘ia e nā lio ‘ēhā, o ka Mō‘ī me Kauka McNulty ma ka noho ma hope, a ‘o wau me Konela Makapolena ma ka noho ma mua, me ka huli mai na‘e o ke alo i ke alo o ka Mō‘ī a me kona hoa. He maika‘i ‘olu‘olu ka makani, me ka pumehana kūpono ma kahi o 60 degeae [degere]. ‘Ike koke akula au i ke ‘ano hii‘o o ke Ali‘i. No laila ua hā‘awi akula au i sīgā iā ia mea e ho‘ohala ai i kona manawa. ‘Ike aku nei na‘e au i
ka hiki `ole iā ia ke hōʻā i ua sēgā lā `oiai `aʻole he loaʻa iā ia `o ka ikaika kūpono no ke kō `ana aku i kona hanu. Ma kēlā manawa ua hāʻule akula nō ka Mōʻī i loko o ka hiamoe `ano hihiʻo me ke ala pinepine `ana i kēlā a me kēia manawa me ke `ano hikilele `ano ā. Ua hoʻomau akula kēia `ano ma luna o ke kinoa aloha o ke Aliʻi no ka hapanui o ka huakaʻi i i loko `ia no 12 mile. Ua holo `ia e mākou kēlā mau mile i loko o `elua hora me `umikumamālima minute. Ma kekahi manawa, ua hōʻaʻo ka Mōʻī e kuha, akā `aʻole naʻe he hiki ke lele aku ke kuha mai kona mau lehelehe aku, `oiai ua `ano pipili a uuaa ke kuha. Ua hoʻoikaika `o ia e wehe aʻe i kona hainaka mai loko aʻe o kona pākeke kuka, akā, `aʻole naʻe he hiki, no ia mea, ua lālau akula au a hiki aʻela i kona hainaka mai kona pākeke aʻe, a holoi akula au i kona mau lehelehe a me kona `auwae.

I kō mākou hōʻea `ana aku i kauhale o Mr. Cooper, ua apo mailani maila `o Mr. a me Mrs. Cooper i ka Mōʻī a me mākou kona mau hoahele, a hoʻokipa `ia akula mākou ma loko o ke keʻena hoʻokipa. `Aʻole naʻe he kamaʻilio nui mai o ka Mōʻī, akā, ua nui naʻe kona mahalo no nā kiʻi i e kau ana ma ka paia o ke keʻena. Ma ka poloai `ana mai a Mrs. Cooper, ua hele akula mākou e mākaʻikaʻi i i ka mala kanupua.

Ma kēia hele `ana, ua hele pū au ma ka `aoʻao hema o ka Mōʻī, me kona kālele `ana ma koʻu poʻohiwi, `oiai, ua `ane nāwaliwali kona kaʻina wāwae. Ua mahalo `o ia i nā mea a pau, akā, `aʻole naʻe ona ake nui e hoʻōmau i ka hele mākaʻikaʻi ʻana, `oiai, ua huli koke aʻela nō `o ia no kauhale me ka hahai hou `ole aku ia Mrs. Cooper. I kō māua hōʻea hou `ana aku i ka hale, ua noho koke ihola `o ia i lalo me he lā, ua hele a luhi loa, me koʻu hoʻomaopopo aku i ke `ano nāwaliwali maoli o ka Mōʻī. Ma ia wā, ua hōʻea koke maila `o Mr. Coopper, a nonoi maila i ka Mōʻī e hoʻi i loko o ke keʻena hoʻokipa, a hoʻi akula mākou ma laila, a ma laila `o ia i noho iho
ai a hiki i ka manawa i ‘ākoakoa mai ai ‘o nā mea a pau, akā, ‘a’ole na’e he ‘ai nui mai o ka Mō‘ī, a ‘a’ole ho‘i ‘o ia i ho‘opā iki i ke Kamipena i pane’e ‘ia e nā kama‘āina.

Ma kēlā manawa, ua ho‘omaopopo akula au i ke ‘ano kūnewanewa ‘ano hiamoe o ke Ali‘i, ua hā ‘awi akula au i ke kauoha iā Konela Makapolena e ho‘ālaala mau ‘o ia i ke Ali‘i, a ‘oiai mākou ma ka papa‘aina, me he lā ua ‘ekolu a ‘ehā paha manawa o kō ka Mō‘ī hā‘ule ‘ana i loko o ka hiamoe ano palaka. I kō mākou ‘eu ‘ana a’e, ua hele wāwae akula mākou no 300 iwilei e hiki aku ai i ka hale hana aila ‘oliva. He ‘ano lohi kāna ka‘ina wāwae ‘ana, a ma ka ho‘omaopopo ‘ana ua ‘ano kaumaha pū Kona wāwae. I ka hiki ‘ana i kahi hana aila, ‘a’ole he ‘ano ho‘omaopopo mai o ke Ali‘i i nā loina o ka hana aila. I kekahī o nā lā i hala mua a’e, ua ‘ōlelo mai ‘O ia he makemake loa ‘O ia e ‘ike i ka loina o ka hana aila ‘ana, a wahi āna ‘o ia paha kekahi hana waiwai loa ma Kona Aupuni. I kō mākou ho‘omākaukau ‘ana e ho‘i, ua lūlū lima pū akula ‘O ia me Mr. Cooper a ho‘i maila, ‘a‘ohe ho‘i he hā‘awi aku i nā ‘ōlelo ho‘oho‘iho‘i e like me Kona ‘ano mau. He ‘elua hora a mākou i ho‘i mai ai, a i hiamoe wale ‘ia no eia [e ia] ka hapanui o ia manawa.

I kō mākou komo ‘ana mai i loko o ke kūlanakauhale, ua ho‘oikaika au a me Konela Makapolena i ka ho‘ālaala ‘ana i ka Mō‘ī. Ma ka hora 5 P. M., hō‘ea mākou ma ka Hotele, a ho‘i koke nō ka Mō‘ī ma kona ke‘ena no ka hiamoe ‘ana. Ma muli o ko‘u noi ‘ana a me Konela Makapolena, ua noho maila ‘o Kauka McNulty e mālama i ka Mō‘ī, ma nā mea pili lapa‘au ‘ana, a ua mahalo nui au i kō ke kauka maka‘ala nui no kō ka Mō‘ī ‘olu‘olu.

He ‘elua a ‘ekolu o‘u manawa i māka‘i aku ai i loko o ke ke‘ena moe o ka Mō‘ī, akā, no kona pauhia loa i ka hiamoe ‘a‘ohe he manawa a‘u e pāpā leo ai me ia. Ma muli o ka lā‘au i hā‘awi ‘ia i ka Mō‘ī ma ia ahiahi, ua nui kona nahā ma ia pō a me kekahi lā a’e, (Pō‘alua) ua moe mālie ‘o ia ma luna o kona wahi moe a hiki wale i ke ahiahi, a ma ia manawa, ua komo
ihola ʻo ia Kona ʻaʻahu a hoʻi akula ma waho o ka lānai, a ma laila ʻO ia i hoʻohala ai no hoʻokahi hora me ka nanea maikaʻi ʻana.

Ma kēia lā Pōʻalua, Ianuar i 6, 1891, ua manaʻo mua ʻia e holo kaʻalio ana ka Mōʻī no ka hele ʻana e mākaʻikaʻi i nā wahi waimapuna wela (ʻane like paha me Waiwelawela o Puna, Hawaiʻi), a e kipa aku ana ma kahi noho o Mr. a me Mrs. Warren mā, he mau hoalauna mua lāua no ka Mōʻī, ʻoi lāua ma Honolulu i kekahī manawa ma mua aku.

ʻO kēia mau huaʻōlelo āna ua hoʻopau ʻia ma muli o ke aʻo ʻana mai a Kauka McNulty. Ua ʻōlelo maila ka Mōʻī i kona ʻano ʻoluʻolu maikaʻi ma ia ahiahi, a ua manaʻo ʻo ʻo ia ua hiki nō iā ia ke hoʻokō i kekahī o nā kono i pāhola mua ʻia mai. Ma ka hora 8 P. M., ua mālama ke Aliʻi he anaina ʻike Aliʻi no nā kamaʻāina ʻo ia wahi ma loko o ke keʻena nui o ka hotele. Ma ka hora 9 aʻe, ua lawe aʻela ka Mōʻī i kona kūlana ma luna o kekahī noho pulu nui i kūkuluʻia ma luna o kekahī ʻanuʻu kiʻekiʻe ma kekahī ʻaoʻao o ke keʻena hulahula, a ma ka wā e komo mai ai ka lehulehu, ua kū maila ka Mōʻī i luna me ka hāʻawi ʻana i kona aloha iā lākou me ka hiehie nui, akā, he kakaʻikahi loa nā poʻe āna i lūlū lima pū ai. Ma ia wā ua komo maila ka pūʻali Nights Templars, a i ke kū pono ʻana ma ke alo o ka Mōʻī, ua huli like aʻela lākou i mua o ke Aliʻi, a hāʻawi aku i kō lākou aloha me ka haʻahaʻa i mua o ka Mōʻī aloha o Hawaiʻi, a ma ia wā ua hele maila lākou a mua ponoʻi o ka Mōʻī, a apo akula ka Mōʻī iā lākou me nā pūʻili aloha pumehana ʻana iā lākou pākahi.

Ua hulahula ma ka hora 9:45 P. M., a ma hope iho o ka hula nui mua, ua hoʻi akula ka Mōʻī e moe. Ma hope iho ua ʻākoakoa mai ke Kauka, Makapōlena a me aʻu a kūkā ihola mākou i ka pono a pono ʻole no ka hoʻihoʻi koke ʻana i ka Mōʻī no Kapalakiko i ka hora 10 o kahi lā aʻe. Ua nonoi aku ʻo Konela Makapōlena i ka ʻoluʻolu o ke Kauka McNulty e ukali pū ma iā mākou,
a ua pane mai ‘o ia, he hau‘oli loa ‘o ia e hele, aia na‘e a kekahi kakahiaka a‘e hiki pono iā ia ke ho‘omaopo [ho‘omaopopo]; akā, ua pa‘a mua na‘e kō māua mana‘o e lawe pū no i ke Kauka.


Ma ke kakahiaka Pō‘ahā a‘e, ua aʻela ka Mō‘ī ma ka hora 9, a komo i kona ‘a‘ahu, a i kō mākou hō‘ea ‘ana ma Valeo kahi ho‘oulu ka‘aahi, ua lele akula, au me Mr. Blow no ka hele ‘ana ma ka Pā kaua o nā ‘Aumoku o ke Aupuni.

Pōʻalima aʻe lā 9, ‘aʻole au i hele no ke kūlanakauhale, akā ma ka Pōʻaono aʻe lā 10, ua hele au e ‘ike i ka Mō‘ī, a ma koʻu ‘ike ‘ana aku, ua ‘ike koke au i kona maikaʻi maoli. Ua noho au me ka Mōʻī a hiki wale i ke kani ‘ana o ka hora 3:30 ‘auinalā, a ma ia wā ua hoʻi ai no ka Pā kaua. I kuʻu wā i hoʻi ai, ‘o ia nō hoʻi ka manawa i hoʻi pū ai me Kauka McNulty no kona home ma Sana Barbara; a mai ia wā i nonoi mai ai ‘o ia iāʻu he mea pono e noi aku iā Kauka Woods e hoʻi mai e mālama i ka Mōʻī ma kona wahi.

Ma ka Pōʻalua aʻe lā 13, ua noho paʻa au a me Woods me ka Mōʻī ma ka hotele. Ma mua aʻe o ke awakea, ua kamaʻilio maila ka Mōʻī iāʻu, ua hoʻopau loa ‘o ia i kona manaʻo e mākaʻikaʻi ma Sakarameto, ‘oiai e mālama ‘ia ana he papaʻaina nui ma ia ‘auinalā ma Kapalakiko ponoʻi iho.

Halawai akula au me Mr. Gillig a me Mr. Unger ma loko o ke keʻena hoʻokipa e noho pū ana me Konela Makapolena, no laila ma mua o kō lāua ‘ike ‘ana i ka Mōʻī, ua kamaʻilio mua akula au iā lāua—“ʻOiai he mau hoaʻloha [hoaaloha] ‘olua no ka Mōʻī, a ʻoiai hoʻi he kanaka
ʻōnāwaliwali loa ʻo ia, no laila o ka ʻolua hana kūpono e hana ai, mai kono ʻolua iā ia e hele ma kēlā papaʻaina; no ka mea, ua pāpā loa ʻo Kauka Woods ʻaʻole pono ke lawe ʻia ka Mōʻi ma kahi o nā ʻaha kānaka nui, a no ia kumu, inā he mau hoaʻloha [hoaaloa] ʻiʻo ʻolua no ka Mōʻi, a laila, he mea pono loa e hoʻopaneʻe ʻia ka papaʻaina no kekahi manawa e aku."

Akā naʻe, ua hoʻopaʻakikī loa no kēlā mau keonimana, a i maila, ʻaʻole e hiki ke hoʻopaneʻe ʻia ka ʻahaʻaina. Ma muli o kō lāua paʻakikī loa e lawe i ka Mōʻi, ua lawe akula au e hoʻolauna ʻia lāua me Kauka Woods, a ma ia wā, ua hōʻike maila ʻo Kauka Woods iā lāua, he mea hiki ʻole loa iā ia ke hoʻokuʻu aku i ka Mōʻi mai e hele mai kona keʻena aku i loko o nā ʻea pūanuanu o ke ahiahi, akā, ma kekahi kumu i ʻike ʻole ʻia e aʻu, aia hoʻi, ua halawai akula nō kēia mau keonimana me ka Mōʻi, a hoʻoholo ihola lākou e hele no ka Mōʻi, a hoʻi koke mai nō, ʻoiai o kō lākou makemake o ka hoʻohanohano walu aku nō o ka Mōʻi i ka papaʻaina.

ʻOwau kekahi i kono ʻia mai e hele, akā, ʻaʻole naʻe au i hele, a pēlā hoʻi me Mr. Blow, a ʻo kō Mr. Blow hele ʻana, ʻaʻole nō ka makemake, akā, no ka mālama wale nō i ka Mōʻi, a nanā au i hōʻike mai he keu a ka maikaʻi, a kū nō hoʻi i ka hano hano no ʻahaʻaina lā. Ua hāʻawi ʻia ua ʻahaʻaina lā ma ka Hotele Kaleponi. ʻAʻole ʻī ai māhuahua ka Mōʻi, akā, ua hauʻoli mai naʻe ʻo ia. Ma ka hora 11 P.M., i hoʻi mai ai ka Mōʻi i ukali ʻia e Mr. Blow ma hope koke iho o ka pau ʻana o ka ʻahaʻaina.

ʻAʻole i hele o Konela Makapolena ma kēia ʻahaʻaina, ʻoiai, ua loʻohia ʻia ʻo ia e kekahi wahi ʻōnāwaliwali. ʻO Konela Baker ka mea i hele.

Aia ma ka hōʻike a Kauka Woods o nā aumoku kaua nā mea e pili ana no ka Mōʻi Kalākaua i minamina nui ʻia mai kēia manawa aku.

Ua loaʻa iāʻu ka hano hano, me ka mahalo nui, kāu kauwa hoʻolohe,

GEORG HERMAN
Rear Adimarala o nā aumoku kaua o Amerika ma ka Moana Pākipika.
KA MAʻI HOPE LOA A ME KA MAKE ‘ANA O KA MŌʻĪ

KALĀKAUA.

Kākauʻia e Kauka G. W. Woods o nā Aumoku Kaua Amerika.

MOKUKAUA CHARLESTON, MA KA MOANA, ALAHELE NO HONOLULU.

Ianuari 26, 1891.

HON. J. A. CUMMINS,

Kuhina o kō nā ‘Āina ‘Ē o ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi.

ALOHA:—Ma muli o koʻu hoʻomaopopo ‘ana he hana koʻikoʻi kaʻu hoʻi e hoʻokō ai, no laila ke paneʻe aku nei au me ka haʻahaʻa i ka moʻolelo piha no ka maʻi hope loa ‘ana o ke Aliʻi ka Mōʻī a me Kona make ‘ana:

Ua hoʻomaka mua ka maʻi o ke Aliʻi ka Mōʻī ma Sana Barbara, Kaleponi, ʻoi'ai ka huakaʻi Aliʻi e huli hoʻi ana mai Kāna huakaʻi mākaʻikaʻi iā Kaleponi Hema. Ua hoʻomaka ma ke kakahiaka o ka lā 4 o Ianuari. Ma ia kakahiaka, ua hoʻokipa maila ka Mōʻī i ka Meia o Sana Barbara, a ua ʻai he ʻaina kakahiaka me ka māhuahua ʻole o kāna pāʻina ʻana, a mai ke kaʻaahi aku, ua hoʻokipa ʻia akula ka Mōʻī ma ka Hotele Arlington e like me ka mea i hōʻike mua ʻia e Adimarala Brown.1204

Ma ke kakahiaka Pōʻakolu aʻe, ma hope iho o kēlā ʻahaʻaina a ka Mōʻī i hele ai ma ka Hotele Kaleponi, ua ala aʻela nō ka Mōʻī a ʻaʻahu ihola i Kona mau ʻaʻahu me ka pāʻina ʻana he ʻaina kakahiaka kūpono, akā ʻaʻole naʻe he nui mai o kāna mau kamaʻilio ʻana. Ma hope iho o ka pāʻina ʻana, ua noho ihola ka Mōʻī ma luna o kekahai noho hōʻoluʻolu ma mua pono o ke kapuahi hoʻopumehana, a hāʻule koke akula ʻo ia i loko o ka hiamoe kūlipolipo ʻana no kekahai mau hora ʻokoʻa. I ke ala ʻana aʻe o ka Mōʻī, ua koi ikaika ʻia akula ʻO ia mai noʻonoʻo ʻO ia no ka hele ʻana i nā poloʻai hoʻoihwahiwa ma ke ahiahi iho, me ka wehewehe pū ʻia ʻana aku no Kona

1204 Prior to this Poepoe spelled Brown as Baraunu.
kūlana kūpono ‘ole no ka hele ‘ana, ‘oiai, aia Kona ma‘i ma kahi hopohopo loa ‘ia, ‘o ia ho‘i ka “pu‘upa‘a,” no laila he mea maika‘i Nona iho a me nā mea e a e a pau e noho mālie ‘O ia; akā, eia wale nō Kāna pane: “E hele ana nō au; a ‘a‘ole he mea nāna e kāohi mai iā‘u mai ka hele ‘ana.” Ua hiamoe ‘ia ka Mō‘ī ma ka hapanui o ua lā ‘la [ala], a ma Kona wā e ala a e ai, ‘a‘ole he kama‘ilio nui mai e like me Kona kūlana mau i kama‘āina le‘a, akā, eia wale nō Kāna mau māmala ‘ōlelo e namunamu ai: “e hele ana nō au.”

Ma muli o ka ho‘omaopopo ‘ana i ka pa‘akikī loa o ka mana‘o o ke Ali‘i no ka hele ‘ana, ua ho‘omakaukau ‘ia kekahī lā‘au e ho‘oikaika a e ai lā ia. ‘A‘ole he lā‘au e a e i hā‘awi‘ia i ka Mō‘ī ma waho a e o ka lā‘au i ho‘omakaukau‘ia e Kauka McNulty, no laila, ma ia ahiahi, hora 8, ua hā‘awi‘ia aku i ka Mō‘ī he kī‘aha kokoa waina, (coca wine) a me ona pola kupa; i Kona inu ‘ana i kēia mau mea, ua ane ikaika maika‘i loa maila ka Mō‘ī.

Ma ka hora 8:30 P. M., ua hō‘ea maila ke komite o ka Hui Malū no ka lawe ‘ana aku i ka Mō‘ī no ka Heiau o ka Hui Malū. Ua waiho ‘ia ka mālama ‘ana o ka Mō‘ī ma ia huaka‘i ma ka lima o Generala Daimana, he hoaloha a makamaka kahiko nona, a e ho‘iho‘i ‘ia mai ka Mō‘ī i loko o ho‘okahi no hora, me ka mālama loa ‘ana lā ia mai nā ho‘opīhihoi ʻana. Ua ‘ae maila ʻo Generala Daimana i kēia noi, me kona hō‘īia mai nāna e hoʻokō pono kēlā mau mea no ka ʻoluʻolu maika‘i o ka Mō‘ī. Ua hoʻokō pololei ‘ia e like me ka mea i hoʻākāka ‘ia a'elā. Ma ka manawa i hoʻi mai ai ka Mōʻī a hōʻea ma Kona keʻena, ua hoʻi koke ʻO ia e hiamoe, a hāʻule koke akula ʻO ia i loko o ka hiamoe kūlipolipo loa.

Ma ke kakahiaka o ka Pōʻahā a‘e, ua pa‘akikī loa ka manaʻo o ka Mō‘ī e hele e ʻai ma ka papaʻaina nui, a ma laila ʻO ia i kāhāhā nui loa ai i ka hoʻolohe pono ‘ole ʻo Konela Baker i Kāna mau kauoha. Aia hoʻi i Kona wā e ʻai ana ua hāʻule Kāna pahi a me Kāna o, ʻoiai e hāʻule mau ana ʻO ia i loko o ka hiamoe ʻano hihiʻo i kēlā a me kēia manawa, no ia mea, ua hele ʻia maila au
e ha'i i kēlā 'ano o ka Mōʻi, a ma koʻu lohe ʻana ua holo koke akula au a hoʻihoʻi maila i ka Mōʻi no Kona Keʻena ponoʻi. ʻIke ihola au ua ikaiaka loa ka maʻi ma ka puʻupaʻa, a ua ʻane hiki ʻole ke kaohi mai. Hoʻomaopopo pū ihola au ke pāhola loa ʻaʻela ka maʻi o ka Mōʻi ma ke akepaʻa a me ka puʻuwai, a ʻō ke alelo ua ʻaʻaki paʻa loa ka ea a ʻano mānoanoa ke nānā aku.

ʻOiai i kēlā lā (Pōʻahā, Januari 15) ua koʻikoʻi loa maila ka maʻi o ka Mōʻi, a mai kēlā manawa mai i ʻano pau loa ai ka hiki iā iā ke kamaʻilio, ʻo ka hāwanawana wale nō kahi mea hiki me ka ʻuʻuku loa nō naʻe.

Ma ka ʻauwinalā aʻe, ua noʻi akula au iā Konela Makapolena a me Kanikela McKinley e kiʻi aku iā Kauka A. F. Sawyer. ʻo ia kekahoi o nā Kauka ʻakamai loa o Kapalakiko, a me Prof. W. S. Taylor o ke kula nui o Kaleponi no ka mālama ʻana he ʻaha kūkākūkā no ke kūlana o ka Mōʻi. Ma hope iho o ka nānā akahele ʻia ʻana o ka mea maʻi, ua ʻāpono ʻia ke ʻano o nā lawelawe lapaʻau ʻana i hana ʻia ma luna o ka Mōʻi. Mai kēlā manawa mai a hōʻea wale i ke kāʻili ʻana ʻia ʻo ka hanu aliʻi e nā lima ana ʻole o ka make, ua hele mai mau kēlā mau keonimana he ʻelua a he ʻekolu manawa o ka lā hoʻokahi no ka nānā ʻana a me ke kūkā pū ʻana me aʻu, me ke kiaʻi mau ʻana i nā wā e ʻano lolii aʼe ai ke kūlana o ka maʻi ma luna o ka Mōʻi.

Ma ka Pōʻalima aʻe lā 16, he ʻuʻuku loa ke kūlana ʻauʻi aʻe o ka maʻi ma luna o ka Mōʻi. He ʻelua a ʻekolu manawa a ka Mōʻi i nonoi mai ai i ka ipupaka ona, a puhi ʻuʻuku wale maila nō naʻe. He koi mau ʻO ia e hoʻonoho aʻe iā iā i luna. Ua maikaʻi nā hana ʻana a ka lāʻau i ka ʻōpū, ka ʻili a me ka puʻupaʻa. Hoʻokahi naʻe mea ʻano e ua ʻano lolo loa maila kona lima ʻākau. Ma ke kakahiaka Pōʻaonoʻaʻe, ua piʻi ikaika maila ka hou me ka maʻi fiva, a ua ʻaʻaki paʻa loa maila kēia fiva a hiki wale i ka hopena, me ka neʻe ikaika ʻana o ke ʻano lōlō ma ka ʻaoʻao ʻākau.
Mai ke kakahiaka Pōʻalima mai ua hānai ʻia ka Mōʻī me ka waiū, a i kekahi manawa me kahi rama ʻuʻuku i loko nō o ka waiū, kai moa, raiki a me ke kikoko. Ma ka hoʻomaopopo aku i ke ʻano o ka pana ʻana a ka puʻuwai a me ke kō maikaʻi ʻi ʻana a a ka puʻuwai, ua loaʻa maila he wahi manaʻolana maikaʻi.

Ma ka lā Sabati aʻe, ua hemo akula he ʻāweʻaweʻa koko mai ka Mōʻī aku i Kona wā e hana lepo ai, ua manaʻoʻia naʻe he koko kēlā mai ka ʻōpū aku. Ma ke ahiahi ua hanalepo hou, a ua nui ka hemo ʻana o ka [ke] koko. Ma ke awakea, ua hoʻopau loa ʻia aku ka hānai lāʻau ʻana, ʻo ka waiū a me kahi waina nā mea hānai ʻia aku lā ia i kekahi manawa.

Ma ka Pōʻakahi lā 19, ua emi maila ka ikaika kūpono o ka Mōʻī, ʻano liʻiliʻi maila ka ʻōnohi ʻike ʻeleʻele o ka maka me ke ʻano pōwehiwehi. Ma kēlā manawa, ʻaʻohe hemo hou o ke koko, ʻo ka ikaika wale nō o ka wela mai ka 100 a ka 102 degere, me ka piʻi mau naʻe ma ka pō a hiki i ke 23. Ma ka pō ʻana iho, ʻoiai hoʻi e manaʻo ʻia ʻana ʻaʻohe wahi manaʻolana no ke ola mai o ka Mōʻī, ua mālama ʻia he anaina haipule ma loko o ke keʻena maʻi e ka ekalesia hoʻomana ʻEnelani. He mea ʻoiaiʻo, ʻaʻole e hiki lā ia ke hoʻomaopopo mai i kēia mau hana. Ua mālama ʻia ke anaina pule e ka Rev. F. H. Churh [Church], a ʻo ke poʻe i ʻākoakoa ma kēlā anaina, ʻo ʻia ʻo Konela Baker, Mrs. McKinley, Mrs. Price, Mr. C. V. S. Gibbs, Konela Makapolena, Senate Whitney a me Kauka Woods. Ua noho ʻo Rev. Church ma ia pō holoʻokoʻa ma laila a hiki i ke ao ʻana, me ka manaʻo e loaʻa ana he wahi ʻoluʻolu i ka Mōʻī.

Ma ke kakahiaka Pōʻalu aʻe, ua hiki loa nō ke hoʻomaopopo ʻia aku ʻaʻole e hiki ana i ka Mōʻī e ola no kekahi mau hora. I mea e hoʻomau ʻia aʻe aʻi Kona ikaika ua hoʻohāīnu mau ia kekahi mau kulu barani me ona aila hoʻopaheʻe i kēlā a me kēia manawa. I ka hiki ʻana i ka hora 12 o ke awakea, ua ʻano alapine loa maila ka hanu ʻana a hiki ma kahi he 32 i ka minute, a ua piʻi aku ka pumehana o ke kino a hiki i ka 101.4, a emi ino mai ana a ka 100.5 i kekahi manawa.
Ua paʻa ke kino holoʻokoʻa i ka hou ʻano pipili, a ʻo ka puʻuwai hoʻi e alapine ana ka pana ʻana me ke ʻano nāwaliwali loa naʻe.

Ma kēia manawa, ua hoʻomaka mai ka Rev. J. Sanders Reed e heluhelu i kekahi mau ʻōlelo hoʻolana mai ka Halelū a Davida, a a [sic] ua hoʻomau ʻo ia a hiki wale i ka lele loa ʻana. Ua alakaʻiʻia ka mele ʻana e ka Rev. Mr. Church, a ma ka hope loa ua kukuli ihola nā mea a pau a nonoi akula me ka haʻahaʻaʻa i mua o nā Mana Lani, a ua hui pū kēlā mau māmala ʻōlelo me nā ʻāʻiliʻili hope loa ʻana o ka hanu o ka Mōʻī.

Ma ia manawa ua ʻākoʻakoʻa mai ma nā ʻaoʻao o ka moe o ke Liʻi e ʻāʻiliʻili ana poʻe: Rev. Reed, Konela Makapolena, Adimarala Baraunu ma ka ʻākau; ma ka ʻaoʻao hema o Konela Baker, Kalua a me Kahikina: ma lalo mai o nā wāwae o Mrs. Swan, ke Kanikela McKinley a me Kauka Woods; a ma waho aʻe o ia poʻe ʻo Lutanela Dyer, Hon. C. R. Bishop, G. Rhodes, Mr. Hart, Senate Whitney, Mrs. McKinley, Mrs. Price, Mrs. J. S. Reed a me Claus Spreckles.

Ma ka hora 6 P. M., ua hoʻoponopono ʻia ke kino make e Dr. J. E. Williams ma lalo nō naʻe o kaʻu mau kuhikuhi ʻana; a ma ka hora 11 A. M. o ka Pōʻakolu, ua hōʻaʻahu ʻia Kona kino me ka ʻaʻahu ʻeleʻele maikaʻi, a hoʻokomo ʻia i loko o ka pahu. Ua humuhumu ʻia ke kalaunu me nā maʻawe gula ma ke kua iho o Kona mau mikilima, a ua ʻōmau ʻia ka hōʻailona ʻo ke Keʻa o Kamehameha I ma Kona umauma a me ke Keʻa Hanohano o Kalākaua. Ma ka hora 1 P. M., ua hoʻihoʻi ʻia ke kino o ka Mōʻī ma loko o ka luakini, ma lalo o ka mālama ʻana a ka ʻoihana kaua o ka Repubalika o Amerika.

I koʻu hōʻoki ʻana i kēia mau hoʻākāka ʻana, he mea pono ʻē i aʻe au, he kanaka maʻi maoli no ka Mōʻī ma mua aʻe o Kona haʻalele ʻana iā Honolulu no Kāna huakaʻi hoʻolana, ʻoiai, ua ʻaʻaki mau kēlā maʻi i ka Mōʻī no ka mahāhiki a keu aʻe ma mua aʻe o Kona make ʻana. I
waena o nā mahalo ‘ana i ka Adimarala Baraunu, Konela Makapolena a me Konela Baker, e hā‘awi a’e au i ko ‘u mahalo ki ‘eki’e iā Kanikela McKinley no kāna mau hana ho‘omanawanui a ahonui o ke ala ‘ana i kēlā a me kēia pō, me ke kia‘i maka‘ala loa ‘ana i ka Mō‘ī, a pēlā pū ho‘i iā Mrs. McKinley no kāna mau hana kū i ka walohia.

