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HE PUKE MELE LĀHUI:

NĀ MELE KŪPA'A, NĀ MELE KŪ'Ē A ME NĀ MELE ALOHA O NĀ KĀNAKA MAOLI

HE PALAPALA I WAIHO 'IA AKU I KA MAHELE
NĀNA E MĀLAMA I KE KĒKELĒ LAEO'O A LAEPUA
O KE KULA NUI O HAWAI'I NO KA HO'OKŌ 'ANA
I KEKAHI MAHELE O NĀ KOINA NO KE KĒKELĒ

LAEO'O

MA KA

MO'OLELO

KĒKĒMAPA 2002

Na
J. J. Leilani Basham

Ke Kōmike Palapala:

David Hanlon, Luna Ho'omalu
David Chappell
Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa

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na

J. J. Leilani Basham

No ka poʻe aloha ʻāina.

Ka Mahalo

Mahalo nui
e nā kūpuna
no ka haʻi ʻana i ka moʻolelo
a no ka hoʻopaʻa ʻana hoʻi i ia moʻolelo
ma nā mele a me nā nūpepa.

Aloha nui a mahalo nui i
koʻu ʻohana no ke aloha,
ke ahonui, a me ke kākoʻo ʻana mai iaʻu
ma kēia wahi alahele aʻu e hele aʻe nei.

Nui hoʻi kuʻu mahalo
i kaʻu poʻe kumu
no ke kuhikuhi ʻana mai
i ke alahele nei
no ka pono o ka lāhui a me ka ʻōlelo ʻōiwi
o ka ʻāina nei.

Palena ʻole kuʻu aloha a me kuʻu mahalo
i koʻu mau hoa kākoʻo,
nāna i paipai nui a kōkua nui mai.

Mahalo nui loa iā ʻoukou pākahi a pau!

KA MOʻOLELO I HOʻOPŌKOLE ʻIA

Ma hope o ka hoʻokahuli ʻia ʻana o ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi i ka makahiki 1893, ua haku nā Kānaka Maoli i nā mele lāhui he nui. Ua paʻi ʻia kēia mau mele ma nā nūpepa ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi, ʻo ia nō kahi i moʻolelo ai nā Kānaka Maoli no kā lākou hana a me ko lākou manaʻo. Ma o nā mele lāhui, ua hoʻopaʻa a haʻi mai nā Kānaka Maoli i ka moʻolelo no ka wā o ka hoʻokahuli aupuni a me ka wā ma hope mai nō hoʻi. Ma nā mele, ua hoʻopaʻa ʻia ko lākou manaʻo kūpaʻa no ka pono o ko lākou aupuni, a pēlā pū ko lākou manaʻo kūʻē i ka hana ʻino ʻia mai o ko lākou aupuni. ʻIke ʻia nō hoʻi ko lākou manaʻo ma o ka ʻōlelo kūamuamu no ia poʻe nāna i hana ʻino i ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi. Aia nō hoʻi he mau mele noi a mele pule paha e noi aku ana i ke kōkua o nā Akua Hawaiʻi a me ke Akua Kalikiano. He nui nō hoʻi nā mele i haku ʻia no ka hōʻike ʻana aku i ke aloha o nā Kānaka Maoli i ko lākou aupuni, ko lākou lāhui, a me ko lākou Mōʻīwahine. Mai kēlā manawa a hiki loa mai i kēia au nei, ua mau loa aku ka haku mele ʻana o nā Kānaka Maoli, a ua mau loa nō hoʻi ke kūʻē i ka hana ʻino ʻia mai a me ke kūpaʻa no ka pono o ka ʻāina a me ka lāhui.

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Ka ʻŌlelo Mua

ʻAnoʻai kākou, e oʻu kūpuna o ke au i kala loa aku, nāna i hoʻokumu a hoʻōla maila i ka loina o ko kākou lāhui kanaka. Aloha nō iā ʻoukou, e kuʻu poʻe mākua, nāna i kūpaʻa i ka mālama ʻana mai i ka moʻolelo a me ka loina o nā kūpuna. Welina kākou, e oʻu hoa kūpono o ka ʻāina, nāna e kūlia i ka pono o ke au nei. Aloha hoʻi, e nā keiki o ka ʻāina, nāna e huli hele i ke ala o ke au e hiki mai ana i mea e holomua pū aku ai ka lāhui ʻōiwi o ka ʻāina nei. Welina me ke aloha.

Mai nā kūpuna mai kēia wahi makana, ʻo nā mele lāhui. Ma waena o ka makahiki 1893 a me 1898, na ko kākou poʻe kūpuna i haku i nā mele, a ma o nā mele lākou i haʻi mai ai i ko lākou moʻolelo. Na lākou nō hoʻi i paʻi akula i mau haneli mele lāhui ma nā nūpepa a me nā puke o ia wā. ʻO nā nūpepa ka waha e haʻi ana i ka moʻolelo; a ʻo ka poʻe nāna i heluhelu i ka nūpepa, ʻo lākou ka leo o ia moʻolelo.

He ʻokoʻa hoʻi kēia au a kākou e noho nei. I koʻu wā e haumāna ana ma ke kula nui, ua koi ʻia mai mākou haumāna e heluhelu aku i nā puke i kapa ʻia he "Moʻolelo Hawaiʻi," ma ka papa "Hawaiian History" o ke Keʻena Moʻolelo o ke kula nui o Hawaiʻi ma Mānoa nei. ʻO kēia mau puke "moʻolelo Hawaiʻi," ʻo ia nō nā mea a Gavan Daws, Ralph Kuykendall, a me Lawrence Fuchs, nā puke i kaulana ma Hawaiʻi nei, nā puke i kūʻai nui ʻia ma nā hale kūʻai puke a heluhelu nui ʻia hoʻi ma nā kula. I koʻu heluhelu ʻana aku, ua ʻimi akula au i ka moʻolelo o nā Kānaka Maoli o kēia ʻāina. Akā, ke heluhelu aku, ʻo ka hoʻomaopopo nō ia, ʻaʻole hōʻike ʻia ka moʻolelo o nā Kānaka Maoli ma loko o ua mau puke "moʻolelo" lā. Ua wehewehe ʻia maila ka moʻolelo Hawaiʻi ma o ka leo o ka haole a me ka manaʻo o ka haole. Hoʻomaka nā moʻolelo o ua poʻe puke lā ma ka hiki ʻana mai o Kāpena Kuke, me he mea lā, ʻaʻole i noho mua mai nā Kānaka Maoli ma ka ʻāina nei no hoʻokahi kaukani a ʻoi

makahiki. ʻAʻohe nō hoʻi maopopo iā lākou ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi, a no laila, ʻo nā mea a lākou i noiʻi ai, ma ka ʻōlelo haole nō ia a hōʻike ʻia ka manaʻo haole. I ko lākou kākau hou ʻana i ka "Moʻolelo Hawaiʻi," ua kākau ʻia akula ma ka ʻōlelo haole no ka hōʻike ʻana aku i ko lākou manaʻo haole no ia mea he moʻolelo Hawaiʻi.

He mea ʻole nō hoʻi ka wā i kākau ʻia mai ai ua puke moʻolelo Hawaiʻi ala. Ma ka noiʻi ʻana e pili ana i ka hoʻokahuli aupuni a me ka wā ma hope mai, ua like ke ʻano o nā puke i kākau ʻia e William Alexander a me William Russ ma hope pono o ka hoʻokahuli aupuni, a me ke ʻano o nā puke a Daws, Fuchs, a me Kuykendall i kākau ai i loko o nā makahiki he kanahā i hala aku nei. Wahi a ia mau puke, ua noho mālie me ka huikau wale nō nā Kānaka Maoli, me ke kūʻē ʻole i ka hoʻokahuli aupuni, ka hopohopo ʻole no ka hopena o ko Hawaiʻi kūʻokoʻa, a me ke kūpaʻa ʻole no ka pono o ka ʻāina. ʻAʻole i hōʻike ʻia mai ka hana a nā Kānaka Maoli; ʻaʻole i wehewehe ʻia mai ka manaʻo o nā Kānaka Maoli; ʻaʻole nō i haʻi ʻia mai ka moʻolelo o nā Kānaka Maoli.

I nā makahiki he ʻumi paha i hala aku nei, ua loli mai nō ke ʻano o kekahi moʻolelo Hawaiʻi. Ma ua mau puke nei i kākau ʻia e Lilikalā Kameʻeleihiwa, Noenoe Silva, Jon Osorio, a me Kanalu Young, ua moʻolelo ʻia nā hana a me nā manaʻo o nā Kānaka Maoli. Ua maopopo iā lākou ka mea e pono ai ka moʻolelo o ko kākou mau kūpuna, ʻo ia nō ka leo o ko kākou mau kūpuna.

Ma ka noiʻi ʻana i ka moʻolelo no ka hoʻokahuli aupuni o ka makahiki 1893, he pono ka huli ʻana aku i ia moʻolelo ma ka ʻōlelo i haʻi ʻia ai kēlā moʻolelo, ma ka ʻōlelo o nā Kānaka Maoli. Aia he mau puke i paʻi ʻia aku ma ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi i ia wā, a ua nui nō nā nūpepa i paʻi ʻia ma ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi. ʻO kēia nā wahi e ʻike ʻia aku ai ka hana a me ka manaʻo o nā Kānaka Maoli o ia manawa.

I ka makahiki 1993, ua piha he hoʻokahi haneli makahiki mai ka wā i hoʻokahuli ʻia ai ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi. Ma ka Papa Moʻolelo o ke Keʻena ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi, ua heluhelu ʻia nā moʻolelo like ʻole ma ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi, a no ka papahana noiʻi o ia papa, ua koho kekahi o nā haumāna e noiʻi no ka hoʻokahuli aupuni. Ua pōmaikaʻi ʻiʻo au i ka hana pū ʻana aku me ʻelua hoa papa, ʻo Kalei ʻAʻarona-Lorenzo a me Uʻilani Bobbitt. Ua ʻimi akula a ʻohi maila mākou i kekahi mau mele lāhui i paʻi ʻia ma nā nūpepa ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi i ia wā, me ka wehewehe pū ʻana aku i ko mākou manaʻo no ia mau mele.

I kekahi makahiki mai, ua hana au ma lalo o Amy Kuʻuleialoha Stillman ma kāna hana ʻimi a noiʻi e pili ana i ke ʻano o nā mele hula kuʻi. He ʻano mele ia i haku ʻia ma ka paukū, he ʻelua lālani o ka paukū; he ʻano kuʻi ʻana o ke ʻano o ke au kahiko a me ke au hou. Ma ia hana, ua loaʻa aku he 400 a ʻoi mele hula kuʻi i paʻi ʻia ma nā nūpepa ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi ma waena o ka makahiki 1881 a me ka makahiki 1895. ʻO kekahi hapa o ua mau mele nei, he mele lāhui nō ia e moʻolelo mai ana no ka hoʻokahuli aupuni a me nā hana o nā makahiki ma hope mai.

I koʻu wā i koho aku ai i kumuhana no kēia palapala nei e hoʻokō ai i ke kēkelē laeoʻo, ua noho ihola au a kamaʻilio aku me kekahi kumu aʻu, ʻo ia hoʻi ke kāne o kaʻu kumu hula, nona ka inoa ʻo Kīhei de Silva. He kanaka nui o ke akamai ʻo ia nei ma ka noiʻi ʻana i nā mele a me nā moʻolelo o ko kākou poʻe kūpuna. Ma ia kamaʻilio ʻana, ua hoʻākāka mai ʻo ia i kona hoihoi i nā mele kūʻē o ko kākou lāhui. Wahi āna, he nui nō nā mele aloha a me nā mele inoa, akā ʻaʻole ʻo ke aloha wale nō ke ʻano o nā mele Hawaiʻi. I kahi manawa, he manaʻo kūʻē nō ko ke mele a he pono paha ka noiʻi ʻana a me ka hōʻike ʻana mai i ia ʻano o ko kākou moʻolelo a me ko kākou poʻe kūpuna.

I koʻu noʻonoʻo ʻana iho, ua maopopo ihola ka hana e pono ai au no kēia palapala, ʻo ia nō ka hahai ʻana aku i ke ala i kuhikuhi ʻia mai e oʻu kūpuna ma o ka leo o kaʻu mau kumu. He kūpono nō ka haʻi ʻana i ka moʻolelo o nā

kūpuna i leo ʻia aku ma o nā mele. A no laila, ua huli hoʻi au i nā nūpepa ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi o ka makahiki 1893, a ua ʻimi a loaʻa nā mele a me nā moʻolelo o ko kākou poʻe kūpuna.

I ia ʻimi ʻana ma nā nūpepa ma waena o ka hoʻokahuli aupuni i ka makahiki 1893 a me ka hoʻohui ʻāina i ka makahiki 1898, ua ʻohiʻohi ʻia maila ma kahi o 250 mele mai nā nūpepa a me nā puke ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi.

He mana ko nā mele, no ka mea, hōʻike mōakāka aku nā haku mele i ko lākou manaʻo kūpaʻa no ka pono o ka ʻāina. Ma ka noʻonoʻo ʻana o nā Kānaka Maoli, he mana nō ko ka ʻōlelo. E hoʻomanaʻo kākou i ka ʻōlelo noʻeau o nā kūpuna, "I ka ʻōlelo nō ke ola; i ka ʻōlelo nō ka make." Ke pule ke kanaka, ke oli ke kanaka, ke ʻōlelo ke kanaka, he mana ko laila. I koʻu manaʻo, ua maopopo nō kēia i nā kūpuna o ke au i hala, no laila he hana kūʻē a kūpaʻa nō ka haku mele ʻana o lākou. He hana kūʻē a kūpaʻa ka paʻi ʻana aku i nā mele ma ka nūpepa a he ola a he mana ko nā mele i ka heluhelu ʻia ʻana aku a me ka leo ʻia ʻana aku e ka lehulehu kanaka.

Noʻu iho, he waiwai a koʻikoʻi ia mea he mele lāhui i ka hoʻomaopopo pono ʻana i ka moʻolelo Hawaiʻi. No laila, ʻo ia ka mea nui o kēia wahi palapala nei. Ua paʻi hou ʻia maila kekahi o nā mele i loko nei a ua hoʻāʻo nō hoʻi e hoʻomaopopo pono i ko lākou moʻolelo.

E ʻoluʻolu ʻoe, e ka maka heluhelu, iā ʻoe e heluhelu ana i nei palapala, mai poina, he haumāna wale nō ka mea kākau a ʻaʻole loa maopopo kēlā me kēia mea o nā mele a me ka moʻolelo o ke au i hala. No laila, e huikala mai i nā wahi hemahema e hoʻopuka ʻia aku ana. He hoʻāʻo wale nō kēia e wehewehe i kekahi mahele o ko kākou moʻolelo i ʻole e hoʻopoina ʻia ka hana a me ka manaʻo o ko kākou poʻe kūpuna. Manaʻolana nō hoʻi ka mea kākau, he mea kēia palapala e pau ai ka huikau o nā hanauna o kēia mua aku, ke noʻonoʻo lākou a ke aʻo mai lākou no ka hana a ko kākou poʻe kūpuna. E ka poʻe aloha ʻāina o ka lāhui, no kākou kēia mau mele, no kākou kēia moʻolelo.

Mokuna 1
Ka ʻŌlelo Hoʻākāka

ʻO ka mele kekahi loina nui o ka waiwai no ka lāhui kanaka o Hawaiʻi nei. Ua haku ʻia nā mele, ua hoʻopaʻa naʻau ʻia, a ua oli ʻia nō hoʻi. Ma ka wā i kala loa aku, ʻaʻole i hoʻopaʻa ʻia ka moʻolelo o ko kākou poʻe kūpuna ma ke kākau ʻana ma ka puke a hiki i ka makahiki 1930 a ma hope mai paha; ma ka naʻau wale nō i hoʻopaʻa ʻia ai nā mea a pau—nā mea i hana ʻia a me ko lākou manaʻo no ia mau mea. Ma ka waha wale nō i haʻi ʻia ai ka moʻolelo. No ia kumu, he mea nui koʻikoʻi ka mele no ka mālama a hoʻomau ʻana i nā hana a me nā moʻolelo o kānaka.

ʻO *Ke Kumulipo* kekahi o nā mele mai ka wā kahiko mai. He 2,102 lālani ka lōʻihi o nei mele, a i loko o ua mele nei, hoʻopaʻa ʻia a hoʻohanohano ʻia ka moʻokūʻauhau o kākou, ʻo ia hoʻi nā aliʻi, nā mokupuni, nā ʻāina, a me nā akua.[1] Ua kapa ʻia *Ke Kumulipo* he mele koʻihonua ma muli o kona hōʻike ʻana i ka pili o ke kanaka a me ka ʻāina. Nui naʻe nā ʻano mele ʻē aʻe o ke Kanaka Maoli.

Ma ka puke ʻo *Nā Mele o Hawaiʻi Nei*, hoʻonohonoho ʻo Noelani Mahoe i nā mele ma ko lākou ʻano—ka mele koʻihonua, ka mele aloha, ka mele wahi pana, ka mele inoa, ka mele kanikau, a ʻo ka mele lāhui kekahi.[2] Paʻakikī ka hoʻokaʻawale ʻana i nā mele ma ia mau ʻano, no ka mea, hōʻike ʻia nō ke aloha a me nā wahi pana ma nā mele like ʻole. I ka makahiki 1866, ua haku ʻo Liliʻuokalani i kekahi mele lāhui ma muli o ke noi o ka Mōʻī Kamehameha V.[3] Ma ia mele, hoʻohanohano ʻo Liliʻu i ka inoa o ka Mōʻī a me kona noho aupuni ʻana. Hōʻike pū ʻo ia i nā wahi pana ʻo Hawaiʻi me Niʻihau, ʻo ia nā palena o ke aupuni.[4]

Ua kapa aku ʻo Liliʻuokalani i kāna mele ma ka inoa ʻo "He Mele Lāhui Hawaiʻi." ʻAʻole naʻe ʻo ia wehewehe pono i ia mea he mele lāhui. ʻAʻohe nō hoʻi

hoʻākāka mai ʻo Mahoe. No kēia palapala, e hoʻohana aku ana au i ka inoa "mele lāhui" no nā mele a pau i haku ʻia no ka hoʻohanohano ʻana a me ke kākoʻo ʻana i ka Mōʻī, ka ʻāina, ke aupuni, a me ka lāhui o Hawaiʻi.

I ka makahiki 1893, ma hope o ka hoʻokahuli aupuni, ua haku ʻia a ua paʻi pū ʻia akula nā mele lāhui he nui. Ma ia mau mele i hoʻohanohano ʻia ai ka Mōʻīwahine Liliʻuokalani, kona aupuni, a me kona lāhui a i moʻolelo ʻia mai ai hoʻi nā mea i hana ʻia i nā lā ma mua a ma hope o ka hoʻokahuli aupuni. Aia nō he mau mele i haku ʻia no ka poʻe aloha ʻāina, nāna i kōkua a kākoʻo nui aku i ka Mōʻīwahine Liliʻuokalani, a ua paʻi ʻia aku hoʻi he mau mele e hōʻike aku ana i ka manaʻo kūʻē o nā haku mele. He kūamuamu a he nemanema hoʻi ko nā mele no ka poʻe ʻenemi o ke aupuni.

No kēia wahi palapala, ua ʻimi, ʻohi, a hoʻāʻo ka mea kākau e hoʻomaopopo a wehewehe aku i nā mele lāhui o ka makahiki 1893. He moʻolelo ko kēia mau mele. A pili ko lākou moʻolelo i ka hana a me ka manaʻo kūpaʻa a kūʻē o nā Kānaka Maoli. Ma kekahi o nā mele, ua hōʻike ʻia mai nō ka inoa o ka haku mele, kona wahi a me ka lā nō hoʻi i haku ʻia ai ke mele. Ma kēia mau mele, ua hōʻike ʻia mai nō ma ka palapala nei; ʻaʻole naʻe i ʻimi nui ʻia a loaʻa ka moʻokūʻauhau o ka haku mele. He wahi ia i pau ʻole i ka noiʻi ʻia. No ka hapanui o nā mele naʻe, ʻaʻohe mea i hōʻike ʻia mai. Maliʻa paha, he makana maoli nō nā mele no ka lāhui, a ma ka manaʻo o ka haku mele, ʻaʻole nona wale nō ia manaʻo a me ia mele—no ka lāhui nō ia.