I kekahi o nā mahalo ‘ana, e pāpahi a’e au i ka nui ma luna o nā kahu Hawai‘i o ke Ali‘i ka Mō‘ī, ‘o ia ‘o Kahikina a me Kalua, ma muli o ka lāua pūlama make‘e a mailani ‘ana i kō lāua Haku Ali‘i. He mea ‘oi’ai‘o, ‘o nā pūlama make‘e a ahonui ‘ana a kēlā mau kahu lawelawe Hawai‘i ma luna o kō lāua Haku Ali‘i, ‘a‘ole loa e hiki ke ukali ‘ia e kekahi po‘e kahu lawelawe haole o ka lāhui ili ke‘oke‘o. He kū maoli nō i ka ‘e‘ehia a me ke aloha nā mailani maika‘i ‘ana a kēlā mau kahu i kō lāua Lani Ali‘i i mua o na mea ‘ē a‘e a ko‘u mau maka i ‘ike mua ‘ole ai. ‘A‘ole he mau ‘ōlelo e a‘e a ka Mō‘ī i hiki ‘ole ke ho‘omaopopo ‘ia e ua mau kahu lawelawe ‘la [ala].

‘Owau iho nō me ka ha‘aha‘a,

G. E. WOODS.

Kauka Lapa‘au Nui o ka ‘Oihana Kaua
PAPA HŌ‘IKE MANAWA

NO KEKAHI MAU MEA ‘ANO NUI E PILI ANA I KE ALI‘I KA MŌ‘I KALĀKAUA I.

O KŌ HAWAI‘I PAE‘ĀINA.

1836—Nov. 16. Hānau ma Honolulu.
1840—Komo i ke Kula Ali‘i ma lalo ‘o Mr. a me Mrs. Cooke.
1849—Komo i ke Kula o Kahehuna.
1850—A‘o i ka ‘Oihana Koa ma lalo o Kapena Funk.
1853—Lilo i Kapena Koa no ka Pū‘alikoa Kapa‘akea.
1853-4—A‘o Kānāwai ma lalo ‘o Hon. C. C. Harris.
1854—Lilo i Mekia no nā Ali‘ikoa o ka Mō‘i.
1856—*Lilo i Hoa no ka ‘Aha Kūkā Malū.
1862—‡Dec. 19. Mare‘ia me ke Kamāli‘i wahine Kapi‘olani.
1862—Lilo i hoahānau no ka ‘Ekalesia ‘Anegalikana.
1863—Iune 30. Lilo i Luna Leta Nui.
1863—Dec. 7. Koho hou ‘ia i Hoa no ka ‘Aha Kūkā malū no ke Aupuni ma lalo o Kamehameha V.
1865—¶ Feb. 3. Lilo i Pu‘uku no ka Mō‘ī Kamehameha V.

1867—Lilo i Hoa Naita no ke Ke‘a Hanohano o Kamehameha I.

1869—Ha‘alele iā ‘Oihana Pu‘uku Ali‘i, a ho‘omau i ke ao ‘ana i ka ‘Oihana loio, a ma ka lā 19 o Aperila 1869, lilo i hoa no ka Papa Loio Hawai‘i.

1870—Loa‘a ke kūlana Knight Commander Grand Cross o ke Ke‘a o Francis Joseph, Emepera oAuseturia.


*Pēlā i hō‘ike ‘ia ai ma loko o ka “Honolulu Almanac a me Directory” no 1885, ‘ao‘ao 71. Ma ka nūpepa Friend ho‘i o Feberuari, 1876, ‘ao‘ao 12, o ka M. H. 1858 ia.
†Wahi a ka nūpepa Friend o Feberuari 1876, ‘o ka lā 6 ia o Okatoba,
¶Friend o Feb. 1879, o ka M. H. 1864 ia.
1874—Feb. 13. Hoʻohiki ʻo ia i ke Kumukānāwai *


1874—Lilo i Luna Kiʻekiʻe no ke Keʻa o Kamehameha I. Lilo i Naita no ke Keʻa o Francis Joseph.

1874—Loaʻa ke degere 33, mai a Kenerala Pike mai o Virginia i loko o ka Hui Malū.

1874—Nov. 17. Holo i Amerika Huiʻia no ka ʻimi pōmaikaʻi no ka ʻāina ma luna o ka mokukaua Benecia.

1872—Feb. 15. Hoʻi mai i ka ʻāina nei ma luna o ka mokukaua Pensacola.

1875—Kūkulu i ka Papa o ke Keʻa Hanohano o Kalākaua.

1876—Lilo i Naita no ke Keʻa Kiʻekiʻe o Sana Mauritia me Sana Lakaro o Italia.


1881—Ianuari 20. Hōʻoi i ke kaʻapuni honua (no kēia huakaʻi e nānā i nā mea ʻano nui ma loko o kēia buke e hoʻomaka ana ma ka ʻaoʻao 13).

1881—Okatopa 29. Hoʻi hou mai ʻo ia mai kāna huakaʻi kaʻapuni honua mai.

1882—Mar. 31 Wehe ʻO ia iā Lunalilo Home.


1886—Sept. 24. Kūkulu i ka Hale Nauā.

1886—Nov. 16. Ka Lubile no ka piha ʻana o ke kanalima o Kona mau makahiki.

1887—Iune 30. Hoʻokahuluiʻia ka Nohoaliʻi Aupuni ʻana e noho ana ma lalo o ke Kumukānāwai o Kamehameha V.

1887—Iulai 7. Kākauinoa ʻO ia ma lalo o ke Kumukānāwai hou.

1891—Ianuari 20. Make ka Mōʻi ma loko o kona keʻena noho ma loko o ka Hotele Palace, kūlanakauhale o Kapalakiko.

1891—Ianuari, 22. Hoʻihoʻi ʻia mai ke kino wailua o ka Mōʻī ma luna o ka mokukaua Charleston, a hōʻea maila ma Honolulu nei ma ka lā 29 o ia mahina. Hora 4:30 hoʻolele ʻia mai ke kino wailua i uka nei o ka ʻāina.

1891—Ianuari 30. Ma waena o ka hora 10 A. M. a me 2 P. M., hoʻokuʻu ʻia nā makaʻāinana e komo i loko o Hale Aliʻi ʻIolani no ka nānā ʻana i ke kino make o ka Mōʻī.

1891—Feb. 15, Sabati. Hoʻolewa ʻia ke kino make o ka Mōʻī a waiho ʻia ma ka Ilina Aliʻi.

* Ma ka ʻaoʻao 11 o kēia buke, ua hōʻike ʻia ma loko ʻ“o ka luakini o Kawaiahaʻo,” ʻaʻole i pololei ia, ʻo ka pono, ma loko o Kīnaʻu Hale.
PAPA HO‘ONOHONOHO

O KA

HUAKAʻI HOʻOLEWA O KA MŌʻĪ MAKE

KALĀKAUA.

Nā Kuki o Iwikauikaua.
   Nā Makaʻi.
Ilāmuku o ke Aupuni a me nā Ukali.
   Pūʻali Puhi ʻOhe.
Nā Haumāna o ke Kulanui o Sana Lui.
   Kula Kamehameha.
   Kuluanui o ʻIolani.
   Nā Kula Aupuni.
Kula Hānai Kaikamahine o Kawaiahaʻo.
Kula Hānai Kaikamahine o Sana Anaru.
   Kuluanui o Oʻahu.
   Pūʻali Puhi ʻOhe.
   Nā ʻAhahui Pukikī.
   ʻOihana Kinaiahā o Honolulu.
Hui Merchanicʻs Benefit Union.
Hui Ancient Order of Foresters.
Hui American Legion of Honor.
Hui Knights of Phythias.
Hui, Geo. W. de Long Post, No. 45 G. A. R.
Nā ʻElele o nā Hui Malū o ka Pākīpika
   Hui Malū.
Nā Lālā o ka ʻOihana Lapaʻau.
   Nā Kauka o ka Mōʻī i make.
ʻAhahui ʻŌpiopio Puʻuwai Lōkahī.
Hui Hoʻonaau ao a Liliʻuokalani.
Hui Hoʻōla a me Hoʻoulu Lāhui.
Hui Lei Mamo.
Hale Nauā.
   Nā Konohiki o nā ʻĀina Lei Aliʻi.
Nā Konohiki o nā ʻĀina o ka Mōʻī wahine.
Nā Konohiki o nā ʻĀina o ka Mōʻī Make.
   Ke Aliʻikoa Nui me nā Ukali.
   Pūʻali Puhi ʻOhe Hawaiʻi.
Pūʻali Puhi ʻOhe o ka Mokukaua Amerika “Kaletona.”
Marina a me nā Koa o ka Mokukaua Amerika “Kaletona.”
Mokukaua Amerika “Mohikana.”
Mokukaua Beritania “Nymph.”
Nā Koa Kiaʻi o ka Mōʻī.
Nā ʻŌhua o ka Mōʻī wahine.
Nā ʻŌhua o ka Mōʻī i make.
Nā Kāhunapule Hōʻole Pope.
Nā Kāhunapule o ka Ekalesia Katolika Roma.
Right Reverend ka Bihopa o Olba.
Papa Hīmeni.
Nā Kāhunapule o ka ʻEkalesia ʻAnegalikana.
Right Reverend ka Bihopa o Honolulu.
Ka Lio o ka Mōʻī i make.
Puʻukū o ka Mōʻī i make.
Nā Mea Hanohano nā Mekia R. H. Baker a me J. T. Baker e hiʻi ana i ke Kalaunu, nā Hōkū a me ka ʻAhu ʻula.
Nā Keiki ʻŌiwi o Hawaiʻi e huki ana i ke Kaʻa Hoʻolewa.
Nā Kahili Nunui.
Nā Kahili Liʻiliʻi.
Nā Hāpai Pahu.
Ka Kupapaʻu.
Nā Hāpai Pahu.
Nā Kahili Liʻiliʻi.
Nā Kahili Nunui.
Kaʻa Aliʻi me ka Mōʻī wahine Kānemake a me ka Mea Kiʻekiʻe ke Kamāʻliʻi wahine [Kamāliʻi wahine] Poʻomaikelani.
Kaʻa Mōʻī me ke Aliʻi ka Mōʻī wahine a me ka Mea Hanohano J. O. Dominis.
Kaʻa o ka Mea Kiʻekiʻe ke Kamāliʻi wahine Kaʻiulani me ka Mea Hanohano A. S. Cleghorn.
Lunakānāwai Kiʻekiʻe o ka Aupuni.
Nā Kuhina.
Nā Luna Nui o nā Aupuni ʻĒ a me Adimarala Brown me nā Ukali.
Nā Lunakānāwai o ka ʻAha Kiʻekiʻe.
Peresidena o ka Hale ʻAhaʻōlelo.
Nā Hoa o ka Hale ʻAhaʻōlelo.
Nā Lede o ke Aloaliʻi.
Nā Hoa o ka ʻAhaʻākūkāmalū.
Nā Aliʻimoku o nā Mokukaua Amerika Kaletona, me Mokihana, a me ka Mokukaua Beritania Nymph.
Nā Kanikela.
Nā Lunakānāwai Kaʻapuni.
Nā Hoa o ka Papa Loio.
Nā Luna Aupuni.
Nā Makaʻāinana o nā ʻĀina ʻĒ.
Ka Lehulehu.
Nā Makaʻi.
E hoʻonohonoho ʻia ʻana ka huakaʻi i ka hora 10 A. M. Sabati, Feberuari 15, ma ke
Alanui Mōʻī.

ʻO ka poʻe e hele ana ma mua o ke Kaʻa Kupapaʻu, e hoʻonohonoho ʻia lākou ma ke
Alanui Mōʻī ma ke komohana o Alanui Rikeke. A ʻo nā poʻe ma hope mai, e hoʻonohonohoʻia
lākou ma ka ʻaoʻao Waikīkī o ka puka Pā Aliʻi.

E hoʻomaka ana ka neʻe ʻana o ka Huakaʻi ma ka hora 11 A. M., a e hele ana ma Alanui
Mōʻī a hiki i ke Alanui Nuʻuanu, a mai laila aku a hiki i ka Ilina Aliʻi.

ʻO na poʻe nō lākou nā wahi i hoʻokaʻawaleʻia ma ka Huakaʻi a e hele ana i ka hoʻolewa
ma nā kaʻa, ke kauohaʻia aku nei e hāʻawi aʻe i kō lākou mau palapala inoa i nā kaʻukaʻa, i hiki
ai ke hoʻohononoho [hoʻonohonoho] pono ʻia kō lākou mau kaʻa i loko o ka huakaʻi.

ʻO ka hoʻonohonoho ʻana o ka Huakaʻi ma lalo nō ia o ka Mea Hanohano Konela Curtis
P. Iaukea.

Halealiʻi ʻi ʻIolani, Feberuari 5, 1891.
The History
of
King Kalākaua I.
The Birth—the Journey around the World—a Full Record of his Last Days in California, United States of America—the Reports of Admiral Brown and the Doctors, Etc., Etc., Etc. Illustrated with Pictures
Kalakaua is Gone!

O Hawaii of Keawe,\textsuperscript{1205} Greetings! For you this violent grief,\textsuperscript{1206}

O Maui of Kama,\textsuperscript{1207} Lo! For you this sorrow,

O Great Molokai of Hina;\textsuperscript{1208} Pitable! For you this lamentation;

O Lanai of the chief Kaululaau,\textsuperscript{1209} anguish! For you this groan of desolation;

O Oahu of Kakuhihewa;\textsuperscript{1210} pain! For you this oppression;

O Kauai of Manokalanipo;\textsuperscript{1211} Darkness within! Torn,

O Niihau in the foundation of Lehua;\textsuperscript{1212} For you this wretched grief!

Yes! He has passed on. He has utterly departed. The light of the Kalakaua House has been extinguished; the Holy Trinity desired the spirit of his royal mortal form, and the Holy Trinity has seized his soul to draw it nearer into the circle of His holy throne in the heavenly Paradise. He has no more thoughts or new tribulations upon himself for the benefit and the prosperity of the people and the land, which he very dearly loved; he is no more here; the spirit, the breath of the body, arises in triumph, and the nation that has been overwhelmed by the wings of cruel lamentation and in woe was left desolate. Farewell!

Condolences to you, the sandy beach of Hilohanakahi,\textsuperscript{1213} you shall miss him greatly because the anguish caused by his feet on your surface is no more; and to the Kanilehua\textsuperscript{1214} rain,

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[1205] Keaweikekahiali‘iokamoku, the 15\textsuperscript{th} century chief of Hawai‘i, was known as the “ancestor of chiefs and commoners” (Beckwith 394). Kamehameha I came from his line.
\item[1206] Poepoe follows the convention of naming each island (and their chiefs), from Hawai‘i to Ni‘ihau, as a way of expressing the magnitude of the people’s affection for Kalākaua.
\item[1207] The 16\textsuperscript{th} century Maui chief Kamalālāwatu’s “good, just, liberal, hospitable character” linked him with the island (de Silva, “Lani”). Maui is often referred to as Maui o Kama, or Maui of Kama.
\item[1208] Poetic name of Molokai or Great Molokai, Child of Hina. It is said that Hina is the mother of this island.
\item[1209] Lānaʻi is known by the epitaph “Lānaʻi a Kaululēʻau,” so named for the chief Kaululēʻau, who made it safe for islanders to reside here (Maly).
\item[1210] An aliʻi nui or high chief, ruler of the island of Oʻahu (Handy, Handy and Pukui 279).
\item[1212] A traditional proverb of Niʻihau.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
your misty drops of rain will not sprinkle anew on his handsome cheeks; to the Lehua groves in Olaa, another shall trespass upon you, he shall not adorn himself again with your beauty; and to the Chiefess of the crater; his conversations together with you are no more. O hinano blossoms and the pandanus of Naue by the sea, he shall never smell again your sweet fragrance; and to the stirring woman of Hopoe, the gazing of his royal eyes upon you will no longer be.

To the twilight of the niche of Waiohinu in the Haao rain, he shall not rest again in your bosom; and to the sea spray of Kaalualu, your sweet welcoming of him is ended; because he has returned there.

The Konas! Kona with its cloud billows mirrored in the sea; Kona the calm seas of Ehu; Kona with its many-hued seas—how sad; from the swimming promontory of

1213 Poepoe follows the custom of traditional Hawaiian place chants, which begin in the east and proceed clockwise; Hilohanakahi, the Hilo area, named for the ancient chief whose reign was especially peaceful (Nogelmeier 66). Hilo is known for its rains. Kalākaua welcomed guests to his summer cottage, Niolopa in Hilo. During his tour of the kingdom following a win over Emma in 1874 Kalākaua visited Hilo, and the residents gave a ball in his honor (“Royal”). Today, Hilo embraces the king’s memory with a park and street named in Kalākaua’s honor and the annual Merrie Monarch festival.

1214 Mele about Hilo tell of this rain, which moistens the lehua forests (Pukui, 'Ōlelo No'eau 1000). The mele, “Ano 'ai ku‘u wehi lā/ I ka ua Kani lehua/ Pua nani he lehua lā/ No Hilo Hanakahi or Greetings to you my beautiful adornment/ In the mist-like Kani lehua rain” (“Hilo”) is one example.

1215 Once called La‘a, ‘Ōla‘a, a large inland area adjacent to present-day Volcano, is home to lehua in abundance (Pukui, 'Ōlelo No'eau 1638). “Keiki kiamanu o La‘a” is “bird-catching lad of La‘a,” referring to the charismatic bird catchers who attract many admirers. Bird-catchers often went to La‘a for feathers. Chants written for Kalākaua also used this saying (Pukui, 'Ōlelo No'eau 1707).

1216 Reference to Pele.

1217 The scent of hinano, the male flower of the hala tree, fills the coast and lowlands of Puna. When the wind blew from inland those at sea smelled the fragrant hala. The saying, “Puna, paia ‘ala i ka hala” describes the fragrance of hala permeating Puna (Kanahele 113). Naue, Kaua‘i is also famous for hala at its shore. Elbert and Mahoe say, “Praise of trees, flowers, birds and places […] was a way of honoring a beloved or important person” (80).

1218 Hōpoe is the dancer of Kea‘au, and the stone that she was later turned into. Hi‘iaka and Hōpoe were friends. When Hi‘iaka failed to return from calling upon Lohi‘au on Kaua‘i, Pele burned Hi‘iaka’s grove and Hōpoe even after Hi‘iaka asked Pele to look after Hōpoe. Today, Hōpoe in Puna is home to lehua.

1219 Wai‘ōhinu, “shiny water,” is a land division in Ka‘ū east of Ka Lae, Hawai‘i, and once was “watered by a stream and by never-failing springs, [and was] the center of wet cultivation for the [Ka‘ū] district” (Handy and Pukui, Polynesian System 242). On Kalākaua’s 1874 tour he arrived at the landing in Ka‘ū, and the residents “escorted him to Waiohinu, over a road thickly strewed with rushes for the occasion” (“Royal Progress”).

1220 The Hā‘ao rain of Wai‘ōhinu references the rain that enters in “columns” (Pukui, 'Ōlelo No'eau 1550).

1221 A beach in Ka‘ū that can be accessed today from Ka‘alu‘alu Road. “The wrinkle (seen from out at sea, the fissures in the rock look like wrinkles)” (Pukui, Elbert and Mo‘okini 60).
Kaulanamauna\textsuperscript{1225} until arriving at Haemakani Hill of Kaupulehu\textsuperscript{1226}—alas—the wretched agony—alas. Regards to you Hookena,\textsuperscript{1227} with your chief-loving heart, it is only his name that you will cherish, whereas, he will visit your water’s edge no more, to the sacred cliffs of Keoua,\textsuperscript{1228} you shall never again revere him; and to the chilling waters of Haliilua,\textsuperscript{1229} those sprinkling waters of the Chiefs, for perhaps his spirit again will stir your serenity: and to Kealakekua\textsuperscript{1230} with your soft and gentle breast, he shall not again enjoy your loving embrace.\textsuperscript{1231} To the blood rain of Alanapo,\textsuperscript{1232} no more is your signifying for your Chief.


\textsuperscript{1223} Nā la‘i a Ehu is “The calm regions of Ehu.” Ehunuikaumanamana ruled the area of Kona. This saying was also an epithet for Kalākaua, used in a name chant (Pukui, \textit{Ōlelo No'eau} 2248). In “A Kona Hema ‘o ka Lani” it says, “A Kona Hema ‘o ka lani/Nānā iā Ka‘awaloa/Ike i ka la‘i a ‘Ehu/Ehu ‘oe e ka lani” or At South Kona, the king/Observes Ka‘awaloa/Knows the peace of ‘Ehu/Majestic are you, o king” (qtd. in \textit{Humu} 53). Many mele honor ‘Ehu.

\textsuperscript{1224} Kona i ke kai mā‘oki‘oki is “Kona of the sea that is cut up.” Pukui says that “from a distance one can see the smooth surface of the sea at Kona, Hawai‘i cut up by innumerable streaks of color” (Pukui, \textit{‘Ōlelo No'eau} 1842).

\textsuperscript{1225} Kaulanamauna (“mountain resting place”) is the last ahupua’a of the Kona district before entering Ka‘ū (Maly).

\textsuperscript{1226} North Kona land division and swimming promontory in the region known as Kekaha. Ka‘ūpūlehua is “the roasted breadfruit” and the u is short for ‘ulu.

\textsuperscript{1227} “To satisfy thirst.” A noted South Kona ahupua’a, black sand beach, active 19th-century port town and village of literary commemoration described by Lili‘uokalani as “distinctly Hawaiian” (\textit{A Guide} 65). It is said that in 1889 Kalākaua recommended Robert Louis Stevenson visit Ho‘okena as it was the “best example of a truly Hawaiian village thickly populated” (“Archive”).

\textsuperscript{1228} Named first Ka-pali-o-Manuahi, and then for Keōuakupuapāikalaninui, “the royal chief who grew and touched the great sky” or the ancient chief of Hawai‘i named as the father to Kamehameha I. It surrounds Kealakekua Bay (Maly and Maly ‘Ke‘i A-192, Maly and Maly \textit{Kahalu‘u-Keaahu 22}). Hawaiians were said to have used the lava tubes situated in the pali as ali‘i burial caves (\textit{A Guide} 58).

\textsuperscript{1229} This spring, named for the 14th-century “attendant of the sacred chiefess Manuahi” of Ka‘awaloa, sits at the base of the cliff of Manuahi (KapalipokooManuahi or Palipoko) (Maly and Maly, “Nā Mo‘olelo” 8). Hāli‘ilua later became a bathing pool, and was favored by Queen Kapi‘olani (Alama).

\textsuperscript{1230} Land section, bay, and former village home to thousands of Hawaiians. It was said that akua would “travel the steep cliff of Manuahi from their home in ‘Ālanapō (Ke‘e), as they descended into the sea. And because of this practice, the name, Kealakekua (the path of the gods) came about” (Maly and Maly, “Nā Mo‘olelo” 8). This land was home to Lono. When Captain James Cook first arrived in Kealakekua during the time of Lono’s expectant arrival from Kahiki in 1779, some Hawaiians thought him to be Lono.

\textsuperscript{1231} The sides of the bay appear as arms embracing its beloved chief, Kalākaua.

\textsuperscript{1232} This area is named for the 14th century fearless mo‘o/woman adversary ‘Ālanapō. She was known to often send severe rainfall and billowing cloud formations to antagonize travelers in Nā‘uluoweli, the region named for her brother, the most skillful lua warrior in Ke‘i. After brothers Kamiki and Maka‘iole defeated ‘Ālanapō and Nā‘uluoweli in a battle the sister and brother were transformed into the “guardians of the mauka and makai paths and forests of Ke‘i’ (Maly and Maly, “Nā Mo‘olelo” 11). It was said that ‘Ālanapō “dwelt along the mountain slopes in upper Ke‘ei at a high point [. . .] surrounded by ‘ōhi‘a kūmakua lehua (large, upright tree lehua), the profuse green growth of ‘ie‘ie, palai, ‘āma‘uma‘u, ‘awapuhi, hāpu‘u [. . .]” (Maly and Maly, “Nā Mo‘olelo” 11).
To the coconut grove of Keauhou, your young coco fruits shall satisfy another’s thirst; and to the caretaker of the Royals, to the chief-loving companion, your affections for him are no more, whereas he is no longer with you. Kailua! Kamakahonu! And Moku'aikaua indeed! The house is cold for the royal one has died. It was you who warmed him in his times of cold and it was you who nourished him in his hunger and it was you who comforted him in his time of disquiet. Farewell! Alas for the swimming pond of the King; farewell to the surfing spots of the King, farewell to the waves reserved for the King. Farewell to the land of his youth, Koaea, the temples of Hailualani and Kaili, mourn and the waves of Kamoa.

1233 “The new era” or “the new current” (Pukui, Elbert and Mo‘okini 104). Once a harbor for canoes and steamers, home to the famous papa holua trail, several heiau, battle sites, including Kuamo‘o, and surf sites, and birthplace of Kauikeauoli Keauhou was also known for its coconut trees. The current-day Keauhou Beach Resort sits amongst numerous heiau dating back to the time of ‘Umi a Līloa, a replica of Kalākaua’s summer cottage, and its brackish natural water pond, Po’o Hawai‘i (Maly and Maly, Kahalu‘u-Keauhou 42). Keauhou was one of the seven chiefly centers in Kona, so its inclusion here supports Kalākaua’s right to the throne.

1234 “Two seas,” derives its name from the two currents, Kamakahonu and Kaiakeakua, that converge in Kailua. Village, bay and ancient surfing site in Kona. The well-populated Kailua thrived politically. Later, in the 19th century coffee was a successful crop here.

1235 “The turtle eye,” Kamakahonu is “named for a distinctive lava formation which has now been covered by the pier” (A Guide 24). Located in the ahupua‘a of Lanihau (known today as Kailua-Kona) Kamakahonu is also the land division and chiefly domicile, home to Ahu'ena heiau and Kamehameha I’s Kunuiakea, from whence he ruled. He eventually died here in 1819. The ‘ai noa occurred here. Kalākaua’s younger brother Leleiohoku spent the last years of his life here. Following his death his sisters Lili‘uokalani and Likelike inherited the land, followed by Kalākaua and then Kapi‘olani. As another of the seven chiefly centers in Kona, Kamakahonu’s inclusion in this kanikau sustains Kalākaua’s noble identity.

1236 Moku‘aikaua is “section won [during war].” A forested region above Keauhou. Today, the oldest church in Hawai‘i, completed in 1837, is named after this area, which supplied wood for the building’s ceiling and interior. Governor Kuakini supervised the construction of both Moku‘aikaua and Hulihe‘e, and they thus share similar architectural styles.

1237 “Puanuanu ka Hale ua hala o Kalani” describes the cold or chill (pūanuanu). “Pūanuanu ka hale” is said of the home where a dear one has died (Pukui and Elbert 347).

1238 Kalākaua enjoyed surfing along the Kona coast. The chant “He‘eia” honors the king’s pastime here. Chiefs used to enter surfing contests at this bay. Both ali‘i and maka‘āinana “rode the surf of Kaulu about 1 mile north and 1 mile offshore” (Kekahuna, “Kahalu‘u, North Kona”).

1239 On November 12, 1884 Kalākaua awarded a Hawaiian man Koaea a 1-acre Land Commission Award in Hōlualoa 3, North Kona (Lucas 124 and 125). Hōlualoa was once a major royal center in Kona, home to generations of high-ranking ali‘i (including Keakamahanaka, the great pi‘o chiefess who married Iwikauikaua, whose genealogy would later include Kalākaua), and the location of numerous heiau extremely important to Hawaiian culture (“Hōlua 4,” 9). The inclusion of Hōlualoa in this kanikau underscores Kalākaua’s noble ancestry and therefore right to the throne.

1240 A heiau located in the Keolonāhihi enclosure, Hōlualoa. Hailualani may also be Hauelani (“Hōlua 4,” 8).

1241 Ma uka of the Lae of Kāmoa was the Keolonāhihi enclosure, wherein the victorious Kamehameha I erected Hale o Ka‘ili and then placed the feathered image of his war god, Kūka‘ilimoku, within (Kekahuna, “Map of Keolonāhihi”). Kūka‘ilimoku played an integral role in Kamehameha I’s battles to unite the Hawaiian islands.
Mapuna, Kahakiki, Mokupalalahalaha and the Kakua surf of Haula shall miss him. Your bathing of his cheeks in water sheltered by the loulu palms of Puʻu is over, and you shall never again meet with him, O Kuhonua wind of the uplands.

Hulihee! Your faithful sheltering of him has ended, no longer shall he sleep within your warm bosom, for it is some other who shall enjoy your fine air, and it will be another’s features that you, O wintry dew, shall moisten. To the fresh water where the seaside of Kiope joins, he shall not swim again in your water, and to the sand of Kaiakeakua, his royal feet shall no longer tread on you; to the cave of Lanikeha and you also Mailehahei, his peering into your solemn entrances is ended; and to Anawaikulukulu in the expanse of

1242 On the rocky shore of Hōlualoa is the legendary Kāmoa; the name describes waves that originate in Kahiki (Maly). Kāmoa, once home to surfing and canoeing contests, is a point between the larger surf spots, Kahalu’u and Kailua, and is adjacent to the break, Kāwā (Finney and Houston 29). On the shores of Kāmoa were great ancient chiefly residences surrounded by farming and fishing communities. Its fame as a surfing spot continues today.

1243 Kealakekua beach. “Bubbling spring.”

1244 Kahakiki is “roaring sound.”

1245 Mokupalalahalaha

1246 Refers to the maile kuhonua or seedling that “stands on earth.” This maile grows in the mountains.

1247 “Turn, flee.” With Niumalu to the north and Ki'ope to the south Hawai‘i governor John Adams Kuakini built Hulihe’e in 1837/8 and named it after his brother Ke‘eamoku II, governor of Kaau‘i (Kekahuna, “Kaiakeakua”). The structure was made of lava rock, coral, koa, and ‘ōhi’a timbers. It was next owned by Princess Ruth Ke‘elikōlani. Kalākaua later enlarged it for a summer retreat. Today, the Daughters of Hawai‘i operates Hulihe’e, one of only three royal residences in Hawai‘i, as a museum. On the king’s 1874 tour he landed at Kailua and a canoe brought him ashore. The people then “dragged” the canoe over the beach of Kaiakeakua (present-day Kailua Beach) to Hulihe’e (“Royal Progress”).

1248 A traditional term describing the Hawaiian winter.

1249 “Bundle.” Pond adjacent to Hulihe’e and ma uka of old Ho‘oulu Cove fed by a spring in the pāhoehoe as well as salt water from Kaiakeakua (“I‘i 110 and Kekahuna,”Sketch of Hi‘iaka”). After swimming and surfing the chiefs often bathed at Ki‘ope, a favorite of theirs.

1250 “Sea of the gods,” located in Kailua, fronting Hulihe’e.

1251 Laniakea is a famed cave located almost a mile inland from Kaiakeakua with an opening on the shore near Hulihe’e and Ki‘ope (Kelly, Nā Mālā 10 and Maly). In 1823 Rev. William Ellis and a group of missionaries entered Laniakea via a “small aperture and followed the lava-tube cave in a seaward direction for about 1,200 feet. There they found a brackish pool into which their guides immediately plunged for a swim. The pool was estimated to be about 50 or 60 feet below the surface of the ground” (Kelly, Nā Mālā 12). Today, both the entrance and tube are inaccessible.

1252 A hill in Kona, marking the inland boundary between Ka’ūpūlehu and Keauhou (Maly).

1253 Anawaikulukulu is one of a series of famous caves on the kula lands between Hualālai and Mauna Loa, situated along the ancient mountain trail rising from the shore of Kona, crossing to the windward districts. Several of these water caves are pointed out in the vicinity of Ahu a ‘Umi (Maly).
Huaumi,\textsuperscript{1254} he certainly shall not visit again your magnificent features. Kamakahonu, that shelter of the chiefs,\textsuperscript{1255} and the yellow hau blossoms of Maihi,\textsuperscript{1256} he has let go and has disappeared from you. Farewell! Farewell to you, Kailua, your noble child has passed, you shall not embrace him again, and your beauty that he braided, that shall be your gift to memorialize him.

Kaihawanawana\textsuperscript{1257}—your rising sprays shall never again whisper in his ears; the famous heiau of Puukohala\textsuperscript{1258} and Mailekini,\textsuperscript{1259} his serious conversations with you are finished. Farewell Blanketing Mists o Mana;\textsuperscript{1260} beloved is that mountainous land with its snow blanket of the pinching mist, beloved is that home of the Chief’s repose, it is no longer, fended off, quietly passed beyond, and you\textsuperscript{1261} O majestic mountain of Maunakea will eventually bear the great burden of sorrow and grief.

\textsuperscript{1254}Ahu a ‘Umi is a famed heiau and residence of the chief, ‘Umi a Līloa. It is situated in the upper reaches of the Keauhou ahupua’a (Maly).
\textsuperscript{1255}When the king lay on his deathbed in 1891 in San Francisco one of the last lucid recollections he had was of his days as a young boy at Kamakahonu.
\textsuperscript{1256}A reference to the dew mists of Mā‘īhi, North Kona, Hawai‘i (see n. 18).
\textsuperscript{1257}“The whispering sea,” Kaihawanawana refers to the water of Kawaihæ. Before Kawaihæ Harbor was built these waters quietly lapped onto the shore (“Kawaihæ: Beaches”). The bounteous reefs of Kawaihæ when combined with the miles of well-irrigated taro and sweet potato patches and abundant forests once made this land the home of scores of chiefs and commoners alike (“Kawaihæ: Come Ashore”).
\textsuperscript{1258}Built in 1790, Pu‘ukoholā could be the “whale hill” for the gray humpback whales that visit the Kawaihæ waters in the winter. The alternative translation, “day of selection,” recalls the day that Kamehameha and Keōua fought (“Kawaihæ: Pu‘u Kohola). Kamehameha, his ali‘i, and an impressive number of people from Kona, Hāmākua, Kohala and Waimea, Koholā built this heiau, which stands at 250 ft. x 100 ft. Kapoukahi, a kāula from Kaua‘i, prophesied that Kamehameha would only meet his potential if he built a luakini heiau at Pu‘ukoholā. Kamehameha dedicated the heiau to Kūkā‘ilimoku, the family’s war god.
\textsuperscript{1259}Mailekini or “many maile vines” was an ancient heiau in Kawaihæ kai used by Kamehameha I’s family. At the heiau’s start the kahuna Hewahewa stopped Kamehameha, “This [Mailekini] will not secure the island for you because the house of the god is low. Lift it up on high and turn it to face the sea, then from the sea will come the blessings” (Desha 304). Kamehameha later constructed Pu‘ukoholā immediately above Mailekini. Mailekini was 270’ x 65’, and in the early 1900s its internal elements had already disappeared but for graves which then appeared in the interior (Maly and Maly, Pu‘u Anahulu 131).
\textsuperscript{1260}“Mana in the fog.”
\textsuperscript{1261}The Pacific Commercial Advertiser 11 April 1874 issue on Kalākaua’s 1874 tour notes that when the mō‘i arrived at Kawaihæ the Hon. John Palmer Parker II’s carriage was to take Kalākaua to the beach house, where he would stay. But “the people turned out the horses and themselves drew the carriage, cheering lustily.”
The Āpa‘apa‘a wind, the playing of your gentle wings upon the locks of his hair is no more; farewell Pili and Kalāhikiola, the hills that venture together, your traveling together with our Chief is ended. And to the verdue of Hamakua with your waterfalls on the cliffs, the water of Hiilawe, those waters that linger on the hands, and “Waipio, drowsy in the mist,” he shall never again admire the majesty of you two.

And Maui! The proud summit of Haleakala, his praises for you are ended.

The billowing Cloud in Awalau and the Ukiukiu rain of Pi‘iholo, you shall never again...
contend for him; the land of the Lānīhāa'aa rain,\textsuperscript{1275} Kauwiki swimming in the sea;\textsuperscript{1276} O waters of Kanewai,\textsuperscript{1277} with your voice singing over the pebbles, for you are tears of grief. The rippling waters of Kahului,\textsuperscript{1278} he will never pass in your presence again. The district of Waieha,\textsuperscript{1279} and the shaded Vale,\textsuperscript{1280} your welcoming him is ended. The dammed waters\textsuperscript{1281} of Iao,\textsuperscript{1282} the sacred burial cave of Kakae\textsuperscript{1283} with the flowers which blossomed in Kapela,\textsuperscript{1284} perhaps his spirit is with you, where he enjoyed himself,\textsuperscript{1285} for his physical features are now gone.

\textsuperscript{1275} “Low-hanging sky.” Name for Hāna. de Silva says, “Chief Ka‘eokūlani ran to a Hāna banana grove to shelter himself from a sudden shower; he was safe and dry until he accidentally lifted his spear and poked a hole in the leaves overhead. As the rain trickled down on him, he joked that the sky in Hāna was so low that his spear had pierced it and caused it to leak” (“Lani”).

\textsuperscript{1276} A hill on the right of Hāna Bay. Today, it is called Ka‘uki. Kahekili was said to pursue Nāmāhana, of Maui ali‘i lineage, and Hawai‘i island chief Ke‘eau‘umoku to Ka‘uki. Ka‘ahumanu was later born here (Bartholomew 13).

\textsuperscript{1277} Ma ka‘i of Mū‘olea, Hāna. Kalākaua had yet another summer palace here.

\textsuperscript{1278} East Maui. Kamehameha landed his fleet of canoes here when he sought Kahekili’s men. The battle would later ensue at ‘Īao. Kahului later became the site of the first railroad in Hawai‘i, which ran from Kahului to Wailuku.

\textsuperscript{1279} Waihe‘e, Waiehu, Wailuku (or ‘Īao) and Waikapū are four streams (Nā Wai ‘Ehā) that have long been valued for their considerable sustenance. Prior to western contact large populations of Hawaiians settled in (Nā) Wai ‘Ehā.

\textsuperscript{1280} Capped in the original, the reference to “malu Hekuawa” is common for the Wailuku district, although also a generic reference to valley shade.

\textsuperscript{1281} Referring to the battle at Kepaniwai, where Kamehameha’s “Great Fleet” or mammoth pēleleu arrived in such unprecedented numbers that they filled the beaches from Keoneoio to Olowalu (Fornander, Collection 470). The Maui warriors, under Kalanikūpule, suffered a great defeat; there were so many dead bodies that the river became dammed up (pani—dam or shut and wai—water) and “the water receded upward and did not flow downward as it does now” (Sterling 81). But J. W. Kalua explains: “The water was not really choked but that the stream ran with the blood of men and the only water fit for use was above Kepaniwaiiano and that was why it was said the water returned to the mountain” (qtd. in Sterling 82 and “Na Malihini”). Elspeth Sterling adds that there were so many dead bodies “rolling down the precipice” that Kauwaupali was a third name of this site.

\textsuperscript{1282} The old name for ‘Īao Needle was Kūkāe Moku, pronounced Kekae Moku by some longtime residents there (Sterling 79). Pu‘uokamoa was another name for ‘Īao Needle. Legends describe Pu‘uokamoa as “the body of a handsome legendary youth who seduced Iao, the beautiful daughter of Hina and Maui, after whom the island is named” (Sterling 79). ‘Iao is “supreme point [reaching to the] sky” (Sterling 79) and “of the dawn” (Sterling 84).

\textsuperscript{1283} Born in Ka‘alāhālo (‘Īao Valley’s left side), Kaka’e became a chief in the 1400s, and also ruled over Lāna‘i from Lahaina (Bartholomew 2). Ka pela kapu o Kāka‘e is named as an ancient burial place of Maui chiefs near ‘Īao. It was tied to the removal of defiling flesh (pela) in preparation of bones for burial (Maly).

\textsuperscript{1284} The highest peak of the Līhau ridge overlooking Olowalu and home to thriving lehua. In 1924, a terrace for a large home was discovered, where chiefs’ bodies were once cared for before burial: “Flesh was stripped from the bones, burned to ashes which were placed in a deep pool in the upper stream. The bones were dried on a large rock called Kapili o Kakae, and then wrapped in tapa and encased with braid” (qtd. in Sterling 82).

\textsuperscript{1285} Possibly an allusion to the famous burial cave at Kapela, Kapelakapuonal‘i, in ‘Īao, which houses several hundred chiefs, those who honorably served the chiefs and innumerable valuables (Kamakau, “Death”).
Farewell to you, the breadfruit shade of Lele,\(^\text{1286}\) that land sought out by the Chiefs, the foundation of the Law of Luaehu,\(^\text{1287}\) the first law that was made permanent on paper, the blessed budding awa of the Royalist, you have arrived with your welling tears, for he departed for a life of ease in that other world.

Sea-bathing Molokai and Lanai, you are bereft of your chief, Palawai,\(^\text{1288}\) your welcomed child has passed on, and Kalaaupuō,\(^\text{1289}\) that cape that crawls out on the surface of the sea, his remembrances of you are no more.

Oahu! The royal Capital and magnificent Eden in the middle of the Pacific Ocean, your heart is chilled and another strand of your precious pearl necklace has been severed.

Honuakaha\(^\text{1290}\) here did you err such that your beauty should be snatched away; your extolling him is no longer. O sacred walls of ‘Iolani Palace, your embrace of his Throne is no more. The sidewalks of the Royal Capital of Honolulu, your surfaces shall never be hurt again by his footsteps. O fish sought in silence,\(^\text{1291}\) Kaiaulu breeze,\(^\text{1292}\) the many-branched harbor of Puuloa\(^\text{1293}\) and the sea spray of Puaena,\(^\text{1294}\) these groans of sorrow are for all of you. And to you

\(^{1286}\) Lāhainā was this district’s old name (“cruel or merciless sun”) due to the droughts here. But Pukui, Elbert and Mo’okini believe it was this because of “the short stay of chiefs there” (131). Also a “poetic epithet for Lāhaina; it calls to mind the legend of the voracious young chief Ka‘ūlūlā‘au, his destruction of the breadfruit grove at Lele, his self-redeeming victory over the ghosts of Lāna‘i, and his proud return to his father’s court” (de Silva, “Lani”). Lahaina was the home to ali‘i and their governing rule. On Kalākaua’s 1874 tour he was greeted in Lahaina at 3 AM: “A huge number of bonfires were lighted along the shore [. . .] a distance of nearly eight miles, while high up on the mountain, overlooking the entire landscape, was the largest bonfire [. . .] say 3,000 feet above the sea.” Almost thirty boats lit by torches circled the Kilauea while mele for the mō‘ī were sung, the church bells rang out and the two sugar mill smokestacks let out twenty-one blasts as a royal salute. At least 400 to 500 people participated, not including bystanders (“Royal Progress”).

\(^{1287}\) Kamakau says that the first constitution of the Hawaiian monarchy was signed at Lua‘ehu, Lahaina, and it was called the “Lua‘ehu Constitution” (Ruling 370 and Sterling 42).

\(^{1288}\) In south central Lāna‘i, this sacred spot once served as a gathering place for Latter-day Saints in the 1850s. Hundreds of petroglyphs cover more than 3 acres here. “Pond scums.”

\(^{1289}\) Lae o Kalā‘au, southwest Moloka‘i. Old name for La‘au Point.

\(^{1290}\) Old section of Honolulu near present-day Kawaiaha‘o Cemetery; former childhood residence of Kalākaua.

\(^{1291}\) Pearl oysters at Pu‘uloa were so numerous but to catch them one had to act quietly.

\(^{1292}\) Refers to a soft breeze in Wai‘anae, O‘ahu (Pukui and Elbert 115). ‘Olu‘olu i ka pā a ke Kāiāulu or “Cool with the touch of the Kaiāulu.”

\(^{1293}\) Residents of Pu‘uloa knew this name; the awa lau (many harbors/bays) of Pu‘uloa were home to oysters, fish, shellfish, kalo, ‘uala and ulu. The inland fresh water of O‘ahu fed these harbors.
two, the Koolau districts, he’ll have no more fond remembrances about you. Dainty-leaf maile of Koiahi, his departed soul shall wear your garland. Waimanalo; that beauty that the Chiefs so enjoyed, your sweet murmurings for him are cut off for he is no longer with you. The tumult at Ulakoheo, the intermingling of his Royal person with his subjects in your circles is finished; and the house that guards the water’s edge, Healani, he is no longer your lord. And Maunaala, here comes your Chief, cherished, exalted, beloved; he is yours, he is gone.

Manokalanipo and your Siblings! How sad indeed; deep and heavy is the burden of anguished grief. O fragrant mokihana garland, another will wear you as a garland, and the singing sands of Nohili, the strands of grief entwine you, and firebrands of Kamaile, that one has flown away from you. Farewell, how sad is his disappearance.

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1294 Point and ancient surfing site in Waialua Bay, O'ahu. Kalākaua’s mele, “Koni Au i ka Wai” speaks of Pua’ena: “Ho’okahi kahi mana’o / I ka ‘ehu kai o Pua’ena / Kai hāwanawana i ka la’i, / I ka la’i wale a’o Waialua or Thoughts fancy / The sea spray of Pua’ena, / sea whispering in peace, / The peace of Waialua” (Elbert and Mahoe 68).

1295 On the mō’ī’s 1874 progress of Oʻahu those of Koʻolauloa welcomed him with bonfires, fireworks and dinners.

1296 Land section at Mākua, Oʻahu known for the desirable mailelauli‘i. Ko’iahi is “fire adze.”

1297 “Hui ‘ia ke ‘ala me ke onaona i lei ‘ohu nou, ē Kalani: combined are fragrance and sweetness into a lei to adorn you. A name song for Lili‘uokalani” (Pukui and Elbert 278).

1298 “Potable water.” Kalākaua often stayed with Hawaiian businessman and relative John Adams Cummins, the “Prince of Entertainers” and the “Entertainer of Princes,” at Mauna Loke, his home in Waimānalo. On the mō‘ī’s 1874 progress of Waimānalo, Hawaiians there prostrated before him and refrained from shaking his hand so as to not taint him.

1299 Name of the old marketplace in Kona, O’ahu. Ka i’a mili lima o ‘Ulakoheo, “The fish of ‘Ulakoheo, handled by many hands,” refers to this fish market in Honolulu (Pukui, ‘Ōlelo No‘eau 1373).

1300 Name of the king’s nine-ton boat house in Honolulu Harbor which first appeared at his 1883 Birthday Regatta. The mō‘ī spent many nights here entertaining guests, and went to Healani on the night of the Wilcox rebellion.

1301 Location of the Royal Mausoleum of Hawai‘i in Nu‘uanu. Containing the iwi of our ali‘i and those who served the kingdom honorably, this place was named Mauna ‘Ala or “Fragrant mountain” because it was believed that a fragrance could remind one of loved ones who passed on. This present-day home of the iwi of ali‘i is an appropriate ending to the kanikau’s call to O‘ahu.

1302 Eighth ali‘i of Kaua‘i famous for defeating warriors who aimed to conquer Kaua‘i and his successful agricultural development of the island.

1303 Found only on Kaua‘i, the mokihana berry, used to imbue tapa, is the official lei material of the island. Mele, oli and mo’olelo speak of the mokihana.

1304 Small area and beach in Mānā, Kaua‘i. Pukui says, “When one slides down the sand hill, it makes a grunting sound” (‘Ōlelo No‘eau 1774). The beach Nohili was once called by Hawaiians, “ke oni kani a o Nohili” or “the sounding sands of Nohili” (“Nani Kaua‘i”).
And Hawaiian nation! The I, the Mahi, and the Palena!! One of the pillars of your station has collapsed. One of the threads of your foundation has snapped; and your grieving cries for him are fitting; you shall lament and you shall grieve with despair, for you are bereft of a chief; and in your distress, may the Holy Trinity assuage your grief.

Sorrowful Indeed!

His Birth—The Wondrous Prophecy—His Youth

In the third year of the reign of Kauikeauoli Kaleiopapa Kamehameha III, David Laamea Kamanakapu Mahinulani Naloiaehuokalani Lumialani Kalakaua was born into this world!

The King, the Commander in Chief, the Sacred Chief, the Consecrated One, the Fiery Heat of Taboo, the Prostration Taboo, the Orator who spouts to the lofty heavens, wohi-ranked kāhili bearer, Master of the drawn ohia logs and the whale ivory taboo, the torch that burns in the noon hours, noble child born of the land, the Master of the dark, highest heavens,

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1305 Kamaile cliff, rising 2500 feet along Nā Pali, is named after the beautiful chiefess of Na'ulolo, Kamaile, who welcomed ali’i with ahī lele celebrations. An ignited “branch would be twirled around a thrower’s head and flung out over the cliff edge. The wind, blowing from Kōke'e, [“known to channel air vertically”] would catch the firebrand and swirl it around the skies until it fell hissing into the ocean. As the brand soared, embers and flames marked its path, creating a spectacle that remained fixed in the memory of the spectators” (Wichman 134-135 and “Keanakamanā”). The hula “Aloha e ke Kai o Kalaʻau” “preserves a ritual based on fire chants [ . . . ] inherited by King Kalakaua” and the mele for Kapiʻolani “Aia i Kamaile Ko Lei Ahi” also celebrates this practice (Kaeppler, “Interpreting” and Stillman 130). On Kalākaua’s various trips throughout the kingdom, Hawaiians welcomed him with this tradition, but Kaua‘i is known most for it.

1306 Pulelo ke ahi ha’aheo i nā pali is “The firebrand soars proudly over the cliffs” (Pukui, ‘Ōlelo No’eau 2735). Hawaiians had an “ʻōahi (fire-throwing) ceremony [where] flaming logs of pāpala and hau were hurled into the strong seaward winds blowing off the sea cliffs on Kauaʻi’s north shore, showering sparks over the ocean waters. People in canoes beneath the cliffs attempted to catch the burning embers and sometimes tattooed themselves with the fiery logs to commemorate the event” (Harrington). Hawaiians did this throughout Hawai‘i.

1307 “The well-known call to the descendants of the warriors of old to rise up and restore their royal houses” (de Silva, 383).

1308 “An epithet applied to Kalākaua” (Pukui and Elbert 383).

1309 Another epithet referring to Kalākaua, linked to the kapu moe (Pukui and Elbert 249). Kepelino describes the prostrating tapu: “When the chief wished to go forth the announcer went ahead proclaiming the tapu of the chief, thus: ‘Tapu! Lie Down!’ Then everyone prostrated himself on the way by which the chief was passing” (138).

1310 Ka wohi ku kahi, an ʻōlelo no’eau describing “a chief of the wohi rank, most outstanding” referred to Kalākaua (Pukui, ʻŌlelo No’eau 1667).

1311 Any whale bone that came ashore was kapu to the high chief who held this power; a similar introduction to this one appeared first at Kalākaua’s coronation, February 12, 1883 (See “Crowned!” 2).

1312 Sixteenth-century Chief Iwikauikaua, ancestor of Kalākaua, burned torches in the day to symbolize his chiefly presence. Kalākaua followed suit to confirm his right to the throne.
and the noble chairman of the Hale Naua, when the first cock crows in the breaking of the night and the time turns toward the opening of the day, when light appears, the day is born and it fends off the darkness, the clocks of the day indicate that it was the 2 o’clock hour of the purple glimmer of dawn of the 16th of Kaelo (November) in the reckoning of the people of Oahu (and in the reckoning of the Hale Naua that the king himself established, it is the month of Kaaona) in the year 1836, at Hale Uluhe, Manamana, Honolulu, near to where the Queen’s Hospital now stands. His birth father is the high chief Kahanu Kapaakea, and his birth mother is the princess Analea Keohokalole, he is the bud from the sweep of the rainbow-hued rain of Keaweheulu, a warrior, a counselor, and an architect of Kamehameha I, the wondrous and famous Nation-conqueror of the Pacific. Through lineage and through birth, the chief, the king is an Oahuan who peacefully passed on the path Poliku-a-Kane. Yes, he is an Oahu person, the land for which the pronouncement—“I am an Oahu person from the land with indifferent eyes”—but; within him the indifferent eyes were not apparent, and the friendly countenance was firmly fixed in the heart of the chiefly class, the friendly, the polite, gracious—from the

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1313 In 1886, Kalākaua resurrected the Hale Nauā so Hawaiians would remember and document genealogy as well as the sciences to preserve Hawaiian leadership and culture. Maui High Chief Haho led the first Hale Nauā in the 11th century.

1314 Kepelino says that Kaaona is “the seventh month of the year and the fifth of the dry season” (92). On the western calendar, July is Kaaona.

1315 Caesar Kapa’akea was one of fifteen counselors to Kamehameha III and the great grandson of Chief Kameʻeiamoku. He was born in 1815 on Moloka‘i and died in 1866 in Honolulu. He is buried at Mauna ʻAla. The hula pā ipu “Eia no Kāwika” calls attention to Kalākaua’s descent from Kapa’akea, which Adrienne Kaeppler says, “is the reason that [Kalākaua] should be so highly honored” (“Dance” 213).

1316 Chiefess Anale’a Keohokālole was born in 1816 in Kailua, Hawai‘i, and died in 1869 in Hilo. Buried at Mauna ʻAla.

1317 Keaweaheulu Kaluaapana ruled over Kealakekua, Ka‘awaloa and Kapalilua as a member of Kamehameha’s council of chiefs. Ancestor of Kalākaua.

1318 “Back bosom of Kāne.” The “dark, invisible beyond, as on beyond the horizon or in the upper stratum (Pukui & Elbert 338). From Kumulipo.

1319 “O’ahu maka ‘ewa’ewa. O’ahu with indifferent eyes [a term of reproach to O’ahu people, said to have been said by Hi’iaka when her O’ahu relatives refused to help her mend a canoe for a journey to Kaua‘i]” (Pukui and Elbert 42).

1320 (Pukui and Elbert 43).
humble paths to the elevated paths\textsuperscript{1321}—he was a welcome home for newcomers, open-hearted, there was nothing within his bosom that would separate for everyone who would call before him.\textsuperscript{1322} Truly! Kalākaua the generous! You were a welcoming home of the visitors! You were the seventh of the Heavenly Ones\textsuperscript{1323} on the island—the conqueror of fortune of Hawaii! Farewell! Farewell to you the Father! No more! You’ve passed on with your sacred portion to the Beloved—sorrowful indeed!

Within him the many threads of royal blood are interwoven from every island to another of Hawaii\textsuperscript{1324}—creeping along from Kauai of Manokalanipo and are firmly rooted in Hawaii\textsuperscript{1325} of Keawenuiaumi.\textsuperscript{1326} He was an exalted Chief through his own lineage, and many were the times did the heavenly omens truly display the rightful succession of this rank to him, and during his lifetime, and the days shortly prior, and the days when his mortal remains disembarked on the birth sands of the earthly clay. In these days, many astonishing signs were seen showing things common to the important Chiefs of the Land, Kalākaua I, he is truly Chief indeed, the Sacred One, Sanctified, he is the fiery heat of the taboo and sacred in exalted heavenly royal adornments under the chiefly taboo of Hawai‘i. As a testament for this, we offer these testimonies of some newspapers of this city:

(The “Ka Leo o Ka Lahui,” Feb. 2–3, 1891)

“From the time when the ship ‘Charleston’ arrived, a rainbow moves slowly along until the mortal remains of Kaulilua\textsuperscript{1327} Royal One entered the gate of the royal enclosure of Iolani; at

\textsuperscript{1321} “From humble paths to elevated paths” suggests that Kalākaua treated all classes of men fairly.
\textsuperscript{1322} Kalākaua reigned over Hawai‘i when travel advanced, thus he was able to see the world and welcome hundreds at the palace.
\textsuperscript{1323} Kalākaua was the seventh ruler after Kamehameha I.
\textsuperscript{1324} (Pukui and Elbert 152).
\textsuperscript{1325} (Pukui and Elbert 41).
\textsuperscript{1326} Sixteenth century chief, son of ʻUmialiloa, ruled from Hilo in justice and goodness.
\textsuperscript{1327} A name Kalākaua inherited from the hula pahu “Kaulilua i ke Anu Wai’ale‘ale.” Kaeppler adds, “Because of his elevated genealogy, [Kalākaua] is entitled to be honored with this sacred dance type” (“Dance” 213).
that time a double rainbow arched directly above the palace and the center directly above the flagpole, and extended to the parapets of the Palace, and thus it remained until darkness. When the heavenly sign was seen, everyone was stricken, as if they were confirming the taboo and the chieftliness of the one who passed, while the darkness was revealing this sign. In that way, there was thunder upon the King Lunalilo tomb in his last resting place in this world at Kawaiahao.

As for ourselves, we are not worshippers overcome with the deceitful practices of old, but we place our faith in the truth of the things revealed at all times concerning the heaven’s love for the people who were chosen to occupy the exalted position. These are not only signs associated with the Kings of Hawaii as though they were insignificant, but it is indeed a sacred thing in accordance with all of the signs from God.”

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These are signs in the heavens of our Great King from our ancestors, that have come to us at the prow of the canoe, and it is as the stirring of the heavenly body and indications of similar signs of nature in the heavens, this nation of great wisdom among the hearts of nations of this world will recognize their great chief and ruler from the ancestors; therefore with tears and the cruel sorrow of hearts we present before our thousands of readers the signs of the night pertaining to our dearly beloved King, beginning from the chief Lunalilo, and this is it below:

“In the time of Lunalilo, the loud distressing crackling voice of thunder was heard by thousands of people, it was something not created by the hand of man, a flash of lightning and a fire were also witnessed together by thousands of people who had traveled in his funeral

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Hema ‘o ka Lani” concludes: “Lē‘ī mai ‘o Kohala / I ka nuku nā kānaka / Hā‘ina mai ka puana / O ka lani Kaulilua” or “Crowded is Kohala / To the mouth with people / Tell the theme / The royal Kaulilua” (Humu 53). Hawaiians believed that rainbows were symbolic of royalty.
procession on that day; concerning Ema Kaleleonalani,\textsuperscript{1329} the gates of the great reservoir of Kulanihakoï\textsuperscript{1330} were opened for long days, and also with other chiefs, the flow of lava, and the great arrival of fish and so on. In that way until the Chief for whom this period of time of our gloomiest woe and pitiful wailing has come for him the chief until we are enshrouded with the cloak of tears of agony, the bloody rain was seen in the dampness of the nooks and crannies of Manoa\textsuperscript{1331} in the past week, and the native born of the beloved valley were the true indications for this sign of the night; and thus with the constant presence of the rainbow of the uplands of Kaimuki,\textsuperscript{1332} perhaps those of the two edges of Kamoiliili and Waikiki\textsuperscript{1333} saw in those days past. Chiefly signs were seen outside by some fishermen aboard the warship the Charleston outside of the Point of Leahi,\textsuperscript{1334} drifting together with a red mist, and from them the signs that the news concerning the funeral procession of the needle fish who tore the fishnets asunder and the dark clouds covering the city and genuine flow of chilled tears of the clouds in these days were witnessed alike by everyone, the best which we saw was the return of the body of the King to Iolani Palace of the past Thursday evening while the ends of the three rainbows were standing in a square directly on each side of the Palace, signs of the night pertaining to him who passed.”

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\textsuperscript{1329} Emma took on this new name, meaning “flight of the heavenly ones,” after her son, Albert Kauikeauoli Leiopapa a Kamehameha and husband, Alexander Liholiho (Kamehameha IV) passed within two years of each other.

\textsuperscript{1330} Kūlanihāko‘i is “like heaven agitated,” the “mythical pond or lake in the sky; its overflow comes to the earth as rain” (Pukui and Elbert 179).

\textsuperscript{1331} “Vast” or “wide,” Mānoa is in the Kona district of O‘ahu. Known for its rain and beautiful valley sides.

\textsuperscript{1332} The “oven for cooking ti,” Kaimukī is laden with knolls and rises.

\textsuperscript{1333} Both Kamō‘ili‘ili (“pebble lizard”) and Waikīkī (“spouting waters”) are located in the Kona district of O‘ahu. When Hi‘iaka and Wahineōma‘o were returning with Lohiau to Hawai‘i island they left their canoe in Waikīkī and headed toward Kamō‘ili‘ili. Kamō‘ili‘ili grabbed Wahineōma‘o and Lohi‘au so Hi‘iaka threw the lightning sticks kept in her pā‘ū. The cut-up pieces landed in that area, forming the length of Mō‘ili‘ili.

\textsuperscript{1334} “Front of ‘ahi (fish),” present-day Diamond Head, southernmost point of O‘ahu and famous navigational reference outcrop. People predicted the death of the king when they saw schools of ‘āweoweo swimming in the waters around here prior to his death.
“Translated from the Daily Newspaper—The P. C. Advertiser, Feb. 2, 1891.”

Reference has been made to the beautiful rainbow which appeared on the afternoon when the King’s remains were brought home. It was not merely one rainbow that was seen that day, but several rainbows were seen during the day, while the fine windblown rain spray was showering the uplands, though only few of the showers fell in the city. Those seen earlier in the day were lower and not so perfect and beautiful. The last occurred near half past 5, when the Sun was drawing close to the western firmament, and the bow was very high, bright and majestic in form, its northern foot resting at the Royal Mausoleum at Mauna Ala in Nuuanu Valley, and the Eastern foot resting in the Kulaokahua, with the Palace and its royal flag directly in the center. Perhaps there was no other time when a perfect rainbow was seen, and it was seen just as the coffin was placed inside of the Palace. There must have been fifteen or twenty thousand spectators who witnessed this. The natives said it was an omen of peace, and certainly a more beautiful sign could not have been desired concerning that sign of peace. Could this phenomenon have been photographed, it would have made a fine keepsake.

Some who lived here seventeen years ago, when Lunalilo’s funeral took place at Kawaiahao Church, may remember the terrific thunder and lightning which occurred while the hearse was conveyed outside of the church.”

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When the Chief was born at the time that was previously related and he was delivered to the Chiefess Ha'aheo Kaniu, and he was returned to Honuakaha where he would be brought up, however it was his adopted mother the Princess Liliha who was previously to raise (him) and those words of promise passed between his parents. It was this Chiefess Liliha who said a

1335 Poepoe omits the last line of the Advertiser’s article, which read, “It was a most startling display of the elements, quite in contrast with the beautiful sight seen on Thursday last.”

1336 Liliha was to hānai the young child, but then Prime Minister Kīna‘u ordered that Ha’aheo raise him.
very famous prophecy pertaining to the Chief while in his youthful days, and it was this:

“Through this child the bones of our ancestors shall live.” Indeed, this prophecy was fulfilled through him, his searching and his gathering of the beloved bones of the chiefly ancestors of Hawai‘i1337 were known.

At the time when the Royal Court of Kamehameha III returned to Lahaina, Maui, the young Chief was one who was taken by his attendant responsible for rearing him.1338 When he was four years old he was returned here to Oahu,1339 and he enrolled the old Royal Chief’s School,1340 under the tenure of Mr. and Mrs. Cooke. He lived at this school for nine years, and there were many teachers who fed him the first buds of knowledge and wisdom. At the closure of this School, he enrolled in the school of Mr. Watt at Kawaiahaō,1341 for a short time, then, he again enrolled in the Royal Chiefs’ day School, it was the school of Kahehuna1342 at this time, under the tutelage of Mr. E. G. Beckwith,1343 serving now as pastor for Kaukeano.1344 He stayed at this school for two months, he was stricken in weakness and he was returned to Lahaina in the ulu grove of Lele1345 and in the breaking surf of Uo.1346

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1337 Kalākaua searched for the bones of Kamehameha to possibly preserve them at Mauna ‘Ala. People have asserted, however, that Kalākaua wanted them for himself. But as his ancestors were caretakers of Hale o Keawe, the storehouse of ali‘i bones at Hōnaunau, Kalākaua may have felt a responsibility to care for Kamehameha’s bones.