Ma koʻu kikokiko hou ʻana i nā mele, ʻaʻohe oʻu makemake e hoʻololi iki aku i ka manaʻo o nā mele a me nā haku mele. No laila, ʻaʻohe oʻu hoʻokomo aku i nā hōʻailona o ke au nei, ʻo ia hoʻi ka ʻokina a me ke kahakō (inā ʻike ʻia kekahi, pēlā nō ia ma ka nūpepa). ʻAʻohe nō hoʻi oʻu hoʻokaʻawale aku a hoʻopili mai paha i nā hua ʻōlelo o nā mele, e like me ka pela ʻana o kēia mau lā. Ua waiho wale ʻia e like loa me ka mea i paʻi ʻia ma ka nūpepa a me nā puke, a i kekahi manawa, he kiko hewa paha ko ka nūpepa a waiho ʻia nō me ia

hemahema. Inā ʻike ʻia nā helu e kuhikuhi ana i nā paukū o ke mele, ʻo ia ka mea i ʻike ʻia ma ka paʻi ʻana. I mea e kōkua ai i ka wehewehe ʻana i nā mele a me ke kuhikuhi ʻana i nā lālani o nā mele, naʻu i kau aku i nā helu o nā lālani ma ka ʻaoʻao ʻākau. Inā makemake e ʻike pono i nā mele o nā kūpuna, ʻo ka nūpepa nō kahi e nānā aku ai. E heluhelu nō i nā mele. Aia i laila ka moʻolelo. No ke kōkua ʻana aku, i maopopo pono iā kākou ka moʻolelo e haʻi ʻia e nā mele, ua moʻolelo pū ʻia e ka mea kākau nā ʻike kikoʻī o ia wā me ka hoʻāʻo ʻana nō hoʻi e wehewehe aku i kekahi o nā mea hoihoi a waiwai o nā mele. I koʻu noiʻi ʻana a ʻimi ʻana hoʻi i nā ʻike i pono ai koʻu haʻi hou ʻana aku i kēia moʻolelo, ua hoʻāʻo nui au e ʻimi i ka leo o nā Kānaka Maoli e ola ana i ia wā, ma nā nūpepa a me nā puke, i haʻi aku lākou i ka moʻolelo, a i lohe ʻia hoʻi ko lākou moʻolelo. Ma muli o ia ʻano pili, ʻaʻohe oʻu hoʻāʻo e hoʻololi iki i kēia mau mele, a ʻo nā manaʻo a pau e wehewehe ʻia aku e pili ana i nā mele, noʻu wale nō ia mau manaʻo a ʻo ia wale nō kaʻu mea e wehewehe aku ai—koʻu manaʻo no kēia mau mele a me ko lākou pili i ka moʻolelo o Hawaiʻi nei.

Ma ka mokuna mua o kēia wahi palapala, kēia mokuna nei, e hoʻākāka aku ana ka mea kākau no ke ʻano o nā mele lāhui i haku ʻia ma ka wā o ka hoʻokahuli aupuni. A laila, e huli hope aku ana ka moʻolelo i ka wā ma mua aku ma ka Mokuna 2. Ma ia mokuna, e nānā ana a e hoʻomaopopo pono ana kākou i ka moʻolelo o ka wā ma mua o ka hoʻokahuli aupuni, a me ka pilina o ia moʻolelo a me nā mele o nā Kānaka Maoli. Ma o ia pilina kākou e ʻike ai i ka mōhala ʻana mai o ia mea he mele lāhui. ʻO ka hoʻokahuli aupuni ka mea nui o ka Mokuna 3, a na nā mele lāhui o ia wā e haʻi mai i ia moʻolelo. Ma hope o ka hoʻokahuli aupuni, ua hoʻomaka koke nā Kānaka Maoli e ʻimi i wahi e hoʻoponopono ai i ia pilikia. ʻO kēia mau hana a me nā mele o ka makahiki 1893 ka mea i moʻolelo ʻia ma ka Mokuna 4. Ma ka Mokuna 5, hoʻākāka ʻia he mau mea maʻa mau i ʻike ʻia ma nā mele lāhui, e laʻa me ke noi ʻana i ke kōkua a me ka pōmaikaʻi o nā Akua. He mea maʻa mau nō hoʻi ka ʻōlelo kūamuamu

no ka poʻe pākaha ʻāina; a pēlā i hōʻike ʻia ai ke aloha no ka poʻe aloha ʻāina, ka Mōʻīwahine, ke aupuni, a me ka lāhui. Ma ka panina o kēia wahi palapala, ma ka Mokuna 6, hōʻike ʻia nā hana o nā makahiki ma hope o ka hoʻokahuli aupuni. Ua mau loa aku ka moʻolelo a me nā mele lāhui.

Ka Mele Lāhui

Mai ka manawa mua o kona paʻi ʻia ʻana i ka makahiki 1893, ua lilo koke kekahi mele lāhui i punahele no ka lāhui. He mau inoa ko kēia mele. I ka lā mua i paʻi ʻia ai, ka lā 23 o Malaki o ka makahiki 1893, ua kapa ʻia kona inoa ʻo "He Inoa No Na Keiki O Ka Bana Lahui."[5] Ma ka lā 10 o Mei o ia makahiki, ʻo "He Lei No Ka Poe Aloha Aina" ka inoa.[6] ʻO kēia mele nō hoʻi ke mele mua loa i loko o ka *Buke Mele Lahui* o ka makahiki 1895. Ma ia puke, paʻi ʻia akula ʻelua inoa; ʻo "Mele Aloha Aina" ka mua a ma lalo, paʻi ʻia maila ka inoa ʻo "Ai-Pohaku."[7] I kēia mau lā, kapa ʻia kēia mele ma ka inoa ʻo "Mele ʻAi Pōhaku" a i ʻole ia ʻo "Kaulana Nā Pua."[8]

Wahi a nā nūpepa a me nā puke, ua haku ʻia kēia mele e Kekoaohiwaikalani a i ʻole ʻo Miss Kekoaohiwaikalani. ʻO Ellen Kekoaohiwaikalani Wright Prendergast kona inoa piha. He keiki ʻo ia nei no Honolulu mai i hānau ʻia i ka makahiki 1865. He ukali ʻo ia no Liliʻuokalani a ua haku ʻo ia i mau mele no ka Mōʻīwahine a me ke aupuni i ka wā ma hope o ka hoʻokahuli aupuni. Ma koʻu ʻohi ʻana, ua loaʻa he 14 mele i haku ʻia na Kekoaohiwaikalani. Ma kāna mau mele, hōʻike aku ka haku mele i kona aloha ʻāina a me kona kākoʻo a kūpaʻa no nā pono o ka lāhui.[9]

Ua haku ʻia maila kēia mele kaulana ma ko Kekoaohiwaikalani hale i kapa ʻia kona inoa ʻo Puahaulani Hale ma Kapālama. I ia lā, wahi a ka moʻolelo, e nanea ana ʻo Kekoaohiwaikalani ma ka lānai o ka hale a ua kipa maila he mau hoa, he mau kānaka hoʻokani no ka Pana Lāhui. Wahi a ka moʻolelo i haʻi ʻia mai e kā Kekoaohiwaikalani kaikamahine i ka wā ma hope,

ua ʻano huhū maila a uluhua paha lākou i ke aupuni hou, i ke Aupuni Kūikawā, no ka mea, ua koi ʻia akula nā lima hana pākahi a pau o ke aupuni e hoʻohiki ma lalo o ke aupuni hou me ka hoʻohiki pū e kākoʻo ʻole i ka Mōʻīwahine. Ua pono e pūlima ʻia he palapala hoʻohiki o pau auaneʻi kā lākou hana. Ma ka lā mua o Pepeluali, ua hōʻole akula nā mea hoʻokani i ka pūlima ʻana aku i ia palapala, ma muli o ko lākou kūpaʻa mau ʻana ma hope o ko lākou Mōʻīwahine. Ma hope mai, ua kipa aku lākou iā Kekoaohiwaikalani e noi iā ia e haku i mele e hōʻike aku ana i ko lākou manaʻo kūʻē.[10]

HE LEI NO KA POE ALOHA AINA.

Kaulana na pua a Hawaii
Kupaa mahope o ka Aina
Hiki mai ka Elele a ka lokoino
Palapala anunu me ka pakaha
Pane mai Hawaii Nui a Keawe
Kokua na Hono a Piilani.
Kakoo mai Kauai o Mano
Pau pu me ke one o Kakuhihewa
Aole e kau kuu pulima
Maluna o ka pepa a ka Enemi
Aole makou e minamina
I ka puu kala a ke Aupuni
Ua ola makou i ka pohaku
I ka ai kamahao a ka Aina
Hoohui Aina kuai hewa
I ka pono Kiwila a o ke Kanaka
Mahope makou o Liliulani,
A kau hou ia i ke Kalaunu
Haina ia mai ana ka puana
No ka poe i Aloha i ka Aina.

MISS KEKOAOHIWAIKALANI.
PUAHAULANI HALE.
Honolulu, Feb. 10, 1893.

Kiʻi 1. "He Lei No Ka Poe Aloha Aina," *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 15 Mei 1893.

Ma hope o ka paʻi ʻia ʻana o kēia mele ma ka nūpepa, ua lilo koke ia i punahele no ka lāhui. Ma waena o ka makahiki 1893 a me 1895, ua paʻi ʻia nei mele he ʻewalu manawa ma nā nūpepa a me nā puke. No ka hapanui o nā

mele lāhui i pa'i 'ia i ia wā, 'a'ole o kākou maopopo, inā ua ho'okani 'ia a oli 'ia paha nā mele lāhui. No kēia mele na'e, ua hīmeni 'ia a lohe 'ia nō ma kekahi mau wahi o Hawai'i nei. Ua hīmeni 'ia ke mele e nā lālā o ka Pana Lāhui ma ka lā 1 o Pepeluali i ka makahiki 1894. I ia wā, ua piha he ho'okahi makahiki mai ko lākou hō'ole 'ana aku i ka pepa ho'ohiki.[11] Ma 'Okakopa o ka makahiki 1894, ma ka hana ho'ola'a no ka māla pua a ka Mō'īwahine, 'o ia ho'i 'o Uluhaimalama, ua hīmeni 'ia aku nei mele i ka wā i kau pa'a 'ia aku ai he pōhaku ma laila. He hō'ailona ia pōhaku o ko lākou kūpa'a ma ka 'āina a he pili ho'i ia mana'o i nā hua 'ōlelo o ke mele. No nā mele lāhui 'ē a'e i haku 'ia i ia wā, 'a'ole au i 'ike i kekahi mo'olelo i pili i ke oli 'ia 'ana a i 'ole ka hīmeni 'ia 'ana o nā mele; mali'a paha, ua nui nō, 'a'ole na'e i mo'olelo 'ia mai. 'A'ole nō ho'i ia he hō'ailona o ke aloha 'ole a me ka mahalo 'ole o nā Kānaka Maoli i nā mele, no ka mea, i ka heluhelu 'ana o kēlā me kēia kānaka i nā mele, he ola nō kona i like loa me ke oli 'ana a me ka hīmeni 'ana.

I ka hapa mua o ke kenekulia nei, 'a'ohe wahi i lohe 'ia ai a i 'ike 'ia ai ho'i kēia mele. A wahi a ka mo'olelo, ua nalowale aku ka leo a Kekoaohiwaikalani i hīmeni ai ma kēia mele. Ua no'ono'o 'ia, na Maddy K. Lam i haku i leo hou ma kahi o ka makahiki 1950 i kona noi 'ia 'ana e kā Kekoaohiwaikalani kaikamahine.[12] Akā, ma ka noi'i pono 'ana o Amy Ku'uleialoha Stillman ma ka Hale Waihona Puke o ka 'Aha'ōlelo o 'Amelika, ua loa'a nō iā ia he palapala hua mele i ho'opa'a kuleana 'ia i ka makahiki 1895 e J. S. Libornio, 'o ia ho'i kekahi o nā lālā o ka Pana Lāhui i ka makahiki 1893. Ua lilo nō ho'i 'o Libornio i alaka'i no ka pana hou i kūkulu 'ia e lākou. Wahi a Stillman, ua like ka leo o ia palapala me ka leo a kākou e hīmeni aku ai i kēia mau lā. A i kona mana'o, iā Maddy Lam e ho'okani mai ana i ke mele ma ka makahiki 1950, he kuhihewa paha ka no'ono'o 'ana, ua haku 'o ia i ka leo. Mali'a paha, 'a'ole 'o ia i haku i leo i ia manawa; ua ho'omana'o a ho'okani wale 'o ia i ka leo i lohe mua 'ia.[13]

Ma hope maila, ua kaulana hou mai ua mele nei. Ua hoʻopaʻa leo ʻia he 40 a ʻoi manawa e nā kānaka hīmeni hanohano o Hawaiʻi nei, e laʻa me Genoa Keawe, Myrtle K. Hilo, Leinaala Haili, Marlene Sai, Kahauanu Lake Trio, Hui Ohana, nā Cazimero, me Keola Beamer. Ua kaulana loa ka mea a Peter Moon mā i hoʻopaʻa leo ai no ke ʻano ʻeleu a ikaika a ua hoʻoulu hou ʻia ka manaʻo kūʻē ma ka naʻau o nā Kānaka Maoli i ka lohe aku. I loko o nā makahiki ʻelima i hala iho nei, ua puka hou mai kēia mele ma ke pā leo o Nā Waihoʻoluʻu o ke Ānuenue me Sudden Rush, a me ka Big Island Conspiracy.[14]

Ma ka paʻi ʻia ʻana o kēia mele a me ka hoʻopaʻa leo ʻia ʻana, mai ka makahiki 1893 a hiki mai i ka makahiki 2002, ua ʻokoʻa iki nā hua ʻōlelo o ke mele. Ma muli o ia ʻokoʻa, ua pono e koho ʻia kekahi no ka palapala nei. Ua koho ʻia aku ka mea i paʻi ʻia ma ka lā 15 o Mei i ka makahiki 1893 ma ka nūpepa ʻo *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui* ma muli o ka mea i kākau ʻia ma lalo pono o ke mele, penei:

> Mamuli o ka nui o na noi ia makou e hoopuka hou ia aku ke mele o ka poe Aloha Aina, ke hooko ia aku nei ko oukou makemake; a o keia ana ke kope pololei loa o keia Mele i loaa mai ka Lede nana i haku keia mele.[15]

Ua loaʻa nō hoʻi kēia ʻōlelo ma lalo o ke mele i ka paʻi ʻia ʻana ma ka lā 10 a me ka lā 12 o Mei. Ma ia paʻi ʻana naʻe, aʻole i loaʻa he ʻehā lālani o ke mele. No laila, ua koho ʻia ka lā 15 o Mei no ka loaʻa ʻana mai o kēia ʻōlelo a me ka loaʻa pū ʻana mai o nā lālani a pau. No ka hapanui o nā mele lāhui, ua like ke kino o ke mele me ko kēia mele. Kapa ʻia kēia ʻano mele he mele hula kuʻi i ka wā ma mua aku, no kona ʻano he kuʻi o nā ʻano mele ʻelua—nā mele haole me nā mele Hawaiʻi. ʻO ka mea maʻa mau o ia ʻano mele, pālua nā lālani o ke mele, ma ke ʻano he paukū, a ma ka paukū hope loa, ʻike ʻia ka lālani "puana" a i ʻole ia "haʻina." He mau ʻano maʻa mau ko kēia paukū hope loa no ka hōʻike ʻana aku i ka manaʻo nui o ka haku mele a me ke kumuhana nui o ke mele.[16] Eia

nō na'e, i ka hīmeni 'ia 'ana o kēia mele e Kekoaohiwaikalani, ua ho'oka'awale 'ia ma nā paukū—he 'ehā lālani o ka paukū a he 'elima paukū o ke mele.

Mai ka makahiki 1893 a i kēia manawa, nui wale ke aloha o nā kānaka i kēia mele. Kūpono ho'i ia aloha, no ka mea, ma kēia mele e 'ike 'ia ai kekahi o nā mea nani a maika'i o ka mele lāhui. Ma kēia mokuna nei, e wehewehe 'ia aku ana ia mau mea nani a maika'i o nā mele lāhui ma o kēia mele nei. I mea e kōkua aku ai i ia wehewehe 'ana, e lilo ana nā lālani o kēia mele kaulana nei i po'omana'o e ho'ākāka ai i ke 'ano o nā mele lāhui. He keu ka maika'i o kēia mele ma ka wehewehe 'ana aku i nā mea he nui e pili ana i kēlā wā o ka ho'okahuli aupuni; hō'ike 'ia maila ka mo'olelo, hō'ike 'ia maila nā loina Hawai'i; a hō'ike pū 'ia maila ka mana'o o nā kānaka. Ke nānā aku i kēia mele ho'okahi, he kōkua ia i ka ho'omaopopo 'ana i ke 'ano o nā mele lāhui a pau.

Kaulana Na Pua A Hawaii

I kahi manawa, 'ano ma'alahi ka ho'omaopopo 'ana mai i nā mele, no ka mea, mōakāka ko ka haku mele wehewehe 'ana mai i kona mana'o. Akā i kahi manawa, he kaona ko ke mele a 'ano pa'akikī a he pohihihi ka ho'omaopopo pono 'ana aku. Ma kāna puke i kākau iho ai, ua 'ōlelo 'o Nona Beamer e pili ana i ia mea he kaona. Wahi āna, he pili pono'ī ko ka haku mele a me kāna mele i haku ai. I kahi manawa, 'o ka haku mele ka mea ho'okahi e ho'omaopopo pono i ka mana'o 'oia'i'o o nā mea a pau o kāna mele.[17]

I ka paukū mua o kēia mele, ua akāka maoli ka mana'o o ka haku mele. Hō'ike le'a 'o ia i ke 'ano o kona mana'o a me kona na'au. Wahi āna, "Kaulana na pua a Hawaii / Kupaa mahope a ka Aina" (l. 1-2). Ma kēia mau lālani, e mele ana ka haku mele no ke 'ano o kona lāhui. 'O nā pua ho'i nā kānaka a me nā keiki o ka lāhui, a hō'ike 'ia ka pili o ke kanaka i ka 'āina ma o ke kapa 'ana iā ia he pua. He mea nui kēia i ka ho'omaopopo 'ana o ke

Kanaka Maoli iā ia iho a me kona pilina i kēia ʻāina. Mai ka ʻāina mai nō ko kākou moʻokūʻauhau, a no laila, ʻaʻole e hoʻokaʻawale ʻia ke kanaka mai ka ʻāina aku a mai ka lāhui aku nō hoʻi, inā noho mai nō ʻo ia i ka ʻāina nei a ʻaʻole paha. Hōʻike nō hoʻi ka haku mele i ka mahalo i ke ʻano o kona lāhui a me ko lākou hana pono e hana ai no ka lāhui.

Eia naʻe, ma nā lālani o lalo iho, he ʻeha a he huhū nō hoʻi ko ka naʻau o ka haku mele i ka hiki ʻana mai o kahi "elele lokoino," ʻo ia ka poʻe nāna i hana ʻino i ke aupuni (l. 3). Hoʻākāka ʻia ka moʻolelo ma kēia mau lālani ma ka wehewehe ʻana mai no kekahi palapala i lawe ʻia mai e ka ʻenemi. ʻO ia ka palapala hoʻohui ʻāina i noi ʻia e nā kānaka nāna i hoʻokahuli i ke aupuni. Mai nā makahiki 1880, e ʻimi ana ka poʻe haole kālepa i nā alahele e kō ai ka hoʻohui ʻāina aku o Hawaiʻi ma lalo o ʻAmelika i mea e nui ai ko lākou waiwai ma o ke kūʻai ʻana aku i ke kōpaʻa ma ʻAmelika. Ma kāna mele, ua moākāka ko Kekoaohiwaikalani manaʻo no ka ʻino o ua poʻe a me ka ʻino o ko lākou "palapala anunu me ka pakaha" (l. 4).