1338 Ha‘aheo, a Kamehameha heir, lived in the court in Honolulu and then at Lahaina. Ha‘aheo died shortly after Kalākaua’s birth, so her husband, Kinimaka, moved them to Lahaina. The young boy received less attention once Kinimaka remarried and had another child. Keohokālole and Konia sent for Kalākaua.

1339 Under Amos Starr and Juliette Montague Cooke, the Chiefs’ Children’s School opened its doors in 1840 for instruction. In 1846 it was known as Royal School, but it later closed in 1849.

1340 Watt taught English to Hawaiian students. An 1851 record of the Privy Council of the Hawaiian Kingdom documents Watt’s request for $450 to repair a school house building (“Minutes”).

1341 The name of both the ‘ili in Kona, O‘ahu, where Fort Street is now located, near Pūowaina and the English day school once called the Royal School at Kahehuna.

1342 Edward Griffin Beckwith, born in Massachusetts in 1826, was the valedictorian of Williams College. He later became the principal of the Chiefs’ Children’s School in 1851. The reverend resigned from this position in 1854 to become the president of O‘ahu College or what is known today as Punahou School.

1343 “Awe-inspiring,” Kaukeano was the Hawaiian name of the present-day Central Union Church. Kaukeano was located in the area of Richards and Beretania streets. The vicinity became known as Kaukeano.

1344 A long-time epithet referring to that old name of Lahaina and its myriad of shady breadfruit trees.

1345 ‘Uo was an ancient surfing area in Lahaina (Pukui, Elbert and Mo‘okini 215). Many ali‘i resided in Lahaina, surfing at ‘Uo and landing their canoes at Keawaiki, adjacent to ‘Uo.
It was said, while his childhood days were spent at the school, his progress was certainly not seen in education, and the lessons through which he was very famous at that time, was his complete riotous amusement and his humor. He was partial to physical activities, and he was transforming himself into a “war captain” for his respected noble elder brother James Kaliokalani, in all the times when he was ill-treated by other students at the school.\textsuperscript{1347}

In his fourteenth year, he was taught military science, under Captain Funk,\textsuperscript{1348} a Prussian. In this service he excelled, and it was an employment he greatly admired.\textsuperscript{1349} Because he greatly prized this occupation, he translated a book of the Prussian Military Service into Hawaiian.\textsuperscript{1350} In the year 1852 his training was completed, and he obtained the rank of Captain in the royal guard of Liholiho, the Commander in Chief at the time. His was a genuine rank in the brigade, he was a First Lieutenant belonging to the division of Kapaakea, the total of which had 240 soldiers. In that year, he started to study law under the Hon. C. C. Harris. Soon after he obtained a position of secretary for the military under W. E. Maikai the Adjutant General at that time, and when King Liholiho ruled, Kamehameha IV, in the year 1854 he was promoted to the office of Major for the Royal Guard of the King. In the year 1856 he became a member of the Privy Council, and in the year 1858 a noble in the House of Nobles, while the Kingdom was under the Constitution of Kamehameha III. He entered the Free Masons, and in the year 1874 obtained from General Pike of Virginia the 33\textsuperscript{rd} degree\textsuperscript{1351} within that organization.

\textsuperscript{1347} Born in 1835, Kaliokalani was the second child of Caesar Kapa’akea and Anale’a Keohokālole. It was known that the Kamehamehas teased Kalākaua because he was not a Kamehameha; perhaps Kaliokalani was a victim of their tauntings as well. Young Kaliokalani died in 1852 from the measles. He is buried at Mauna ‘Ala.

\textsuperscript{1348} Francis Funk mentored Kalākaua for two years beginning in 1850 and was later made a major by Kamehameha III (Schweizer, Hawai‘i 178).

\textsuperscript{1349} (Elbert and Pukui 225).

\textsuperscript{1350} The Queen’s Own, a royal guard unit comprised of volunteers, was formed to honor Kapi‘olani. The drills and ceremonies were adopted from Prussian military manuals.

\textsuperscript{1351} The famous Confederate leader and freemason, Albert Pike also owned a successful newspaper, the Arkansas Advocate, became a lawyer, authored Morals & Dogma and rewrote the Scottish Rites rituals.
On the 29th day of August in the year 1860 he traveled with Prince Lot Kapuiaiwa to Victoria, Vancouver (Vancouver)\textsuperscript{1352} and San Francisco, and this was his very first trip to foreign lands. On his return from this trip, he was appointed as the Third Secretary to the Land Office, and he occupied this position until the year 1863 when he became Postmaster General. In the year 1865 he left this office and became Treasurer for Kamehameha V. Two years later, his first honorary cross as a Knight Companion for the Order of Kamehameha was received. In 1869 he left the office of Treasurer and he continued studying Law and in that year on April 14, he was permitted to practice law, and therefore, he was a member of the Hawaii bar. He was a member of the Firemen’s League of Honolulu. At the time that the Royal Duke of Edinburgh stopped in Hawaii in the month of July 1869 the considerable task of receiving him was given to him by the royal court of Hawaii upon the Prince of this narrative, while he was the High Royal Attendants of the King.

On the 19th day of December 1862, he was wedded with the Princess Kapiolani,\textsuperscript{1353} during the days he was held fast by the golden rope of matrimony until his departure from this side of the world, they had no children born.

\textbf{ROYAL ASCENSION—MOTTO OF HIS RULE}

Upon the death of King Lunalilo I, on the 3rd of February 1874, on the 12th day he was elected by the Nobles and the Representatives of the Legislature assembled at the Special session of the Legislature which was conducted in that month. The majority of the votes were obtained by him in this election, 39 of the 45 votes allotted for the voting. Here are the Nobles and Representatives who voted for him:

\textsuperscript{1352} Keomolewa is the old name for Vancouver.
\textsuperscript{1353} Esther Julia Kapio’olani Napelakupuokaka’e was the granddaughter of King Kaumualii’i of Kaua’i. Her parents were Princess Kinoiki and Kūhiō, the High Chief of Hilo. Known for her compassion and commitment to “Ho’oulu Lāhui,” Kapio’olani initiated the Kapio’olani Maternity Home in 1890, which became Queen Kapio’olani Hospital. She and the mō’i did not bear any children. Kapio’olani died in 1899, and is buried at Mauna ‘Ala.
The Ministers—C. R. Bishop; E. O. Hall; R. Stirling; A. F. Judd.


Upon his election the first of the Committee of five members of the Legislature were sent before him, they were Hon. Kaukaha, Moehonua, Aholo, Martin and Kaiue, to make known to him his election by the Legislature as King of the Hawaiian archipelago, in accordance with the Constitution. This was the time when a riot arose from the angry people outside of the Legislature, and perhaps in that way the answer of his name—KA-LA-KAU—was fulfilled—indeed, it was the day when he was elected King for Hawaii, a day tainted with fighting.

The reply of the King to the Legislature by means of the Committee sent before him is as follows:

Iolani Palace, Honolulu, Feb. 12, 1874.

To His Esteemed Excellency—Nahaolelua President of the Legislature of the Hawaiian Archipelago. Greetings to you:

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1354 Kalākaua was born on November 16, 1836, when Lord Edward Russell signed a treaty allowing the British to reside in Hawai‘i so long as Kauikeaouli granted permission and the foreigners obeyed the kingdom’s laws.

1355 Riots broke out at the courthouse once Kalākaua’s victory was announced. Emma’s supporters destroyed the main building and its interior. Kalākaua petitioned the assistance of U. S. and British marines to quell the rioters. Kipi, Nahinu, Lonoaea, Birch, Kauie, Kupihea, Moehuna, Kaukaha, Haupu, Kapule, Kakani and Koakanu were hurt, and Lonoaea died on March 16.

1356 Paul Nahaolelua, with “extraordinary executive ability,” served as governor of Maui, president of the Legislative Assembly and Minister of Finance under Kalākaua (“The Death” 2). His surname, “two foreigners” is for Kamehameha I’s advisors, Isaac Davis and John Young.
I have received through the hands of your Committee the Verification of My Election on this day by the Legislature as the Substitute for the Throne of the Hawaiian Archipelago. I want to make known to the Legislature through you, my gratitude for this esteemed testimony of your confidence, and to notify you that I accept the royal position.

Kalakaua.

On the 13th day he undertook his Royal oath under the Constitution in Kawaiahao Church; and on the 16th he presented a Proclamation appointing his Royal Younger Brother, His Excellency William Pitt Leleiohoku as the Heir to the Throne, and on his death on the 10th day of April, 1877, He announced on the 11th day, the Princess Liliuokalani the successor for the Crown, the Chiefess who reigns as Queen at this time. These appointments which were made by Him were a testimony of the depth of the guiding intellect and political acumen, and in that way the unwavering saying of old was fulfilled, “The rain has cleared from the soaking.”

When he peacefully took the steering paddle of the canoe of the kingdom of Hawaii, he made haste in binding the tide of his reign with the motto resounding on all the borders of the land, Increase and Flourish the Land. Through this motto of His reign, he desired that his people be increased anew through the arrivals of foreign peoples, and the continuation of the increase of the finances of His Kingdom.

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1357 Younger sibling to Kalākaua, and one of the greatest tenors and song composers of the 19th century, Leleiohoku Kalāhoʻolewa was hānai by Ruth Keʻelikōlani and then named for her first husband. In 1877, at the age of twenty-three, Leleiohoku, Kalākaua’s successor, died of pneumonia.
1358 Leleiohoku died on April 9, 1877 (ʻKa Mea Kiekie” 2).
1359 Lydia Liliʻuokalani Loloku Walania Wewehi Kamakaʻeha married John O. Dominis in 1862, and became mōʻīwahine in 1891. The U. S. overthrew Hawaiʻi in 1893, and imprisoned her in ʻIolani Palace in 1895. In 1897, she went to Washington D. C. to gain her kingdom back to no avail. In 1898, the U. S. annexed Hawaiʻi.
1360 “Hoʻoulu i ka Lāhui” was Kalākaua’s motto as mōʻī. During his life Kalākaua saw how Hawaiians were dying in inconceivable numbers and once on the throne created a committee to seek ways to save and rebuild the Hawaiian population. In Kalākaua’s scrapbooks, currently housed at the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Archives, are newspaper articles listing the kingdom’s mortality rates during his reign.
THE KING WHO SOUGHT PROSPERITY

Within the last part of the year 1874 the crisis of the sugar business and commerce of the land was understood, and with the milling of some sugar plantations nearly halted, and some sugar businesses drew near to the doors of financial loss and bankruptcy. Great were the speculations and reflections of the merchants and the sugar plantations on the place by which they would escape from the misfortunes rising because of the decrease of the profits before the losses, and also because the tariff duties placed upon the products exported and the goods imported.

And while these implications were established upon the lands and a suitable recourse was being considered to implement, as a place for these manufacturing businesses to avoid the loss, and thus, our greatly beloved late King personally reached out and sought a refuge, by boarding the American warship Benicia, and leaving the shores of his Kingdom on the 17th day of November, attended by his royal brother-in-law, the Honorable Governor John O. Dominis, the Honorable John M. Kapena and the Minister of the United States in Hawaii, the Honorable H. A. Pierce.  

Within that time, the status of his health was weak, and some prominent people of the land attempted to discourage the King’s intentions to travel, but, while the good and the benefit of his people and his Kingdom became something of great importance and a priority of his thoughts, therefore he journeyed upon the hollow waves of the sea, and faced the cruel nipping winds and cold snow of the Winters of America.

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1361 Born in Massachusetts, Henry Augustus Pierce prospered commercially in Hawai‘i long before his appointment as the U. S. Minister to Hawai‘i in 1869. He would later warn foreign warships to stay abreast of impending danger on the day Kalākaua was elected; accompany the mōʻī to Washington D. C. in 1874; and serve as Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1878. Pierce, an annexationist, worked relentlessly to increase U. S. presence in Hawai‘i.
He arrived in America on the 29th day of November, and he became an esteemed visitor of the American Government. Great honors and distinctions of the people of that great Republic were awarded to our King, whereas he was the very first King to step on its shores, and the Royal Ruler of Hawaii met with the Citizens’ Ruler of the Republic of the United States, “face to face, eye to eye,” within the bounds that were entwined with the gold ropes of a true friend. And tiny Hawaii was proud in boasting, “I possess the very first King of the globe to step honorably on the soil of the most successful Republican Government of the world; and my King, my cherished one, the sacred dignity of my cherished one from heaven. It is he—only He! The Chief. The very first Ruling King whose breath escaped that wondrous land.” Alas how pitiful!

The King stayed in America for three months, and in that time, he burdened himself striving so that the ratification of the Reciprocity Treaty between that Government and Hawaii would be passed. He did not consider his health, he disregarded his title as King, and was careless of his own comfort, and the result of his sacrificing his body, was the passage of that Reciprocity Treaty, which delivered the manufacturing businesses of the land, and obtained great benefits by the sugar people and merchants, and the land acquired progress and wealth the like of which had never been seen before.

The Reciprocity Treaty and the things that resulted because of its passing, is an amazing memorial that would not be forgotten concerning the King who returned on that day, and the groaning of all the people who benefitted because of that treaty was fitting, because their financial distress passed away, the King who offered his life for them.

THE KING WHO CIRCLED THE WORLD FOR THE LAND’S INCREASE

To you O beloved sun shining down
Throughout the ends of the earth;

Reference to the day the Charleston conveyed Kalākaua’s body to Honolulu.
Declare your beauty,
The greatest of all lights;
For him to delve and seek,
Till the solid cliffs yield their secrets;
You’ll see the beauty of the Himalayas,
In the gentle slopes as you pass by;
A mountain rich with fragrance,
Famed for its beauty and height;
High above sits my royal chief,
You who tread the sacred places of Kahiki.
Treading on the rising billows;
And over the calm, tranquil sea;
Reach out to the other lands,
For companions to go hand in hand with you,
Over those unfamiliar trails,
That you undertake to walk alone;
That your enemies may be turned to naught,
The heartless ones with jabbering mouths;
The light of the day shall be your help,
The morning star your guide;
May you live forever, O heavenly one,
Until you reach the world of light.

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1363 Kaiulani Kanoa-Martin points out that the Himalayas were “home to the Brahmins. The King was initiated into the Brahmin brotherhood at their hidden and most sacred temple. Himela is also interpreted as the sexual organs of a woman.”
At the exact hour of 6 in the morning on Thursday, the 20\textsuperscript{th} day of January, 1881, the Royal King Kalakaua departed the shores of his kingdom and boarded the steamship “City of Sydney” for his trip around the world, searching for a place where his great desire would be obtained, indeed, discovering a people similar to those of Hawaii, who could be welcomed in order to increase the land with people again.

This was the second of the King’s missions traveling on the distant seas enduring the cold of the faraway lands, seeking the means by which prosperity would be obtained by his birth land and his people. It was said by a writer in 1883, relating to this global tour of the Chief: “The Royal King Kalakaua was the very first to make a tour of the world; and this journey was fulfilled for the very highest of motives by which a King could be compelled to accomplish. Peering into times of old we shall know of a king of Greece who traveled the earth, in order to assuage the rage of his emotions because of the humiliation of some of his friends; we know of an Alexander who would travel the length and breadth of Asia, having left horrifying impressions after him; and within modern times we know of a Charles of Sweden\textsuperscript{1365} who traveled to punish evil for evil, upon his neighbor, however it was he himself who engaged in that ill misfortune; we know of an Emperor of Persia traveling upon the surface of the earth for the senseless waste of most of his wealth;\textsuperscript{1366} we certainly know of an Emperor of Brazil\textsuperscript{1367} traveling the world searching for wisdom and learning; but Kalakaua I., our King—the wise

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item Before Kalākaua traveled around the world in 1881 Kapi‘olani’s cousin, Chiefess Nahinu of Kaua‘i, wrote this chant. Lili‘uokalani’s nurse and friend said that “the chant was composed as a sort of prayer, wishing [Kalākaua] success and happiness on his long journey” (Pukui, Songs 129). Different versions of this chant exist.
\item In 1700, Russia, Denmark and Saxony attacked Charles XII of Sweden. He later fought in Poland and Saxony, but his greatest defeat was in Poltava in 1709. Charles managed to escape to Turkey and in 1718 he was shot in what was then Norway (Saarinen).
\item Dom Pedro de Alcantara (Pedro II), 1825–1891, reigned for almost fifty years. He was known for his intellect and peaceful administration.
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Chief and humanitarian of the Pacific, he did not travel the world for his personal gain, so that his Kingdom, and his people would be enriched, and to fulfill the motto of his Kingdom, namely Increase the Nation.”

Before his venturing and departing from his subjects, prayer assemblies were conducted in churches, beseeching the All-Powerful Lord to preserve him well on his journey and his swift return. The people displayed their love for their King in the purple dawn of the morning of that Thursday, gathering together seaward of Ainahou for the spreading forth of the confirmation of royal affection and devotion, and there they presented melodic voices and hymns composed for that time of overwhelming love. At the time when that ship began to move, and to bear Hawaii’s King upon its breast, that Heavenly Chief was witnessed ascending the height of the deck, slowly removing his hat, bowing his head, and pronouncing the words, with a voice that was weighted with overwhelming sorrow—“Farewell to each and every one of you!” At that time the shouting voices of the people simultaneously called out thundering: “Farewell! Farewell to you, o King! Go forth and return!” The ship crept along with its precious charge and the people set their eyes afterwards with affection, with enthusiastic thoughts accompanying their prayerful voices for his safety until his return.

TRAVELING THE SEAS FOR THE GOLDEN STATE

And after the passage of nine days of the ship’s sailing in the peaceful calm of the ocean, it arrived in the harbor of San Francisco, on Saturday, the 29th day of that month. The royal King went on this journey as a Chief born of Hawaii, not in his title as a ruling king of the Paradise Kingdom of the North Pacific. On this journey, the King traveled incognito, as a means by which his time would not be occupied in the reception of the leaders of the Government and the

1368 Located between Waipi’o and Waimanu on Hawai’i island.
1369 It was also believed that traveling incognito reduced the cost of the voyage for the Hawaiian government.
citizens of the land where his royal feet would tread; but, he could not ward off the warm embraces of the subjects of the Golden State where he landed. Meanwhile, when the news spread throughout the city that the King of Hawaii was aboard the steamship City of Sydney, nearing the golden gate of California, there the crowd rose up in unison and offered brilliant receptions, and the entire city was adorned, and the people were overcome with joyous excitement. The men allied in displaying their honor, and the women were rushing about here and there completely overcome with the entertainments to lengthen the days the King would tarry in the city. And as follows the account was obtained by Hawaii, from San Francisco, reporting this of the journey of the King:--

“Upon arriving in the early evening of the 29th day of January, the large steamship with its royal cargo arrived proudly between the passage of the Golden Gate; and anchoring in the harbor, suddenly, impressions of crowds surged on the shore of the land, to see KAWAIHAU. He boarded the carriages and entering in the Palace Hotel among dear friends. Without proper rest He was taken riding through the city. * * * When the King disembarked the lady dignitaries of the Palace Hotel resolved to host a royal assembly in the parlors of the hotel, and invitations signed by a Committee of eight women members were issued, and these were the ladies: Mrs. F. G. Newlands, Mrs. Howard Colt, Mrs. A. G. Kinsey, Mrs. Mark Severance, Mrs. J. S. Hager, Mrs. H. Schmiedell, Mrs. W. H. L. Barnes and Mrs. J. Lugsain. This royal assembly was held on Monday evening, February 7, (1881) the night before the King would depart from San Francisco for China. * * * A dinner honoring the King was given by the Pacific Yacht Club under the patronage of Commander R. S. Floyd and

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1370 Another name for Kalākaua. He signed the letters he penned on his journey around the world as Kawaihau.  
1371 It was said that no finer reception was ever given in all of San Francisco.
Captain Menzies. And at that dinner the Royal One displayed the dignity of his rank and the delight in his witty conversations, and he was greatly admired by all the people who assembled there, while many voices shouting hurrah echoed in praise of the eloquence of his responses for the sentiments laid before him by the leaders of the Club.

* * * The chain of declarations summoning the Chief was not ended, since he obtained an invitation from the Consul General of China to enjoy a banquet given at a Chinese restaurant. Its name was Hang Fer Low. On the day this banquet was given, perhaps for the first time the beauty of the attire of the wealthy Chinese of the city was observed, ornamented with gold. It was truly elegant to look upon. The heart was gladdened, and the descendants of China were full of gratitude for the declarations that the King laid before them for the state of their fellow people living in Hawaii. * * *

The King took rest, and boarded a train for the city of Sacramento. There the King shook hands with the Governor, and he toured the Legislative buildings of that State. Encouraging speeches and honors were extended before him. And when he returned again to the city of San Francisco, he was invited to a Ball hosted by the National French League, honoring the new French Consul, namely M. Vauvert de Mean and Madame Mean. The King was attended by his Treasurer and Major Macfarlane. Here, the Royal One swayed skillfully in the foreign dance. The King first danced with Madame Planet, the wife of the French Commissioner, and

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1372 Commodore Floyd and Captain Menzies, of the Pacific Yacht Club, were honored to welcome the mōʿī. Floyd later invited him to sail on the bay.  
1373 (Elbert and Pukui 151).  
1374 (Elbert and Pukui 120).  
1375 These were the people of ‘Āina pua, the name referring to China (Elbert and Pukui 11).  
1376 Auguste Vauvert de Mean served from 1880–1884.  
1377 George Walter Macfarlane was born in Honolulu in 1847 after his father settled there in 1845 from Scotland. George attended Punahou College. Kalākaua appointed Macfarlane as staff and promoted him to Colonel. Macfarlane would initiate the arrival of almost 20,000 Portuguese immigrants. On the mōʿī’s journey around the world, heads of nations awarded him numerous decorations (American Biography 554).
after with Mrs. Dr. Julius Rosenstin. In the evening the King held hands with this lady at the banquet table. And here I recalled the song:

‘You who tread the sacred tabus of Kahiki,

Treading on the rising billows.’

At this Ball, the matchless beauty of the fashion of the women was observed, because of ‘the beauty of that people was flirting with the eyes.’

Eight was the number of days the king lingered in San Francisco, and all the days were filled with happiness in accordance with the dignity of the ministrations of honors that were brought by the children of the Golden Land. On Tuesday, the 8th day of February, he and his attendants boarded the steamship Oceanic, and they sailed on the chilly water moving forward between two halves of the globe, and indeed it was the route to arrive in Japan. It was said, when the King departed from San Francisco he left behind many hearts that truly burned with love because of receiving kind declarations, amiable eyes, and a gentle voice, and because of those things they honored him through the praises, “Kalakaua the Kind-Hearted.”

THE JOURNEY ON THE OPEN SEA FOR JAPAN—KALAKAU A TO KAPIOLANI—THE EXALTED RECEPTIONS IN JAPAN

When the steamship Oceanic departed from the calm harbor of San Francisco, bearing upon its widespread breast its precious charge—the Royal One of Hawaii—it sailed swiftly on its oceanic pathway to arrive at Imperial Japan. And when that ship passed by the exact meridian of Honolulu, some degrees north of the Hawaiian archipelago, fond remembrances for the shores of his beloved islands of Hawaii were awakened in the King. At that single moment, while the steamship swiftly sailed on that course, loving twinges bound fast and carried upon his shoulders for his Queen residing patiently with unforgotten love for him in the homeland. Truly, love

1378 Julius Rosenstein was a surgeon at Mt. Zion hospital in San Francisco.
swelled up within him, the fond recollection blazed and the memory of his Queen sprang up brightly, and because of this he composed some verses of poetry to pray for his Queen, and here they are below, in Hawaiian and English:

SONNET
KALAKAUA TO KAPIOLANI.
[The Island King to His Queen.]

[Written on Board the Oceanic, Feb. 16, 1881.]

To catch a glimpse of yonder shore
My eager eyes I strain,
And pray that I was there—once more!

Let me not pray in vain.

The surf its silvery crests display,
On that far shore I love,

When back, I make my homeward way,

No more I'll care to rove.

Dear waiting one, I think of thee
The maile round thy neck!

O, tell me, wild and angry sea,
How long you'll hold me back?

Since, then I cannot meet you now,

Divided by the main

Let me tell you fondly how,

I hope we'll meet again.

1379 Victorian ideas equated light with a memory from the past.
A love like thine, so leal and true,\textsuperscript{1380}

My devious way will guard;

And when the rounded world I view,

Thy love is my reward

\textsuperscript{*} \textsuperscript{*} \textsuperscript{*} \textsuperscript{*} \textsuperscript{*}

In the purpled dawn of the 4\textsuperscript{th} day of March, the steamship Oceanic entered the harbor of Yokohama.\textsuperscript{1381} Anchored in the harbor were forty-two battleships and large steamships. And the report of a Japanese newspaper is as follows:

“At 7:30 this morning, it was reported that the steamship Oceanic was seen, and at that time excitement amidst the ships in the harbor was felt, while the waving of the Hawaiian flag was observed on a mast of the steamship. At this time, the steamships, battleships and sailboats quickly adorned themselves with marked flags, and while it sailed peacefully amidst the boats that became decorated with the flags, it was at that time 21-gun salutes were given by the battleships, along with the climbing of the sailors and the yardarms were incited to excitement,\textsuperscript{1382} spreading about the warm greetings to King Kalakaua. The features of the King of Hawaii were handsome, his body was impressively strong, and his features were considerate.”

The report of a newspaper follows: “The King of Hawaii arrived yesterday, (Friday), at 8 in the morning. When the ship sailed with the crown flag proudly waving, canons of the numerous warships immediately fired. The King was quickly transported to meet Admiral Nakamura of the Imperial Japanese Navy, and other dignitaries and the Russian Admiral and his officers. The Japanese Admiral came in the capacity of a messenger on behalf of the emperor of

\textsuperscript{1380} The line should read: A love like thine, so real and true.”
\textsuperscript{1381} Records point out that Kalākaua and his attendants were very surprised that the Emperor knew of and had prepared extensively for the mō‘ī’s arrival.
\textsuperscript{1382} Sailors climbed atop the yards on ships as a Victorian royal salute to nobles who traveled during the 19\textsuperscript{th} century.
Japan if it would be agreeable to the King of Hawaii to become a guest under the care and protection of the Emperor, during the days of the King’s stay in Japan. The King consented to this invitation of his peer, and therefore, he boarded with his attendants the steam ferry and embarked ashore.\textsuperscript{1383} Attending that ferry were eight large ferries honoring the Royal entourage. When the King and his attendants arrived at the Office of the Japanese Admiral, it was 9:00 or past perhaps; he was welcomed with many honors by the Japanese people of high rank, by the members of the Imperial family, and the prince Date,\textsuperscript{1384} and a Mr. R. Irwin,\textsuperscript{1385} the Hawaiian Consul in Japan, who came to see the King. At 10:45 the King departed this place, in the royal carriage, and rode for the Royal Palace Noge Yama,\textsuperscript{1386} a place designated for him, during the days of his stay in the communities of Japan. On the road that the King traveled were pomp and circumstance by the armed forces for nearly two entire miles, with the Hawaiian and Japanese flags waving on each side of the street. Each side of the street was crowded with many people, sending their thunderous voices shouting hurrah for the King of Hawaii. The Royal entourage arrived at the Beautiful Royal Palace, and there the Hawaiian travelers were welcomed by the Prince Higashi-Fushimi-no-Miya.”

This was a beautiful palace, but the beauty shining in the palace was just the first step in the glory brightly blazing in the Royal Palace of the Emperor of Japan. Here the King and his sea-faring companions passed the night and day of that Saturday. At 11 of that day, the Royal entourage departed this place, aboard a train, for the city of Tokyo; 18 miles was the distance from that place. When they arrived there, the esteemed King was fondly received by three

\textsuperscript{1383} When the mōʻi landed on shore the Emperor’s military band played their rendition of “Hawaiʻi Ponoʻī,” which “upset” Kalākaua (Marumoto 54).
\textsuperscript{1384} Date Muneki was part of the reception committee the Emperor created to welcome Kalākaua.
\textsuperscript{1385} In 1880, Robert Walker Irwin served as Acting Hawaiian Consul General in Japan, and eventually worked with the Japanese government to hire laborers for Hawaiʻi’s plantations. Almost 20,000 Japanese men, women and children would immigrate to Hawaiʻi by 1894 in response to contracts that Irwin negotiated.
\textsuperscript{1386} Noge Yama is supposed to be Nogeyama.
Imperial Princes, and they attended the globe-trotting entourage of the King and arrived at the Palace of Enriokwan. The Emperor met with the King of tiny Hawaii in the front reception hall of the palace, and received him with genuine warmth. Then, the King was led to the apartment of the Empress, and there were unmatched honors extolling that thing called Royalty. The beauty and décor of the royal palace of the Emperor of Japan were without equal. (The canoe is too narrow. There’s not enough space to write and it’s moving.)

On the next day of the Royal entourage in Tokyo, the King journeyed with his companions to the Shintomiza Theatre. It was said that 28 carriages bore the Princes and the Princesses of the Imperial Court of Japan who attended this entourage of the King for the Theatre. Nearly 4,000 Japanese lanterns lit the exterior and interior to the theatre, and the lights were like thousands of stars glimmering in the glorious heavens. Within this theatre the King saw the delightful performances of the Japanese. He donated to this theatre, as a remembrance of his visiting the royal city of Japan, a curtain similar to the curtain fronting the royal box of the new Opera House in Honolulu. This curtain was crimson velvet, which was embroidered in the center with gold thread representing the crown of the Hawaiian Kingdom, with the following words: “Presented by Kalakaua I, King of Hawaii, to the Shintomiza Theatre, in the second month of the year 2541 (Japanese reckoning).” In the month of July, following the King’s visit to Japan, this curtain was completed, and the Hawaiian Consul residing there, Robert Irwin

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1387 Enriokwan is supposed to be Enriokwan.
1388 Ichijo Masako was the empress of Japan in 1881, wife of Emperor Meiji.
1389 It is assumed that Poepoe says that words cannot describe the splendor of Enriokwan. But also, it was difficult to explain the palace to those who had never seen anything remotely similar to it, and more importantly, Poepoe faced a fast-approaching deadline for publication.
1390 When it opened in 1878, the Shintomiza Theatre, located on the outskirts of Tokyo’s traditional theatre district, featured a western exterior and welcomed kabuki productions to its stage. At that time Shintomiza was Japan’s “No. 1 first-class theatre.” Former President Ulysses S. Grant first visited Sintomiza Theatre in 1879 (“Theatrical”).
1391 Located on King Street across from ‘Iolani Palace, the Music Hall Theatre later became the Royal Opera House.
presented it to the Manager of that Theatre, on behalf of the King. This unforgettable memento of the King and his little kingdom, in the Royal City of Japan, from the days on which its length and width were stretched out far and wide is inside of the theatre until this day.

In the King’s enjoyment in Japan he did not forget the aged ancestors of the first parents who brought the light of knowledge to Hawaii, indeed one day in that period a great banquet was given in Yokohama by the dignitaries within the city in his honor, before his arrival there, he first went to see Mrs. Gulick, who was living there, while the dignitaries waited patiently for him.

On the 16th day of March, the globe-trotting entourage departed from Yokohama, aboard the steamship Tokyo Maru, for the city of Kobe, this place was southwest of Yokohama. At this place the Royal entourage ventured to tour the Buddhists’ temple, and they were hosted by 24 priests dressed in silk cloth of every kind skillfully made with gold thread. From this place, the Royal entourage boarded the train and made straightway for Osaka, 24 miles away, arriving there within 4 hours. Sojourning here for some time, from there traveled to the city of Nangasaki. At this place, the 4 high Princes of Japan departed from their Royal entourage, and on the 22nd day of March the globe-trotting travelers departed from that place, aboard the steamship Tokio Maru, given generously by the Japanese Emperor, for the journey to Shanghai.

THE KING IN CHINA

On the 25th of March the steamship Tokio Maru arrived at the mouth of the harbor of Shanghai, and the Royal entourage boarded a small tugboat to land ashore, and were transported to the Hotel Astor. The globe-trotting travelers spent two days in this city, then departed for

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1392 The gift for the people of Tokyo would hang in the theatre for all to see; Shintomiza Theatre accommodated 5,000.
1393 It was common then for world leaders to lend steamships and carriages to other traveling dignitaries for their use.
Tientsin, the place of Li Hung Chang, the Chinese Viceroy, aboard the steamship Pautah. In the early morning of the 29th, the Royal procession arrived in Tientsin. An honorary welcome was presented before the King by the Viceroy of China. On the 2nd of April, the traveling entourage boarded again the steamship Pautah and sailed back to Shanghai. Before the King’s departure from Shanghai, he sent a letter to his family who remained in the islands with fervent recollections of the resounding letter from the globe-trotting King. And here is a part of that Royal missive:

“Shanghai, China, April, 1881.

“Greetings to you:--When we arrived here in Shanghai from Tientsin, the younger sibling of our Consul conveyed us in Hong Kong to return to his place, and we are staying here in his home. This is a beautiful home and we are very comfortable staying here, J. Johnstone Keswick is his name. And on Saturday, the 9th, we shall depart from Shanghai and sail for Hong Kong, to stay there for two days, and sail for Siam, the famous land of Asia. Tomorrow we shall go to the house of Tau-Tai, the Government Dignitaries of this province of Shanghai, and many were the gifts given to me in this place.

* * *

The subjects of this place were upset because we secretly left without first telling them. In Tientsin, we met with William French, the brother of Red Salt, he is the Royal Duty Collector for China in Faku at the mouth of the Peiho River, where he resided conducting his business. Our hearts were full of joy and affection in seeing him, because he was a schoolmate we would run around together with in childhood, in seeing that time, returning to Honolulu in

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1394 The sizable ship belonging to the Chinese Merchants’ Steam Navigation Company, which “was taken out of regular service, refurbished, and sumptuously provisioned to transport the royal party” (Dye 178).
1395 This letter was printed in Walter Murray Gibson’s Ka Elele Poakolu June 15, 1881: 4.
1396 Once Kalākaua realized the economic importance of Shanghai he immediately wrote to his Minister of Foreign Affairs back in Honolulu, William L. Green, and proposed they arrange for Keswick to become Consulate for the Hawaiian Kingdom in Shanghai (Greer 79).
1397 French Jr.’s father was the famous Hawai‘i merchant.
1398 Ulapa‘akai is William Bush’s nickname.
1862, just transpired and seeing it again. Red Salt would love to see this short story concerning his one remaining family member and William Hunt.

“China is very beautiful; not equal to Japan. And is in accordance with what we see in our Chinese people in our land, in that way concerning the facial features of faces here, some people are wealthy or very wealthy, some people are poor or very poor. In Japan, our eyes did not meet the very destitute like in China, but there is a reason for the poverty of some people. If we recall, North China had some severe famines, and some disastrous wars with Russia. There was a very awful drought along with some cruel times of calamity. If you should combine the many reasons with the unparalleled population of this people, about 400 million or perhaps more, then these events would truly befall the places of the earth.

“When looking at the nature of thoughts and impressions of the leaders of China, they are a clever and proficient people in organizing and governance, it is similar to the old chiefs of Hawaii, namely Kekuawahine, Kalaikauahulu, David Malo, and Malo his junior, and Pakoa in the time of Umi, and many others in our ancient history. China remains faithful to those traditions and incorporates with the politics of this new era; the wisdom and intelligence of China’s and Japan’s rulers have grown become exalted.

* * * One thing that lessened China’s ascent to greatness, indeed, it was the land being filled with the smoking of opium. Many were the people with weakened features constantly seen on the streets. In Japan, this thing had not descended upon them, those people were very few, it was the Chinese people who took it there. From India, the majority of the opium was shipped to China, and there is the source and tap root of all places of the earth.”

1399 The knowledgeable prophet, orator, genealogist, and adviser to Kamehameha I.
1400 Well-known graduate of Lahainaluna and historian, particularly well-versed in courtly traditions and hula.
1401 Nephew of David Malo, believed to have composed the chant “He Inoa Ahi no Kalakaua” in 1874.
On the 9th of April, the Royal entourage departed from Shanghai on a steamship and arrived in Hong Kong (Hong Kong) on the 12th. Royal audiences were held here with great honors. Shortly after the globe-trotting King enjoyed himself in this city, he and his traveling companions departed from there and sailed for SIAM.

On the morning of the 26th the steamship transporting the Royal entourage entered the river of Menan. While the steamship was entering, the King of Siam’s leisure yacht was seen. When those ships neared, two skiffs bearing the Royal flag of Siam were sailing, it was the flag marked with the White Elephant. Those skiffs drew near to the steamship, and some people formally attired in honorary military uniforms boarded. One was a Messenger from the King of Siam with a document from him addressing the globe-trotting King of Hawaii,

Welcome traveler,

Enjoy yourself in my Realm

In the circles of my Kingdom

In the splendor of Siam.

And that document implied the terrible regret of the King of Siam in his inability to personally meet with the Royal King of Hawaii, since the arrival of the King was swift, and he had no time to prepare himself for a personal visit. The second messenger who was sent, the Prince Dissaworkamaru, was the personal Aide-de-Camp for the King of Siam.

Shortly after the exchange, the royal entourage boarded the Royal yacht of Siam and sailed for the city of Bangkok, far inside of the river, nearly 26 miles from the mouth of the river. This was a glorious yacht, and the King held in high esteem the cleanliness and beauty of that yacht. At 6:00 or later the yacht arrived with its visiting King. The Royal entourage boarded a
skiff paddled by 24 men, and disembarked on shore. As the Royal entourage was disembarking warships fired salutes of greeting, and from the pier he was conveyed to the Palace of one of the Princes of the land. On one day a royal meeting was carried out between two Kings—Hawaii and Siam. This King of Siam at the time meeting with our King, was a very young man, 27 years old. The embellishments of this King of Siam were truly beautiful, adorned with gold and very precious pearls. The belt worn on his waist held his sword, and diamond stones, rubies and sapphires were pinned there. From this place the Royal entourage sailed for India.

The globe-trotting entourage arrived in the city of Singapore, and an honorary welcome was presented by the citizens of that place. On the 10th day of May, the ruler of that nation sent his ferry to convey the traveling King to go to meet with Him, while the distance of his palace from Singapore was 40 miles. And this indeed was the Sultan who sent benevolent condolences when he heard King Kalakaua died in San Francisco on the 20th day of January of this year. Perhaps there is no other detailed account about the things related to this journey of the King to see this Sultan (King) of India, other than the document he had written to his Queen who waited sadly for him, from Singapore, on the 14th day of May, 1881, and here is that letter:

“Singapore, Thursday May 12, 1881."

“Leaving this place to go again to Penang and arriving in Rangoon and Calcutta. We went to see the Maharajah of Johore. He was a fine monarch; features slightly like that of the honesty of the face of the first Leleiohoku in the lack of movement of the eyes. Glorious and wondrous were his kingdom and his palace. We were welcomed with dignified ceremonies of India’s rulers, and their beautiful attire. He sent his skiff for us and on the morning of Monday at

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1402 This letter appeared in Ka Elele Poakolu (July 13, 1881: 4).
1403 Johor, the southernmost point of Asia, was governed by Sultan Abu Baker (1864–1895) under a constitution modeled after Britain’s. Baker was known for welcoming Chinese immigrant laborers.
7:30 A.M., we traveled until 11:13. The younger brothers of this king came aboard the steamship, and they were aboard the skiff, to welcome me. We disembarked with our full regalia, and ascended the steps, and more steps, and then, this king descended in full regalia with his princes. At the time that I was under a royal umbrella, and he came first and met and shook hands. When I proceeded, the princes of this king came to my side until our meeting with the Maharajah. He introduced me to his princes, that is his younger siblings. The countenance and features of these princes were a lot like ours. As I frequently related to you. After the reception, we relished a quaint gathering, and when the repast was ended we played billiards with the king.

* * *

When we were playing the first game he won, but in the second game I won. When our recreation was completed we ventured on the balcony where there was a breeze and there we relaxed until 5:00 in the evening. We went and that king showed the coffee and tea garden that he planted. He was an ardent farmer and he cultivated so that his government and his people would be benefitted. He was a king skilled in rule and wise. He gave his lands to foreigners of every type to cultivate, the chinese, however, the chinese are the most in number. He related to me his admiration for the Chinese for their industriousness. There were many familiar plants to us that are growing here. The hau, milo, foreign kamani, Hawaiian kamani, ieie, palai, hala, ohia, and here the taro planted was by the natives and Chinese.

* * *

The next day we returned in carriages, it was a short time, one hour and a half maybe, when we arrived again in Singapore. At nightfall we went to join Charles again with the Masons. And on this day we depart at 4:00 for Penang.”
Seven was the number of days the Royal entourage stayed in Singapore, and departed there for Calcutta, on the path extending all the way to Europe. On the last days of May, the Royal entourage arrived in Calcutta. Only two days was the stay there, and the King dispensed with the widespread welcome of society there; and from there to Agra, Delhi, until Allahabad. And on the morning of Monday, June 20th, the royal entourage peacefully arrived at the canal of Suez. There it boarded the steam train sent by the Sultan of Egypt, and rode to Cairo. In this city the rank of the High Mason of the Great Orient inside the Masons of the Great Orient of Egypt was awarded to the King, and at this time he gave a very enlightening speech about things related to the Pyramids of Egypt, and the wise people who gathered were shocked at the King’s wisdom and intellect. Shortly after the passing of some days on pleasure bent and touring the famous sites of Cairo, the entourage departed for the city of Alexandria, and from that place he sent a letter, a part of it relates thus:

“Alexandria, June 23, 1881.”

“This morning, we departed from Cairo at 7, and arrived in Alexandria at 11:30 mid-morning. The King of this place personally came and received us on the train, and we traveled together and he situated me in one of his palaces. This place is beautiful. We are looking out upon the Mediterranean Sea. This evening, we go to meet as visitors in his separate palace at 4:30, and this evening at 9:30 dine together with Him. In the evening tomorrow, Friday, a great Ball shall be given for the birthday of that King. On the morning of Saturday we leave for Italy. In Naples we shall first anchor.”

THE KING ARRIVES IN THE SPLENDOR OF ITALY—RELAXES WITH KING UMBERTO—MEETS LEONE XIII—THE KING’S REVERENCE FOR ROME’S BEAUTY

\[1404\] This letter appeared in Ka Elele Poakolu (August 17, 1881: 2).
The globe-trotting entourage arrived in Naples, and from this city sent a letter revealing the following:

“Naples, Italy, June 30, 1881.”

“We arrived in Naples, Italy, and we resided in the Royal Hotel. We were welcomed by the Government of Italy, by the Governing Leaders, the City Officials and the Officers of the Kingdom.

* * * * * * * When we went to see the King and the Queen of Italy, Moreno was disappointed by the Hawaii children.

* * * * * * * We arrived in Rome on the 4th day of July, at 10:00 at night. We met with the Pope, and our pleasant conversation was extensive, along with his inquiries concerning the status of Catholics in Hawaii. I responded, well, humble and unassuming were the nature of their life. He bid farewell to me, and gave his greeting to Lui, and at the time that I left his letter. Our audience was perhaps half an hour. Cardinal Howard was the one who translated our conversation, and Cardinal Jacobini was the one who hosted us, with the royal soldiers standing guard at the doors.

“Rome is beautiful. The Vatican is the place where the Pope lived, the majority of the paintings by Rafael were there, the man of whom it was said, he was most superior of the genius painters in the world. The church of [St.] Peter is very striking, everything in the church of Peter and Paul is extremely rare. It can’t be written about, you have to see it for yourself to dispel illusions. Who could deny the awe and true reverence for the matchless beauty? It is the beauty

\[\text{1405 This letter appeared in} \text{ Ka Elele Poakolu (August 17, 1881: 2).} \]
\[\text{1406 The Pacific Commercial Advertiser says that} \text{“On landing at Naples His Majesty was received by the Prefect of that city, the military Commandant, and the Admiral of the station” (Sketch 69).} \]
\[\text{1407 In “Kalākaua’s Hawaiian Studies Abroad Program,” Agnes Quigg explains that the three Hawaiian scholars, Robert W. Wilcox, Robert N. Boyd and James K. Booth, some of the brightest students in Hawai’i then, in 1880 were placed in the care of Celso Caesar Moreno, an Italian, who during his time in Hawai’i managed to gain the confidence of Kalākaua. Once the Cabinet objected to Moreno, however, he departed the islands. It is not clear exactly what the three did here to disappoint Moreno. One deduction is that after Kalākaua enrolled them in a Prussian military school in August of 1880 Moreno discovered that they “were not adequately prepared for the vigorous Prussian schools nor for the classes that were all taught in the German language which none of the boys had studied” (Quigg 176).} \]
which overwhelms one to fall on his knees. We went to visit the Coliseum, a famous place for fighting. * * We shall arrive in London in the evening of the 6th day of July.”

THE ROYAL ENTOURAGE HEADS STRAIGHT FOR LONDON—THE KING DID HIS UTMOST IN HIS KNOWLEDGE OF ENGLISH

On the 4th day of July, the Royal entourage departed from Rome and headed straight for London the final goal, while the King greatly yearned to see the parade of English soldiers to be conducted on the 9th day. The King and his seafaring companions arrived in London on the 6th day of July, and on that day he wrote down reflections concerning the significant events that he enjoyed there:


“We are in London where we have settled from far away Rome and arrived at 7 in the evening, traveling to London. Greeted by Government Officials. First Sir Charles W. Dilke, and after Mr. Synge, son of the Commissioner Synge who resided at the place Kuakua, and godparents of the Prince of Hawaii. Our Consul Hopkins also ventured there. This child of Synge said he was sent for by the Foreign Prime Minister, Earl Granville, to tell me, Lord Tenderton was arriving to receive me in the name of the Queen.

“When we sailed from Rome, from evening to day break, at 12 in the afternoon, we emerged on the side of Mount Cenisa, where a tunnel was dug. Part of the hour was the length of time in darkness and we arose from that side. On that day and in the evening, arriving in Paris, was a little sightseeing, and we saw many places, namely, the Napoleon Monument, the palaces of the Royalty of France, the Government Building, the Arch of Napoleon I, the theatre, the Legislature and the Tullerias Champs Elyxe, many things in a short duration. Traveled upon a train for Boulona, and boarded the ship for Folkstone, England. And by means of the generosity
of the train officials, a separate car was sent for us. Tomorrow, there shall be a great amount of activity.

“July 7. We were overwhelmed by the receptions everywhere. * * * *
The Foreign Minister came, Earl Granville, Lord Charles W. Dilke, Lord Tenderton the successor of the Prime Ministers, and Lord Charles Beresford and our Bishop also and many others. In the evening we went to the Theatre, and the Queen sent her royal carriage for me to travel, and had her royal box at the Opera House to occupy. The theatre became filled with the adornments of the attire of the ladies. There was an important cricket game, and many people were going to see the cricket games of the students of Eaton and Harrow. We went to see the soldiers parade, and on the 10th day of July, attended service at Westminster Abbey. From there to the residence of Mr. and Mrs. Paget, the brother-in-law of Lord Beresford, and nobles.

“July 11. Today, we went to dine with Foreign Minister, Earl Granville, and there we met with Prime Minister Gladstone and the Regents. There we went by train, to go to see the Queen. We arrived at Windsor at 2:30, at 3:00, we arrived at the palace, and graciously saw and graciously met with the Queen and the Royal Family in her presence. * * * *

HERE IS WHERE I STROVE IN MY SMALL KNOWLEDGE OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE, at the proper place for this thing. The queen asked where I was taught, I answered, in Hawaii.

* * * * We dined there, and when it was ended we were taken to tour the palace. The adornments within the palace were elegant, and filled with the antiques of families from the past, nearly 2,000 years. It was the Prince Leopold who took us to dine and tour. We returned on that day, and went to the theatre that night. On Tuesday, we went to see the Crystal Palace. Yesterday we went to see the Royal Heir of Germany and his wife, Victoria’s eldest daughter. Afterwards, we went to see little people, two feet high and traveled to the residence of the Bishop of
Canterbury, and in the evening to the residence of Lady Spencer, there were the Royal Heir and his wife, Princess Luisa, Princess Teck, the Duke of Cambridge and the Prince Teck.

“July 14. Traveling to see the Royal Heir, the Prince of Wales and his consort, and when the meeting was ended we went to dine with Aeto Beresford, until 5 in the evening, travel again to the residence of the Royal Heir to a Garden Party, a friendly relaxing gathering, that’s what is said about the garden party, Saturday, a banquet with Lord Mayor, the official of the city of London. The Sabbath with Lady Brassey, and Monday at the residence of Hoffnung.

“The time is adequately spent traveling here and there, and the gracious welcome of the families of this Kingdom. Their receiving us with kindness was warm.

“KAWAIHAU.”

THE GLOBE-TROTTING KING’S RETURN TO THE ACTIVITY OF EUROPE

Shortly after the Globe-trotting King’s pleasant relaxations in London, on the 24th day of July, he departed with his entourage from London, shortly after shaking hands with the Royal Heir of England and his famous Royal wife, the beauty of Denmark, and the path for Belgium lay ahead. Before his departure from England, he obtained from the Queen the Distinguished Cross of the First Class of Saint Michael and Saint George.

The royal entourage arrived in Belgium and saw King Leopold II, and from there arrived in Germany. On the 30th day of July the entourage arrived in Berlin and stayed there for six days. And while the King was there people gathered hoping to see him until the hotel where he was staying was surrounded. The German soldiers presented a parade here and great was the admiration of the King. He met and assembled with the prominent Heads of State of the land.

1408 On July 16 the Lord Mayor Sir William M. Arthur invited Kalākaua to a “Mansion House dinner,” wherein Edward, Prince of Wales, attended (Sanderson 2); “No such gathering of governors, premiers, agents and administrators of British territories beyond the seas had ever been held” (Sanderson 2). Kalākaua surprised guests, who expected to see his native costume, by wearing the “‘regulation’ evening dress” and giving a speech in English (Sanderson 2).
After the King’s admiring the wonders of Berlin, on the 4th day of August the Royal entourage departed from Berlin for Austria. On the evening of the 5th day, the traveling King arrived in Vienna, and was warmly embraced by the Government officials with great honors. Since the Emperor Francis Joseph was in Bavaria, therefore the globe-trotting King did not meet with him. The Royal entourage stayed in Vienna for four days, and then departed for Paris. The entourage stayed here until the 15th day of August. While the entourage was there, the King received a letter from the Emperor of Belgium, with the Distinguished Cross of the Order of Leopold. Before the entourage left the landlocked Europe for England, here was the itinerary concerning the important places and the famous events that the King visited and saw:

August 17, 7 AM, arrived at the Imperial palace, the old palace of the royal family of Spain. 11:00, arrived in Madrid. 8:00 in the evening departed from there for Portugal. August 19, 3:00 PM met with King Louis of Portugal, and the two Kings exchanged with the Distinguished Crosses one to another—Louis presented to Kalakaua the Distinguished Cross of Conception; Kalakaua to Louis, the Cross of Kamehameha. August 21, the King met Don Ferdinand, the father of King Louis. August 22, 2 P.M. the last meeting with Louis, saw a bullfight; 6:00, departed Portugal for Spain. August 6 a.m. arrived in Madrid, and was greeted by the Foreign Minister of that Kingdom, since the King had travel beforehand to Galaeia. August 27, 6:00 A.M., arrived in Paris. The King passed the time sightseeing at various places, and from this place he sent to Charles I of Romania the Distinguished Cross of Kamehameha to be received in the name of the King of the Kingdom. On the 31st day of August, the Royal entourage arrived in

LONDON, ENGLAND

armories. Sept., 4. Went to the church of Saint Paul. Sept., 6. Departed from London, following the beloved farewell to the Royal Heir with his Lady at Marlborough Hall, and headed straight for Scotland. The entourage stayed here under the honorary welcomes offered by the devoted royal subjects of that place. Sept., 13. departed the city of Liverpool, upon the steamship Celtic for New York. Sept., the Royal entourage disembarked in New York, and the King quickly sent a letter of condolence to Mrs. Garfield, via Mr. E. H. Allen, the Hawaiian Consul at New York in Washington, who would attend the funeral procession of President Garfield in his name. The Globe-trotting King turned for home and arrived in San Francisco; on the 29th day of October, he and his companions arrived in Hawaii. This was the close of the Globe-trotting King’s account, and concerning this King’s travels in the world, seeing the famous Kingdoms of the world, he did not forget his own tiny Kingdom resting in the deep ocean of the Pacific, and the boast, “Hawaii is the Best.” And here is the vaunt of KALANIKAULILUAIKEANUWAIALEALE:

KING KALAKAUA’S BOAST

O’er land and sea I’ve made my way
To farthest Ind. and Cathay;

Reached Afric’s shore, and Europe’s strand,

And met the mighty of every land;

And as I stood by each sovereign’s side

Who ruled his realm with a royal pride

I felt how small my sway—and weak:—

My throne based on a mere volcanic peak,—

Where millions do these Kings obey,

Some thousands my own sway.
And yet I feel that I may boast,
Some good within my sea-bound coast,
Richer than any of my grander peers.
That I within my realm need have no fears:—
May mingle with my people without dread;
No danger fear for my unguarded head,
And boast a treasure, sent me from above
That I have indeed, my people’s love.

THE PERIOD OF THE REORGANIZING OF THE KINGDOM OF KING

KALAKAUAN

It would be unfeasible for the writer to detail all the things that were done and seen in his leading Hawaii’s ship of state, since the majority of those things are familiar to his subjects who are in mourning for him. However, it is true that he led his Kingdom with amazing wisdom that was greatly admired by the other successful Kingdoms of the globe. The government of the Kingdom of Hawaii met while under his guidance in the rough surf by which the water’s surface of the true progression was stirred; but engulfing waves along with patient evasions of the King have passed on, until his bones lie in a distant land, in the fifty-fourth year and two months of his life. It cannot be denied, that he cherished the advancement of the benefits of his Kingdom and his people, and if the writer is not mistaken, it was that one thought that urged him to sail again in the expansive ocean of the Pacific, with the frailty of his health, and because of this, he died!
He has passed! He is gone! The eyes are closed! Kalakaua I who sought for the Good! The Conqueror of Fortune! He who Increased the Wealth of the Land! He the Provider for the Homes
of the People! While he was toiling to increase the wealth of his Kingdom for the seventeen years of his patiently leading beloved Hawaii.

Here follows the full account of the last journey of the King for California.

**THE KING EN ROUTE TO THE GOLDEN GATE**

In the days of the latter half of 1890, the poor health of the King was apparent. Because of this reason, the royal court desired to search for a place of comfort for restoring the health of the King. And when Admiral Brown of the American warship Charleston recognized this situation, he gave the invitation to the King to sail to San Francisco, offering his impressive and fine warship for the King’s comfort if he should agree, in taking him to seek comfort in that land. After considering this invitation of the Admiral, the King and his Cabinet decided to accede to this idea; and therefore, on Tuesday, the 25th day of November, he boarded that warship, and sailed for the Golden Gate of California.

With the demonstrations of Royal love, his subjects gave him their hopeful enthusiasm with prayers for their King’s finding respite and good health on his trip, and returning once again with a good constitution and the strength of his body.

When the ship was offshore, the King ascended to the highest place on the deck, and his eyes turned with love for the land and looked at the expanse of these birth sands. In that way his eyes were set until Oahu was lost from view, Maui and the remaining islands disappeared, and the ship advanced toward the north of Hawaii. And in arriving directly above, a fine light rain of the Uhiwai of Mana\(^{1409}\) was seen, and the mist crept along and hid the land from the Royal eyes; at this time the welling of his tears was seen, and he cried. It was as though fond recollections were suddenly recalled within him; it was the tears of the land lamenting for him, the mist was symbolizing his hiding him, his very last prospect; and it was painful, and he cried in anguish.

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\(^{1409}\) The area belonging to Parker Ranch.
Alas! The pronouncements of his heart only utter thoughts of lamentation, the silence only

grieving his urging for the land; and it is as though he is uttering these words:

Inside the heart fondly recollects,

For you, o land is left solitary;

Recalling, this is perhaps the end,

For the first time a tormenting grief sickens my heart—

Farewell! I go with my bearing of tears.

ARRIVAL IN SAN FRANCISCO

On the morning of the 4th day of December, 1890, the American warship Charleston
entered the Golden Gate of the harbor of San Francisco with the Crown flag of the Hawaiian
Kingdom proudly waving upon its stern mast, carrying King Kalakaua onto the shores of
California, to pass some time there, and to comfort his health. Meanwhile, his primary thoughts
were burdened because of the extent of the work within the current Legislative session, and his
health was poor.

He was received with all the honors by the citizens of this famous land, and was
welcomed with warm affection as a wonderful visitor for the Government, a foreign sovereign
for the people.

When the King arrived on shore, from that hour the celebratory banquets and the grand
hospitality societies’ welcome to him commenced. The very first banquet was given by the
Bohemian Society of San Francisco, the very society of native sons of the Golden state; it was
said, nothing like it was seen there similar to the magnificence of this repast.

During these celebrations and welcoming, the King did not forget considering, there is a
time for the allowance of the body, and time to allow for the spirit, and he went to a mass at the
Trinity Cathedral on the Sabbath. He also went to some fundraisers, and gave his support to their continuance, namely the things related to the Home of the Orphans.

CONCERNING THE OUTLYING CITIES

During this time, every day and night banquets and elegant honors were given, the beginning of the renewal of the constitution of the King was seen. Before the great resounding voices of the people of the other places who greatly desired to show their love to him, he agreed to pass by the outside of the boundaries of the city of San Francisco; and therefore, he left that place on the 27th day of December, aboard a steam-propelled vehicle prepared for him and his entourage, and traveled to the cities of Los Angeles and San Diego. On the next day he traveled to Los Angeles, and he quickly became an honored visitor of the Government officials and citizens, and the restrictions on all places of the city were opened wide to him.\(\text{1410}\) The government officials gave their high honors, and many were the dinners presented before him.

Within this time, the improvement of the health of the King was recognized, and his general countenance was strong; it was not thought of that trouble would arise. After touring the wonders of the land, the King received an invitation from a rancher; his amount of land was that of a few thousand acres, and he had beautiful horses. It was said his ranch was the most beautiful in the entire state of California, and he owned very beautiful horses. The King went to this place, 80 miles outside of the city of Los Angeles, and on that trip the King was drenched in a heavy downpour, and caught a cold. It was said that his being afflicted by a cold was the reason the illness spread throughout his body until it was overwhelmed. It was perhaps a thing that was understood that the King was ill when he departed his birth land; but, it was not however believed that it was the illness would take his life. That cold that was caught by the King

\(\text{1410}\) (Elbert and Pukui 268)
changed and became a fever, and the King’s trip quickly turned around for the city of San Francisco, and the attending the celebratory festivities prepared were avoided.

On Wednesday, the 14\textsuperscript{th} day of January,\textsuperscript{1411} with the strong objections of the doctors, he nevertheless departed his bed chamber in a weak condition, and went to a large dinner given to honor him by the Free Masons (Free Masons), and because of the King’s attendance at that dinner, it was thought to be the reason which increased the strength of the spreading of the illness in him.

The weakness quickly began, and the strange nature of the features of the King was also immediately revealed. The doctors recognized this, because some signs not obtained gave the general appearance of recovery from the medicines being administered. The increase of the severity of the illness was seen in the medicine to combat it. These symptoms continued in the King until the Sabbath day, the 4\textsuperscript{th} day of January; the appearance of the King somewhat was improved, and the hopes for a sure recovery were greatly anticipated, but these desires were not fulfilled, because the illness afflicted the kidneys, the illness called “Bright’s Disease”; the appearance of a combination of the types of vigorous ailments was certainly recognized, and within that condition he lay there for 48 hours, and he was unable to swallow the tonics administered.

On Monday evening, the 5\textsuperscript{th} day of January, the weakness of the King was very severe, and the Rev. F. H. Church was summoned, he was the assistant Reverend of Trinity Church of the Episcopal Sect. This Reverend sat together at the side of the bed of the King on that night until daylight, offering prayers for the spirit of the King who was near expiring and departing this mortality. And the last rites of the Church were attempted to be given to the King; he was not able to understand. Besides the condition of these manifestations, the laboring of his breath

\textsuperscript{1411} Poepoe wrote “14\textsuperscript{th}” but most likely meant 4\textsuperscript{th}.
was clear, as though straining to tightly grasp the chains of life with him for more time in order to perhaps enable him to reveal a thought stirring his bosom and rending his heart. Alas!

THE LAST HOURS OF THE KING

An event imbued with love and unsurpassed awe unfolded in the bed chamber where the King lay in contention with the angel of death. On the side of the bed two priests were standing physicians of the spirit administering their duties, while the physicians of the body of the King clearly procured their understanding that Kalakaua’s tenure in this world was ending.

At the head of the bed, the attendant of the King, Colonel Robert Hoapili Baker, was sitting with his sturdy and strong constitution; he was unable to straighten his body because the spread of grief tormented him and bowed his head, tears streaming down, with efforts to suppress the trembling of his breast. He grasped the left hand of the King and held tightly drenching himself in his tears of grief.

On the side of the bed the Colonel G. W. Macfarlane, the Treasurer of the King, bowed down with his features bent with sorrow, while, because of this affliction of the King with this severe illness, it became a thing that would inflict extreme torment upon him, and he succumbed to a type of sickness, and his features also revealed soaked tears.

In the corner of the bed chamber, Kahikina Kahulu was crouched down on the floor crying and bent in grief with tears of painful grief falling. Glancing quickly at the features of Her King and turning again below pressing her hands to her cheeks while she continued the grieving, Kalua, that Kiribati girl, lay at the foot of the bed of the King, trying to suppress her tormenting sobbing, but, it was impossible, while her heart burst and was torn asunder by grief, the love of the heart was torn in pieces by grief. Alas! The beloved attendants of the King who traveled

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1412 This part of Poepoe’s biography closely mirrors Nupepa Etele’s account of the last moments of Kalākaua’s life, captured in “At the Deathbed: The Scenes in the Chamber of the Dying Monarch” 31 Jan. 1891: 2. If Poepoe took information from that article then we can more precisely narrow in on the author’s schedule of composition.
together on the seas; alas their dwelling together; traveling together, confiding in one another, and seeing together the glories of Royal honors. Alas! Overwhelmed by the solemnity and bereaving sorrow—alas!, the very last sight of the indications of the final breath of their Heavenly One. Pitiful was their wailing with overwhelming grief, yearning that the breath of the King would be extended, and pitiful was their witnessing the solitary departure and the spirit staggering sleep was remembered with affection; departed was the King’s body shortly after, no movement, no sound, he was gone, returned there.