Mai kuhihewa mai ʻoe, e ka maka heluhelu, he manaʻo ʻoluʻolu a he naʻau palupalu wale nō ko nā Kānaka Maoli; a mai kuhihewa mai, he hua ʻōlelo nani a maikaʻi wale nō ko nā mele. Inā he ʻino a he ʻānunu paha, kapa ʻia nō he ʻino, he ʻānunu. Hōʻike pinepine ʻia ka pono a me ka hewa o nā loina kanaka ma nā mele lāhui. No nā Kānaka Maoli, he pono nō ke kūpaʻa ʻana no ka pono o ka ʻāina, no ka mea, ʻo lākou nā Kānaka Hawaiʻi; ʻo lākou nō nā pua o ia ʻāina. A ʻo ka ʻānunu a me ka pākaha o ka poʻe hoʻokahuli aupuni, he hewa nō ia.[18]

Ma kā Kimo Alama puke, kākau ihola nō hoʻi ʻo ia i kona manaʻo no ia mea he mele. Wahi āna, ke nānā kākou i nā mele o ka wā i hala, wehewehe mōakāka ʻia maila ka manaʻo nui o ka haku mele no kona wā a me kāna hana i ia wā. I ko kākou nānā ʻana aku i nā mele lāhui o ka makahiki 1893, ulu nui aʻe ko kākou hoʻomaopopo ʻana mai i kā lākou hana, ke ʻano o ko lākou nohona

a me ko lākou mau manaʻo. Ma o ke mele e ola ai ka moʻolelo o nā kānaka, nā wahi pana, a me nā hana o ka wā i hala. Wehewehe ʻia maila ka moʻolelo ma nā mele a he haliʻa aloha nō hoʻi ko nā mele.[19] No laila, i ko kākou nānā ʻana aku i nā mele, ma kekahi ʻano, hoʻi aku kākou i ka wā o ka haku mele a hoʻomaopopo aku i ka nohona, ka hana, ka manaʻo, a me ka moʻolelo o kona ʻāina a me kona wā. Ma nā lālani ma lalo mai, hōʻike mai ʻo Kekoaohiwaikalani i ia pilina o ka moʻolelo, ka ʻāina, a me ka mele.

Pane Mai O Hawaii Nui A Keawe

Ma kāna mele, ua wehewehe maila nō hoʻi ʻo Kekoaohiwaikalani i ke kōkua a me ke kākoʻo o nā mokupuni. He mana nō ko kēia ʻano hana, no ka mea, hōʻike mai ʻo ia i ka palena o ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi mai ka mokupuni nui ʻo Hawaiʻi a hiki aku i Kauaʻi. Ke lohe aku, me he mea lā, ua kākoʻo mai ʻehā wale nō mokupuni. Eia nō naʻe, he pili pū ko Kahoʻolawe, Lānaʻi, a me Molokaʻi me "na hono a Piilani," ʻo ia hoʻi ʻo Maui (l. 6). Pēlā pū ka pili o Niʻihau, Kaʻula, Lehua, a me Nihoa me "Kauai o Mano" a me "ke one o Kakuhihewa" (l. 7-8).

Ua kāhea aku nō hoʻi ʻo Kekoaohiwaikalani i nā inoa o nā aliʻi kaulana o nā mokupuni. He hōʻailona ia o ia manaʻo hoʻokahi no ke kūpaʻa a me ke kākoʻo o ua poʻe aliʻi lā. Ma muli o ko Kekoaohiwaikalani kāhea ʻana aku i nā aliʻi me nā mokupuni, ʻaʻole ʻo ia kū hoʻokahi. Maopopo iā ia a hōʻike maila nō hoʻi ʻo ia, kū pū nā Kānaka Maoli o nā mokupuni a pau. He mea nui kēia hoʻomaopopo ʻana o ke Kanaka Maoli i kona kūlana, he Kanaka Maoli ma kona pilina i ka lāhui a me ke aupuni. Ua loli iki ke ʻano o ia pilina; ʻaʻole ia he pilina i kona ʻāina ponoʻī a me kona mokupuni ponoʻī wale nō. He pilina ia i ke aupuni nō hoʻi mai kahi pae a kahi pae. Ma o kāna mele, hōʻoia mai ʻo Kekoaohiwaikalani i ia ʻano manaʻo; a hōʻoia pū ʻia ke kōkua a me ke kākoʻo o ka lāhui no ko lākou Mōʻīwahine a me ko lākou aupuni.

Ma kēia mau lālani ʻehā, ʻoi loa aku ka nui o ko nā Kānaka Maoli manaʻo no ka hoʻokahuli aupuni ma mua o nā mea i ʻike ʻia ma nā "moʻolelo Hawaiʻi" a Daws, Fuchs, a me Kuykendall. Ma mua o koʻu hōʻike ʻana aku i nā manaʻo o nā Kānaka Maoli, makemake au e nānā pono ko ʻoukou maka, e ka poʻe heluhelu, i nā hua ʻōlelo i kākau ʻia e Daws mā, i ʻike kākou i ke ʻano o kā lākou ʻōlelo a me ko lākou manaʻo no nā Kānaka Maoli, a i maopopo hoʻi i ka poʻe a pau ka ʻeha o ka naʻau o ke Kanaka Maoli ke heluhelu aku i ia ʻano manaʻo.

Eia nō naʻe, inā ʻaʻohe hoʻolohe, ʻaʻohe ʻimi, a ʻaʻohe paha nānā o ka mea kākau moʻolelo i ka manaʻo o nā Kānaka Maoli, he maʻalahi ke kuhihewa ʻana i ka hopohopo ʻole a me ke kūʻē ʻole o nā Kānaka Maoli. He akāka wale ia ma kekahi puke "moʻolelo Hawaiʻi." (E waiho ana au ma ka ʻōlelo haole i ʻike leʻa ʻia ke ʻano o ka ʻōlelo a me ka manaʻo o nā mea kākau.)

Wahi a Lawrence Fuchs ma kāna puke ʻo *Hawaii Pono: A Social History*:

> The word *pilikia* (trouble) was on the lips of hundreds of Hawaiians on the evening of January 16, 1893, as they peeked from behind doors and around corners, watching American sailors arrogantly parade two light canon through the virtually empty streets of Honolulu.[20]

Ua kākau nō hoʻi ʻo ia penei:

> To the overwhelming majority of Hawaiians, from the Queen to the commoner in the taro patch, a black cloud descended over the Islands; their birthright had been stolen.[21]

Ma ka mea a Edward Joesting i kākau ai ma kāna puke ʻo *Hawaii: An Uncommon History*:

> There was no disorder in the Kingdom the night the monarchy died, although there was intense frustration among the Hawaiians.[22]

He ʻano minamina ka mea i wehewehe ʻia maila ma kēia mau puke a ma kekahi ʻano, ua hoʻāʻo nā mea kākau e wehewehe i kekahi mea no ke

'ano o nā kānaka, akā, he 'ano uluhua wale nō; 'a'ohe mea i hana 'ia akula e nā kānaka.

Wahi a William Adam Russ, ma kāna puke i kapa 'ia 'o *The Hawaiian Revolution (1893-94)*, penei ka 'ōlelo a P. C. Jones (ka mea i lilo i Kuhina Waiwai no ke Aupuni Kūikawā):

> It was a surprise to us to see how quickly and quietly they yielded, and it is an evidence of the rottenness of the monarchy which fell as soon as any resistance was made.[23]

Ua kākau iho 'o William Alexander e pili ana i kahi Hālāwai Maka'āinana i mālama 'ia ma ka lā 16 o Ianuali 1893, ho'okahi lā ma mua o ka ho'okahuli aupuni. Penei kona wehewehe 'ana mai:

> It was a tame and dispirited meeting...the tone of this meeting was constrained and unnatural, the only genuine enthusiasm being called out by expressions of sympathy with the attempted *Coup d'etat* of Saturday, the 14th.[24]

Ma nā hua 'ōlelo a Alexander i koho aku ai no ka wehewehe 'ana aku i ke 'ano o ka hālāwai, mōakāka kona mana'o a me kona mahalo 'ole i ke Aupuni Hawai'i a me ke Kanaka Maoli. Kapa aku nō 'o ia i ko lākou 'ano he "constrained" a he "unnatural," me he mea la, 'oko'a paha ko nā Kānaka Maoli mana'o, akā, 'a'ole lākou e hō'ike aku ana i ko lākou mana'o 'oia'i'o. Eia nō na'e, wahi a Alexander, ua li'ili'i wale no ko lākou 'eleu a kūpa'a ("genuine enthusiasm"). A laila, kapa aku 'o Alexander i ka hana a ka Mō'īwahine he "coup d'etat," he mea kū 'ole i ke kānāwai. Kohu mea lā, na ka Mō'īwahine i hana hewa a i ho'ā'o e ho'okahuli aku i ke aupuni. Eia nō na'e, ma ka hana 'ana o Lili'uokalani, ua hahai nō 'o ia i ka hana i kuhikuhi 'ia ma ke kānāwai no ka ho'ololi 'ana i ke kumukānāwai.

Ke nānā aku kākou i kā Daws mea i kākau ai e pili ana i ka Hālāwai Maka'āinana a me ka hālāwai o ke Kōmike Ho'opakele, 'o ia ho'i 'o Dole a me Thurston mā, kohu like ke 'ano o ke kākau 'ana. He "subdued gathering" wale nō ka mea i mālama 'ia e nā Kānaka Maoli, akā, "about fifteen hundred

people gathered to hear what the Committee of Safety had to say."[25] Ma kā Kuykendall moʻolelo, ʻoi iki aʻe ka nui o nā mea kikoʻī no nā hālāwai ʻelua, akā mau nō ke ʻano o ka wehewehe ʻana mai. Ua kākau ʻo Kuykendall no ka hele ʻana aku o nā kānaka i ka hālāwai o ke Kōmike Hoʻopakele. Wahi āna, aia ma kahi o 1,260 a 1,500 paha kānaka ma ia hālāwai, ʻo ia nō ka poʻe haole a pau o ke kaona. Ma ka hālāwai, ua ʻāpono ʻia ka pahuhopu o ke Kōmike Hoʻopakele, ʻo ia hoʻi ka "permanent maintenance of law and order and protection of life, liberty and property in Hawaii," me ka "unanimous standing vote, and with loud and enthusiastic cheers."[26] Ma ua hālāwai nei, ʻaʻole i ʻōlelo pololei ʻia aku no ko lākou manaʻo e hoʻokahuli aku i ke aupuni, akā, wahi a Kuykendall, ua maopopo nō i ka poʻe a pau ia pahuhopu ʻoiaʻiʻo o lākou. Ua haʻiʻōlelo kekahi mau kānaka ma ua hālāwai nei a ua ʻōlelo nui lākou e pili ana i ka hana a ka Mōʻīwahine Liliʻuokalani me ke kapa pū ʻana aku i ia hana he hana kipi a he hana kū ʻole i ke kumukānāwai a me ke kapa ʻana aku iā ia he kanaka mākaia. Ua noi hoʻokahi wale nō kanaka, ʻo ia hoʻi ʻo H. R. Baldwin, no ka hoʻokō ʻana aku i kā lākou hana me ka hana pono e kū i ke kumukānāwai, akā, he ʻuā wale akula ko ka poʻe me ka hōʻole aku.

Ma hope maila, hoʻomau aku ʻo Kuykendall i kāna moʻolelo me ka wehewehe ʻana mai no ka Hālāwai Makaʻāinana, ʻo ia hoʻi ka hālāwai no ka poʻe e kākoʻo ana i ka Mōʻīwahine. Wahi āna, aia he "shifting audience of between five hundred and a thousand natives, interspersed with knots of curious bystanders." Aia nō ma laila nā kānaka i kākoʻo nui i ka Mōʻīwahine a i ko lākou haʻiʻōlelo ʻana aku, ua pono e ʻōlelo mālie i ʻole e hōʻeleu aku a hoʻohuhū aku paha i ke Kōmike Hoʻopakele, a no laila, wahi a Kuykendall, ua hana ka poʻe me ka "notable lack of enthusiasm."[27]

Ke heluhelu ʻia aku kekahi o ua mau moʻolelo lā, he puni wale paha kekahi kanaka. Ke huli aku ma kekahi puke, a ʻo ia moʻolelo hoʻokahi nō kai palapala ʻia, he mau kānaka hou aku ke puni aku. I ke kolu o ka manawa e

ʻike ʻia ai ua moʻolelo hoʻokahi nō, e manaʻo ʻia auaneʻi, he ʻoiaʻiʻo a he pololei. Kohu naio i loko o ka naʻau o ke Kanaka Maoli, kahi e hoʻomāiloilo mau ana iā loko. He pono nō ka nīnau ʻana aku no ke kumu i hana ai ka poʻe kākau moʻolelo pēlā. He pono ka nīnau ʻana aku no ka maikaʻi a me ka maikaʻi ʻole o ka noiʻi ʻana a me ka wehewehe ʻana aku o ia poʻe kākau. Ua ʻikea, ʻaʻohe o lākou noiʻi iki no ka manaʻo maoli a ʻoiaʻiʻo o nā Kānaka Maoli. Inā hilinaʻi kākou i ka moʻolelo i kākau ʻia i loko o nā puke o luna nei, kohu mea lā, ʻaʻohe o nā Kānaka Maoli hana nui ma ka hoʻāʻo ʻana e hoʻoponopono i nā pilikia o ke aupuni; ʻaʻohe o lākou kūpaʻa no ka pono o ka lāhui; a ma nā hana liʻiliʻi a lākou i hana ai, ʻaʻohe o lākou leo nui, ʻaʻohe o lākou ʻeleu loa. Me he mea lā, ʻaʻohe o lākou hopohopo a loʻohia nui i ka hoʻokahuli ʻia o ko lākou aupuni.

Eia naʻe, he kuhihewa maoli kēia ʻano manaʻo, a maʻalahi nō ka hoʻomaopopo ʻana akula i ia kuhihewa. Inā nānā iki ʻia aku nā poʻomanaʻo o nā nūpepa ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi, inā ua ʻike ʻia ka moʻolelo. Wahi a nā moʻolelo, "Pihakui ka Hale Mele Hou i nā mamo a Kamehameha," a "he mau tausani o na Hawaii i akoakoa ae me ka maluhia."[28] Wehewehe nō hoʻi ia mau moʻolelo i ke kumu i mālie ai nā Kānaka Maoli ma ka Hālāwai Makaʻāinana, ma muli hoʻi ia o ko lākou aloha i ka Mōʻīwahine:

> Aloha iloko o ka puuwai, iloko o ko kakou umauma, no ko kakou Moiwahine Liliu, ka Moiwahine mua loa iloko o ke aloha, ke kupaa a me ka malama i ka maluhia.[29]

Ua ʻike ʻia mai nō hoʻi ko nā Kānaka Maoli manaʻo ma ka nui o nā mele lāhui a me ke ʻano o ka ʻōlelo ma nā mele lāhui; ʻike ʻia hoʻi ko lākou manaʻo kūpaʻa a kūʻē. ʻAʻole paha i kī ʻia akula nā pū laipela a pepehi ʻia akula ka poʻe nāna i hoʻokahuli i ke aupuni o ko kākou Mōʻīwahine, akā he kūpaʻa a he kūʻē kā lākou hana a me ko lākou manaʻo. Ma kekahi lālani o kāna mele, hōʻike mai ʻo Kekoaohiwaikalani i kona manaʻo kūpaʻa a kūʻē.

Aole E Kau Kuu Pulima

Ma kēia lālani a me kekahi lālani a'e o kāna mele i hō'ike aku ai 'o Kekoaohiwaikalani i ka hana kū'ē a nā mea ho'okani o ka Pana Lāhui. Wahi āna, "Aole e kau kuu pulima / Maluna o ka pepa a ka Enemi" (l. 9-10). He hana kū'ē ko lākou hō'ole 'ana aku e pūlima i ka palapala ho'ohiki o ke aupuni a he hana kū'ē ka ho'opa'a 'ana i ia hana ma kekahi mele. Kapa 'ia ke Aupuni Kūikawā 'o ka 'enemi, a wehewehe pū 'ia nō ho'i ko ka 'enemi 'i'ini e "Hoohui Aina kuai hewa / I ka pono Kiwila a o ke kanaka" (l. 11-12). Moākāka wale ka mahalo 'ole o Kekoaohiwaikalani a me nā Kānaka Maoli 'ē a'e nō ho'i i ke aupuni hou. He kū'ē maoli nō ke 'ano o ka 'ōlelo ma kēia mau lālani.

He ha'awina waiwai ka ho'omaopopo 'ana maila i ia mea he hana kū'ē. He kini a he lehulehu nā 'ano o ka hana kū'ē o kānaka. I loko o nā makahiki he kanahā i hala iho nei, ua nui hou maila ke kū'ē 'ana o nā Kānaka Maoli no ka pono o ko kākou 'āina. Ua ho'omaka ma ke awāwa 'o Kalama i nā makahiki 1960 a ua ho'omau maila me ke kū'ē 'ana aku i ka ho'opahū 'ana ma Kaho'olawe i nā makahiki 1970. Ma o ko kākou kūpa'a 'ana aku no ka pono o ke ea Hawai'i, ka 'ōlelo Hawai'i a me nā kuleana 'ōiwi o nā Kānaka Maoli, ua 'ano ma'a maila kekahi o kākou i nā hana kū'ē o ke au nei. I kahi manawa, hele kākou i ke kapikala no ke kū'ē 'ana i kahi pila hou o ka 'Aha'ōlelo. Lawe kākou i nā hō'ailona a kū kākou ma mua o nā Luna Maka'āinana a me nā Kenekoa me ka ha'i pū 'ana i ko kākou mana'o pono'ī. I kahi manawa, kū'ē kākou ma ke 'ano maluhia me ka noho pa'a 'ana ma nā wahi i mea e mālama aku ai i ia mau wahi, e la'a me ka hana ma Hālawa i ka wā e kūkulu 'ia ana ke alaloa i laila. Kū'ē a kūpa'a loa nō ho'i kākou no nā pono o nā Kānaka Maoli ma o nā loina, 'o ia ho'i ke oli, ka hula, a me ka pule ma nā wahi like 'ole, e la'a me ke kapikala a me Wa'ahila a me Kīlauea nō ho'i.

Iā kākou e a'o mai ai e pili ana i nā hana ko'iko'i e like me ka ho'okahuli aupuni, he mea nui ka ho'omana'o 'ana aku a me ka ho'omaopopo 'ana aku i nā

ʻano like ʻole o ka hana kūʻē. Ma kāna puke, ua wehewehe maikaʻi maila ʻo Jacques Semelin i ia mea he kūʻē. Wahi āna,

> Civilian resistance...[is] the civil society's spontaneous process of struggle, by unarmed means, against aggression of which it is victim.
> [Resistance] refers to acts through which a determination to refuse is expressed collectively. To resist is first to find the strength to say 'No' without necessarily having a clear idea of what one wants. The act of resistance is characterized by the determination not to give into the will of the aggressor. It is based on a radical attitude of non-cooperation and confrontation with the adversary.[31]

No laila, ʻaʻole pono e like loa nā manaʻo o ka poʻe a pau ma mua o ke kūʻē ʻana. Ma kā James C. Scott puke ʻo *Weapons of the Weak*, hoʻākāka maila ʻo ia no ke ʻano o ka hana kūʻē o nā kānaka makaʻāinana o Malaysia. ʻAʻole he alo a he alo ke ʻano o ko lākou kūʻē, akā he kūʻē nō ko lākou ma o ko lākou hana lohi ʻana me ka hoʻonaʻaupō. I kahi manawa, haʻalele wale aku lākou i ka hana, a i kahi manawa, ʻaihue a i ʻole hana ʻino aku lākou i nā pono hana.[32]

Ua noiʻi akula ʻo Brij Lal, Doug Munro, a me Edward Beechert no ka pili o ka hana kūʻē a me ka hana kōkua o nā lima hana ma nā ʻāina mahi kō. E like me ka mea o luna, ʻaʻole i kūʻē nā lima hana he alo a he alo i nā luna, akā, i loko nō o kā lākou hana pono ʻana, ua kūʻē nō hoʻi ma nā ʻano i wehewehe ʻia akula—ka hana lohi a me ka hoʻonaʻaupō. Wahi a Munro, ʻaʻole paha i kōkua nui kēia ʻano hana kūʻē i ko lākou kūlana a ʻaʻole nō i loli ia kūlana ma muli o ia hana kūʻē a lākou, akā, ua kōkua kēia ʻano hana kūʻē iā lākou ma ke ʻano o ko lākou noʻonoʻo ʻana a me ke ʻano o ko lākou naʻau. He kōkua ia hana, no ka mea, ma muli o ia ʻano hana kūʻē, ua nā ihola ko lākou uluhua a me ka huhū paha.[33]

Ma loko o kāna puke i kākau aku ai, wehewehe mai ʻo James Fenelon e pili ana i nā pilikia ma waena o ka lāhui Lakota a me ke aupuni ʻo ʻAmelika Hui Pū ʻIa. I ka manaʻo o ʻAmelika, he hana kūʻē ko nā Lakota hoʻomau ʻana i nā loina o ko lākou lāhui, e laʻa me ka hula ʻana i ko lākou hula ʻōiwi, ka mea i

kapa ʻia he Ghost Dance.[34] Ua hoʻāʻo ke aupuni ʻAmelika e hoʻopau aku i ko lākou hula ʻana a ua hoʻouna ʻia aku ka pūʻali koa o ʻAmelika no ka hopu ʻana aku i nā aliʻi o ka lāhui Lakota, ʻo Sitting Bull kekahi, a ʻo Big Foot kekahi. I ko ʻAmelika hoʻāʻo ʻana e hopu aku iā Sitting Bull, ua kīpū ʻia ʻo ia a make. I ka lohe ʻana mai o Big Foot no ka make ʻana iho o Sitting Bull, ua hoʻāʻo ʻo ia a me kona poʻe he 350 e pakele aku a hui pū me kekahi aliʻi, ma kahi i kapa ʻia ʻo Wounded Knee. Ma mua o ko lākou hiki ʻana aku i ka malu o ua aliʻi nei, ua ʻōʻili maila ka pūʻali koa ʻAmelika no ka hopu ʻana aku iā Big Foot. Ua loaʻa i ka pūʻali koa he ʻehā pūkuniahi nui, ka mea i hiki ke kī aku he pōkāpahū he ʻelua mile. Ua hoʻokū ʻia akula nā pūkuniahi a ʻehā a puni nā kānaka Lakota. I ko nā pūʻali koa hoʻāʻo ʻana e lawe aku i nā pū a me nā ihe o Big Foot mā, ua hōʻole kekahi kāne Lakota, ʻaʻole ʻo ia e hāʻawi aku i kāna pū. Ua kani wale aku ua pū nei. ʻAʻole nō i kū kekahi, akā, ua hoʻomaka nō nā kānaka pūʻali koa o ʻAmelika i ke kī ʻana aku. He liʻiliʻi wale nō nā pū i koe i nā Lakota, a no laila, ua hoʻomaka lākou e ʻauheʻe aku. I ia manawa, ua kī ʻia akula nā pūkuniahi, a i ka hopena, ua koe maila he 50 wale nō kānaka Lakota. Ua make kēia poʻe ma muli o ko lākou kūpaʻa ʻana ma ko lākou loina ʻōiwi.[35]

Ma o kēia mau laʻana e hoʻomaopopo ai kākou, he mau ʻano ko ka hana kūʻē. I kahi manawa, he hakakā ka hana kūʻē. Akā, ʻaʻole he hakakā wale nō. ʻIke ʻia nā ʻano hana like ʻole—ma ka hōʻole ʻana aku i nā hana o ka poʻe kolonaio, ka hana lohi ʻana, ka hoʻonaʻaupō ʻana, ka ʻaihue ʻana, a me ke kūpaʻa ʻana i nā loina o ka lāhui.

Ma ka wā i hoʻokahuli ʻia ai ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi, ma ka palapala a ka Mōʻīwahine i kākau ai no kona paneʻe ʻana aku i kona mana i ke aupuni ʻo ʻAmelika Hui Pū ʻIa, ua ʻae wale nō ʻo ia "ma muli o ka mana oi ikaika o Amerika Huipuia," o hoʻopōʻino ʻia auaneʻi ke ola.[36] Ma muli o ka nui palena ʻole o ke aloha o ka poʻe i ko lākou Mōʻīwahine, ua hoʻokō aku nō lākou i kāna

kauoha. Akā, ua ʻimi naʻe lākou i mau ala hou aʻe e hele aku ai no kaʻihoʻi hou ʻana i ke Aliʻi i kona wahi kūpono e noho ai, ʻo ia nō ka noho kalaunu.

I ia wā, ua nui nā nūpepa e paʻi ʻia ana ma Hawaiʻi nei. Ua paʻi ʻia kekahi o ua poʻe nūpepa lā ma ka ʻōlelo haole, akā ma ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi ka hapanui. Ma kāna puke ʻo *Shaping History: The Role of Newspapers in Hawaiʻi*, ua kākau ʻo Helen G. Chapin e pili ana i ia koho ʻana o nā luna hoʻoponopono e kākau a e paʻi aku i nā nūpepa ma ka ʻōlelo ʻōiwi o kēia ʻāina. Wahi āna, ua maopopo akula i nā luna hoʻoponopono, he pili ko ka ʻōlelo haole a me ka hana kolonaio o ka poʻe o ʻAmelika, no laila, ma ko lākou paʻi ʻana i nā nūpepa ma ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi, he hōʻailona ia no ko lākou kūʻē ʻana i ia ʻano hana kolonaio.[37]

Ma hope pono o ka hoʻokahuli aupuni a hiki i ka hoʻohui ʻāina, ua huakaʻi aku he mau ʻelele i Wakinekona no ka hoʻāʻo ʻana e hoʻoponopono i kēia pilikia. I kekahi manawa, ua hele pū nō hoʻi ka Mōʻīwahine a me kāna kaikamahine hanauna ʻo Kaʻiulani. Ma ia mau huakaʻi, ua noi aku ua mau ʻelele nei i ke aupuni ʻAmelika e hoʻomaopopo aku i ka hewa i hana ʻia ma ka inoa o ke aupuni ʻAmelika ma ka hoʻokahuli aupuni. Ua noi ʻia akula nō hoʻi ka hoʻoponopono ʻana mai i ia hewa me ka hoʻihoʻi ʻana i ka mana o ka Mōʻīwahine. Ua hōʻike akula nō hoʻi lākou i ko lākou manaʻo kūʻē i ka hoʻokumu ʻia ʻana aku o ke Aupuni Repubalika a me ka hoʻohui ʻāina.

Wahi a Noenoe Silva, nui nā ʻano hana kūʻē o nā Kānaka Maoli i ka wā i hoʻokahuli ʻia ai ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi a ma ka wā i hoʻohui ʻia ai ʻo Hawaiʻi a me ʻAmelika Hui Pū ʻIa.[38] Ua kūkulu ʻia he mau hui i kapa ʻia ʻo ka Hui Hawaiʻi Aloha ʻĀina a me kekahi hui hou aku ʻo ka Hui Hawaiʻi Aloha ʻĀina o Nā Wāhine. Ua kapa lākou iā lākou iho, he "poʻe aloha ʻāina", a ʻo ko lākou pahuhopu ka mālama ʻana (ma o nā hana kū i ke kānāwai a me ka maluhia nō hoʻi) i ke kūʻokoʻa o nā mokupuni o Hawaiʻi nei.[39] Ua kōkua nui nā hui ma ke kolokolo ʻana aku o ʻAmelika i ka hoʻokahuli aupuni. Ua hoʻomākaukau nō

hoʻi nā hui i ka "Palapala Hoopii Kue Hoohui Aina," he palapala e kūʻē ana i ka hoʻohui ʻāina me ʻAmelika. Ua hoʻouna ʻia aku ua mau palapala nei a ua lawe kino ʻia nō hoʻi mai ʻō a ʻō a puni nā mokupuni ʻo Hawaiʻi nei a ua loaʻa he 38,000 pūlima. Ua lawe kino ʻia aku nā palapala hoʻopiʻi kūʻē a i Wakinekona no ka hāʻawi ʻana aku i nā Kenekoa o ko ʻAmelika ʻAhaʻōlelo. Ma ka lā 9 o Kēkēmapa, M.H. 1897, ua heluhelu ʻia a hoʻokomo ʻia nā palapala ma ka ʻAha Kenekoa o ʻAmelika. Ma o kēia mau hana i leo aku ai a i hōʻike aku ai nā Kānaka Maoli i ko lākou manaʻo kūʻē.[40]

Ua kū kekahi o kēia mau hana kūʻē i ke ʻano o ke au hou—ka paʻi ʻana i nā nūpepa ma ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi a me ka pūlima ʻana aku i nā palapala hoʻopiʻi. ʻO nā mele lāhui naʻe, he kū nō i ka loina Hawaiʻi a he ʻano Hawaiʻi nō hoʻi nā manaʻo o nā mele.

Ma ka paukū ʻehā o kā Kekoaohiwaikalani mele, ua hōʻike ʻo ia i kona mahalo a me kona manaʻo no ka pono o nā loina Hawaiʻi.

Aole Makou E Minamina

Ma ka lālani nei a me kekahi lālani aʻe, hōʻike mōakāka maila ʻo Kekoaohiwaikalani i kekahi loina Hawaiʻi ma kona hoʻohālikelike ʻana i ʻelua mea ʻokoʻa loa, ʻo ke kālā a me ka ʻāina. Wahi āna, "Aole makou e minamina / I ka puu kala a ke Aupuni" (l. 13-14). I ka manaʻo o ka haku mele, he puʻu kālā ko ke aupuni, akā, ʻaʻohe waiwai o ia puʻu kālā, no ka mea, ʻaʻole ola ke Kanaka Maoli i ke kālā. "Ua ola makou i ka pohaku / I ka ai kamahao a ka Aina" (l. 15-16). ʻO ka ʻāina a me ke kahua o ka ʻāina, ʻo ka pōhaku, ka mea e pono ai kākou.

I kuʻu wahi manaʻo, he ʻano ʻōlelo paipai kēia maiā Kekoaohiwaikalani i kona lāhui. E haʻi ana ʻo ia iā lākou (a iā kākou hoʻi i ke au nei), mai poina i ka mea waiwai a me ka mea pono, ʻo ko kākou loina ia. Ua maopopo iā ia, he mana kamahaʻo ko ka pōhaku a he mana kamahaʻo ko ka ʻāina. Na ka mana

o ka pōhaku e hānai i ka ʻuhane o ke kanaka a na ka mana o ka ʻāina e hānai i ke kino o ke kanaka.

I loko o kēlā me kēia mele lāhui, ua nui nā mea e hōʻike aku ana i ke aloha a me ka mahalo o ka haku mele i nā loina o kona lāhui, a ua piha nā mele pākahi i ia ʻano loina—ʻo ka pili i ka ʻāina; ʻo ka hoʻomana a me ka pule; ʻo ka moʻokūʻauhau; ʻo nā hōʻailona (he ua, he uila, he moe ʻuhane); ʻo ke kaona. Akā, ʻo ke aloha i ka lāhui, ke aupuni, nā aliʻi a me ka Mōʻī ka mea e ʻike pinepine ʻia ma kēlā me kēia mele lāhui.

He mea nani a he waiwai nō hoʻi kēia aloha a mahalo e hōʻike ʻia i ka Mōʻīwahine, nā aliʻi, ke aupuni, ka lāhui, a me ka ʻāina. Ma ka paukū hope loa o kā Kekoaohiwaikalani mele, ua ahuwale maila kēia aloha.

Mahope Makou O Ka Moi

Ma ka lālani o luna nei, hōʻike aku ʻo Kekoaohiwaikalani i kona kākoʻo i ka Mōʻīwahine a me kona hāʻawi pio ʻole ma ia kākoʻo. "Mahope makou o ka Moi / A kau hou ia i ke Kalaunu" (l. 17-18). Hōʻike ʻia nō hoʻi ka hopena hoʻokahi e pono ai, ʻo ke kau hou o ka Mōʻī ma ka noho kalaunu. ʻAʻole i emi iki ke kākoʻo a me ke aloha o nā kānaka i ka Mōʻīwahine i kona haʻalele ʻana aku i kona noho. Me kēia mau mele, ua hōʻike aku nā kānaka, ʻaʻohe o lākou poina iki a ʻaʻohe o lākou hoʻomaha iki a hoʻokō ʻia aku ka pono o ko lākou aupuni a me ko lākou Mōʻīwahine. Ua ola mau a ulu mau kēia manaʻo a hiki i kēia lā. ʻOkoʻa iki naʻe paha ka pahuhopu a kākou e ʻimi aku ai, akā, ua like ke kahua o ia pahuhopu, he ea kūʻokoʻa. Ma ka lālani hope loa o kāna mele, hoʻohanohano ʻo Kekoaohiwaikalani i ka poʻe aloha ʻāina. Wahi āna, "Haina ia mai ana ka puana / No ka poe i Aloha i ka Aina" (l. 19-20). ʻAʻole no ka poʻe o kona wā wale nō kēia mele. Ua makana ʻia maila nō hoʻi kēia mele nei iā kākou i ke au nei. Ua ola mau ka poʻe aloha ʻāina. Eia nō kākou ke noke nei i

ka hana o nā kūpuna ma ke ala o nā kūpuna. Ma o kā kākou hana e lohe hou ʻia ai ko lākou leo, ko lākou moʻolelo.

Ma o kēia mele hoʻokahi, a me nā mele lāhui he mau haneli hou aku, ua paʻa maila nā manaʻo kū hohonu o nā kūpuna. Haʻi mai nā mele i ko lākou moʻolelo—no nā kānaka a me kā lākou hana. Hōʻike mai nā mele i nā manaʻo o nā haku mele i ka wā i loli loa aku ai ke ʻano o ko lākou nohona. Wehewehe mai nā mele i ke aloha o nā kānaka i ko lākou aupuni, ko lākou lāhui, ko lākou ʻāina, a me ko lākou Mōʻīwahine. Aia nā manaʻo o nā haku mele i nā mele; aia ka hana kūʻē o nā kūpuna i nā mele; aia ka moʻolelo i nā mele.

Nā Mea i Kuhi 'Ia

Mokuna 1 - Ka 'Ōlelo Ho'ākāka

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[4] Liliuokalani, *He Buke Mele Hawaii*, kikokiko lima 'ia, (Washington, D.C., 1897), 1.

[5] *Hawaii Holomua*, 23 Malaki 1893.

[6] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 10, 11, 15-18 Mei 1893.

[7] F. J. Testa, luna ho'oponopono, *Buke Mele Lahui*, , (Honolulu: Halepai Makaainana, 1895), 1.

[8] Elbert and Mahoe, 62.

[9] Eleanor C. Nordyke and Martha H. Noyes, "Kaulana Nā Pua: A Voice for Sovereignty," *Hawaiian Journal of History*, (Puke 27, 1993), 28.

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[11] Amy Ku'uleialoha Stillman, "'Aloha Aina": New Perspectives on 'Kaulana Nā Pua'," *Hawaiian Journal of History*, (Puke 33, 1999), 95.

[12] Nordyke and Noyes, 36.

[13] Stillman, 1999, 84-90.

[14] Breet C. Ortone, mea 'ohi'ohi, *The Island Music Source Book*, (Honolulu: Olinda Road Distribution, 1999), 37, 213.

[15] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 15 Mei 1893.

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[21] Fuchs, 3.

[22] Edward Joesting, *Hawaii: An Uncommon History* (New York: Norton & Company, Inc., 1972), 238.

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[27] Kuykendall, 593.

[28] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui,* 17 Ianuali 1893.

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[35] *Hawaii Holomua,* 18 Ianuali 1893.

[36] Helen Chapin, *Shaping History: The Role of Newspapers in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996), 99.

[37] Noenoe Silva, "Kanaka Maoli Resistance to Annexation," *'Ōiwi* 1 ('Apelila 1999), 43-44.

[38] U.S. Congress (53rd, 3rd session: 1894-95), *Affairs in Hawaii,* (Washington: U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1894), 929-930.

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MOKUNA 2
NO KA WĀ MA MUA

No Ka Hoʻokumu Honua

Ua maopopo maila ka moʻolelo o ka lāhui Hawaiʻi i nā kānaka o ke au i kala loa aku. Ua hoʻopaʻa ʻia akula ia moʻolelo ma ka naʻau o ke kanaka a ua hoʻomau ʻia akula ma ka waha o ke kanaka. I kekahi manawa, ma ke mele i moʻolelo ʻia mai ai. Ma kēia mokuna, e wehewehe ʻia ana ka moʻolelo o ka lāhui Hawaiʻi, ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi, a me ka pilina o ka mele i ia mau mea ʻelua. E hoʻākāka pū ʻia ana ka loli ʻana o nā mele, a me ka loaʻa ʻana mai o ia mea he mele lāhui.

KE KUMULIPO[1]

Ka Wa Akahi

O ke au i kahuli wela ka honua
O ke au i kahuli lole ka lani
O ke au i kukaʻiaka ka la
E hoomalamalama i ka malama
O ke au o Makalii ka po
O ka walewale hookumu honua ia
O ke kumu o ka lipo i lipo ai
O ke kumu o ka Po i po ai
O ka lipolipo, o ka lipolipo
O ka lipo o ka la, o ka lipo o ka po
Po wale hoi
Hanau ka po
Hanau Kumulipo i ka po he kane
Hanau Poele i ka po he wahine

Kapa ʻia kēia ʻano mele he mele hoʻokumu honua a he mele koʻihonua, no ka mea, moʻolelo ʻia maila ka hoʻokumu honua. Wahi a J. M. Poepoe, ma kāna moʻolelo ʻo *Ka Moolelo Hawaii Kahiko*, "he hookumu ana iloko o ka lipolipo hohonu o ka Po."[2] ʻO ka hānau ʻana o nā mea a pau o ka honua a me ka lani ka mea nui koʻikoʻi o ke mele nei, a hoʻomaka ia hānau ʻana ma "Ka Wa Akahi" a hānau ka pō, a hānau pū maila ʻo Kumulipo me Pōʻele (l. 12-14). Ma nā wā ma hope mai, hānau maila nā iʻa o ke kai me nā holoholona o ka ʻāina, nā manu me nā kumu lāʻau. Ua hānau akula nō hoʻi nā akua, ʻo Haumea me Hina, Kāne a me Kū, Papa a me Wākea. Helupapa pū ʻia nā

hanauna he nui o ka moʻokūʻauhau a i ka hānau ʻia ʻana mai o Lonoikamakahiki, ʻo ia hoʻi ke Aliʻi nona ka inoa ʻo Kaʻīamamao a me Kalaninuiʻīamamao, he pulapula na ka ʻohana ʻĪ.[3] Ma kekahi mele koʻihonua hou aku, moʻolelo ʻia mai ka hānau ʻia ʻana o nā mokupuni. Wahi a Poepoe, ua haku ʻia kēia mele "no Kualii, Moi o ka mokupuni o Oahu nei, a i hooiliia aku hoi i ka Moi Kaumualii o Kauai."[4]

KA MELE A PAKUI[5]

O Wakea a Kahiko Luamea, a—e,
O Papa, o Papa-hanau-moku ka wahine,
Hanau o Kahiki ku, Kahiki moe,
Hanau ke apaapaa nuu, ke apaapaa lani
Hanau *Hawaii* ka moku hiapo,
He keiki makahiapo a laua—a—a.
O Wakea la ua kane,
O Papa, o Walinuu ka wahine,
Hookauhua Papa i ka moku,
Ho-iloli ia *Maui*;
Hanau Maui-loa, he moku,
I hanauia he ololani, he uilani,
Uilani he-i kapa lau maewa
He nuu no Ololani, no Lono, no Ku,
No Kane ma laua o Kanaloa—o—a,
Hanau kapu ke kuakoko
Kaahea Papa ia Kanaloa, he moku
I hanauia he pu-nua, he naia,
He keiki iʻa na Papa i hanau
Haalele Papa hoi i Kahiki
Hoi a Kahiki Kapakapaka-ua
Moe o Wakea—
Moe ia Kaula-wahine
Hanau *Lanai* a Kaula,
He keiki makahiapo na ia wahine;
Hoi Wakea loaa Hina
Loaa Hina, he wahine moe na Wakea
Hapai Hina ia *Molokai* he moku,
O Molokai a Hina he keiki moku,
Haina e ke kolea a Laukaula
Ua moe o Wakea i ka wahine
Ena Kalani, ku ka hau lili o
Papa—a—pa,
Hoi mai o Papa mailoko mai o Kahiki-ku
Ku inaina, lili i ka punalua
Hae manawa ino i ke kane o Wakea
Moe ia Lua, he kane hou ia
Hanau o *Oahu* a Lua;
Oahu a Lua, he keiki moku
He keiki maka-na-lau na Lua—u—a,
Hoi hou aku no noho me Wakea
Naku Papa i ka moku o Kauai
Hanau Kamawaelualani, he moku.