A silk coverlet was covering the body of the King, and while he was gasping for breath, one of his arms flung out and simply rested, at that time Kalua was seen crawling and she gently grasped the hand of the King, and began to caress it gently releasing her torrents of tears. And when the few intimate companions who assembled throughout the death chamber of the King saw the actions of his female attendant, they were filled with grief and their tears fell together.

On the morning of that day the Drs. Woods, Watts, Sanger and Taylor arrived, and they met together to confer over the King’s status, and it was revealed, in their opinion, not many hours shall pass before the King shall expire. At this time, it was 40 hours or more of the King’s lying without recognition of those in front of him, and only one time did the royal one revive again; it was his recognizing Admiral Brown and he smiled as if giving his farewell prayers to the One who brought him honorably and arrived on the shores of this wondrous land; and this time he turned and spoke his final words to R. Hoapili Baker speaking this declaration of grief—

“Alas; I am a man within the decay of death!”

These were the King’s final lucid words, and that was all. Afterward, there were only thoughts weakened by delirium; and when his spirit was nearing to quietly pass on within the wings of the shadow of the valley of death, he uttered the very last words resting on the center of
his thoughts, and he revealed that his thoughts had begun to wander to a time amongst the days of his time before reigning upon the Throne of Hawaii, many years before that had passed. He pronounced his words in the language of his motherland, all the way to the sandy beach of Kaiakeakua, as though, during that time, he was standing majestically, his Royal eyes gazing upon the waves of that peaceful bay, and glancing at the surging crests of the Pacific ocean, as was his wont in the days which have passed. His reflection and memories of his royal status and majesty were no more, and there he was at a place last looking upon the pure beauty of his native land.

During this time, the appearances which were recognized as the final minutes of the King in pain were not comprehended, but the rising and falling of his chest and the coldness of his cheeks were the things that showed the angel of death was nearing.

At 12:30, the rolling of the eyes of the King was seen, and the constitution of a living person faded, like the passing of the rays of the sun and disappearing; thus these signs of life passed along and disappeared quickly from the features of the King. All the people attending the bed of the King, their eyes watched with great anxiety, with the hope he would utter some words, but their hopes were shattered, because the eyes of the King peacefully closed again.

Shortly after 1:00, Surgeon Woods pronounced the necessity of the efforts to save the life of the King were ended. “Now, friends,” said Surgeon Woods, “we can only wait for the end. He shall not continue breathing for another half hour, and I doubt whether he shall last that span of time.\textsuperscript{1413}

It was during this time that the labored breathing of the King had started to be seen, the beginnings of coldness again emerged in his cheeks, and the beloved hands of his attendants wiped with handkerchiefs, while they stood surrounding the bed of the King. They all understood

\textsuperscript{1413} There is no closing quotation mark in the original text.
this was the end of the King, and they were all watching him without taking their eyes off but for the tears that flowed.

Kalua knelt at the side of the bed, veiling her cheeks in the opening of the coverlet of the King, and releasing her anguish to grieve with tormenting anguish, her body trembled here and there, she did not utter words, only the wretched cries of grief were heard.

And as for Kahikina, the servant who always observed the kapu of her King kneeling at all times when she arrived before him crawling, and now, during this time, she kneels at the side of her King; with eyes filled in grief, gazing at the features that she greatly revered, and she began to sob bowing her head gripping her hair vehemently.\textsuperscript{1414}

In the bed chamber at that time were the Admiral Brown, Consul—General McKinley and wife, the Royal Consort C. R. Bishop; and some ladies and the King’s Attendants, their eyes were wet with the painful distress of tears.

While the Reverend J. Sanders Reed was kneeling, he read the 20\textsuperscript{th} Psalm—“The Lord is my Shepherd.”\textsuperscript{1415} This was heard solemnly, and shortly after, Colonel Macfarlane bowed his head in the presence of the King, looking upon his eyes, saying, “Do you recognize me, my Lord? Do you recognize me?” There were no signs of recognition of the King, but it was as if the eyelashes of the King slightly stirred as though he wanted to show that indeed he recognized his Treasurer, but he was weak and lacked the strength.

At 1:34, the Rev. Mr. Reed said before the saddened gathering: “Shall we all kneel in prayer?” Everyone knelt, and the prayer began with hymns, with little break, and between one of the pauses R. A. Baker stood firmly holding the hands of the King; he spoke to the King, eager to

\textsuperscript{1414} A sign of mourning (\textit{Nānā i ke Kumu II}).

\textsuperscript{1415} This is actually Psalm 23.
see a change again in the mind and consciousness of His Lord, but, he was not able to, because the end would be of short duration.

At that time, the Reverend knelt down at the side of the head of the King, and offered his prayer for the King’s soul, and his prayer was as follows:

“Lord! Jesus Christ! We implore before Thee to lovingly care for your servant, the man whose spirit shall soon approach Thy presence, and we plead that Thou place Thy blessings upon him. Jesus, as Thou led him in this life, in that way wilt Thou receive him into Thy bosom. We commend his spirit into Thy care. Allow him, oh—

And at this time, the prayer went silent and ceased for a few seconds; the faces of everyone rose up, the breath of the King immediately halted, went silent, as though the breath of the King left him. And for half of a minute, the King’s body lay still, and not one utterance was spoken; then, the breast of the King rose again, and the breath renewed again, and his breath returned again, and at that time the Reverend continued his prayers before the Heavens, and he continued his prayer as follows:

“Grant him o Lord eternal life. Lord Jesus, send him Thy eternal Holy Spirit. Grant him a moment of faith, so he may gain Thy graces and Thy compassion. Lord, enter into his heart, and—

At this time, the King’s breath departed the body; and it was his end, but a short time passed, and the King began again to breathe, and life again coursed through his heart, and the Reverend continued again—

“Cleanse his soul. Lord Jesus Christ, remain with him in body, before the Holy of Holies with complete joy. Give him Lord eternal rest.”
The breath of the King was lost again, and his eyes turned up to heaven, the place where the voices in prayer were being offered for him, and solemnity moved over all. A half of a minute lapsed without anyone moving; half of a minute passed again, and an agitated breath emerged from all, Kalakaua the King of Hawaii passed away, and it was 2:00 and 30 minutes that elapsed in the afternoon Tuesday, January 20, in the apartment of the Palace Hotel in San Francisco.

Caption: This picture above is the general appearance of the King at the time his last breath departed in the Palace Hotel, at 2:30 P.M. on the 20th day of January, 1891, taken from a California newspaper.

After the last breath of the King departed, the Crown flag was hoisted to wave from the flagpole of the Palace Hotel, and the American flag was at half mast, and news traveled like lightning through the walls of the city; the doors of the Government Business offices and the merchants’ businesses were closed, flags flown at half mast, and the black symbols of mourning were exhibited. Admiral Brown quickly announced this sad news to the American government in Washington.

CONCERNING THE TRINITY CHURCH

On the morning of Wednesday, after the King’s body was gently laid in a coffin decorated with beautiful adornments, he was returned to the Trinity church to wait for the time he would be taken to the warship Charleston. On this trip, it was said, a deceased person had never been so highly honored in the state of California. The people joined together in great numbers in expressing their grief for the deceased King, and love for the Hawaiian nation. The coffin was escorted by the armed forces and the naval forces, government officials and secret
societies and the masses under the direction of Admiral Brown, and placed within that church guarded by the companies of the Government.

CONCERNING THE WARSHIP CHARLESTON

Within this time, Admiral Brown obtained the order from the Government, to prepare his ship to return the King to the birthplace, and to also direct the Government officials to present all the honors and decorations in the name of the Government and the American people in the funeral entourage to transport the body of the King aboard the Charleston. And it was fulfilled in accordance with that command. There were no solemn and stately processions seen in this land before, the number of people assembled was approximately more than 100,000. In this procession the hushed silence of the people was observed, and their faces displayed—here was a King whom they ardently loved in his lifetime, and sorrowed in his death.

At the commencement of the procession, the mourning guns were fired for one hour from warships and the Fort in the harbor, and in the afternoon was placed aboard the warship Madron, and at 4:00 the remains were placed again on the Charleston, with the playing of the musicians of the government band the national anthem.

During this time, all those aboard were grief-stricken. They stood with their hats removed and heads bowed, and it was strange perhaps their remembering, only a few days past, they had faced the sea with the living King; however before they knew it, the breath of that King was taken, the one who honored their floating home with the crown flag of the Paradise of the Pacific. It was understood, upon glancing at the deck where the King walked, their tears of affection freely fell.
MAKING LANDFALL AGAIN

On the morning of Thursday, the 29th day of January the telegraph transmitted startling news and it spread to all places throughout the city, and the warship Charleston was approaching the outside of Mamala. The confusion and anxiety of the people quickly began, questions asking—Is that really the Charleston? And meanwhile speculations amidst the crowd, lo, the news was revealed again—it was truly the Charleston flags and they were at half mast! The chill of this news was cold, and the heart was indeed stricken. And because of the love of certain groups of people for the King, they doubted the veracity of this news.

But, when 9:00 arrived, the news was displayed in the ensigns of this Charleston to the warship Mohican, and the ensign of said ship was at half-mast, and it was the time impossible to doubt—The King was dead! As for the wharfs along the shore they were completely filled with the people, and when the Charleston slowly entered the entrance of Mamala, it was blanketed by wailing, the grieving voices of the multitudes rent the wings of the heavens.

THE ROYAL HOME

At 5:00 it was decided to transport the body of the King, the people were shoving each other, and it was as though their number perhaps was no fewer than 10,000. The elegant casket of the King was placed upon the skiff of the Charleston, and it was attended by a wondrous and awe-inspiring procession the like of which was never before seen in this Kingdom. The skiffs of the warships moved in a line slowly, under the firing of the cannons of the ship and forts in mourning battery. The place that was prepared for receiving the remains of the King was that

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1416 The Feb. 3, 1891 edition of The Hawaiian Gazette says of Thursday, January 29: “One of the saddest events that Hawaiian historians will ever be called upon to inscribe on the annals of the history of the Hawaiian Kingdom occurred Thursday. [ . . . ] Instead of triumphal arches, gaily decorated with evergreens and inscribed [sic] with joyous inscriptions, the ominously black draped them; instead of gay pleasure-seekers at the ball, mourners will gather at the Palace, and in place of the smiling faces that would have beamed with pleasure and voices strong with cheers, the mournful countenances of the immense gathering, hushed to quietness by awe, lined the way from the wharf to the Palace” (1).
pier of the Steamship Society, the very last place where the King stood on the surface of his land before his departure for the Golden State only four months prior. At this place, the sight of the decorated arch planned to joyously receive him was changed, and became a black facade of mourning. At that time, extreme anguish was seen upon the people, and a black cloud covered the regions of the sky above, and the tears of Kulanihakoi fell, revealing that it was not only those of the earth who felt grief, but those of the heavens also, weeping for the gentle flight of the hopes of Hawaii at the time when the King last departed.

On this dock, hundreds of soldiers and sailors with uniforms and guns of the American warship Charleston, Mohican and Britain’s Nymphe disembarked and stood in a line on each side of Fort Street. At the exact place where the remains of the King were moved, a division of police under the direction of Captain Kamana and Lieutenant Nahoolewa and Kaiana stood in lines; and under the Police Chief of the carriages, Mr. S. Macy, the path was protected from the confusion of the carriages.

The skiff with its catafalque veiled in black proceeded with flowers and garlands that California’s loving hearts had placed upon the casket, until it was on the side of the dock. There the Dignitaries and Ministers of the late King waited, John A. Cummins, C. N. Spencer, Godfrey Brown and A. P. Peterson; the Consul General J. L. Stevens of the United States of America; A. L. Severance, Consul of the United States; F. A. Schaefer, the Head of the Consul in Hawaii; Hon. C. P. Iaukea, the Secretary of the Office of Foreign Ministry; and the many dignitaries.

Upon moorage at the pier, the casket was gently lifted by the hands of soldiers selected among the sailors of the warship Charleston and moving slowly was taken upon the hearse of H. H. Williams, prepared for the occasion, with a team of four black horses.
Hearts were overcome with torment, mourning and sorrow because of the grief; during this time, it was the commencement of the procession as it began to move and the people followed with their tears and voices in grief. The band of the Charleston was at the very head with mournful sounds where it proceeded quietly with the solemn movement of 10,000 people. The Ministers, Admiral Brown and the Chiefs, and the Government officials followed immediately behind the carriage.

When the procession moved along and arrived at the Kauikeauoli gate, the arch of a rainbow of unmatched beauty was seen from the north and to the south of the Royal Palace, and a misty rain fell lightly upon the torches of Iwaikauikaua blazing on every side of the Royal Palace, and in this one moment, the widowed Queen Kapiolani was observed emerging at the entrance above with features that had become stricken by the arrows of anguish, with eyes drenched, waving her hands, and bowing her head wailing at the time her King was entering the gate—“Come!” Alas! The heartbreak. It was this Royal voice with these grieving words that increased the resounding voices of the people, and some of the great wailing heard within the walls of this awe-inspiring enclosure echoed.

Here, the members of the Fire Department Ladder Four formed a line and the members of the Native Sons of Hawaii stood and on the left sides of the steps of the Royal Palace were the Royal Guards, and on the right side the Royal Hawaiian Military Band playing dirges.

It was the warship soldiers who quietly carried the casket of the King and brought it to the crown room. At the Royal Palace prepared for the reception of the mortal remains of the King, were the Hon. J. O. Dominis; the Princess Poomaikalani; Hon. A. S. Cleghorn; the Esteemed J. A. Cummins, the Hon. A. F. Judd, the Supreme Justices McCully, Bickerton and Dole of the Supreme Court; the Hon. J. S. Walker with W. G. Irwin. Between these people were
the Vice Treasurer J. W. Robertson, Colonel J. H. Boyd, Majors J. D. Holt and H. F. Bertlemann and Captain E. K. Lilikalani in their full dress. After the casket was brought into the crown room were the Bishop of Honolulu and the Rev. A. S. Barnes with S. H. Davis of the Church of England.

The casket was brought and placed upon a table prepared in the center of the Throne room. The crown of the deceased King and his sword with the Royal staff lay upon a velvet pillow decorated with gold. When the events were concluded, Admiral Brown with the ship’s Officers were presented before the Queen, and pitiful and completely sorrowful was this moment.

LYING IN STATE

On Friday, January 30, the people were permitted to enter to show their love and Royal reverence. It was extraordinary in the resounding of echoing voices of lament upon the nation. Upon entering, the veiled casket was seen placed with the beautiful old feather cape of the High Chiefess Nahienaena, and another feather cape was draped on the casket; and in the middle of the casket the Royal sword and staff were laid in mourning, and upon it the crown of the King.

Inside of the west entrance of the crown room were two large royal standards, and three were on every side of the casket, four royal standards were at the head turned to the east and three were at the feet turned to the west, and on the sides of the casket were the royal standard bearers. The famous mamo-feathered royal standard called Kaohohaka stood at the head.

At the head, bowing over the casket was the widowed Queen, crying in agony. It was extraordinary to see the love, and nearby was the Queen Liliuokalani with her features that had become stricken by the heavy rains of grief, and the other members of the Royal Court and the
Government officials were surrounding and the picture of this scene shall be seen at the beginning of this book.

This is the conclusion of the events, and the reverence of the royal standards in the day and night began, and the wretched cries of the people mourning within the confines of the Royal enclosure.

From the beginning of its existence the draping of the buildings of the city was never seen as with the death of Kalakaua, signifying he was a King who was greatly loved and admired:

Alas! Beloved Kauliluaikaneuwaialeale,

You quietly passed on to the road of Kane’s invisible beyond;

Covered by sorrow, from Hawaii to Niihau,

The great Nations of the world weep together.

THE ROYAL GRIEF

When the news arrived in the presence of Princess Kaiulani concerning the passing of her Sovereign Uncle, while she was in England, great sorrow befell her young person, and she quickly sent instructions via telegraph to San Francisco, that a wreath of beautiful flowers with the words arranged with fragrant blossoms with these expressions of her love be prepared—“Sympathy in Mourning!” And it would be placed on the coffin. This was fulfilled. Lament the beloved King.

THE LOVING DEED

During the King’s last illness, the news concerning sending a non-native woman to him as a nurse was sent because he was overcome by illness and very destitute. When this person was

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1417 Princess Victoria Kawēkiu Ka‘iulani i Lunalilokalanuluihalapalapa Cleghorn was the daughter of Miriam Kapili Keōkuohi Likelike (sister to Kalākaua) and Archibald Scott Cleghorn. She was attending school at Great Harrowden Hall in Northamptonshire, England at the time of the mō‘ī’s death. Ka‘iulani would die at the age of 23.
presented, the King quickly ordered that all aid be given and that he would be cared for properly until the end. This last compassionate request of love of the King was fulfilled. This woman was Mrs. J. W. Lunning,\textsuperscript{1418} and first lived in Honolulu. It was made known, her husband left her alone ill and destitute. Loving and compassionate was the heart of the King.

THE VERY LAST WORDS OF KING KALĀKAUA PRESERVED IN A PHONOGRAPH

Outside of a very small circle of companions, and attendants of the late King, people were admitted to enter the apartment, it was not understood, however, that it would not be many days before the departure of the final breath of the King. Standing on the side of the bed of the King was a Phonograph. There were many people who had seen that phonograph, but they, nevertheless, did not know the use and nature of that phonograph. During the days when everyone was worried, shortly before the death of the king and while all the knowledge for the comfort for the body of the King was exhausted, the phonograph was positioned on its corner without being looked at, and not remembered except by the Treasurer and personal Secretary of the King.

When that phonograph was brought to the suite by Treasurer Macfarlane it was a week before the death of the King. He first explained to the King the nature of the functions of that phonograph, with his request to the King that he should speak frequently into that phonograph instead of a transcriber. It was not known that the end of the King was near, but he was strongly urged that it was imperative that he speak frequently into the phonograph, since the days following great happiness would be obtained by his people in again hearing the voice of their

\textsuperscript{1418} Mrs. J. W. Luning had been suffering from “ulcerations of the stomach” beginning in October 1890, and during this time Kalākaua was informed of her situation. He was “indignant over the case, and directed that a sufficient sum be sent to the unfortunate woman at once to relieve her immediate necessities and soothe her dying hours” (“An Abandoned Wife. J. W. Luning of Honolulu and His Departure. A Woman Dying in Misery.” \textit{Ka Nupepa Elele}. 31 Jan. 1891: 2). The woman, once in possession of tremendous wealth, had been abandoned by her husband in November 1890, who fled to Honolulu.
deceased Sovereign. It was not thought of by the King and his Treasurer that a short duration from the moment that a few sentences were spoken into that phonograph would become a very important thing.

When the King consented he rose and sat upright, and started in the horn where he was to speak and spoke with great care in his mother tongue for ten minutes, and the head of the King fell back onto the pillow in exhaustion, but the King spoke, however, and as soon as he regained some fortitude he would speak again in order to complete his earlier words. On the next day, the anxieties concerning an important banquet held for honoring the King in the California Hotel grew and therefore that phonograph was forgotten. On the next day there was a new banquet honoring the King; because of that reason the phonograph was again forgotten.

After this time until the time when the Royal lips were sealed, Treasurer Macfarlane and Secretary Baker waited patiently greatly desiring that the healthy thoughts of the King return again so that new words could be obtained in that phonograph.

On Wednesday the day after the breath of the King departed, the phonograph operator was ordered to come, and upon his arrival some of the recordings from the phonograph were played and this thing was removed and given to Colonel Baker, the thing that he greatly cherished as though it was his own life.

When the King’s body was returned aboard the warship Charleston, Colonel Baker also returned that precious possession, because the value of those words of the voice of the late King exceeded all pearls.

Caption:
The picture above is the likeness of the King, which was taken from a California newspaper, attached after his lantern slide photographed on the 27th day of December, 1890.
NOTES OF KING KALAKAUA’S TRIP THROUGH SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

By George P. Blow, U. S. Navy, Secretary and Aide to Commander in Chief, Pacific Station.

December 26, 1890.—Detailed by Rear-Admiral George Brown, U. S. Navy, to accompany Royal party through Southern California, “to see that His Majesty receives the respect and attention due his rank,” and to render “such assistance as may be in your power.” This detail was made at the request of His Majesty.

Saturday, December 27th.—At 4 p. m., took the ferry for Oakland, and boarded the private car “Sacramento” which had been kindly loaned by Mr. A. N. Towne, Vice-President of the Southern Pacific R. R. Co. The party consisted of the following persons:

His Majesty King Kalakaua, King of Hawaii.

Colonel G. W. Macfarlane, H. M.’s Chamberlain.

Colonel R. H. Baker, H. M.’s Aide, etc.

George P. Blow, Secretary and Aide to Admiral Brown.

George Whitney of Oakland, California.

East, H. M.’s Valet, and two servants belonging to the car.

The party was accompanied as far as Vallejo Junction, by Admiral Brown, Medical Inspector Woods, and Lieutenant Field. On telling the King good-bye, Admiral Brown said that all the necessary arrangements had been made, that all the railroad officials had been instructed by telegraph to show His Majesty every mark of respect and to make the trip as pleasant as possible, and that every contingency had been foreseen and provided for. He also promised to join the party at Santa Barbara, if not sooner. Dined in the private car and retired early.

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1419 This is a copy of George Blow’s original letter to Cummins.
Sunday. December 28th.—Passed a pleasant and comfortable night and rose about 9 o’clock. The weather during the day was warm and pleasant, and overcoats were all discarded. His Majesty was much interested with the country and delighted with the climate, and said that he felt better than at any time since he had landed. He sat on the rear platform of the car, smoking, and seemed in excellent spirits. At each small town, crowds of people were waiting to see His Majesty. The King was frequently cheered by these people, and seemed much pleased and gratified at the good will thus shown.

Arrived at Los Angeles about 2 p. m., and found a large crowd waiting to receive us. A large delegation, headed by Mayor Hazard, General McCook, and members of the various City Boards and Exchanges, came on board and were presented to the King. They stated that a crowd of 5000 people were waiting at the other depot to receive us and that they would be greatly disappointed at our passing through the city without having a chance to see the King. An invitation was given and accepted to visit Los Angeles on the way back to San Francisco.

At about 9 o’clock reached San Diego, and were met by an immense crowd. The city, headed by Mayor Gunn, conducted the party to carriages, and, preceded by the State Militia and Brass band, escorted the King to the Coronado Hotel. After an informal reception of the officers of the Militia, the King retired for the night.

Monday, December 29th.—The King passed a good night and rose early and took a walk around the Hotel. He expressed himself as much pleased with the climate and the hotel, and seemed in good spirits. He said he had rested really well and felt much stronger than when in San Francisco.

During the forenoon, held a reception in the hotel parlors, when the Officers of the U. S. Army, stationed at San Diego, and the guests of the Hotel, were present.
At 1 o’clock, the City Officials took the party to drive around the City, and to visit the Chamber of Commerce. Returned to the Hotel and dined quietly in a private room. The King was enthusiastic over what he had seen, and denied being tired. Soon after 10 o’clock, however, he retired to his room.

Tuesday, December 30th.—King passed a quiet night and rose early. He seemed to be in good spirits and spoke frequently of the climate and future prospects of the City of San Diego. He referred to some charts which I had gotten from Washington for him, and asked many questions as to the advantages to be derived from a cable and steamer line to this point.

At 3:30 p. m. went to a Masonic dinner, given by Mr. McLure of San Diego. During the dinner, which lasted until 7 o’clock, the King was particularly bright, and toasted his hosts in a short speech. After the dinner, he visited the local Masonic lodge, accompanied by Mr. Whitney and the other Masonic guests.

About 10:30 he returned to the Hotel, saying that he had passed a most agreeable evening, and soon after retired.

Wednesday, December 31st.—At 9 o’clock, accompanied by a party of ladies and gentlemen, took a special car which had been tendered by Mr. Babcock, and visited the famous Sweet-water Dam, and then went down to Tia Juana and crossed the Mexican boundary line. The King was shown the Dam by Mr. Babcock and was greatly interested in the method of its construction, and the system of irrigation in use. Arrived at the Coronado about 5 o’clock and soon after went to dinner in private room.

At 8:30 attended a Musical Entertainment in the Ball Room, given in his honor. After the music the ball commenced, but the King seemed slightly tired from his long ride, and shortly
after 10:30 left the room and retired for the night, stating that as he was going to leave early in
the morning, he would get as much sleep as possible.

Thursday, January 1st, 1891.—At 7 a.m. boarded the Private Car Sacramento, and started
on our return North. Arrived at Riverside early in the afternoon, and were met by Mr. Johnson
and friends, who conducted the party (excepting myself) through the orange groves and
explained the whole system of orange culture to His Majesty. The party returned to the
Sacramento about 5:30 p.m. delighted with their trip. Dined quietly in the car and at 8 p.m. went
to the Opera as guests of Mr. Johnson, to hear Emma Juch in Faust. The King seemed to enjoy
this greatly, and asked to have Miss Juch presented, when he thanked her for the pleasure she
had given him. Returned to the car about 11 p.m. and all retired.

Friday, January 2nd.—Spent a pleasant night on the car, which started early in the
morning for San Bernadino and Pasadena. Breakfasted on the train about 8:30 and spent the
forenoon in talking and watching the country. On our arrival at San Bernadino, the King and
Colonel Macfarlane took a short drive with the Mayor of the City. During their absence it was
found that the overland train was late about 3 hours, and our arrival at Pasadena would be
delayed unless we could get a special engine. Upon requesting the proper officials, the President
of the California Central R. R. ordered the track cleared and sent a special engine to take us
through to Pasadena. This run was made at the rate of 65 miles an hour, and it was necessary to
slow down for lunch, which we had in the special car.

Arrived at Pasadena about 1 p.m. and drove to the Raymond, where rooms had been
engaged in advance. Here, for the first time, the King acknowledged himself tired and undressed
himself and went to bed, and had a good sleep until dinner time. Dined at 6 p.m. and at 7:10
started for Los Angeles to attend the opera. The King seemed to have entirely recovered from his
fatigue, and was bright and cheerful. We were met at the depot by Mayor Hazard, General McCook and staff and other officials, who conducted the party to the Opera House. During the opera (Emma Juch as Carmen) the King was particularly bright and pleasant, and after the first act, when the Prima Donna was called before the curtain, he personally presented her with a bouquet, to show his appreciation of her acting and singing. After the opera the party was entertained at a light oyster supper which lasted about an hour, when the party returned to the depot and took the train for the Raymond, arriving there about one o’clock a. m. The King was cheerful and talked a great deal on the way back to the Raymond, and showed no signs of fatigue. He retired at once on his arrival at the hotel.

Saturday, January 3rd.—Took the morning train and arrived at Los Angeles at 9:55 a. m., where we were met by the same city and military officials and driven back to the Hollenbeck Hotel, as guests of the city of Los Angeles.

Had a quiet lunch at the hotel at 1 o’clock, and at 2 p. m. started out for a drive around the city, accompanied by all the city, State and military officials. Having received a telegram from Admiral Brown that he would arrive by the 2:55 train, I drove in company with Major Bonebreak to the depot to meet him. On his arrival we started out to overtake the rest of the party, and finding that we were ahead of them, went to Major Bonebreak’s house to wait for them. They arrived soon after and light refreshments were served, and the party dispersed.

Had a light dinner at the hotel, and at 6:30 received General McCook and staff in the parlor. At 7 p. m. accompanied by the General and his staff, Admiral Brown, Mayor Hazard and various city officials, went to the City Hall, where a public reception was held, lasting until about 9.
At this reception, it is estimated that between 5000 and 6000 people were present, and that the King shook hands with the majority of this number. During this time he showed no signs of being tired, but really seemed to enjoy the novel sensation of shaking hands with an American crowd. He also had the pleasure of meeting and talking to one or two persons whom he had known in the Islands or had seen there on a visit.

At about 9:30, escorted by the same officials, he drove to the California Club to attend the banquet prepared in his honor.

During the banquet, which by special request of His Majesty ended at midnight (the next day being Sunday) the King was in unusually bright spirits. He talked much more than usual, showed no signs of fatigue (notwithstanding his busy day) outlined the speeches which were made at his request by Colonel Macfarlane and myself, translated a speech made in Hawaiian by Colonel Baker, and finally at the close of the dinner, he rose and made a short and very able speech himself, thanking the people of Los Angeles for their courtesy, and inviting them all to visit the Hawaiian Islands.

The banquet closed with all the honors given the King, and shortly after midnight the party returned to the Private Car for the night. It had been the intention of the party to stay at the hotel, but at the suggestion of Admiral Brown, that, as we had to start so early in the morning, it would be better to sleep on the car, we adopted his idea and went at once to the depot.

His Majesty’s high spirits still continued, and he remained up, smoking and talking to the rest of the party until after 2 o’clock, when he retired because he was afraid that he was keeping the rest of us awake.

This was the last time that he was really well and in his usual spirits.
As Admiral Brown will give a detailed account of the trip from the time he joined the party, which time may be considered as almost identical with the real beginning of His Majesty’s last illness, I will close these notes.

Before doing so, however, I will say in recapitulation, that the weather had been perfect during the whole time since leaving San Francisco. The temperature was moderate, being about 70°, and there were no cold winds. On starting from San Francisco, His Majesty had quite a severe cold. This cold had almost, if not quite, disappeared by the time we reached Santa Barbara.

During the trip he had been cheerful and talkative, and seemed to enjoy greatly what he saw. He spoke frequently of Admiral Brown, wishing that he could have taken the whole trip, and referring to the great obligations under which he found himself, for the latter’s continued kindness and courtesy ever since he had embarked on the Charleston.

At the many dinners, banquets, and other entertainments which he attended, the King ate very little, and generally drank nothing. On several occasions he even responded to toasts with water. On other occasions he would simply raise his glass of champagne to his lips in drinking toasts. On being asked why he drank nothing, he would reply, “I promised the Admiral not to drink anything.”

Twice only, did I notice any symptoms of his disease (this from late revelations). On December 31st, at dinner, and once when lunching on the train, he seemed to be in a light doze for a few moments. On inquiry, however, I was told that he had frequently done so in Honolulu, before his departure for California. As the character of his disease was not even then suspected, I was reassured by this statement, and gave it no further thought. In each of the above cases, he rallied at once when spoken to and became bright and cheerful again almost immediately.
The King was subjected to no fatigue, carriages being always provided for beforehand, and, up to the time of his arrival at Santa Barbara, had probably not walked a quarter of a mile altogether.

In conclusion, I wish to state that every attention was paid to his Majesty and party, both by private and public people. At every point we were met by kindness and hospitality, and our trouble was in declining the innumerable invitations without hurting the feelings of our would-be hosts. The railroad officials were particularly kind and considerate in their attentions, and too much credit cannot be given them for their courtesy. The state and City authorities did all in their power to make His Majesty’s trip a grand success, and large delegations of these officials, together with representative men from the different City Boards and Exchanges, met the train at every stopping place to extend the hospitalities of their cities. Among all this kindness and goodwill the attentions of the Officers of the U. S. Army (we met no Navy, as we did not go to any Naval Station) were conspicuous. Every attention allowed by the Army regulations was paid although it was known that His Majesty was traveling incognito. This was particularly the case in San Diego, and Los Angeles. His Majesty appreciated these courtesies and frequently spoke of them.

Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
GEO. P. BLOW
Secretary and Aide to Commander-in-Chief Pacific Station.

His Excellency,
JOHN A. CUMMINS,
Minister of Foreign Affairs,
Kingdom of Hawaii.
KALAKAUA!