He wewe Niihau, he palena Lehua,
He panina Kaula o ka Moku Papapa

Wahi a ka moʻolelo ma kēia mele, ʻo Hawaiʻi ka mokupuni makahiapo na Papahānaumoku lāua me Wākea (l. 5). A ma hope mai, ʻo Maui a me Kanaloa, ʻo ia hoʻi ʻo Kahoʻolawe (l. 10-17). ʻO Lānaʻi ka hā o nā mokupuni i hānau ʻia maila na Wākea me kāna wahine, ʻo Kaula (l. 21-25). A laila, "Hoi Wakea loaa Hina" (l.26). ʻO Hina, "he wahine moe na Wakea" a hānau maila ʻo Molokai na lāua (l. 26-29). I ka hoʻi ʻana mai o Papa mai Kahiki, "Ku inaina, lili i ka punalua" ʻo Papa, a "Moe ia Lua, he kane hou" a hānau ʻo Oʻahu (l. 33-39). A laila, hoʻi hou ʻo Papa a "noho me Wakea" a hānau maila ʻo Kauaʻi, Niʻihau, Lehua a me Kaʻula (l. 40-44).

Wahi a kekahi moʻolelo, mai nā akua mai nō hoʻi ke kalo a me ke kanaka. Moʻolelo ʻia maila ka hānau ʻana mai o kekahi kaikamahine na Papa me Wākea, nona ka inoa ʻo Hoʻohōkūkalani. Ma hope mai, ua noho nō hoʻi ʻo Wākea iā Hoʻohōkūkalani, a ua loaʻa maila ʻo Hāloanakalaukapalili, he keiki ʻaluʻalu. Ma kahi i kanu ʻia aku ai kona wahi kino, ua kupu maila he kalo. Ma hope mai, ua hānau hou maila he keiki, ʻo Hāloa nō hoʻi kona inoa, a he kanaka ʻo ia.[6] ʻO ke kalo a me ka ʻāina nā kaikuaʻana a ʻo ke kanaka ke kaikaina. Ua mālama aku nā kūpuna i ka ʻāina, ke kaikuaʻana, a ua hānai maila nō ka ʻāina i nā kūpuna a iā kākou hoʻi.[7]

Ua noho ʻia aku ka ʻāina e kānaka. Ua kanu ʻia ka ʻai, a lawaiʻa ʻia ka iʻa o ke kai a me ke kahawai. Ua kūkulu ʻia nā hale a hoʻonohonoho ʻia maila nā kauhale. Ua noho ʻia ke aupuni e nā Aliʻi; ua hoʻomana ʻia nā akua e nā kāhuna, nā Aliʻi, a me nā kānaka. Lohe ʻia akula nā oli; ua hula ʻia nā mele a ua mōhala pū nā hana lima noʻeau o kānaka; ʻo ke kapa, ka hulu, ka ulana. Ua kālai ʻia nā waʻa a ua holo aku a holo mai i ʻō a i ʻaneʻi a puni ka pae ʻāina a me ka moana nui o Kanaloa. Ua loaʻa nā Aliʻi pono a me nā Aliʻi pākaha. Loaʻa ka wā kaua a me ka wā maluhia. I kahi manawa, ua wī ka ʻāina, a i kahi manawa, lako ka ʻāina.[8] Ua ʻokoʻa a ua loli ka loina a me ka nohona o ka

lāhui i kēlā me kēia makahiki, kēlā me kēia hanauna. Ma Hawai'i nei, ua loli ka loina ma muli o ke 'ano o ke Ali'i e kū ana i ka moku i ia manawa, ma muli nō ho'i o ka nui o ka ua i kekahi makahiki, a ma muli paha o ka holo 'ana aku a holo 'ana mai i nā pae 'āina 'ē a'e o ka moana nui.[9]

Ua 'oko'a iki nō ho'i paha ka nohona o kekahi kaiāulu o ka lāhui ma muli o kahi i noho ai ia kaiāulu—inā he 'āina ua a he 'āina malo'o paha. Ma Hawai'i nei, ua 'oko'a ka loina a me ka nohona ma muli o ka mokupuni a me ka moku i noho ai ke kanaka. 'A'ole i 'okoa loa, akā, i kekahi manawa, 'oko'a ka inoa a i 'ole ka hana 'ana i kahi mea.

I ka hala 'ana o ka manawa, ua 'oko'a a loli nō ho'i ke 'ano o nā mele a nā kānaka i haku ai no ka ho'opa'a 'ana i ko lākou mo'olelo. Ua pili nā mele o ke au kahiko i ka lāhui o ka 'āina nei. 'A'ole na'e i kapa 'ia aku ia mau mele he mele lāhui, no ka mea, 'a'ohe aupuni ho'okahi o ka pae 'āina nei i ia wā. Ua hanau 'ia mai nā kānaka mai ka 'āina mai a mai kēia pae 'āina mai, he pae 'āina ho'i ia i pili i ka lālani 'āina o Kahiki a me Polapola, Nu'umea a me Hōlani. Ma ka wā i ho'okumu 'ia ai ka lāhui kanaka ma Hawai'i nei, ua noho 'ia nā mokupuni e nā kānaka ma ke 'ano he mau aupuni kū'oko'a. I kekahi manawa, ua kū'oko'a he mau moku, e la'a me Hilo, Puna a me Ka'ū ma ka mokupuni 'o Hawai'i. I kekahi manawa, he mau mokupuni ka mea kū'oko'a, e la'a 'o Kaua'i me Ni'ihau. I kekahi manawa, pili nō ho'i 'o O'ahu me ia mau mokupuni. A ua loli nō kēia mau aupuni ma muli o ke kaua 'ana a i 'ole ka make 'ana o kekahi Mō'ī, ma muli o ka ho'āo 'ana o ka Mō'ī a me ka ili 'ana o ke aupuni i kā lākou po'e keiki. Ua maopopo i nā kānaka, he lāhui ho'okahi lākou i hānau 'ia mai loko mai o ka 'ohana ho'okahi. Eia nō na'e, ma ka laha 'ana o kānaka, he ka'awale nō ho'i lākou ma lalo o ko lākou Ali'i a Mō'ī paha.

'O kēia nō nā mea i 'ike 'ia ma nā mele a lākou i haku ai. 'A'ole lākou i haku i nā mele no ka lāhui holo'oko'a. Ma ko lākou haku mele 'ana, ua mo'olelo lākou no ke 'ano o ko lākou nohona. Ua haku lākou i nā mele e pili

ana i ia kaua ʻana, a pēlā pū me ka hoʻāo ʻana, ka hānau ʻana mai i nā keiki, a me kēlā me kēia hana ʻē aʻe o kānaka. Eia naʻe, he pili ko nā mele o ia wā i nā mele lāhui o ka wā ma hope mai. Ma kekahi ʻano, ʻo ka mele koʻihonua ke kupuna o ka mele lāhui. Ma o nā mele koʻihonua i hōʻike ai nā Kānaka Maoli i ko lākou manaʻo a me ko lākou hoʻomaopopo ʻana iā lākou iho, ko lākou Mōʻī, a me ko lākou aupuni.

No Ke Au Iā Kamehameha Paiʻea

Inā ʻo ka mele koʻihonua ke kupuna o ka mele lāhui, ʻo ka mele inoa paha ka makua. He kini a he lehulehu nā mele inoa i haku ʻia no ka hoʻohanohano ʻana aku i kahi Aliʻi e noho ʻaimoku ana a e noho Mōʻī ana hoʻi ma ka ʻāina. Ma kēia ʻano mele, moʻolelo ʻia maila paha ka moʻokūʻauhau o ke Aliʻi nona ke mele, a i ʻole ia, kona hana i kaulana ai.

HOLE WAIMEA[10]

Hole Waimea i ka ihe a ka makani,
Hao mai na ale a ke Ki-puʻu-puʻu;
He laau kala-ihi ia na ke anu,
I oʻo i ka nahele o Mahiki.
Ku aku la oe i ka Malanai a ke
Ki-puu-puu;
Nolu ka maka o ka oha-wai o Uli;
Niniau, eha ka pua o Koaie,
Eha i ke anu ka nahele o Waiʻka-é,
A he aloha, e!
Aloha Waiʻká iaʻu me he ipo la;
Me he ipo la ka maka lena o ke Koo-lau,
Ka pua i ka nahele o Mahule-i-a,
E lei hele i ke alo o Moo-lau.
E lau ka huakaʻi-hele i ka pali loa;
Hele hihiu, pili, noho i ka nahele.
O kuʻu noho wale iho no i kahua, e-e.
A he aloha, e-e!
O kou aloha ka i hiki mai i oʻu nei.
Mahea la ia i nalo iho nei?

Wahi a Emerson, he mele aloha wale nō kēia, a he kaona nō paha kona no ke aloha. Eia naʻe, no Kamehameha Paiʻea nō hoʻi kēia mele, no kona wā e kaua ana ma Waimea i ka mokupuni ʻo Hawaiʻi.[11] Hoʻohanohano ʻia akula ʻo Kamehameha, ka poʻe o Waimea a me ko lākou pūʻali koa, ʻo Kīpuʻupuʻu ka

inoa. ʻO Kīpuʻupuʻu nō hoʻi ka inoa o ka makani o ia ʻāina, a ma ke mele, moʻolelo ʻia maila ko Waimea hole ʻana i ka ihe no ke kaua ʻana, me he makani lā ko lākou kaua ʻana. Ua hao mai ia makani Kīpuʻupuʻu, ia pūʻali koa Kīpuʻupuʻu i nā hoa paio. Ma muli o ka ikaika wiwo ʻole o ke Kīpuʻupuʻu, ua "niniau, eha ka pua o Koaie e" (l. 7). ʻO kēia mau "pua" ka poʻe ʻenemi, a hōʻike ʻia ko lākou ʻeha i ia makani Kīpuʻupuʻu.

He nui hou aku nā mele i haku ʻia no Kamehameha Paiʻea a me kona naʻi ʻana i nā mokupuni o ka pae ʻāina nei i aupuni hoʻokahi.

KA MELE A KAHAKUIKAMOANA[12]

1 Ea mai Hawaiinuiakea,
Ea mai loko, mai loko mai o ka po.
Puka mai ka moku, ka aina,
Ka lalani aina o Nuumea,
Ka pae aina o i kukulu o Tahiti.
2 Hanau o Maui he moku, he aina,
Na kama o Kamalalawalu e noho.
3 Na Kuluwaiea o Haumea he kane,
Na Hinanuialana he wahine,
Loaa Molokai, ke akua, he kahuna,
He pualena no Nuumea,
4 Ku mai ke alii ka lani.
Ka haluku wai ea o Tahiti.
Loaa Lanai he keiki hookama.
5 Na Keaukanai i moe aku,
Moe ia Walinuu o Holani,
He *kekea* kapu no Uluhina,
Hanau Kahoolawe, he lopa.
6 Kiina aku Uluhina
Moku ka piko o ke kamaiki,
Ka *iewe* o ke keiki i lele
I komo i loko o ka ape nalu,
Ka apeape kai aleale,
Loaa ka malo o ke kama,
O Molokini ka moku
He *iewe* ia-a. He iewe ka moku.
7 Ku mai Ahukinialaa,
He alii mai ka nanamu,
Mai ka api o ka ia,
Mai ka ale poi pu o Halehalekalani.
Loaa Oahu, he wohi,
He wohi na Ahukinialaa.
8 Na Laakapu he kane ia,
Na Laamealaakona he wahine.
Hookauhua, hoiloli i ka Nuupoki alii,
Ka heiau kapu a Nonea
I kauila i ka po kapu o Makalii.
Hanau Kauai he alii, he kama, he pua alii,
He huhui alii a Hawaii,

Na ke poo kelakela o na moku.
9 I paholaia e Kalani.
Holo wale na moku i Holani,
I ka wewehi kapu a ka lanakila.
Kulia i ka moku a Kanekanaloa,
Ka ihe laumaki i Polapola.
Nana i mahiki Wanalia.
10 O Wanalia ke kane,
O Hanalaa ka wahine,
Hanau Niihau he aina, he moku,
He aina i ke *aa* i ka mole o ka aina.
Ekolu lakou keiki,
I hanau i ka la kahi,
O Niihau, o Kaula, Nihoa pau mai,
Pa ka makuwahine,
Oili moku ole mai mahope.
Na Kalani e hoolaa na moku,
Kau iluna o Nuumea
I ka ahui alii o Kaialea.
11 Na ka lanakila e au na moku.
I huia na kolu e Kalani;
O Hilo, O Puna, o Kau, lele wale.
Ku mai Kalani me ke kahuna,
Kilohi mai ia Maui a Kama.
Aole e u aku puni ka aina
Ke kalele a Kalanimakahakona,
A ka uiaa i kilakila,
Ke koa nui o lanakila,
Nana i keehi Oahu.
Nakolo na moku i ka pea
I ka maha o Kauai, malia.
Puni na aina ia Kalani,
Ia Kalanialonoapii,
Ke kumu alii o Haloa.
Ea mai Hawaii ka moku;
Ea pu me ka lanakila-la.

Ma kekahi ʻano, he mele koʻihonua kēia, no ka mea, moʻolelo ʻia mai ka ʻōʻili ʻana mai o nā mokupuni ʻumikumamālua o ka pae ʻāina nei. Akā, ma ka paukū hope loa, helu hou ʻia nā inoa o nā mokupuni. Ua pili ia paukū iā Kamehameha a me kona naʻi ʻana i nā moku o Hawaiʻi, "O Hilo, O Puna, Kau" (l. 61), a me nā mokupuni ʻē aʻe o ka pae ʻāina—ʻo Maui (l. 63), Oʻahu (l. 68), a me Kauaʻi (l. 70).[13] Ma mua o ia manawa, he inoa mokupuni wale nō ʻo Hawaiʻi. I ka puni ʻana o nā ʻāina a pau iā Kamehameha, ʻo ia ka wā i lilo ai ka pae ʻāina i aupuni hoʻokahi ma lalo o ka Mōʻī hoʻokahi. ʻO Kamehameha ka Mōʻī, a kapa ʻia kona aupuni ma ka inoa ʻo Hawaiʻi. Ma nā lālani hope loa, ua mele ʻia, "Ea mai Hawaii ka moku / Ea pu me ka lanakila-la" (l. 74-75). ʻO

Hawai'i nō ka moku lanakila ma kēia wahi mo'olelo i ho'opa'a 'ia maila ma kēia mele nei—no ka mo'okū'auhau o nā mokupuni, no Kamehameha, a no ke aupuni hou 'o Hawai'i.

Ua lohe au no ho'okahi wale nō mele i no'ono'o 'ia he mele e kū'ē ana iā Kamehameha a me kona na'i 'ana i ke aupuni. He mele inoa ia no Kupake'i a i 'ole 'o Kupake'e, he Ali'i Nui no Ka'ū, Hawai'i.[14] 'A'ohe o'u 'ike no kekahi mele hou aku e kū'ē ana iā Kamehameha, akā, ma kekahi 'ano, 'o nā mele a pau i haku 'ia no ka ho'ohanohano 'ana i nā hoa paio o Kamehameha, e la'a 'o Kahekili a 'o Kaumuali'i paha, he mau mele ia e kū'ē ana iā Kamehameha.

'A'ole paha i kāko'o a mahalo kēlā me kēia Kanaka Maoli i ka na'i 'ana o Kamehameha, eia na'e, ua ho'opa'a 'ia a ho'ohanohano 'ia nō 'o Kamehameha a me kāna mo'olelo e ka po'e haku mele o ia wā. Ma o kēia mau mele i hō'ike aku ai ua po'e haku mele nei i ko lākou mo'olelo a me ko lākou aloha no ka Mō'ī, ka 'āina, a me ke aupuni. Hō'ike 'ia aku ma kēia mau mele ka ikaika a me ka wiwo 'ole o ka lāhui a me ke kūpa'a o ka lāhui ma ka 'āina. Mai kēlā wā a hiki i kēia wā nei, ua lilo 'o "HoleWaimea" a me "Ka Mele a Kahakuikamoana" i mau mele aloha a he mau la'ana e hō'ike ana i ka ikaika a me ke kūpa'a o nā kūpuna. 'A'ole nō i pau aku ia aloha, ia ikaika, i ia wā. Ua mau nō a hiki i kēia lā, a ma o ko kākou hula 'ana a me ko kākou oli 'ana aku i kēia mau mele e hō'ike aku ai kākou i ko kākou aloha no ka Mō'ī Kamehameha, no kona aupuni, a no kona lāhui nō ho'i.

No Nā Mea Hou O Ka Po'e Haole

Ma ka wā 'ōpiopio o Kamehameha i hiki mai ai ka po'e haole 'o Kāpena Kuke mā, a ma ko Kamehameha wā e na'i aku ana i kona aupuni a me kona wā e noho Mō'ī ana, ua loli maoli nō ke 'ano o ka nohona 'ōiwi, ma muli o nā mea hou like 'ole o ka haole—'o nā ma'i, ke 'ano pākaha waiwai, nā pū laipela, ke 'ano o ka 'ai 'ana, a pēlā wale aku. I ka hala 'ana aku o Kamehameha, e

like me ke ʻano mau o nā Aliʻi ke hala ka Mōʻī, ua pau akula ka ʻai kapu. I ka lilo ʻana o kā Kamehameha keiki, ʻo Liholiho i Mōʻī, nona ke kuleana o ka hoʻokapu hou ʻana i kona aupuni. ʻAʻole naʻe pēlā ka hana a Liholiho ma muli o ke kauoha ʻana o kona mau mākuahine.[15]

I loko o hoʻokahi makahiki i hiki mai ai ka poʻe mikionali Kalavina o ʻAmelika, a ua loli hou aku ka nohona o ke Kanaka Maoli ma muli o ka hoʻomana Kalikiano a me ke ʻano o ka nohona a lākou i manaʻo ai he pono.[16]

No Ka Paʻi Palapala A Me Nā Nūpepa

Me ua poʻe mikionali nei, ua hiki pū maila ka mea paʻi palapala a ua lilo koke i mea hoihoi loa i nā Aliʻi a me nā kānaka. Wahi a Kamakau,

> A ike iho la na Lii he ike maikai ka ike palapala, a he mea maikai ka heluhelu ana i ka palapala, alaila, lawe ae la kela a me keia alii i mau kumu ao pi-a-pa no kela a me keia alo alii, a me na ohua o lakou...A ike iho la hoi o Kaahumanu ua ike kona aialo a pau i ka palapala, alaila, hoouna aku la oia i na haumana o ke kula a Kaomi Moe, i mau kumu mai Hawaii a Kauai, e ao aku i na kanaka e noho ana maluna o na mokuaina, na kalana, na okana a me na ahupuaa; a pela no hoi kela a me keia alii i hoouna aku ai i mau kumuao i ko lakou mau aina e ao aku i na kanaka i ka palapala. Aole i hala ka makahiki hookahi o ke ao ana a na kumuao mai Hawaii a Kauai, aia hoi, ua ike na elemakule a me na luahine i aneane aku i ke kanawalu a kanaiwa o na makahiki, ua hiki ke heluhelu i ka Baibala.[17]

I ia manawa, he mea nui ka paʻi palapala ʻana no ka poʻe mikionali no ko lākou makemake e heluhelu aku nā Kānaka Maoli i ka paipala a me nā haʻawina Kalikiano. A ua lilo koke ka paʻi palapala i mea nui no ke aupuni, no ka paʻi ʻana i nā hoʻolaha a me nā palapala.[18] I ka makahiki 1834, hoʻokumu ʻia akula ka nūpepa mua loa o Hawaiʻi nei, ʻo ia hoʻi ʻo *Ka Lama Hawaii* ma ke kula ʻo Lāhainaluna ma ka mokupuni ʻo Maui a i ia makahiki hoʻokahi nō, ua hoʻokumu ʻia nō hoʻi ka nūpepa nona ka inoa ʻo *Ke Kumu Hawaii*.[19] ʻO Lorrin Andrews, he kahu no ka poʻe Kalavina, ka mea nāna i alakaʻi i nā haumāna o Lāhainaluna i ko lākou noiʻi ʻana, kākau ʻana a me ka paʻi ʻana nō hoʻi. Wahi a Helen G. Chapin:

> They [nā mikionali] thus inaugurated an establishment press—establishment in that even though the papers spoke for just a handful

> of people and not for the vast majority of the native population, in just a few years they had come to exert a dominant influence on the Islands.[20]

Ma ua mau nūpepa nei, ua pa'i aku 'o Andrews i nā mo'olelo e hō'ike aku ana i ka 'oi loa o ka loina a me ka nohona o ka po'e 'Amelika a me ka ho'omana Kalikiano.

> Explanatory text spoke to the 'superiority' of American culture, the Christian religion, and the Protestant work ethic...Lead articles in *Ka Lama* and *Ke Kumu* discussed the rights and responsibilities of Native Hawaiians leaders in Western terms, along with the desirability of an American-style government.[21]

Ua kākau nō ho'i 'o Andrews i nā mo'olelo o ka nūpepa ma ke 'ano he ha'awina i nā Ali'i no nā hana a me nā 'ano a nā mikionali i mana'o ai he pono no ke aupuni a me nā kānaka.

No Ke Au Iā Kauikeaouli

Ma ke au e noho Ali'i ana ka Mō'ī Kamehameha III, 'o Kauikeaouli, ua nui ke koikoi mai o nā mikionali e kū'ai 'ia aku ka 'āina a e ho'okumu 'ia aku nō ho'i he aupuni kumukānāwai. I ko lākou mana'o, a ma kā lākou ha'awina i a'o aku ai i ka Mō'ī a me nā Ali'i, he pono ke aupuni i ke kumukānāwai.[22]

A pēlā nō i hana aku ai 'o Kauikeaouli, i ka malama 'o 'Okakopa o ka makahiki 1840. Ma mua o ka ho'okumu 'ia 'ana o ke aupuni kumukānāwai, ua pilikia mai 'o Hawai'i i nā aupuni 'ē, 'o Pelekania a 'o Palani nō ho'i. Ua kupu nā pilikia no ko nā aupuni 'ē hopohopo 'ana e pili ana i nā waiwai pono'ī o ko lākou mau kupa e noho ana ma Hawai'i. 'A'ole na'e i pau nā pilikia i ka ho'okumu 'ia 'ana mai o ke kumukānāwai ma Hawai'i. I ia manawa, ua ho'omaka nā aupuni o nā 'āina 'ē e hopohopo a namunamu ho'i no ke 'ano o nā kānāwai a me ka 'oko'a o nā kānāwai o ko lākou aupuni pono'ī.

Ma ka makahiki 1843, ua kupu maila kahi pilikia o ia 'ano. I ia manawa, ua mau akula ka noho Ali'i 'ana o Kauikeaouli, Kamehameha III. Ma ka lā 10 o ka malama 'o Pepeluali i kū mai ai kahi moku manuā

Pelekane, nona ka inoa ʻo H.B.M.S. *Carysfort*, ma ke awa ʻo Honolulu. ʻO George Paulet ke kāpena o ia moku a wahi a ka moʻolelo ma ka nūpepa *Ka Nonanona*, "aole oluolu ka manao o keia alii manuwa; aole kani mai na pu aloha; ua oleloia no ka hoole ana o na alii i ke Kanikela hou no Beretania ka pilikia."[23]

Ma nā palapala i hoʻouna ʻia aku i ka Mōʻī Kamehameha III, koi akula ʻo Paulet e hoʻokō ʻia aku he ʻeono mau kauoha. Ua koi ʻia ka ʻae koke ʻana o ka Mōʻī i ke Kanikela Hope hou o Pelekania, ʻo Mr. Simpson kona inoa, a koi ʻia hoʻi ka hoʻomalu ʻana i ka poʻe Pelekane ma nā kānāwai o Pelekania. Pili kekahi o nā kauoha i ka hoʻopiʻi ʻana ma waena o nā kānaka Pelekania a me ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi a i ʻole nā kānaka o ka ʻāina nei. Wahi a Paulet, inā hoʻopiʻi ʻia maila kahi kanaka Pelekania, e loaʻa kahi kiure "he hapalua o lakou he poe haole Beretania ua ae ia lakou e ke Kanikela."[24]

ʻAʻole i ʻae aku ka Mōʻī i nā mea i koi ʻia mai e Paulet. Hoʻomaopopo akula hoʻi ka Mōʻī iā Paulet no ka hiki ʻole ke hoʻokō aku i nā mea a pau i koi ʻia maila. Ma ia lā hoʻokahi, ua palapala hou aku ʻo Paulet i ka Mōʻī penei,

> E hoomakaukauia ka H.B.M. Moku o Carysfort malalo iho oʻu e kaua koke aku i keia kulanakauhale ma ka hora 4 o ka la apopo (Satude) ke ae ole ia mai na mea au e koi aku nei maluna o ke ʼLii o keia pae aina.[25]

A, no laila, ma ka lā 25 o Pepeluali, ua kākau ʻia he palapala e ka Mōʻī, a ma ua palapala nei, ua paneʻe aku ka Mōʻī,

> i ka Pae Aina i kapaia ko Hawaii Pae Aina na Rt. Hon. Haku Geo. Paulet, Kapena o ko ke ʼLii Wahine o Beretania Nui a me Irelani mai keia la aku, a no keia manawa e noho nei.[26]

Ma ua palapala nei, ua wehewehe hoʻi ka Mōʻī e pili ana no kona hoʻouna ʻana aku i mau Luna Hoʻoponopono i ke aupuni o Pelekania i mea e hoʻoponopono ʻia ai kēia hihia.

Ma ka lā 26 o Iulai, ua kū mai kahi moku manuā Pelekane hou, nona ka inoa ʻo H.B.M.S. *Dublin*. ʻO Rear Admiral Richard Thomas "ke alii" o ka moku, ʻo ia nō ke Aliʻi ma luna o nā moku manuā Pelekane a pau ma ka
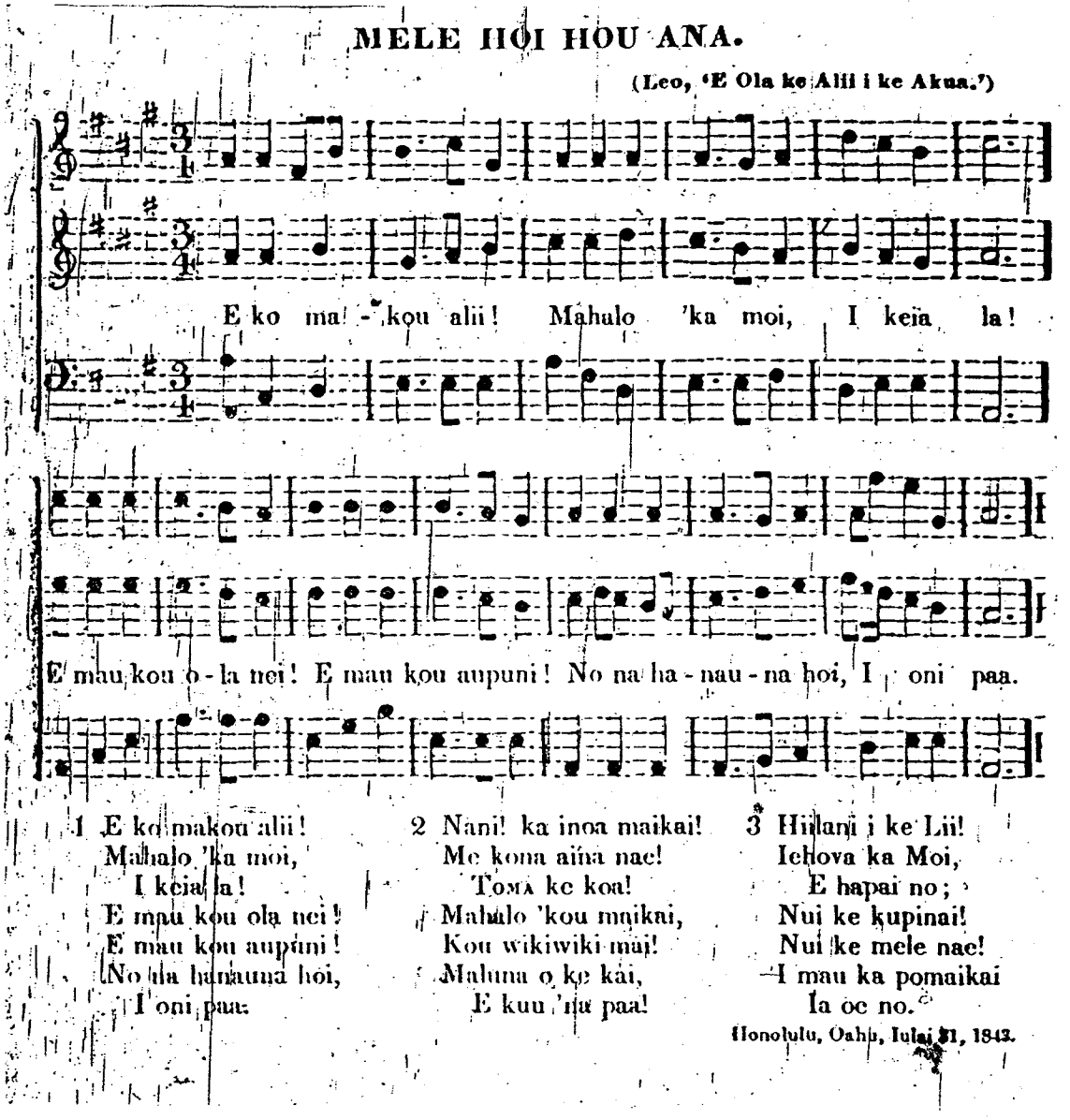
Moana Pākīpika. Ma ka lā 30 o Iulai, ua hoʻihoʻi ʻia mai ke ea o ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi i ka Mōʻī Kauikeaouli, Kamehameha III. Wahi a Thomas, ʻo ke kumu i hoʻihoʻi ʻia ai ke aupuni, no ka mea, ʻaʻohe o Paulet kumu maikaʻi a kumu maoli no ka hoʻokahuli ʻana i ke aupuni, ʻoiai, ʻaʻohe hana ʻino ʻia o nā kānaka Pelekane. No laila, no ka pono o nā aupuni ʻelua a me ko lāua pilina a mahalo kekahi i kekahi, he pono ka hoʻihoʻi ʻana i ke ea. Akā naʻe, he manaʻo hoʻoweliweli nō hoʻi ko Thomas no ka Mōʻī a me ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi. Wahi āna, inā kupu maila kekahi pilikia a hihia paha a hoʻomalu pono ʻole ʻia nā kupa o Pelekania a me nā pono o ua poʻe kupa lā, inā he kumu nō ko ke aupuni Pelekane e hoʻoponopono i ia pilikia ma ke ʻano o lākou e noʻonoʻo ai he pono.[27] Ma ka lā 31 o Iulai,

> ma ka hora 10, hele mai no ke alii [Kauikeaouli] me kona poe koa, a hiki, alaila ua weheia ko Hawaii nei hae, a ua kuuia ko Beritania hae malalo ma ka papu, a ua kau ia ko Hawaii nei hae ilaila, a mauka hoi kekahi ma ka puu o puawaina; a ua ki nui mai na pu aloha mai o a o;...a ua hookaniia no hoi na pele. Ua paapu na moku manuwa i na hae, maikai, nani loa ke nana'ku.[28]

He kini a he lehulehu nā kānaka i ʻākoakoa akula i ia lā e nānā i ka hana kupaianaha, he ʻumi paha kaukani ko lākou nui. Ua hōʻike ʻia ke aloha nui i ka Mōʻī ma o ke kī pinepine ʻana i nā pū a me ka ʻuā mai o nā leo.

I ka makahiki 1843, ʻo *Ka Nonanona* ka nūpepa hoʻokahi e paʻi ʻia ana ma Hawaiʻi nei. He nūpepa mikionali nō ia i alakaʻi ʻia a hoʻoponopono ʻia na Kahu Richard Armstrong, ʻo ia hoʻi ʻo Limaikaika. Ma ua nūpepa nei, ʻaʻole i paʻi ʻia nā moʻolelo a me nā haʻawina Kalikiano wale nō; ua paʻi pū ʻia nā moʻolelo a me nā hoʻolaha o ke aupuni a me ke kaiāulu. ʻAʻohe hōʻike ʻia nā moʻolelo a me nā manaʻo o nā Kānaka Maoli, akā, ua paʻi ʻia nō he mele lāhui no kēia pilikia o ke aupuni i ka makahiki 1843; a e like me ke ʻano o ka nūpepa, ʻaʻole nō i kū ke ʻano o kēia mele i ke ʻano o nā mele Hawaiʻi.

Eia ke mele ma kekahi ʻaoʻao:



Ki'i 2. "Mele Hoi Hou Ana," *Ka Nonanona*, 19 Kepakemapa 1843.

Wahi a John Charlot ma kāna puke no nā mele Hawai'i, 'a'ohe wahi mea o kēia mele i kū i ke 'ano o nā mele Hawai'i.[29] Ua haku 'ia aku ke mele e Edwin O. Hall, kahi haole i kaulana i kāna hana pa'i palapala. Ma kona haku 'ana, wahi a Hall, ua hahai 'o ia i ka leo o kahi mele i kaulana ma Pelekania, 'o "E Ola ke Alii i ke Akua" ka inoa, 'o ia ho'i 'o "God Save The King." 'A'ole nō i ho'onani a ho'ohanohano 'o Hall i ka inoa o ka Mō'ī ma kona mo'okū'auhau a i 'ole nā hō'ailona kūpono 'ē a'e o nā Ali'i Hawai'i. 'A'ohe ho'i kaona o ke mele. Ma ka paukū mua, noi pololei 'ia "E mau" ke ola o ka Mō'ī a me kona aupuni, "No na hanauna hoi / I oni paa" (l. 1-4). 'O ka ho'ohanohano 'ia o ko Thomas inoa, 'o ia ho'i 'o Toma, ka mea nui o ka paukū 'elua. "Mahalo" 'ia 'o Toma no kona "maikai" a me kona "wikiwiki / Maluna o ke kai" i kona holo 'ana mai i Hawai'i nei (l. 11-12). Ma kēia mau lālani, ha'i 'ia ka mo'olelo no ka hana a Toma i hana ai. Pili ka paukū 'ekolu iā "Iehova" me ke noi 'ana aku iā ia e "Hiilani i ke Lii!" (l. 15-16). 'A'ole loa he kū maoli kēia mele i ke 'ano o nā mele Hawai'i, akā, ma ke mele, loa'a nō kahi mau hua 'ōlelo a mana'o paha e 'ike pinepine 'ia ma nā mele lāhui o ka makahiki 1893. Ha'i 'ia mai nā hana a kānaka a me ka mo'olelo o ia wā, noi 'ia ke kōkua o ke Akua, a noi pū 'ia ke "ola" "mau" o ka Mō'ī, ka "onipaa" o nā "hanauna," a me ka "pomaikai" o ke aupuni (l. 4, 7, 20).

He mea ma'a mau ia mau mana'o ma nā mele lāhui o nā aupuni like 'ole o ka honua nei, a he mau mana'o i kū nō i ka mana'o a me ke aloha o nā Kānaka Maoli i ko lākou Mō'ī a me ko lākou lāhui.

No Nā Nūpepa: 1843 - 1861

I maopopo pono iā kākou ka mele lāhui, he pono ka ho'omaopopo 'ana i kona wahi i 'ike nui 'ia ai a i pa'i nui 'ia ai—nā nūpepa 'ōlelo Hawai'i—no ka mea, i nā makahiki ma hope mai, e lilo ana ka nūpepa i wahi e 'ike nui 'ia ai ka mo'olelo a me ka mana'o o nā Kānaka Maoli. I ka wā i pa'i 'ia ai ke mele o

luna a'e nei, he ho'okahi wale nō nūpepa e pa'i 'ia ana ma Hawai'i nei, 'o ia nō 'o *Ka Nonanona* a 'o Limaikaika ka luna ho'oponopono. I nā makahiki ma hope iho, ua ho'okumu aku 'o Limaikaika i mau nūpepa hou aku, 'o *Ka Elele Hawaii* i ka makahiki 1845, a laila, *Ka Hae Hawaii* i ka makahiki 1856.[30] He mau nūpepa Kalikiano *Ka Nonanona* a me *Ka Elele Hawaii*. 'O *Ka Hae Hawaii* ho'i, he nūpepa aupuni ia ma lalo o Limaikaika ma kāna hana he Luna no ke Ke'ena A'opalapala o ke aupuni. He kāka'ikahi nā mo'olelo e hō'ike mai ana i nā helu o nā nūpepa i pa'i 'ia a i lawe 'ia e ka lehulehu i ia wā. Akā, ma *Ka Hae Hawaii*, i ka piha 'ana o ka makahiki mua o kona pa'i 'ia 'ana, ua hō'ike 'ia mai he 2,400 ka nui o ka po'e nāna i lawe i ka nūpepa.[31]

Ma waena o ka makahiki 1852 a me ka makahiki 1861, ua ho'okumu 'ia he mau nūpepa Kalikiano e ka po'e Kalavina a me ka po'e Katolika, e la'a me *Ka Nuhou* (M.H. 1854), *Ka Misionari Hawaii* (M.H. 1856), a me *He Mau Hana I Hanaia* (M.H. 1859). Ma ia wā nō ho'i i ho'okumu mua 'ia ai ka nūpepa nona ka inoa 'o *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (M.H. 1856) na Henry M. Whitney. Ua kākau 'ia ia pepa ma ka 'ōlelo haole me ka loa'a pū o kekahi 'ao'ao ma ka 'ōlelo Hawai'i a kapa 'ia ka inoa o ia 'ao'ao 'o *Ka Hoku Loa O Hawaii*. Wahi a Whitney, he 'oko'a ke kumumana'o o kāna nūpepa me nā nūpepa 'ē a'e o Hawai'i. 'O ka *Advertiser* ho'i, 'a'ohe pili i ke aupuni a me ka hale pule nō ho'i. He nūpepa ka *Advertiser* no ka po'e kālepa me nā mo'olelo e pili ana i nā hana kālepa.