The thunder cracks upon the foundation of the earth,

Lightning flashes shaking the heavens,

The heavy torrents of tears wither the forest,

The severing wind blows, scattering the flowers,

The intense grief spreads among the people,

Carrying the burden of sorrow,

Bowing in affectionate grief,

Farewell Kalanikauilua the Open-Hearted Wohi Chief!

Kauliluiakeanuewaiaale, indeed mournful agony!

KING KALAKAUA’S TRIP TO SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Written by George P. Blow, Secretary and Aide of the Admiral of the Pacific of the American War Fleets

December 26, 1890. The entourage was organized by Admiral Brown, to escort the Royal entourage in Southern California with careful attention to the bestowal of honors to His Majesty appropriate to His title.

Saturday, December 27. At 4 P. M. the Royal entourage boarded a ferry along the river for Oakland, and boarded a special train generously loaned by Mr. A. N. Towne, Vice-President of the Southern Pacific Railroad.

The entourage is as follows: His Majesty King Kalakaua of Hawaii [sic], Colonel G. W. Macfarlane, Treasurer of the King; Colonel R. H. Baker, Attendant of the King, etc.; G. P. Blow, Secretary and Aide of Admiral Brown; G. E. Whitney of Oakland, California; Kahikina, Valet of

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1420 This is the English version of Poepoe’s translation of Blow’s original letter.
the King and two servants aboard the train. The Royal entourage was escorted by Admiral Brown, Dr. Woods and Lieutenant Field until arriving at Vallejo Junction. At that place greeting formalities were exchanged along with Admiral Brown’s revealing that everything was prepared in advance for the comfort of the Royal entourage; meanwhile, all of the Railroad Officials were previously telegraphed for them to display their honors to the King appropriate to His title. He confirmed, however, that he would rejoin with the entourage in Santa Barbara. Lunched aboard the train, and immediately returned to relax.

Sunday, December 28. Slept the night contented, and awoke at 9 in the morning, that awakening was pleasant and warm, meanwhile we removed warm clothes. The delight and admiration of His Majesty the King for the beauty of the features of the land and the coolness of the air were marked. The King spoke, for the first time He felt very great enjoyment since His arrival. He sat on the seat of the very last car smoking, and upon recollection the features of the King were truly fine. In every little city large numbers of people gathered to see the King; they filled the place with their hurrahs. Truly the people were indeed pleasing to the King.

Arriving at Los Angeles at 2 P. M., lo, a large crowd was waiting to greet us. A group of people proceeded led by Mayor Hazard (Mayor of the city) and General McCook, and numerous members of the societies; they boarded the train, and were taken to meet the King. They also informed [us] that some 5,000 people already gathered together to wait to see the King, therefore, they requested that we kindly allot time for those people to meet the King. They sent a proclamation, and it was confirmed while the journey returned, then the entourage would visit Los Angeles.

At 9, we arrived in San Diego, and a large crowd of people were waiting. All of the prominent people proceeded to a place led by Mayor Gunn, and the Band, and they entertained
the Royal entourage until the Coronado Hotel. Shortly after the formal introductions the King retired for the night.

Monday, December 29. The King slept comfortably that evening, and the next morning. He walked the grounds of the Hotel. The King indicated his pleasure and His appreciation for the character of that place. He also indicated His strength and His comfort were much better in this place than in San Francisco.

A Royal reception was held in the lobby of the Hotel, and the people who attended were the officers of the Warship America, while that ship was anchored at this place, and the guests of the Hotel came down.

At 1 P. M. the Royal entourage was brought by a horse-drawn carriage by the dignitaries of the city, to visit the many businesses of the city. After returning, a reception was held in a private room. The King expressed His great joy for the things he had seen, and at 10 in the evening the King and companions rose from the reception, and retired.

Tuesday, December 30. The King slept well, and arose very early in the morning. His health was fine, and he discussed the great benefits of this city in the future, and the continued appreciation for the agreeable climate. He asked me about some maps which I had forgotten in Washington, with the intention to bring them for Him, and he also asked me concerning the great wealth to be obtained from this place if an ocean telegraph cable was laid along with its steam ship lines.

At 3:30 P. M. the Royal entourage attended a Masonic Dinner given by Mr. McLure of San Diego. That assembly was conducted until 7 P. M., and within that time the King was still content, offering His good wishes, toasting with eloquence. After dismissal, the King toured the
Masonic lodges of the city,\textsuperscript{1421} His entourage was escorted by Mr. Whitney, and some fellow masons.

At 10 P. M. the King returned to the Hotel, saying, He was very pleased and immediately returned to sleep.

Wednesday, December 31. At 9, the King boarded a train accommodated by Mr. Babcock, and was escorted by some ladies and gentlemen to visit some dams, and from there arrived at Tia Juana upon the border of Mexico. It was Mr. Babcock who showed the King the dam, and great was the King’s appreciation. Arrived again at the Hotel Coronado at 5 P. M., and following dinner, retired for relaxation.\textsuperscript{1422}

At 8:30, the King went to a Concert held in a ballroom, given in His honor. After the completion of the Concert, a ball commenced, and at 10:30, the King concluded His enjoyment, while He was rather fatigued because of that lengthy journey traveled, and returned to rest, with His commenting that He would be leaving on a trip early the next morning, therefore, He wished to obtain a good rest.

Thursday, January 1, 1891. At 7 A. M. the Royal entourage boarded the train Sacramento for the start of their return trip. Arrived at Riverside before noon. At that place the King went to tour the large orange orchards, and great was the admiration of the King. At 8 P. M. the King went to see and listen to the Opera Singer Emma Juch in Faust,\textsuperscript{1423} and great was the appreciation of the King for this woman, and the King requested Miss Juch be brought before Him, so that He may extend His praise to her because of the joy the King was granted from her fine singing. The private car returned at 11 P. M., and everyone went to sleep.

\textsuperscript{1421} The English letter says a single Masonic lodge.
\textsuperscript{1422} Two years after the Hotel del Coronado opened its doors Kalākaua would be its first royal guest.
\textsuperscript{1423} Born in Vienna in 1865 while her American parents were visiting Austria, Emma Antonia Juch returned to America and later became a famous professional opera singer. She opened the Emma Juch Grand English Opera Company in 1886.
Friday, January 2, 1891. The evening was passed in contentedness in the car, and it immediately then departed for San Bernadino and Pasadena. Breakfasted on board at 8:30 A. M. The morning was passed in discussion glancing at the expansive breadth of the land. When we came upon San Bernadino, the King went escorted by Colonel Macfarlane and the Mayor of that city. When they had moved onward, news was obtained that the private car of the moving line was very late, and for that reason we would fall behind three hours, and our arrival in Pasadena would be delayed if we did not obtain a special car. By requesting this of the Supervisors of the Railroad, the President immediately ordered a railway be set aside, and another engine was ordered to be quickly brought to us. The distance that we traveled, 65 miles were traveled in 1 hour.

At 1 P. M., we arrived in Pasadena—sleeping apartments were already prepared for the Royal entourage at that place. Here, the King for the first time revealed his exhaustion, therefore, He immediately undressed and quickly went to sleep, and at 6 P. M. the King was well rested, and at that time he [took his dinner]; at 7:10, departed for Los Angeles to travel to see the Opera, the features of the King displayed the good health of his person. At a depot, we met with Mayor Hazark, Colonel McCook and escorts, and it was they who took the Royal entourage to the opera, and the Actress that night was (Emma Juch as Carmen). At the time when the curtain was drawn a youthful delight rose up in the evening’s merriment of Halāli‘i, the King personally handed a Bouquet of flowers to the beauty of the evening, expressing His great appreciation for the fine beauty of the singer, with the merriment similar to that of the singing of O’u. Shortly after the conclusion of the opera, the Royal entourage was welcomed at an oyster supper, and

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1424 Blow first writes the mayor’s name was Hazard and then as Hazark here.
1425 Pukui and Elbert say Halāli‘i was the “name of a pleasure-loving chief of Ni‘ihau in ancient times. His name became synonymous with fun-making” (Hawaiian Dictionary 51).
when one hour passed, the Royal entourage boarded the train for Raymond, and arrived there at 1 in the early morning. Upon arrival, the King quickly retired.

Saturday, January 3. In the early morning, boarded the train and arrived in Los Angeles at 9:55 A. M., and the entourage was welcomed by the officials who had previously received them, and was taken to the Hotel Hollenbeck, as visitors to the city of Los Angeles. At 1 light meal, and at 2, started on horse carriages to tour throughout the city. And meanwhile, I received a telegram from Admiral Brown, saying he would arrive by train at 2:55; therefore, I went with Major Bonebreak to the depot to meet the Admiral. Upon his arrival, we traveled together by carriage to meet up with the Royal entourage that had gone ahead, and on our realization that we had passed [them] by, we returned to the home of Major Bonebreak to relax and await those people. Not much time passed before they arrived, and at that time, a dining table was presented laden with all delicacies and upon completion of this meal, they were released to their leisure.

At 6:30 P. M. quickly dined at the Hotel. Afterwards, General McCook and his staff were welcomed in the parlor of the Hotel. At 7 P. M. the Royal entourage departed escorted by General McCook and his staff, Admiral Brown, Mayor Hazard and the officials of the city to City Hall, while a Royal reception was held there.

Perhaps between 5,000 and 6,000 people arrived at this Royal reception, and the King shook hands with half of the majority of this great multitude. During this time, the weakness in the King’s person was not at all visible.

At 9:30, the King went escorted by the staff previously mentioned at the California Club, to personally honor the King there, while a banquet was held there in His honor.

The festivities of this banquet were continued until the wee hours of the early morning. At this banquet, many speeches were given, and through the King’s insistence Colonel
Macfarlane gave a speech, and I also, and Colonel Baker in Hawaiian translated by the King personally, and upon dismissal, the King gave a short speech with true erudition, with His expressing His deepest regard for all of the people of Los Angeles, and also inviting them as visitors to come to the Islands of Hawaii in the near future.

At the dismissal, every honor was conferred upon His Majesty the King, and the entourage returned to the train. It was originally considered to return to the hotel to sleep, but, at Admiral Brown’s suggestion, consequently we would leave for our journey in the early morning; therefore, it would be necessary to sleep aboard the train, and thus we quickly consented.

Meanwhile the fine health of the King continued, therefore, so He kept himself awake with conversation with companions until 2 in the early morning. The reason for the King’s return to sleep was because of His fear that He would keep some of us awake. This was the very last time that the truly good health of the King was seen.

So that the things that were explained by Admiral Brown would be in accordance, it is he who will clarify from the very first time that the Royal journey began, and recognize the very first occurrence of the weakness of the King. Therefore, I end my account here.

Before the conclusion, however, I will make known that the climate leaving San Francisco was fine, hence the winds were not cold, and the condition of the climate was 70 degrees. When the King departed San Francisco, He was stricken with a very virulent cold, but this cold was nearly gone when we arrived in Santa Barbara.

On the entire journey, He was always happy, greatly desirous for conversation. He continuously spoke of Admiral Brown concerning his kind efforts and generosity to him from his initial embarkation aboard the Charleston. At the receptions and banquets that the King attended, He conversed much, however, he did not eat much, and he touched very little alcohol.
When it was asked of him the reason for his abstaining from drinking, this was his reply:

“I guaranteed Admiral Brown, that I would not drink anything.”

There were only two times when I recognized the nature of the illness of the King. The first was on the 31st of December, and another time dining aboard the train, that is, His falling into a dozing sleep. I, however, heard the King was continuously stricken by that condition in his time in Honolulu, prior to his travel to California. In my recollection of that peculiarity of the King, the nature of the illness of the King was clearly understood by me, because of the two times when He dozed off mentioned previously, He quickly awoke as though He did not sleep, and immediately began to be content in his conversation.

In conclusion, it is necessary for me to say, His Majesty the King and his escorts were respectfully cared for everywhere the King traveled. Honors were presented to him by Government Officials and prominent people everywhere. We faced only one dilemma, that is the declining of many invitations. But in all things, the hospitalities and open hearts of the hosts were extended. The Officials of the Railroads made a great effort to provide for the comfort of His Majesty the King in all ways, that is in all places where the trains depot, great care was taken so that the King would not be kept waiting, therefore there was no opportunity that I could say that the kindness bestowed for the comfort and honor of the King and his Escorts were insufficient in any way. Amidst the comforts extended, it is necessary that appreciation be given to the Royal officers of the warship American Army. His Majesty the King’s gratitude for the courtesies extended to him was considerable.

With gratitude,
Your obedient servant,
GEO. P. BLOW

Secretary and Aide to the Commander in Chief of the Pacific Ocean
NOTES ON HIS MAJESTY’S TRIP TO SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA. FROM LOS ANGELES TO SAN FRANCISCO.\textsuperscript{1426}

By Rear-Admiral George Brown, United States Navy.

I joined the Royal Party at Los Angeles, on the afternoon of Saturday, January 3d, 1891, at the house of Major Bonebrake,\textsuperscript{1427} where refreshments were served, and then the drive around the city and Park was continued.

In the evening there were the public reception at the City Hall, and the banquet at the California Club, already noted by Mr. Blow. After we reached the private car “Sacramento,” then on the side track with beds made up ready for occupying, about 1 a. m. on the morning of the 4\textsuperscript{th}, His Majesty was in unusually good spirits, and sat talking with the party about the events of the day, and at the same time smoking his pipe, until 2 a. m., when he retired.

Our car was attached to the regular train leaving Los Angeles at 7:25 a. m. About 8 a. m., I entered His Majesty’s stateroom and found him bright and cheerful. He was dressed by 9 a. m. and sat in the rear end of the car, talking and enjoying the scenery. At 11 a. m. we sat down to our lunch and His Majesty ate a good meal. Before we had finished the train stopped at Carpenteria, 11 miles from Santa Barbara, and our car was boarded by a committee of citizens of Santa Barbara, among them being Mayor Barber and Dr. McNulty. Colonel Macfarlane left the breakfast table and received them, and soon afterwards attended His Majesty to the rear end of the car, when the committee were presented. Dr. McNulty, having attended the King professionally some years ago, was warmly received by him, and the two conversed together until the train reached Santa Barbara about noon. There was an immense crowd of people at the depot, from which place our party was driven to the Arlington Hotel in open carriages. The first carriage contained His Majesty, Mayor Barber, Colonel Macfarlane and myself.

\textsuperscript{1426} This is a copy of Admiral Brown’s original letter to Cummins.
\textsuperscript{1427} While Blow spelled the major’s surname as Bonebreak, Brown spelled it this way.
On our arrival at the hotel we were ushered into the parlor, and when the whole party had entered, His Majesty was presented with the freedom of the city in the form of an address by Major Barber. His Majesty soon sat down, and on being told by the Mayor that carriages were at his disposal for a drive around the city at any time he might name, he thanked the Mayor, and turning to me said, “Admiral, don’t you think I had better rest this afternoon.” I said, “Yes, Your Majesty, if you feel so inclined.” About 1:30 he retired to his room, and was not disturbed until about 5:30, when I entered and told him that dinner had been ordered for 6:30, and that he had an hour in which to get ready. I learned that at about 4:30 His Majesty had taken a cup of tea and some toast.

At 6:30, we dined, but His Majesty did not eat as much as usual, and said very little while at table. At about 8 p. m. he retired for the night.

Engagements for Monday the 5th instant, embraced a drive to the olive and fruit farm of Mr. Elwood Cooper, 12 miles from Santa Barbara, and the start was to be made at 9 o’clock. About 7:30, I entered His Majesty’s parlor and found him in his underclothes, sitting on the sofa, trying to light his pipe. I said “Good morning, Your Majesty, I hope you had a good night’s rest.” I noticed that something was wrong with him, for he looked at me with a vacant and almost idiotic stare, as if he had never seen me before, but in a few seconds he recognized me. I asked him if he had ordered his breakfast and he said no. I told him that I would do so if he would tell me what he wanted. He answered “tea,” and I told him that I would also order some eggs, as he had a long drive before him.

I at once went to Colonel Macfarlane’s room and told him that all was not right with the King, and told of my visit to him. Between that time and 9:30, when the King entered the carriage, I went to his room three or four times, and found that he was making preparations for
the drive, although I told him that if he did not feel well, he had better give up going out. He said that he would go.

About 9 o’clock, Dr. McNulty arrived at the Hotel and informed me that he was not feeling well, and would therefore not go with us. I told him that I considered it imperative that he should go, and in the carriage with the King, as he was not well. I took Dr. McNulty to the King’s room and he said that the fresh air would do him no harm, and would probably brighten the King up. After urgent solicitation the doctor decided to go with us.

We rode in a four-horse carriage, with the front part up and the rear part down. His Majesty and Dr. McNulty occupied the rear seats, and Colonel Macfarlane and myself the front seats. I sat directly opposite His Majesty. There was a gentle breeze blowing, but the weather as warm (temperature 60°). I very soon noticed that His Majesty was very drowsy. I gave him a cigar which he lighted with difficulty, as he could not exercise force enough to draw it. He soon fell asleep and would awake at frequent intervals and relight his cigar, which would die out while he dozed. This condition continued during the greater part of the twelve mile drive, which occupied two and a quarter hours. At frequent intervals, His Majesty endeavored to expectorate, but did not appear to have the power to eject the saliva (which was thick and almost froth). He tried to take his handkerchief out of his left outside breast pocket of his overcoat with his right hand, but could not do so. On these occasions I took his handkerchief out and wiped his lips and chin for him.

On reaching Mr. Cooper’s residence, His Majesty was welcomed by Mr., Mrs. and Miss Cooper, and invited into the parlor. He talked but little while in the parlor, but seemed interested in books of photographs of local scenery that were shown him. At the invitation of Mrs. Cooper, the party went out to see the botanical garden, and I accompanied the King, holding his left arm
as his step was unusually feeble and very short. He evinced some interest in what was shown him, at the same time showing a desire to terminate the walk by turning towards the house and not following Mrs. Cooper. When we reached the house the King sat down on the floor of a porch as if very much fatigued. Mr. Cooper at once invited him to the parlor, where he sat down for about ten minutes, when all went to luncheon in the dining room. Mr. Cooper sat at the head of the table, His Majesty on the right, with Col. Macfarlane next to him. I sat on Mr. Cooper’s left and immediately opposite the King. He ate very little and did not touch the champagne which had been poured out for him. He very soon became drowsy and went to sleep. I made signs to Col. Macfarlane and he aroused the King two or three times. As soon as lunch was over, the carriages were ordered, and while they were being hitched up, the party started on foot for the olive oil mill, about 300 yards distant. I walked with the King, holding tightly to his left arm. His step was slow, and it appeared difficult for him to lift his right foot. He did not appear to be at all interested in the working of the oil mill and process of manufacture of the olive oil, although he had some days previously expressed a strong desire to learn all he could on the subject, as he told me that he thought the olive tree would flourish in Hawaii.

The carriage being ready we said good-bye to Mr. Cooper, but in doing so, His Majesty failed to follow his usual custom of thanking Mr. Cooper for his hospitality and kindness. He merely shook Mr. Cooper’s hand. We drove into the city in about two hours, and during this time the King became more and more drowsy and slept nearly all the time, the intervals between naps being fewer and of less duration. As we entered the city Col. Macfarlane and I managed to keep him from sleeping.

We reached the Hotel about 5 P. M., and His Majesty retired at once to his bed. At the request of Colonel Macfarlane and myself, Dr. McNulty took charge of the King professionally,
and was very attentive to him. I saw His Majesty several times that evening and night, but, as he was sleeping, I did not speak to him. The medicines given him operated freely during the night, and during next day (Tuesday) he remained in bed or in his parlor all the time until near sunset, when he dressed and sat on the veranda for about an hour.

On this day, Tuesday, January 6th, 1891, His Majesty was to have driven to the Hot Springs, and to have lunched with Mr. and Mrs. Warren, whom he had met at Honolulu. This engagement was cancelled at the advice of Dr. McNulty. That evening His Majesty said that he felt much better, and that he was equal to keeping his engagements. Consequently, at 8 o’clock, he held a public reception in the parlor, and at 9 P. M. entered the ball-room and took his seat in a large chair on a raised platform on the side of the room. As the guests filed by, the King stood up, bowed to the guests as they were presented, but shook hands with only a few of them. Then a Commander of Knights Templars marched into the room, halted, faced and saluted the King, and was presented in a body. Subsequently, several Knights and their wives were presented by name.

The dancing commenced at 9:45, and immediately after the first quadrille, His Majesty, accompanied by Colonel Macfarlane and myself, retired from the ball-room and went to bed for the night. Shortly after this time Dr. McNulty called on the King, and after his visit, Colonel Macfarlane and I had consultation with the doctor as to the King’s condition, and as to the probability of his being able to start for San Francisco at 10 o’clock on the following morning as arranged for. Colonel Macfarlane asked what effect the jolting of the car would have. The doctor said that he would decide whether the King should start when he called early the next morning.

Colonel Macfarlane suggested to the doctor that he should accompany us to San Francisco, and I advised him to do so. The doctor said that he would gladly do so if he, after his visit the next morning, thought it necessary. Both myself and Colonel Macfarlane urged that he
should go, no matter what the King’s condition was found to be next morning, and the doctor consented to accompany us. This he did, and administered medicines during the trip.

Wednesday morning, the 7th, the King was much improved in every respect, his step bring more natural and his mind much brighter. We left Santa Barbara at 10 A. M., and for nearly an hour the King sat in a chair on the rear platform of the car. I was with him at this time, and considered that his condition improved every minute. He smoked his pipe frequently during the day, and ate considerably at the noon meal, and also at dinner about 6:30 P. M.

The following morning, Thursday, the 8th, he was up and dressed by 9 o’clock, at which time Mr. Blow and I left the car at Vallejo Junction and went up to the Navy Yard.

I did not go to the city on Friday, the 9th, but went there on Saturday, the 10th. I found His Majesty much improved, and Dr. McNulty still with him. I remained with the King until 3:30 P. M., when I went back to the Navy Yard. Dr. McNulty left at the same time for his home in Santa Barbara, and requested me to ask Fleet Surgeon George Woods to take charge of the case. This I did, on my return to the Charleston, as His Majesty had also expressed a desire to have Dr. Woods attend him.

Tuesday, the 13th, I spent all the day at the Palace Hotel, Dr. Woods being in constant attendance. During the forenoon the King told me that he had given up his contemplated trip to Sacramento, as the dinner was to be given that evening in San Francisco.

Mr. Gillig and Mr. Unger arrived at the Hotel, and I met them in Col. Macfarlane’s room before they saw the King. I explained to them that the King was a very sick man and that they, as friends of his, should not for one moment think of taking him to dinner that day—that Dr. Woods protested against it, but as they knew how determined and headstrong the King was, and that, as
it would be almost suicidal for him to go to their dinner, they could show their friendship for him by postponing the dinner.

They, however, insisted that the dinner could not be postponed, and said that the King could go to the California Hotel, show himself to the ladies of the party, and leave as soon as he was inclined to do so. Then before these gentlemen saw the King, I introduced them to Doctor Woods, who, in my presence, told them that under no circumstances would he consent to his patient going out that evening. They then saw the King and arranged for him to attend the dinner.

I was invited, as was also Mr. Blow. I could not attend, but Mr. Blow did so as a matter of duty, in hopes of being able to induce His Majesty to leave the dinner table at any time when he (Mr. Blow) should see that the conditions were such as to make it advisable and desirable that the King should do so.

Mr. Blow informed me that the dinner was an elegant one in all its appointments, given in a private room in the California [sic] Hotel, that there was speech making, music, and dancing. Also that His Majesty ate very little and drank nothing, and did not enter much into the gayeties of the evening, though he seemed to enjoy himself. The King returned to the Hotel, accompanied by Mr. Blow, about 11:30 P. M., immediately after dinner.

Colonel Macfarlane did not attend this dinner, as he was confined to his room by illness of a slight nature. Colonel Baker, however, did attend.

The report of Fleet Surgeon Woods will give an account of all events which occurred after this time.

I have the honor to be, sir,

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

GEO. BROWN,
Rear Admiral, U. S. N.,

Commanding U. S. Naval Force,

Pacific Station.

To His Excellency,

JOHN A. CUMMINS,

Minister of Foreign Affairs,

Kingdom of Hawaii.
THE STORY FROM THE KING’S TRAVELS FROM LOS ANGELES UNTIL SAN FRANCISCO

WRITTEN BY ADMIRAL BROWN OF THE AMERICAN WARFLEET

I joined the Royal entourage on Saturday afternoon, January 3d, 1891, at the house of Lieutenant Bonebreak, where a meal was presented.

In the evening, a Royal reception was conducted in City Hall, and a banquet at the California Club previously detailed by Mr. Blow. After our arrival at the train station, our beds were furnished. At 1 A.M. in the morning on the 4th, the health of His Majesty the King was very good, and he sat chatting with companions until 2 in the early morning hours of that day, smoking his pipe, and it was then that he slept.

Our train departed at 7:25 A. M. from Los Angeles; and, at 8, I entered the stateroom of the King, and I met with the King in good health, and full joy. After which, he dressed, and returned to the very rear of the car, he there sat looking at the extent of the land, appreciating the beauty of the land, with continued evidence of his good health in his features at 9 A. M., the King took a repast with relish and before we finished lunch, we arrived at Carpenteria 11 miles from Santa Barbara. There, Mayor Barber and Dr. McNulty came aboard, and the Colonel Macfarlane took them to meet with the King, and while the King met with Dr. McNulty, because, that doctor previously attended the King, and in that way he was very glad to see him again, their conversation continued until the train reached Santa Barbara, at 12 noon.

At the depot, the Royal entourage headed for the Arlington Hotel in open carriages. In the first carriage, were the King, Mayor Barber, Colonel Macfarlane and myself.

When we arrived at the Hotel, the Royal entourage was welcomed in the lobby, and there a proclamation was read by Mayor Barber giving His Royal Majesty the freedom to sightsee.

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1428 This is a translation of the Poepoe’s (Hawaiian) rendering of Brown’s (English) letter to Cummins.
throughout the city. When the King took his seat, he was told by Mayor Barber, carriages were prepared for the Royal entourage traveling to sightsee around the city, the King gave his gratitude to the Mayor, and turned and said to me, “Admiral, do you not think that I should rest this afternoon?” I then answered: “Yes; if that is your thought, Your Majesty.” At 1:30 P. M., the King returned to sleep in his room until 5:30 in the evening, during that time I entered and informed him dinner would be ready at 6:30, and he had an entire hour to prepare himself. However, I heard that the King drank tea at 4:30, and some toast. At 6:30 P. M., we supped, however, the King ate little. At 8 P. M. he returned to sleep for the night.

In the morning, the 5th, Monday, it was previously determined the Royal entourage would go to visit the Olive Ranch, the orchard of Mr. Elwood Cooper, 12 miles from Santa Barbara, and the King would begin to travel on this journey at 9 A. M. At 7:30 A. M., I entered the room of the King, and I found him sitting on a settee trying to light his pipe. I then said, “Greetings Your Majesty, I am hopeful your sleep was comfortable last evening.” I quickly noticed some things were odd, while, his general appearance was somewhat unresponsive at that time, as though he saw me for the first time, but, within short seconds he recognized me.

I asked Him if He ordered His breakfast, he said “no,” I said again to Him if He would wish me to send for something, he answered, “tea,” I answered again that he should have some eggs, too because You will be traveling for long miles this morning.

At that time I went to the room of Colonel Macfarlane and I informed him that the condition of the King was not very good, I also informed him of the things I saw when I went to the chamber of the King. Between that time and 9:30, I entered the room of the King perhaps four times, and I saw Him preparing His clothes to go to the carriage to tour the scenic places of
interest. I suggested to the King that if His health was poor, then, he should cancel His intention to go, and He said he will go.

At 9, Dr. McNulty arrived and he said he was not well, and for that reason he would not travel. I, however, said it was necessary for him to travel with the King, and at that request he consented to go together with him. I brought Dr. McNulty to the room of the King, and he said he would not have a problem because of the wind, and perhaps it was a reason that would comfort the King.

We traveled aboard the carriage pulled by four horses, the King with Dr. McNulty in the rear seat, and I with Colonel Macfarlane in the front seat, turning to face the King and his companion. The wind was cool, with a proper degree of warmth at 60 degrees. I quickly saw the drowsiness of His Majesty. Therefore I gave a cigar to him to pass his time. I, however, saw that he was unable to light that cigar while he did not have enough strength to draw in his breath. At that time the King fell into a drowsy sleep frequently awaking from time to time with an odd start. This condition persisted upon the beloved person of the King for the majority of the journey which traveled for 12 miles. We were driven those miles in two hours and 15 minutes. At one time, the King tried to expectorate, but, was unable to, however, push the saliva from his lips, while the saliva was somewhat sticky and sinewy. He made a great effort to remove his handkerchief from his coat pocket, but, was, however, unable, because of this, I reached out for and pulled his handkerchief from his pocket, and then I wiped his lips and his chin.

When we arrived at the home of Mr. Cooper, Mr. and Mrs. Cooper warmly greeted the King and his companions, and we were entertained in the parlor. The King, however, spoke very little, but, he greatly admired the pictures on the wall of the parlor. Upon the invitation of Mrs. Cooper, we went to visit the garden.
On this walk, I walked along the left side of the King, with his leaning on my shoulder, while, his footsteps were rather weak. He was admired everything, but, however, he had no great desire to continue the tour, meanwhile, he quickly turned to the house without following Mrs. Cooper. After we arrived at the house, he quickly sat down as if he had become very tired, along with my realizing the nature of the true feebleness of the King. At this time, Mr. Cooper quickly arrived, and requested that the king return to the parlor, and we returned there, and it was there that he sat until everyone gathered [for lunch], but, however, the King did not have much to eat, and he certainly did not try a little of the Champagne that was served by the hosts.

At that time, I recognized the extreme weariness of the King, I then gave the command to Colonel Macfarlane to awaken the King, and while we were at lunch, the King fell into a listless sleep perhaps three or four times. When we arose, we walked for 300 yards arriving at the olive oil mill. His footsteps were somewhat delayed, and in recollection His feet were rather heavy. Arriving at the oil mill, the King was not interested in the operations of the oil mill. In the days prior, He said He had a great desire to see the operations of the oil mill, and it would perhaps be a very profitable business in His Kingdom. In our preparation to return, He shook hands with Mr. Cooper and returned, not having shown appreciation in His usual way. Our return was two hours, and he only slept half of the time.

When we arrived within the city, I and Colonel Macfarlane tried to keep the King awake. At 5 P.M., we arrived at the Hotel, and the King immediately returned to his room to sleep. Because of my and Colonel Macfarlane’s request, Dr. McNulty stayed to care for the King, in medical matters, and I was very thankful for the doctor’s careful vigilance for the King’s comfort.
Two or three times I peeped in the room of the King, but, because of his deep slumber I had no moments to speak with him. Because of the medicine administered to the King that evening, he was much improved that night and the day next, (Tuesday) he slept peacefully upon his bed until the evening, and at that time, He put on His clothes and returned to the balcony, and there that He passed an hour in relaxation.

Today Tuesday, January 6, 1891, it was previously thought that the King would travel by carriage to tour the hot springs (similar perhaps to Waiwelawela of Puna, Hawaii), and visit the home of Mr. and Mrs. Warren and family, they were prior acquaintances of the King, while they were in Honolulu in the past.