He keiki 'o Whitney na kekahi mikionali a ua hānau 'ia maila ma Hawai'i nei, akā, e like me ka hana mau o ka po'e mikionali, ua ho'ouna 'ia 'o ia i ka 'āina o kona mau mākua i 'Amelika no ka hele kula 'ana. No ia kumu paha, ua nui kona mahalo iā 'Amelika. Kohu mea lā, 'o 'Amelika ho'i kona 'āina hānau, 'oiai ua ho'ohanohano 'ia ka Lā Kū'oko'a o 'Amelika, ka lā 4 o Iulai, ma kāna nūpepa. Ua makemake paha 'o ia e kū'oko'a kāna nūpepa i ke aupuni a me ka hale pule o Hawai'i nei, akā, mai ka ho'okumu 'ia 'ana (a hiki

mai nō i kēia lā), ua kākoʻo nui ka *Advertiser* i ka nohona, ke aupuni, a me ke kālepa o ʻAmelika.[32]

No *Ka Hoku O Ka Pakipika*

I ka makahiki 1861, ua kūkulu ʻia Ka ʻAhahui Hoʻopuka Nūpepa Kūikawā o Honolulu e kekahi mau Kānaka Maoli, ʻo David Kalākaua kekahi a ʻo J. W. H. Kauwahi, pēlā pū me S. N. Haleʻole, Kawailiʻulā a me J. H. Kānepuʻu. Ua makemake lākou e hoʻopuka aku i kahi nūpepa i pili ʻole i ke aupuni a me ka ʻāpono o ka poʻe mikionali, he nūpepa e kākoʻo maoli ana i ka poʻe ʻōiwi a me ka nohona ʻōiwi.[33] Wahi a lākou "he nupepa keia no na kanaka maoli, a he poe kanaka maoli no ka poe nana i kukulu, a ke noho nei he Ahahui kanaka maoli." ʻO *Ka Hoku O Ka Pakipika* ka inoa o ia nūpepa, a wahi a Noenoe Silva, ma ko *Ka Hoku O Ka Pakipika* kākoʻo ʻana i ka lāhui a me ka nohona Hawaiʻi, he kūʻē kona i ka hana kolonaio a ʻAmelika a me ʻEulopa,

> mean[ing] that (mainly) European-Americans came to Hawai'i, settled here, attained positions of power in business and government, and proceeded to establish a capitalist European-American political and economic system that benefited themselves while subjugating and oppressing the Kānaka Maoli. They imposed the English language, a Western system of government, U.S. currency, and Christian religion.[34]

Nui ka noiʻi ʻana o Silva ma nā hana kūʻē a nā Kānaka Maoli. I mea e hoʻopale a kūʻē aku ai i ia ʻano hana kolonaio, ua hoʻāʻo nui nā Kānaka Maoli e hōʻoia i ko lākou mana ma nā wahi a me nā hana like ʻole. He kōkua nui *Ka Hoku O Ka Pakipika* ma laila, a ma ia nūpepa nō i kūkala ʻia aku ai ua ʻano manaʻo kūʻē lā ma ka pae ʻāina holoʻokoʻa. I ka hoʻomaka ʻana, ʻo J. W. H. Kauwahi ka Luna Nui, he loio ʻo ia a he Luna Makaʻāinana nō hoʻi (M.H. 1853-1864). Ma hope mai, i ka makahiki 1862, ua lilo ʻo David Kalākaua i Luna Hoʻoponopono no ua nūpepa lā.

Ma *Ka Hoku O Ka Pakipika*, ua pa'i aku nā Kānaka Maoli i nā mo'olelo e hō'ike aku ana i ke aloha no ka 'āina a me nā Ali'i o Hawai'i a me ke kū'oko'a mau o ke aupuni. Ma ka helu 'ekahi, ma Kepakemapa o ka makahiki 1861, aia kekahi mele i kapa 'ia 'o "He Mele no ka Naauao" ma ka nūpepa. Ma kēia mele, 'o ke kino a me ka ho'oipoipo ka mea na'auao i ho'ākāka 'ia. Ma hope pono o ka pa'i 'ia 'ana, ua kupu koke maila he pilikia no *Ka Hoku O Ka Pakipika* i ke kapa 'ia aku he "olelo pelapela, lapuwale, he mea hoohaumiaia i ka naau o ke kanaka" ma kekahi leka i ka Luna Ho'oponopono o ka nūpepa aupuni 'o *Ka Hae Hawaii*. Wahi a ka mea kākau, "hoolahaia ma ia pepa, he mau olelo i paa i na manao wela o ke kuko." Ua pūlima 'ia akula ia leka ma kahi inoa kapakapa 'o Puni Maemae.[35]

Wahi a Silva, ua maopopo i nā Kānaka Maoli o ia au, 'a'ole 'o Puni Maemae he Kanaka Maoli no kona kapa 'ana i ua mele lā he pelapela. Wahi a Silva, no ke Kanaka Maoli, 'a'ole loa ia mau mea he 'ōlelo a he mana'o pelapela. He mea nani, he mea aloha, he mea ma'a mau i ke ola o kānaka. Ua maopopo i nā Kānaka Maoli ke kaona o nā mele. I kekahi manawa, pili ke kaona o ke mele i ke kino o ke kanaka, a me ke aloha, a me ka ho'oipoipo nō ho'i paha. Eia na'e, no nā mikionali a me ka po'e haole 'ē a'e nō ho'i paha, he mau mea kēia e "wela" ai ko lākou "kuko." I ke 'ano o ko lākou nohona a me ko lākou loina, he pelapela ia, akā, no lākou wale nō ia mana'o he pelapela. 'A'ole no nā lāhui a pau o ka honua. 'A'ole no nā Kānaka Maoli o ka 'āina nei.[36]

Ma nā lā ma hope o ka pa'i 'ia 'ana o kā Puni Maemae leka, ua pa'i pū 'ia mai he mau leka hou aku no kēia hihia a lilo nō ho'i i mea kūkākūkā 'ia e nā kahu o kekahi mau hale pule me ke koi aku i nā kānaka e lawe 'ole i *Ka Hoku O Ka Pakipika*. Wahi a kekahi, "O ka Hoku o ka Pakipika, no ka aoao lealea ia, no ka Diabalo la...e kinai ia pepa."[37]

Wahi a Silva, ua mahu'i lākou, 'a'ole 'o ka "pelapela" ka pilikia. 'O ka mea a nā mikionali e hopohopo ana, 'o ia ke 'ano kū'oko'a o nā nūpepa i

ho'okumu 'ia maila e nā Kānaka Maoli.[38] Ma ka wā i hiki mai ai nā mikionali, ua ho'onohonoho lākou iā lākou iho ma ke 'ano he makua no ke kanaka, a he 'ano keiki ke kanaka ma lalo o lākou. Eia na'e, no nā Kānaka Maoli, i ko lākou ho'okumu 'ana

> ...i Nupepa no lakou iho...ua pau ka noho ana ma lalo o na makua oia na Kumu. Aka ke keakea mai nei na makua, me he mea la e olelo ana, aole oukou i hiki i na makahiki e oo ai, na makou ia hana, a ma ia ano, ke hoohuli ia nei i kekahi mau keiki.[39]

He pilikia nō ho'i paha ka ha'aheo o nā Luna o *Ka Hoku O Ka Pakipika* i ka nohona a me ka loina o ka lāhui Hawai'i. Ma muli o ke 'ano o nā mo'olelo, ua lilo koke ia nūpepa i mea i aloha nui 'ia a ua hō'ike 'ia nō kēia aloha ma kahi leka i ka Luna Ho'oponopono,

> Ua pomaikai kakou e na kanaka Hawaii a pau, i ka loaa ana ia kakou ka waha kamailo [*pn*], ka wehe pilikia a me ka makua nanana [*pn*] e hanai mai ia kakou i ka ike a me ka naauao, oia hoi ka Nupepa Hoku o ka Pakipika.[40]

Ma kekahi mau leka, ua hō'oia nā Kānaka Maoli i ko lākou 'ano iho—a he 'ano 'oko'a ia; 'oko'a ke kino, ka mo'okū'auhau, ka na'au, a me ka loina o ke Kanaka Maoli.

> E na makamaka huina Hawaii, i hanauia i loko o ka lahui nei, e na kupuna ho'okahi, a kino Hawaii, a ili Hawaii, a olelo Hawaii, a helehelena Hawaii, a keiki papa Hawaii, a kupa Hawaii, a ano Hawaii, na 'lii, na makaainana, na makua, na keiki, na ohana, ka poe kiekie, me ka poe haahaa.[41]

I ia manawa i ho'ā'o ai 'o Henry M. Whitney e lilo iā ia ka mana alaka'i o *Ka Hoku O Ka Pakipika*. 'O kēia nō ka mea nona ka *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*.[42] Wahi a Chapin, he 'elua mana'o o Wini no ka lāhui Hawai'i, "Love and hate—love for the Islands and the Hawaiian language; contempt for Hawaiians."[43] No'u iho, 'a'ole no Wini wale nō kēia 'ano, akā, 'o ia a'ela ka mana'o i pa'a i ka na'au o ka hapanui o ka po'e haole a me ka po'e mikionali. No laila, i ka ho'okumu 'ia 'ana o *Ka Hoku O Ka Pakipika*, he nūpepa i ho'okumu 'ia e nā Kānaka Maoli no nā Kānaka Maoli me nā mo'olelo o nā Kānaka Maoli, ua makemake nā haole e lilo 'o Wini i Luna no ia pepa. Ua

kūpa'a aku na'e nā Kānaka Maoli a ua pa'a nō *Ka Hoku O Ka Pakipika* ma lalo o ka 'ahahui ho'omalu a lākou i ho'okumu ai.

No *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*

I ka hō'ole 'ia o Wini e lilo *Ka Hoku O Ka Pakipika* iā ia, ua ho'okumu 'o ia nei i nūpepa hou, a kapa 'ia ka inoa 'o *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa.*

> He pepa ia e hoopili ole ana i kahi aoao ma kana mau olelo ana a pau. E hoolaha aku ia i na mea ike, no ka hoonaauao ana i na kanaka Hawaii a pau, i ka poe oo, a me ka poe opiopio, i na mea o kela aoao keia aoao hoomana.[44]

Wahi a Silva, ua hau'oli ka po'e mikionali i ia nūhou, no ka mea,

> It would...be much more to the liking of the missionary community that Whitney control any new, so-called independent newspaper, especially since Whitney was one of their own.[45]

Ua paipai aku nō ho'i nā kahu o nā hale pule no ka nūpepa hou. I ka mana'o o Silva, 'a'ohe pilikia o nā mikionali i ka nūpepa e kū'oko'a ana i ke aupuni a me ka hale pule, inā ma lalo nō ia o ke alaka'i o kahi haole.[46]

Ua mōakāka maoli kēia 'ano mana'o mai ka ho'omaka 'ana o *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa.* Ua ho'opuka mua 'ia akula ka nūpepa ma 'Okakopa o ka makahiki 1861, a ma nā helu mua i pa'i 'ia maila, ua ho'ā'o ka nūpepa e ho'olale mai i nā kānaka e kū'ai mai i ka nūpepa ma o ka hō'ike 'ana i kona paipai 'ana i nā mea Hawai'i. Ma nā lā mua loa o *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, i ke kolamu mua loa, ua loa'a he mau mele i haku 'ia no ka "Haku o Hawaii," 'o ia ho'i 'o Albert, ke Kamāli'ikāne a ka Mō'ī Kamehameha IV, Alexander Liholiho, a me ka Mō'īwahine Emma. Ma ka lā mua o ka makahiki hou 1862, ua pa'i 'ia akula he ki'i o ka hae Hawai'i ma waenakonu o ka 'ao'ao mua o ka nūpepa, me nā waiho'olu'u ho'i. He mea kūikawā 'i'o nō ia no kēlā manawa. Ma ka mo'olelo, ua wehewehe 'ia ke kumu o ka pa'i 'ana i ia ki'i, no ke "aloha nui i ko kakou Moi, a me ka Moiwahine, a me ka Haku o Hawaii, ka laua keiki, a me ke Aupuni hoi o kakou."[47] 'A'ole i hō'ike 'ia maila ka inoa o ka mea kākau, akā, ua hō'ike 'ia mai he Hawai'i nō 'o ia a "ua hanaia ke pai ana e ka poe

Hawaii wale no." I ia lā hoʻokahi, ua paʻi pū ʻia he mele no ka hae Hawaiʻi. Ma ke mele, hoʻohanohano ʻia ʻo Kamehameha Nui no kona hoʻohui ʻana i nā mokupuni. Pēlā pū ke aloha i ka Mōʻī, ka Mōʻīwahine, a me ka Haku o Hawaiʻi. Akā nō naʻe, ma ka hopena o ke mele, hoʻohanohano ʻia aku ka inoa o *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*.

"He Mele Hou No Ke 'Lii"

Ma ka lā 16 o Kēkēmapa o ia makahiki 1861, ʻo kēia wahi poʻo manaʻo o luna nei ka mea i kūkala ʻia aku. He hoʻokūkū mele ia me ka uku makana he $10 no ka haku ʻana i mele no ka Mōʻī. Wahi a ka hoʻolaha,

> Eia ka mea i makemakeia, he mea e lealea ai na kanaka Hawaii, ka poe aloha i ka Moi. Ua makemakeia ke mele hou no keia lahuikanaka e hapai i ke Alii a i ke 'Lii Wahine a me ka Haku o Hawaii.[48]

Ua paʻi pū ʻia nā lula o ka haku ʻana. Wahi a ka helu ʻekahi, na kekahi "hanauna Hawaii (kanaka maoli)" e haku, a no laila, me he mea lā, ua makemake ʻia kekahi mele kū i ke ʻano Hawaiʻi. He kuhihewa naʻe ia, no ka mea, pili ʻelua o nā lula i ke ʻano o ke mele.

> 5. I eha wale no pauku o ke mele, a e like loa ke pili ana i ka leo, *God Save the King*.
> 6. E pili loa ke mele hou ma ke ano o ka olelo o ke mele i paiia malalo.[49]

A ma lalo iho, paʻi ʻia nō hoʻi ke mele ʻo *God Save the King* ma ka ʻōlelo haole, a unuhi ʻia mai nā manaʻo nui o kēlā me kēia lālani ma ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi. I ʻano papa hua ʻōlelo ia, i mea e maopopo ai i nā kānaka a pau ke ʻano o ke mele e ʻae ʻia ana. ʻAʻole e ʻae ʻia a ʻaʻole e makemake ʻia kekahi mea e kū maoli ana i ke ʻano Hawaiʻi. ʻO ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi a me ke kanaka Hawaiʻi wale nō kai makemake ʻia; he haole nō naʻe ka manaʻo.

A ua hōʻoia ʻia kēia makemake o *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* i ko lākou koho ʻana i nā luna loiloi o kēia hoʻokūkū mele. Wahi a ke kūkala, "E waeia i ekolu poe noiau e nana a e hooholo i ke mele maikai," a e hoʻolaha ʻia aku nā inoa o ua poe noʻiau ma hope aku.[50] Ma ka lā 25 o Ianuali 1862 i hōʻike ʻia mai ai nā

inoa o ua poe no'iau lā, a 'o James I. Dowsett, G. P. Judd, a me E. O. Hall ko lākou inoa.

He mau haole lākou 'ekolu. Ua hānau 'ia 'o James I. Dowsett ma Hawai'i nei i ka M.H. 1829, a i ka wā o ka ho'okūkū mele, he 'ano alaka'i 'o ia no ke kālepa moku. Ua nui ho'i kāna 'āina i kū'ai mai ai no ka lā'au a me ka hānai pipi 'ana.[51] 'O Gerritt P. Judd ho'i, he mikionali a he kauka 'o ia. Ua alaka'i 'o ia i ka ho'okumu 'ana i ke Komikina Ho'onā 'Āina i ka makahiki 1845. Ma ka wā o ka ho'okūkū mele, 'o Judd ke Kuhina Waiwai o ke Aupuni Hawai'i. 'O Hall ho'i, he lālā 'o ia o ka po'e mikionali; ua hiki mai i Hawai'i nei i ka makahiki 1835.[52] He Luna Ho'oponopono 'o ia no kekahi mau nūpepa, 'o *The Polynesian* kekahi, a he mea pa'i palapala ho'i 'o ia no ke aupuni.[53] I ka makahiki 1843, 'o Hall kai haku i ke "Mele Hoi Hou Ana" i haku 'ia ma ka wā o Kamehameha III a i kama'ilio 'ia ho'i ma luna a'e nei. 'A'ole nō ia he mele i kū maoli i ka nani a me ka hanohano o nā mele Hawai'i. Ua kū na'e i ke 'ano o ke mele i makemake 'ia no ka ho'okūkū, 'o "God Save the King." Ma ka ho'olaha o ia lā, 'a'ohe mea e ho'ākāka mai ana i ko lākou nei mākaukau a no'iau paha ma ia mea he mele Hawai'i. Ma nā mo'olelo e pili ana i ko lākou ola a me kā lākou hana ma Hawai'i nei, 'a'ohe o lākou pili i ke mele Hawai'i a 'a'ohe o lākou no'iau ma nā mele. Eia nō na'e, ma ka lā 8 o Pepeluali o ka makahiki 1862, ua kūkala nā "luna nana" i ke mele i koho 'ia maila. Ua lilo ka makana i kekahi Ali'i iā William C. Lunalilo no kāna mele i haku ihola.



E ola ka Moi i ke Akua.

Hakuia e WM. C. LUNALILO.

Ke Akua mana mau,
Hoomaikai, pomaikai
I ka Moi!
Kou lima mana mau,
Malama, kiai mai,
Ko makou nei Moi
E ola e!

Ka inoa KAMAIHAO,
Le nani o makou,
E ola e!
Ko EHEU uhi mai,
Pale na ino e,
Ka makou pule nou
E ola e!

Haliu, maliu mai,
Nana mai luna mai
Kau Pokii nei;
E mau kou ola nei,
Ke Akua kou kiai
Ka Pua nani e
Hawaii nei!

Imua Ou makou,
Ke 'Li o na 'Lii,
E oloha mai;
E mau ka Ea nei
O keia Aupuni,
E ola mau lakou,
Ia oe no.

Ianuari 4, 1862.

Ki'i 3. "E Ola Ka Moi I Ke Akua," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 8 Pepeluali 1862.

Ma nā mahina ma hope mai, ua pa'i 'ia maila he mau mele hou aku i haku 'ia no ua ho'okūkū mele nei. I ku'u wahi mana'o, 'a'ole nō i 'oko'a loa nā mele, ua kohu like lākou pākahi a pau. He 'ehā paukū o nā mele pākahi e like me ka mea i koi 'ia ma ka lula, a ua kohu like nā hua 'ōlelo i koho 'ia, e la'a me ka "hoomaikai," ke "ola" a me ke "kiai" o ke "Akua Mana Mau" (l. 1, 2, 6). Ma muli o ka hahai 'ana i ke mele o Pelekania, ua kū like ke 'ano o kēia mele hou me ko Pelekania. Ua unuhi wale 'ia ka mana'o ma ka 'ōlelo Hawai'i e kekahi hanauna Hawai'i. Ma muli o ka lula, ua kū nō i ka mana'o haole.

"He Mele Lahui Hawaii"

Ua lilo paha ka uku makana iā William C. Lunalilo no kāna mele. 'A'ole na'e i mōakāka inā ua lilo kāna mele i mele no ke aupuni. Wahi a Lili'uokalani,

> In the early years of Kamehameha V, he brought to my notice the fact that the Hawaiian people had no national air...but we were using...the time-honored British anthem, "God save the Queen." This he desired me to supplant.[54]

'A'ole i ho'ākāka 'ia mai no kēia mele 'o "God Save the Queen." Ua hīmeni 'ia anei ia mele ma ka 'ōlelo haole? A i 'ole ia, 'o kēia ke mele a Hall i haku ai i ka makahiki 1843 ma ka leo o "God Save the King," ka mea i kapa 'ia kona inoa 'o "Mele Hoi Hou Ana"? Mali'a paha, 'o ia ke mele i haku 'ia na William Lunalilo i ka makahiki 1861 ma ua leo ho'okahi nō.

'O ka mea i maopopo, na Lili'uokalani i haku i mele hou a ua kapa aku 'o ia i kāna mele, 'o "He Mele Lahui Hawaii." 'O kēia ka mele ho'okahi a Lili'uokalani i wehewehe ai ma kāna puke, a no laila, ua maopopo iā kākou kekahi mahele o ka mo'olelo.[55] Ua hīmeni mua 'ia ke mele e ka papa hīmeni o ka hale pule 'o Kawaiaha'o ma hope o ko Lili'uokalani lilo 'ana i alaka'i no ia papa hīmeni i ka makahiki 1866. Aia ka Mō'ī Kamehameha V, Lota Kapuāiwa, i laila a ua nui kona mahalo i ka 'ōlelo a me ka leo o ke mele.[56]

HE MELE LAHUI HAWAII[57]

1. Ka Makua Mana Loa,
   Maliu maiia makou
   E haliu aku nei
   Me ka naau haahaa
   E mau ka maluhia
   O nei Pae Aina
   Mai Hawaii a Niihau,
   Malalo o kau malu.