These plans were cancelled because of Dr. McNulty’s advice. The King said his condition was agreeably well this evening, and he thought he was able to meet some of the invitations originally presented. At 8 P. M., His Majesty conducted a Royal reception for the residents of that place in a large ballroom of the hotel. At 9, the King took his position upon a very fine chair upon a dais on one side of the ballroom, and at the time when the crowd entered, the King stood greeting them with great splendor, but, the people who [He] shook hands with were very few. At that time the Nights [sic] Templars entered, and stood directly in the presence of the King, they then faced the King, and offered their greeting with humility before the beloved King of Hawaii, and at that time they marched until they were directly in front of the King, and the King embraced them individually with affectionate warmth.

They danced at 9:45 P. M., and after the first waltzes the King returned to sleep. Shortly afterwards the Dr., Macfarlane and I assembled and we discussed whether it was imperative or not to immediately return the King to San Francisco at 10 the next day. Colonel Macfarlane

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1429 Translated as “warm water,” these hot springs, located near Kapoho, Hawai‘i, were once a royal bathing pool. The 1960 eruption, however, covered Waiwelawela.
requested the kindness of Dr. McNulty to accompany us, and he answered, he would be very pleased to go, only until the next morning he would be able to know; but, our intentions were firm to bring the Dr. along.

On the next morning the King was very much improved. We left Santa Barbara at 10 A.M. The King passed the entire first hour sitting on a chair in the very rear of the car. At that time I was with His Majesty with my recollection, He was very comfortable. Smoking was His main occupation at that time, and he ate with relish all the foods he could eat.

On Thursday morning, the King awoke at 9, and put on his clothes, and when we arrived in Vallejo Junction, I went with Mr. Blow to travel to the Navy Yard of the Government.

Friday the 9th, I did not go to the city, but on Saturday the 10th, I went to see the King, and upon my visit, I immediately saw his good health. I stayed with the King until 3:30 in the afternoon, and at that time I returned to the Navy Yard. When I returned, it was also the time I returned together with Dr. McNulty to his home in Santa Barbara; and from that time he appealed to me that it was imperative to ask Dr. Woods to return to attend to the King at his place.

On Tuesday the 13th, I and Dr. Woods remained with the King at the Hotel. Before noon, the King spoke to me, he rescinded his idea to tour Sacramento, while a great reception would be given that afternoon in San Francisco proper.

I met with Mr. Gillig and Mr. Unger in the lobby to sit together with Colonel Macfarlane, therefore prior to their meeting with the King, I spoke to them—"Whereas you are friends of the King, and while he is a very weak man, hence the appropriate thing for you to do is not to invite him to attend that dinner; because Dr. Woods strictly forbade the taking of the King to large
gatherings, and for that reason, if you are true friends of the King, then, it is very critical that the dinner be postponed to another time.”

However, those gentlemen were very unyielding, and said, it would be impossible to postpone that banquet. Because of their determination to take the King, I then took them to introduce Dr. Woods, and at that time, Dr. Woods explained to them, he could not release the King to go from his room into the chilling air of the evening, but, through some reason unbeknownst to me, these gentlemen met with the King, and they decided that the King would go, and return quickly, as it was their desire to honor the King at the reception.

I was also invited to go, however, I did not attend, and Mr. Blow was likewise invited, and Mr. Blow’s attendance was not because of any desire, but, simply to attend the King, and it was he who reported to me that that reception was indeed fine and of great honor. The banquet was given at the California Hotel. The King did not eat much, but he was content. At 11 P. M. the King returned accompanied by Mr. Blow immediately after the end of the reception.

Colonel Macfarlane did not attend this banquet, since he was overwhelmed by an indisposition. Colonel Baker was the one who went.

In the report of Dr. Woods of the war fleet are things related to King Kalakaua that are deeply regrettable from this moment onward.

I have the honor, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

GEO. BROWN,

Rear Admiral of the war fleet of America in the Pacific Ocean.
MEDICAL REPORT

TO

Hon. John A. Cummins
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
ON THE
LAST ILLNESS & DEATH
OF
KALAKAUA I,
King of Hawaii

1430 This is a copy of George Woods’ original letter to Cummins.
HON. JOHN A. CUMMINS,
Minister of Foreign Affairs,
Kingdom of Hawaii:

Sir:—Deeming it to be my duty, I herewith present for your information, a full account of
the last illness, and death of His Majesty, Kalakaua I, King of Hawaii.

The first symptoms of His Majesty’s illness occurred at Santa Barbara, California, which
place was reached, on the return from the Southern California tour, on the morning of the 4th of
January. His Majesty had eaten a moderate breakfast, had received the mayor of Santa Barbara
and a few representative citizens on the special car, and was subsequently driven to the
Arlington. Here a small reception was held, and the mayor proposed an afternoon ride to view
the points of interest in the town and vicinity. This was declined on account of fatigue which was
considered only natural, as His Majesty had been for two nights deprived of needed sleep and
rest by reason of dinners, a reception, and attendance on the opera at Los Angeles. Retiring to his
room as soon as possible, His Majesty slept the whole afternoon, only rising for dinner, and
retiring as soon as dinner was over. Admiral Brown noticed, during the day, that the King’s mind
was dull, and that he was not in a normal condition.

On the morning of Monday, the 4th inst. an excursion was made, with the mayor and
others, to Coopersranch, distant twelve miles from Santa Barbara. The same conditions being
noticed by Admiral Brown as on the previous evening, he requested Dr. McNulty, one of the
entertaining party, to ride in the carriage with His Majesty. During the trip, a constant disposition
was manifested to fall asleep, and both on the way, and in viewing Mr. Coopers [sic] beautiful
estate, an entire indifference to all that was shown him. At luncheon he indulged in no
conversation, fell asleep repeatedly, but when aroused, was coherent, though sluggish in his
speech. Returning, he also repeatedly fell asleep, he could not keep his cigar lighted, and had great difficulty in expectoration, those near him finding it necessary to wipe away the saliva.

His Majesty’s condition was now such as to demand medical attention, and Dr. McNulty was requested to act in his medical capacity. In addition to symptoms already mentioned, Dr. McNulty noticed a distinct loss of power over the right side, making him fearful of hemiplegia. Free purgation, which was at once instituted, relieved these symptoms, and, on the following morning His Majesty was pronounced better, though intellectual dullness and somnolence persisted. During the day, Tuesday, he remained quietly in his room until evening, when he attended a reception and ball for a brief period, retiring at 10 p.m.

It is to be noted that both Admiral Brown and Colonel Macfarlane, most earnestly urged His Majesty not to make the excursion to Cooper’s ranch or attend the ball and reception, their efforts being seconded by Dr. McNulty’s professional opinion, but without avail; and only succeeded, by the most energetic pleading, in cancelling an engagement to luncheon on Tuesday, at the Hot Springs, distant 12 miles from Santa Barbara, where he was to be entertained by old Honolulu friends, Mr. and Mrs. Warren.

Wednesday, the 6th of January, the royal party returned to San Francisco accompanied by Dr. McNulty as a matter of precaution, and it was noted by Admiral Brown that His Majesty somewhat brightened up and seemed to be in a degree himself again. During the journey which was accomplished by noon of the 7th of January, when the party reached the Palace Hotel, San Francisco, Dr. McNulty remained in attendance on His Majesty until Saturday, when, after giving advice and prescribing appropriate medicines, he took his leave.

His Majesty was not seen professionally again until Tuesday, the 13th inst. when Medical Inspector G. W. Woods, U. S. Navy, was requested by Rear Admiral Brown to inquire into the
King’s condition, and by His Majesty solicited to remain in attendance. On this day he was in a lethargic condition, rather than comatose, and when aroused was able to engage in conversation coherently and intelligently, though the mental processes were slow. A dinner party was to be given on this evening by friends to whom His Majesty was especially devoted, and, on Wednesday evening, he was to be introduced into the Masonic order of “The Mystic Shrine,” attendance on both being considered imperative, and no argument would serve to alter his determination.

On Wednesday morning, succeeding the dinner, he dressed as usual, and, after a light breakfast, eaten in silence, seated himself in a chair before the fire, and sank at once into a deep sleep, which lasted most of the forenoon. On awaking he was urged not to contemplate going through the proposed ceremonial of the evening, and his serious condition was explained to him as a reason for his urgency, viz: that there was probably a suppressed secretion of the kidneys, due to the disease of those organs, and a commencing uraemic condition, that caused great apprehension. His only answer was to the effect: “I must go, and nothing shall prevent me from going.” During the day, he slept constantly, and indulged in no conversation. When roused, his only thought was of the evening ceremony, and he would murmur, “I must go, I must go to the shrine.” Recognizing that His Majesty would persist in his purpose, and forcible opposition was out of the question, an attempt was made to prepare him for the ordeal. Up to this time, only the remedies prescribed by Dr. McNulty had been employed. Now, free catharsis was produced, which somewhat relieved his lethargic condition, and at 8. p. m. a glass of coca wine, (Vin Mariani), with a bowl of bouillon were taken, which gave him considerable energy. At 8:30 the Masonic committee appeared to conduct him to the Temple, and His Majesty was placed more especially in charge of his old friend General Dimond, who promised that His Majesty should be
submitted to no shock or fatiguing ceremonies, and should be back at his apartments within an hour, which promised was faithfully kept. Instantly on his return, His Majesty was put to bed, and sank into a deep sleep after a diuretic remedy had been administered.

On Thursday morning, His Majesty insisted on going to the breakfast table, where he occasioned great alarm to Colonel Baker by refusing to respond to questions, dropping his knife and fork, and with difficulty taking food in the intervals of short periods of sleep. Being summoned, I at once had His Majesty placed in bed, and got from him reluctantly an assurance that he would remain there, and submit to orders and treatment. The action of the kidneys was in a degree suppressed, and the small quantity of urine passed was found to be highly albuminious. There was no evidence of dropsy in any form, either anasarcal, or of the cavities; the tongue was thickly coated; there were slight febrile symptoms, and a lethargic condition, having a tendency to pass into coma; the heart was evidently largely hypertrophied, and the liver contracted, a condition probably due to cirrhosis. The diagnosis was interstitial nephritis with uraemia, for which condition remedies were given to act on the hepatic system, bowels, skin and kidneys.

As the day (Thursday, January 15th), progressed, the cerebral condition became more distinctly comatose, and from this time His Majesty ceased to converse, his words being whispered with difficulty, and his recognitions brief and imperfect. In the afternoon Colonel G. W. Macfarlane and Consel [sic] McKinley, at my request, consented to a consultation, and A. F. Sawyer, M. D. an eminent consulting physician of San Francisco, and Professor W. E. Taylor, of the University of California, were summoned. After a careful examination of the patient, both diagnosis and treatment were approved; and, from this time onward, until the day of His Majesty’s death, the gentlemen were twice daily, at least, in consultation with me, every
symptom closely watched, and careful consideration given to changing conditions and alterations of treatment.

During Friday, the 16th, there was but little change noticed. His Majesty on several occasions called for his pipe, and took a few puffs—his last smoking—sitting on the edge of his bed in a semi-camatose [sic] condition. He also insisted on rising from his bed, in response to the action of his medicine. Good action of the bowels, skin, and kidneys had now taken place, and was easily maintained. A singular feature was noticed in an intermittent loss of power over the right arm. No trouble in protruding the tongue, and in a straight line, was observed.

Saturday morning, febrile symptoms were manifested with flushed cheeks, stronger pulsations in the carotids, but the most careful physical examination [sic] could not determine any intercurrent inflammation [sic], and the fever, which lasted to the end, with increasing respiration, but without dyspnoea [sic], was attributed to cerebral irritation, with possibly serious effusion. During the day, occasional uraemic convulsions of a slight character occurred, principally manifested on the right side.

From Friday morning His Majesty was abundantly fed with milk, both alone and in the form of punch, and previously with broth, and rice, tea and cocoa. Although the skin was now acting profusely, the kidneys were secreting to the extent of 30 ounces in 24 hours, which gave great encouragement, yet the urine was still [sic] highly albuminous.

On Sunday, His Majesty passed small quantities of blood from the bowels, which was supposed to be hemorrhoidal [sic]. The comatose condition was noticed as increasing, although all the emunctories were working perfectly to relieve the system of urea. Cups were applied on either side of the spine, from the nape of the neck to the sacrum, and over the kidneys. Occasional uraemic spasms. Toward evening, there was another sanguinous [sic] stool, and urine
was passed in considerable quantities, involuntarily. At noon all medicine was stopped, save an occasional diuretic dose, as perfect action of remedies had been obtained. Small quantities of milk and milk punch were administered at short intervals.

Monday, Jan. 19, almost complete coma with hissing stertor, uraemic odor of breath, and pupils sluggish. Urine and feces passed involuntarily; no blood in latter. Temperature varying from 100 to 102 degrees, respiration 28, increasing in the night to 32. During the evening, as there seemed to be no hope that His Majesty would survive, or that he would recover consciousness, communion services, according to the rites of the Protestant Episcopal church, was held in his presence, of which His Majesty was, of course, unable to partake. The service was conducted by the Reverend F. H. Church, and holy communion adminted [sic] to Colonel Baker, Mrs. McKinley, Mrs. Price and Mr. C. V. S. Gibbs, warden of Trinity; Colonel Macfarlane, Senator Whitney, Consul McKinley and Dr. Woods, being also present. The Reverend Mr. Church remained in the hotel all night, hoping for some return of consciousness, when His Majesty might be able to receive.

On Tuesday morning, it was plain to see His Majesty could not survive many hours. Deglutition had become difficult, and his strength was only maintained by brandy and glycerine trickled into his mouth from a drop tube. It was noticed that there was no evidence of paralysis on this day, either in tongue or arm. The breathing toward noon was labored and stertorous, and 32 to the minute, the temperature rising at one time to 104, and then sinking rapidly to 100.5. The body was covered with a clammy perspiration, and the heart beat feebly and rapidly, all giving evidence of the failure of the vital powers, and that the end was drawing near.

At this juncture, the Reverend J. Sanders Reed commenced to recite, in impressive tones, comforting passages from the scriptures, which was continued to the end, varied by the singing
of hymns, the Reverend Mr. Church leading. At the last, this service was changed to prayer, all kneeling, the words of devotion mingling with His Majesty’s last breath.

At 1:30 p. m. the breathing became very labored, and increased to 50 respirations per minute, the extremities were cold, the heart’s action almost imperceptible. Gradually the respirations diminished, and at 2:35 p. m. Tuesday, January 20, 1891, His Majesty, Kalakaua I, of the Kingdom of Hawaii, ceased to exist.

There were present at this moment at the bedside, on the right of His Majesty, Reverend Mr. Reed; Colonel Macfarlane and Admiral Brown; on the left, Colonel Baker, Kalua and Kahikina; and at the foot of the bed, Mrs. Swan, Consul McKinley and Medical Inspector Woods. Grouped around were Lieut. Dyer, Hon. C. R. Bishop, Mr. Godfrey Rhodes, Judge Hart, Senator G. E. Whitney, Mrs. McKinley, Mrs. Price, Mrs. J. Saunders Reed, and the Hon. Claus Spreckles.

At 6 p. m. the body was embalmed by Dr. J. E. Williams, under my personal supervision, by injection from the aorta, which afforded an opportunity of inspection of some of the viscera without their removal from the body. The heart was found greatly hypertrophied, there was evidence of slight pericarditis, and the aorta and its branches were atheromatous, suggesting the possibility of capillary rupture within the cranium, as complicating the cerebral uraemic symptoms, which had been considered. The liver was contracted, and distinctly cirrhotic. Other organs could not be examined without a complete autopsy, which was opposed. No effusions were found in the cavities.

At 11 a. m. of Wednesday, January 21st, His Majesty’s body, dressed in plain evening suit, was placed in the casket, gloves embroidered with the royal arms upon his hands, and the ribbons and cross of the order of Kamahamaha [sic] I, with the star of Kalakaua upon his breast.
At 1 p. m. of the same day, the body was transferred to Trinity chapel, and to the care of
the U. S. Military authorities, being attended by Colonel Baker, Consul McKinley, Lieut. Dyer,
and Medical Inspector Woods.

As regards Admiral Brown, Colonel Macfarlane, and Colonel Baker, words would be
superfluous in commenting on the sorrowful interest and affectionate regard displayed by these
gentlemen so closely identified with His Majesty; but I must specially refer to the devotion
manifested by the Honorable D. A. McKinley, Hawaiian Consul at the port of San Francisco.
Mr. McKinley was tireless in his attendance, night and day, from the first moment that His
Majesty’s illness was declared to be a grave one, in spite of constant acute suffering, on his own
part, from rheumatism; and Mrs. McKinley joined with her husband in sympathy and kind
services.

Finally, I feel it my duty to express my earnest appreciation of the services, and the kind
and loving attention bestowed by His Majestys [sic] Hawaiian servants upon their sovereign. It
was perfect in its character—such as no foreign servants could have given, rendering the
presence of the trained nurse almost superfluous—and both soothing and comforting in the
highest degree, their native words, at last, being all His Majesty could comprehend.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

G. W. WOODS
Medical Inspector,
U. S. Navy.
THE VERY LAST ILLNESS AND DEATH OF KING KALAKAUA

Written by Dr. G. W. Woods of the American war fleet

Warship Charleston, at Sea, en route to Honolulu

January 26, 1891

Hon. J. A. Cummins, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Hawaiian Kingdom.

Greetings:—According to my understanding I have an important duty to fulfill, therefore I humbly present the complete story of the final illness of His Majesty the King and His death:

The illness of His Majesty the King started in Santa Barbara, California, while the Royal entourage was returning from His tour of Southern California. [It] started on the morning of the 4th day of January. On that morning, the King entertained the Mayor of Santa Barbara, and ate his breakfast without great appetite, and from the train, the King was entertained at the Arlington Hotel as previously described by Admiral Brown.

On Wednesday morning, after the King’s banquet which he attended at the California Hotel, the King awoke and dressed in His proper breakfast attire, but there was, however, significant trouble with his speech. Shortly after the meal, the King sat on a comfortable chair directly in front of the heater, and he quickly fell into a deep sleep for several hours. When the King awoke, He was strongly urged not to consider attending the honorary appearances in the evening, it was explained because of His unsatisfactory condition for travel, hence His illness was in a state of great concern, that is the “kidneys,” it was beneficial for Himself and all the things concerning his illness that he remain stationary; but, this was His reply: “I will go; and nothing will prevent me from going.” The King was asleep for half of the day, and upon His awakening, he did not converse as his wont, except the words that he uttered: “I will go.”

This is a translation of Poepoe’s (Hawaiian) rendering of Woods’ (English) letter to Cummins.
Because of the realization of the unyielding determination of the King in going, some medicine was prepared which would strengthen Him. Nothing was administered to the King outside of the medicines prescribed by Dr. McNulty, therefore, in that evening, 8:00, the King was given a glass of cocoa wine (coca wine) and some bowls of soup; when He drank these beverages, the King was considerably strengthened.

At 8:30 p.m., the Masonic committee arrived to take the King to the Temple of the Masons. The care of the King on the said outing was placed in the hands of General Diamond, his old intimate friend and companion, and the King would be returned within one hour, care of Him. General Diamond consented to this appeal, guaranteeing to carefully carry out those requests for the comfort of the King. It was fulfilled in accordance with the statement that was clarified. At the time when the King returned and arrived at His apartment, He retired immediately to bed, and He quickly fell into an exceedingly deep sleep.

On the morning of Thursday, the King was very determined in going to the large dinner, and there He was very alarmed by Colonel Baker’s not carefully listening to His orders. When he was eating His knife and His fork fell, while He dozed off each time, because of that I was approached to relate that condition of the King, and when I heard I quickly went and returned the King to His Apartment. I recognized the illness grew severe in the kidneys, and was nearly impossible to control. I also realized that the illness of the King spread widely in the liver and heart, and the tongue was coated and rather swollen when observed.

During that day (Thursday, January 15) the illness of the King worsened, and from that time until the very end he was not able to converse, only whispers was the thing he was able to do with little breath.
In the afternoon, I requested Colonel Macfarlane and Consul McKinley to summon Dr. A. F. Sawyer, he was one of the most skilled doctors in San Francisco, and Prof. W. S. Taylor of the university of California to conduct a consultation concerning the condition of the King. After careful examination of the patient, the nature of the medicinal administrations created for the King was approved. From that time until the royal life was seized by the merciless hands of death, those gentlemen came twice and three times daily to examine and consult with me, constantly watching the moments when the condition of the illness of the King would change.

On Friday the 16th, the decrease of the illness of the King was very small. On two or three occasions the King requested his pipe, and smoked a few puffs. He continually insisted that they sit him up. The efficacy of the medicine was successful in the stomach, skin and kidneys. It was, however, one thing that was strange in the great numbness of his right arm.

On Saturday morning, the perspiration and the fever climbed significantly, and this fever held on firmly until the end, with the great spread of numbness of paralysis on the right side.

From Friday morning the King was fed milk, and sometimes a little rum in the milk, chicken broth, rice and cocoa tea. In realizing the condition of the heartbeat with the heart’s well-being, a hopeful expectation was obtained.

On the Sabbath, faint traces of blood were discharged from the King in His excrement, which was thought to be blood from the stomach. In the evening a new bowel movement, and much blood was discharged. At noon, the administration of medicine was ended, milk and wine were the things that were fed to Him at some time.

On Monday the 19th, the natural strength of the King diminished, the pupil of the eye was contracted and dim. At that time, there was no new discharge of blood, only the strain of the
temperature from 100 to 102 degrees, with the continued rise at night to 23 degrees. At nightfall, “as there seemed to be no hope that His Majesty would survive,” communion services were conducted in the apartment by the “Protestant Episcopal church.” It was true, he was unable to understand these things. Services were conducted by the Rev. F. H. Churh, [sic] and the people who gathered for that service were namely, Colonel Baker, Mrs. McKinley, Mrs. Price, Mr. C. V. S. Gibbs, Colonel Macfarlane, Senator Whitney and Dr. Woods. Rev. Church stayed for the entire evening until daylight, with the thought that some small relief would be obtained by the King.

On Tuesday morning, “it was plain to see His Majesty could not live for many hours.” In order that his strength be maintained some drops of brandy with oils were given to drink from time to time. When 12 in the afternoon arrived, respiration somewhat quickened * until about 32 to a minute, and the temperature of the body climbed to 101.4, and sometimes decreased rapidly to 100.5 at times. The entire body was overtaken by a clammy sweat. The heart would beat rapidly very weakly.

At this time, the Rev. J. Sanders Reed began to read some uplifting verses from the Psalm of David, and he continued until the very end. Hymns were led by the Rev. Mr. Church, and at the very end everyone knelt and humbly petitioned before the Heavenly Powers, and those words joined with the final gasps of the King.

At that time these people were gathered at the sides of the bed of the afflicted King: Rev. Reed, Colonel Macfarlane, Admiral Brown on the right; on the left side were Colonel Baker, Kalua and Kahikina: beneath the feet were Mrs. Swan, the Consul McKinley and Dr. Woods; and behind those people were Lieutenant Dyer, Hon. C. R. Bishop, G. Rhodes, Mr. Hart, Senator Whitney, Mrs. McKinley, Mrs. Price, Mrs. J. S. Reed and Claus Spreckles.

\textsuperscript{1432} The original letter says that the king’s respiration rose from 28 to 32.
At 6 P. M., the deceased remains were embalmed by Dr. J. E. Williams, however, under my instructions; and at 11 A. M. of Wednesday, His remains were clothed in a fine black suit, and were placed in a casket. A crown with gold thread was stitched on the back of His gloves, the Order of the Star of Kamehameha I and the Honorary Star of Kalakaua were fastened to His breast. At 1 P. M., the remains of the King were returned to the church, under the care of the army of the Republic of America.

In my conclusion of this account, it is necessary I say, the King was a truly sick man before His departure from Honolulu for His convalescence, moreover, that illness continued to afflict the King for more than a year before His death. Among these expressions of appreciation are Admiral Brown, Colonel Macfarlane and Colonel Baker, I offer my highest gratitude to Consul McKinley for his considerations and patience in rising up each night, vigilantly watching over the King, and also to Mrs. McKinley for her compassionate ministrations.

Included in the expressions of appreciation, I confer a large portion of the honor upon the Hawaiian attendants of His Majesty, namely Kahikina and Kalua, because of their affectionate care and cherishing their Sovereign Lord. Truly the care and patience of those Hawaiian caretakers for their Royal Chief could never be duplicated by Caucasian attendants. My eyes had never before seen the great care and compassion of those attendants for their Royal Chief. There was nothing the King could say that could not be understood by those attendants.

I am humbly yours,

G. E. Woods,
Medical Inspector of the Military

1433 Poepoe inserted the first sentence of this paragraph into his translation of Woods’ letter. In other words, Woods did not write this sentence.
1434 Poepoe included Kahikina’s and Kalua’s names here. Woods did not use their names.
Concerning important events related to King Kalakaua of Hawaii

1836—Nov. 16  Born in Honolulu.

1840—Enrolled in Chiefs’ [Children’s] School under Mr. & Mrs. Cooke

1849—Enrolled in the School of Kahehua

1850—Studied Military Training under Captain Funk

1852—Became a Reserve officer for His Excellency Alexander Liholiho

1853—Became a Captain for a Kapaakea Regiment

1853-4—Studied Law under Hon. C. C. Harris

1854—Became a Major for the Royal Guard of the King.

1856— *Became a Member of the Privy Council.

1858—May 20. Chosen as Colonel. Became a member of the House of Nobles.†

1860—August 29. Traveled together with Prince Lot Kamehameha Kapuiaiwa to Vancouver.


1862—‡Dec. 19. Was married with the Princess Kapiolani.

1862—Became a member of the Anglican Church.

1862—Dec. 21. He was “Confirmed.” (The blessings of the Holy Spirit were the nature of this word coupled with “Confirmed”).


1863—Dec. 7. Selected again as a Member of the Privy Council for the Kingdom under Kamehameha V.

1865—Feb. 3. Became Treasurer for King Kamehameha V.

1867—Became a Knight Companion for the Order of Kamehameha I.
1869—Left the Office of Treasurer, and continued studying Law, and on the 19th day of April, 1869, became a member of the Bar Association of Hawaii.

1870—Obtained the rank of Knight Commander Grand Cross of the Cross of Francis Joseph, Emperor of Austria.


On page 11 of this book, the interior “of the chapel of Kawaiahao,” was shown it was not correct, instead, it is the interior of Kinau Hale.
1874—Feb. 13. Took an oath to the Constitution.*


1874—Became a High Officer to the Cross of Kamehameha I. Became a Knight of the Cross of Francis Joseph.

1874—Received a 33 degree, from General Pike of Virginia within the Masons.

1874—Nov. 17. Traveled to America for the blessed search for land aboard the warship Benecia.

1872. Feb. 15. Returned home aboard the warship Pensacola.

1875—Created the Class of the Honorary Cross of Kalakaua.

1876—Became a Knight for the Exalted Cross of St. Mary and St. Martha of Italy.

1877—April 11. Proclaimed the Princess Liliuokalani Successor to the Throne.

1881—January 20. Went on a trip around the world (for this trip read important things in this book beginning on page 13.)

1881—October 29. He returned again from his trip around the world.

1882—Mar. 31. He dedicated the Lunalilo Home.


1886—Nov. 16. The Jubilee for the fulfillment of 50 of His years.

1887—June 30. The Right to Rule under the Constitution of Kamehameha V was changed.

1887—July 7. He signed the new Constitution.


1891—January 20. The King dies in his apartment in the Palace Hotel, city of San Francisco.
1891—January, 22. The deceased body of the King was returned aboard the warship Charleston, and arrived in Honolulu on the 29th day of that month. At 4:30 the deceased body disembarked on land.

1891—January 30. Between the hour of 10 A. M. and 2 P. M., people were free to enter Iolani Palace to view the mortal remains of the King.

1891—Feb. 15, Sabbath. The mortal remains of the King was escorted to the Royal Tomb.

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*In that way which was shown in the “Honolulu Almanac & Directory” for 1885, page 71. In the newspaper Friend of February, 1876, page 12, of the year 1858.
†According to the newspaper Friend of February 1876, of the 6th day of October,
¶Friend of Feb. 1879, of the year 1864.
THE ORDER
OF
THE FUNERAL PROCESSION OF THE LATE KING
KALAKAUAN

The Torches of Iwikauikaua
Police
Marshall of the Kingdom and Deputies
Military Band
The Students of St. Louis College
Kamehameha School
Iolani College
Government Schools
Kawaiahao Girls’ Seminary
St. Andrews’ Girls’ Seminary
Oahu College
Military Band
Portuguese Societies
Honolulu Fire Department
Merchanic’s [sic] Benefit Union
Ancient Order of Foresters
American Legion of Honor
Knights of Phythias
Geo. W. de Long Post, No. 45 G. A. R.
Independent Order of Old [sic] Fellows
Envoys of the Masonic Societies of the Pacific
Masonic Order
Members of the Medical Faculty
Doctors of the late King
Ahahui Opiopio Puuwai Lokahi
Liliuokalani Educational Society
Hoola and Hooulu Lahui Society
Lei Mamo Society
Hale Naua Society
Konohiki of Crowned Lands
Konohiki of the Crowned Lands of the Queen
Konohiki of the late King’s Crowned Lands
Colonel Commanding and Staff
Royal Hāwaiian Band
Band of American Warship “Charleston”
Marines and Soldiers from American Warship “Charleston”
American Warship “Mohican”
British Warship “Nymph”
King’s Guards
Her Majesty’s Household Servants
Servants of the late King
Protestant Clergy
Clergy of the Roman Catholic Church
Right Reverend of the Bishop of Olba
   Choir
Clergy of the Anglican Church
Right Reverend the Bishop of Honolulu
   The late King’s Horse
His late Majesty’s Treasurer
The Honorable Majors R. H. Baker and J. T. Baker bearing
   the Crown, the Orders and Feather Cape
Native Sons of Hawaii drawing the Hearse
Pall Bearers, Small Kahili Bearers, Large Kahili Bearers and Hearse
Royal Carriage with Her Majesty the Widowed Dowager Queen and Her Royal Highness
   Princess Pomaikelani
The Royal Carriage with Her Majesty the Queen and the Hon. J. O. Dominis
Carriage of Her Royal Highness Princess Kaiulani and the
   Honorable A. S. Cleghorn
The Supreme Justice of the Kingdom
   The Cabinet Ministers
Officials of Foreign Governments and Admiral Brown and
   Staff
   Judges of the Supreme Court
   President of the Legislature
   Members of the Legislature
   Ladies of the Royal Court
   Members of the Privy Council
Officers of the American Warship Charleston, Mohican
   and the British Warship Nymphe
   Consuls
   Circuit Court Judges
   Members of the Bar
   Kingdom Officials
Residents of Foreign Lands
   Masses
   Police

The procession will be organized at 10 A. M. Sabbath, February 15, on King Street.

The people who will be walking in front of the hearse will be organized on King Street on the west side of Richards Street. And the people behind will be organized on the Waikiki side of the Royal Gate.
The file of the Procession will start at 11 A. M., and move along King Street until Nuuanu Avenue, and from there until the Royal Mausoleum.

For those people whose places were reserved in the Procession and will be traveling in the funeral by carriages it is decreed [that they] will present their identifications to the coachmen, so that their carriages will be properly situated in the procession.

The Procession will be under the direction of the Honorable Colonel Curtis P. Iaukea.

Iolani Palace, February 5, 1891.
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Onohi o Hawaii, Aole—Ka Hae Aloha ou e Hawaii ua Hapa—O Hawaii Hauoli ua
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“Ka Moi Kalakaua ma Kapalakiko. He 9 La Holo ma ka Moana! Na Hookipa Hanohano i ka


“Na Piha Kumakena. Hue’a ke Aloha. Ka Makee Alii. Ike’a ma ka Waimaka i ko Hoohanini


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