Hooho;-
   E mau ke Ea o ka Aina
   Ma kou pono mau
   A ma kou mana nui
   E ola e ola ka Moimau.

2. E ka haku malama mai
   I ko makou nei Moi
   E mau kona noho ana
   Maluna o ka Noho Alii
   Haawi mai i ke aloha
   Maloko o kona naau
   A ma kou ahonui
   E ola e ola ka Moi.

Hooho:-
   E mau ke, etc. etc.

3. Malalo o kou aloha nui
   Na Lii o ke Aupuni
   Me na Makaainana
   Ka lehulehu no a pau
   Kiai mai ia lakou
   Me ke aloha ahonui
   E ola no makou
   I kou mana mau

Hooho;-
   E mau ke ea, etc. etc.

'A'ole i kūlike kā Lili'uokalani mele hou i ko Pelekania mele lāhui a William Lunalilo, 'o "E Ola Ka Moi i ke Akua," akā, 'a'ole nō ho'i i kū maoli i nā 'ano o nā mele o ke au i kala loa aku kekahi. He 'ekolu paukū o ke mele a me ka ho'ōho ma ke 'ano he hui. He mea hou loa ka hui ma ko Hawai'i mele, a he mea i 'ike nui 'ia ma nā hīmeni haipule. A ma kekahi 'ano, he mele haipule kēia, no ka mea, kāhea 'ia ka inoa o ka "Makua Mana Loa" a me ka "haku" (l. 1, 13). Noi 'ia mai ka "pono," ka "mana," ke "ahonui," a me ke "aloha" o ke Akua (l. 10, 11, 19, 16). Noi 'ia nō ho'i ka Makua Mana Loa e "mau ka

maluhia," e "malama mai" i ka Mōʻī, a e "kiai mai" i nā Aliʻi me nā makaʻāinana (l. 5, 13, 26).

Ua kapa ʻia aku ka inoa o kā Liliʻuokalani mele i haku ai ʻo "He Mele Lahui Hawaii" a ʻo ia paha ke mele mua loa i kapa ʻia aku he "mele lāhui." Ma ka hoʻōho o ke mele, ʻike ʻia ka manaʻo nui o ka haku mele, "E mau ke Ea o ka Aina" a "E ola e ola ka Moi mau" (l. 9, 12). Ua hōʻike mai nō hoʻi ʻo Liliʻuokalani i ka palena o ke aupuni "Mai Hawaii a Niihau," (l. 7). Ma o kēia ʻōlelo, ua hoʻākāka mai ʻo Liliʻuokalani i kekahi manaʻo. Ma ka manaʻo a me ka naʻau o ke Kanaka Maoli, he aupuni hoʻokahi a he lāhui hoʻokahi ka lāhui Hawaiʻi. He lāhui ia, he aupuni hoʻi, me nā "Lii" a me na "makaainana," e kūʻokoʻa ana i nā aupuni a me nā lāhui ʻē aʻe o ka honua. Ua hoʻomaka nā kānaka e hoʻomaopopo aku i ia ʻano manaʻo a ʻo nā mele kahi a lākou i hōʻike aku ai i ia hoʻomaopopo ʻana.

No Nā Nūpepa: 1861 - 1876

Ua paʻi ʻia akula *Ka Hoku O Ka Pakipika* no ʻekolu makahiki a i ka makahiki 1864, akā, ʻo *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* hoʻi, ua mau maila kona paʻi ʻia ʻana a i ka makahiki 1927. Hoʻokumu ʻia aʻela he mau nūpepa hou a e like me ka wā ma mua, he nūpepa aupuni kekahi, e laʻa me ka *Daily Legislative Bulletin* (M.H. 1867). He nūpepa Kalikiano kekahi, e laʻa ʻo *Ke Alaula* (M.H. 1866), *Ka Hae Katolika* (M.H. 1868), a me *Ka Lau Oliva* (M.H. 1871).

Aia he mau nūpepa i paʻi ʻia e nā Kānaka Maoli no nā Kānaka Maoli. ʻO *Ke Au Okoa* (M.H. 1865) kekahi a ʻo *Ko Hawaii Ponoi* a me *Ka Nuhou* (M.H. 1873). Ua hoʻokumu ʻo David Kalākaua i nūpepa hou i ka makahiki 1870, ʻo *Ka Manawa* ka inoa. Wahi a Chapin, ua like nā kumumanaʻo o ua mau nūpepa nei o nā Kānaka Maoli. ʻAkahi, ua maopopo i ke Kanaka Maoli ka mea e pono ai ke Kanaka Maoli; ʻalua, he pilikia nui ke emi ʻana mai o ka

lāhui; ʻakolu, he pono ke kūʻokoʻa o Hawaiʻi; ʻahā, he mea paʻa loa ke aloha no nā Aliʻi; ʻalima, he mea paʻa nō hoʻi ke aloha no ka ʻāina.[58]

No Ke Au Iā Kalākaua

I ka makahiki 1874, ua lilo ʻo Kalākaua i Mōʻī no ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi, a ma muli paha o kāna hana alakaʻi ma nā nūpepa ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi, ua hoʻomaopopo ihola ʻo Kalākaua i kona mau manaʻo no ka pono o kona lāhui. E like me kāna i hōʻike aku ai ma kāna mau nūpepa, he nui kona aloha a me kona kākoʻo i nā kānaka, nā loina, a me nā moʻolelo o kona lāhui. Ua maopopo nō hoʻi iā ia, no nā Hawaiʻi ke kuleana o ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi. I ka makahiki 1876, na ka Mōʻī Kalākaua i haku i mele hou no ka lāhui a me ke aupuni.

HAWAIʻI PONOʻĪ[59]

Hawaiʻi ponoʻī
Nānā i kou mōʻī,
Ka lani aliʻi,
Ke aliʻi.

Makua lani e,
Kamehameha e,
Na kāua e pale
Me ka ihe

Hawaiʻi ponoʻī
Nānā i nā aliʻi
Nā pua muli kou,
Nā pōkiʻi,

Hawaiʻi ponoʻī,
E ka lāhui e,
ʻO kāu hana nui,
E ui e.

Ma kā Kalākaua mele lāhui nei, ʻo ko Hawaiʻi ponoʻī ka mea nui koʻikoʻi. E noi aku ana ʻo ia i ko Hawaiʻi ponoʻī e nānā aku i ka Mōʻī a me nā Aliʻi a na lākou e pale aku i ka ʻino me ka ihe. Ua kākoʻo mai nō ʻo Kalākaua i ko Hawaiʻi mau mea ponoʻī a pau—ʻo ka Mōʻī, nā Aliʻi, nā pua, nā pōkiʻi, a pēlā pū me nā loina, ka nohona, a me ke aupuni. Mai ka wā o ko Kamehameha naʻi ʻana mai i ke

aupuni, ua hoʻomaka maila nā Kānaka Maoli e hoʻomaopopo a e noʻonoʻo e pili ana iā lākou iho ma ke ʻano he aupuni hoʻokahi a he aupuni kūʻokoʻa. Ma ke au iā Kalākaua, he pono ke kiaʻi a me ka mālama i ke ʻano o ko Hawaiʻi ponoʻī i ʻole e nalowale loa aku ma muli o ka nui ʻana mai o ka poʻe haole a me ko lākou ʻano kolonaio. Wahi a Silva,

> The lāhui was also created in the collective imagination by Kānaka Maoli grouping themselves as alike, sharing a language and culture, albeit with regional variations, and in opposition to the haole. That opposition was not simply an othering based on differences in color and language, but an attempt to fend off U. S. and various European colonial advances.[60]

A ʻo ia ihola ka mea i hana nui ai ʻo Kalākaua i kona wā e noho Aliʻi ana. ʻO ke kākoʻo i ko Hawaiʻi ponoʻī a me ka pale aku i ka hana kolonaio o ka poʻe haole.

Ma ka wā i kū ai ke aupuni iā Kalākaua, ua lilo nā pulapula a ka poʻe mikionali i mea e pilikia ai ke aupuni a me ka lāhui. E like me ka mea i kākau ʻia no Wini i luna aʻe, ma Hawaiʻi nei nō i hānau ʻia maila ua poʻe keiki ala. ʻAʻole naʻe ʻo Hawaiʻi ko lākou ʻāina makua; ʻo ʻAmelika nō ia. ʻAʻohe nō hoʻi o lākou pili i ka papa alakaʻi o ka hale pule nāna i hoʻouna mai i ko lākou poʻe mākua. No laila, ʻaʻohe o lākou kānalua i ka hoʻokō ʻana aku i ko lākou ʻiʻini e lilo ka mana, ke kālā, a me ka ʻāina a pau o Hawaiʻi iā lākou, a ma o ka hoʻohui ʻāina ʻana me ʻAmelika e kō ai ia ʻiʻini.[61]

> Although settled among us, and drawing their wealth from our resources, they [ka poʻe haole] were alien to us in their customs and ideas respecting government, and desired above all things the extension of their power, and to carry out their own special plans of advancement, and to secure their own personal benefit. It may be true that they really believed us unfit to be trusted to administer the growing wealth of the Islands in a safe and proper way. But if we manifested any incompetency, it was in not foreseeing that *they* would be bound by no obligations, by honor, or by oath of allegiance, should an opportunity arise for seizing our country, and bringing it under the authority of the United States.[62]

Ua ʻokoʻa maoli ko lākou pahuhopu i ko Kalākaua pahuhopu. Ma mua o kona lilo ʻana i Mōʻī, ma ke kākau nūpepa i paipai mai ai ʻo Kalākaua i ka loina a me ke kūʻokoʻa o kona lāhui. Ma hope mai, ua hoʻomau a hoʻokō aku ʻo ia i ia paipai ʻana ma o ka mana o ka noho kalaunu. Ua paʻi ʻia akula *Ke*

Kumulipo ma lalo o kona inoa i mea e hō'oia ai i ka mana o kona mo'okū'auhau a me ke kūlana ki'eki'e o ka lāhui. Ua ho'okumu nō ho'i 'o Kalākaua i ka Papa Kū'auhau o Nā Ali'i Hawai'i (M.H. 1880) a me ka Hale Nauā (M.H. 1886) no ka mālama a me ka ho'omau 'ana aku i ka 'ike o nā kūpuna. Ua mālama nō ho'i 'o Kalākaua i nā hō'ike hula ma kona Poni Mō'ī (M.H. 1883) a me ka Iubile (M.H. 1886) i ka piha 'ana o kona makahiki kanalima.

Ua ho'ā'o nō ho'i 'o Kalākaua e ho'onui i ka waiwai o ke aupuni a e hō'oia i ka mana o ke aupuni i mua o nā aupuni 'ē a'e o ka honua nei. Ua pūlima 'ia ke Ku'ikahi Pāna'i Like me 'Amelika. He kōkua nui i ka po'e kālepa mahikō, a no ka mea, 'a'ole pono e uku 'ia ka 'auhau no ka lawe 'ana i ke kōpa'a i 'Amelika. Ua ka'apuni aku nō ho'i 'o Kalākaua i ka honua me ke kipa pū 'ana aku i nā Ali'i o kēlā me kēia aupuni—'o Kina, 'o Iāpana, 'o Kiama, 'o Ikalia, 'o 'Enelani, a 'o 'Amelika. I kona ho'i 'ana mai, ua kūkulu 'o ia i ka Hale Ali'i 'o 'Iolani.

I ka makahiki 1884, ua nui ka namunamu o ka po'e haole a me kekahi mau Kānaka Maoli nō ho'i i ka nui o kā Kalākaua kālā i ho'olilo aku ai ma ke ka'apuni honua, ke kūkulu Hale Ali'i a me nā pā'ina i mālama 'ia no ka Mō'ī. Ma hope iho, ua namunamu ho'i ia po'e no nā kuhina o ke aupuni, 'o ia ho'i 'o Walter Murray Gibson, 'o Kipikona me nā kuhina 'ē a'e.

Ma ka lā 30 o Iune o ka makahiki 1887, ua mālama 'ia he hālāwai na ia po'e namunamu, he mau haole lākou, a ua koho 'ia "he Komite umikumakolu lala...e hoike aku i na olelo hooholo...a me na noi i hooholoia imua o ka Moi."[63] 'O Lorrin Thurston, 'o Sanford B. Dole, P. C. Jones, W. R. Castle, Clarence W. Ashford a 'o Nathaniel B. Emerson kekahi o ia po'e. Ua mālama 'ia ia hālāwai ma ka hale paikau o ka pū'ali koa Honolulu Raifela, 'o ia nō kahi i waiho 'ia ai nā pū laipela o ke aupuni. Ua ho'ouna aku ua Kōmike nei i palapala i ka Mō'ī e helu papa ana i ko lākou makemake. Wahi a ua

palapala nei, e hoʻopau aku ka Mōʻī i ka ʻAha Kuhina o Kipikona mā a e koho ʻia he ʻAha Kuhina hou.[64]

Ua hoʻāʻo nō ʻo Kalākaua e hoʻopale aku i ia hihia me ke kāhea aku i ka pūʻali koa Honolulu Raifela, akā nō naʻe, ua kumakaia aku ia pūʻali koa ma lalo o Volney Ashford, ʻo ia hoʻi ke kaikuaʻana o Clarence W. Ashford, me ke kākoʻo aku i ia Kōmike ʻUmikūmākolu. Me ka pū nō lākou i hoʻoweliweli aku ai i ka Mōʻī a me ke aupuni, a no laila, ua hoʻopau aku nō ʻo Kalākaua i ka ʻAha Kuhina o Kipikona mā a ua koho ʻia ka ʻAha Kuhina hou ma lalo o William L. Green, ke Kuhina Nui a me ke Kuhina Waiwai. ʻO Godfrey Brown ke Kuhina o nā ʻĀina ʻĒ; ʻo Lorrin Thurston ke Kuhina Kālaiʻāina; ʻo Clarence W. Ashford ka Loio Kuhina. He mau haole lākou ʻehā a ʻo Thurston a me Ashford nā alakaʻi o ua Kōmike ʻUmikūmākolu ala. No laila, i mea e paʻa ai ko lākou kūlana hou, ua kākau ʻia ihola he Kumukānāwai hou e pūlima ai ʻo Kalākaua. Ua kapa ʻia ka inoa ʻo ke Kumukānāwai ʻĒlau Pū no ka mea, ma muli wale nō o ka ʻēlau pū i pūlima aku ai ka Mōʻī.[65]

Ma ia Kumukānāwai ʻĒlau Pū, ua hoʻēmi maoli ʻia akula ka mana hoʻokō o ka Mōʻī. Ma mua, na ka Mōʻī i hoʻokohu a i hoʻopau nō hoʻi i nā kuhina o ka ʻAha Kuhina, akā nō naʻe, ma ke kumukānāwai hou, na ka Mōʻī e hoʻopau aku iā lākou "ma muli wale no o ka hooholo ia ana o ka olelo hooholo hilinai ole o ka hapanui o na hoa a pau i koho ia o ka Ahaolelo."[66]

Ua pau akula nō hoʻi ko ka Mōʻī mana hōʻole no ka lilo ʻana o nā pila i kānāwai, inā "hoapono ia ua Bila Kanawai nei e ka elua hapakolu o na hoa a pau i koho ia o ka Ahaolelo."[67] Ma mua, na ka Mōʻī i koho aku i nā Aliʻi e noho ma ka ʻAhaʻōlelo, akā, ua lilo ia i mea e koho pāloka ʻia e like me ka Luna Makaʻāinana. Ua loli nō hoʻi nā lula no ka poʻe nāna e koho pāloka. Eia kekahi o nā mea i pono ai ka poʻe nāna e koho pāloka i nā Aliʻi a me nā Luna Makaʻāinana o ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi. ʻO kahi koina hoʻi, "he waiwai ponoi...i emi ole iho...ma lalo o ekolu tausani dala," a i ʻole ia, "kekahi loaa makahiki i emi

ole malalo o eono haneri dala iloko o ka makahiki."[68] A ʻo ka poʻe i koho ʻia no ka ʻAhaʻōlelo, he pono ka hoʻohiki aku e mālama i ke Kumukānāwai ʻĒlau Pū o ke aupuni.[69] No nā Kānaka Maoli, he pilikia ia mau koina a ʻelua, no ka mea, he kākaʻikahi nā kānaka i loaʻa ia ʻano kālā a ma loko mai o ia huina kanaka liʻiliʻi, he kākaʻikahi hoʻi ka poʻe i hoʻohiki aku e mālama i ke kumukānāwai hou.

He ʻino kā hoʻi kēia Kumukānāwai no ka Mōʻī, ke aupuni, a me ka lāhui kanaka. Ma mua, ʻo ka Mōʻī nō ka Mōʻī, a nāna i hoʻokele aku i ke aupuni. Ua loaʻa nō he kumukānāwai, akā, aia nō ka mana i ka Mōʻī, ka mana ma nā kānāwai o ke aupuni, ma ka ʻAha Kuhina, a me ke koho ʻana i kahi hapa o ka ʻAhaʻōlelo. Akā nō naʻe, ma ke Kumukānāwai ʻĒlau Pū, ua pau akula ka mana hoʻokō o ka Mōʻī.

> Ua lilo ihola ka hoomalu ana i ke Aupuni i loko o na lima o na Kuhina eha, a o ka Moi ma ka Nohoalii, ua noho mumule iho la Oia...Hoopau ia ae la na kanaka Hawaii e noho ana ma na oihana Aupuni iloko o ia mau la...a hoonoho ia ae la na haole o ia auna hookahi ma ia mau kulana.[70]

Ka Hana Kipi A Wilikoki Mā

Mai ka wā i hoʻokikina ʻia aku ai ko Kalākaua pūlima ʻana aku i ke Kumukānāwai ʻĒlau Pū, ua "ulu nui ae la na uluaoa iwaena o ka lahui."[71] Ua maopopo iā Robert W. Wilcox, ʻo ia hoʻi ʻo Wilikoki, kēia ʻano uluāoʻa a nā kānaka. Ua ʻimi hoʻi ʻo ia i ala e loaʻa hou ai ka mana o ke aupuni i ka Mōʻī, "o ia ka hapai ana i kekahi hana e hiki ai ke hookahuli i ka noho'na Aupuni."[72] Ua haʻi ʻia kēia moʻolelo o kā Wilikoki kipi i ka makahiki 1889 ma kahi moʻolelo pilikino i kapa ʻia kona inoa ʻo *Ka Buke Moolelo o Hon. Robert William Wilikoki*. Na Thomas Nakanaela i kākau i ia moʻolelo; he mea paʻi palapala ʻo Nakanaela a he kanaka haole ʻo ia. Akā naʻe, he kanaka kākoʻo nō hoʻi i nā Kānaka Maoli.

No Maui mai ʻo Wilikoki, he keiki ʻo ia na William S. Wilcox lāua me Kalua, he moʻopuna na Niaunui. No laila, he hoahānau ʻo Wilikoki no Keohokalole, ka makuahine o Kalākaua. Ua hānai ʻia ʻo ia ma Maui, a ua lilo i kumu ma ke kula a kona makuakāne i hoʻokumu ai. I ka makahiki 1880, ua koho ʻia aku ʻo Wilikoki e lilo i Luna Makaʻāinana no ka ʻAhaʻōlelo. Ma hope o ke kuʻu ʻana o ka ʻAhaʻōlelo, ua hoʻoholo ʻia aku e ka Mōʻī Kalākaua e hoʻouna aku iā Wilikoki i ka ʻāina ʻē, i Ikalia hoʻi, no ke kula koa. A ma kona hoʻi ʻana mai i ka ʻāina hānau, ua hoʻomaka akula ʻo ia ala "e komo iwaena o na opio puuwai Hawaii, e hoike ana i kona manao lili a makee loa i ka pono o ke kanaka i hanau ia ma ke one oiwi."[73]

I ka pule mua o Iune i ka makahiki 1889, ua hoʻokumu ʻia ka "Hui Kipu Raifela Kamehameha" no ka hoʻokumu hou ʻana i ke Kumukānāwai, a ua komo mai "he mau hoa lehulehu o na kanaka Hawaii opio ponoi o ka aina, ma lalo o kana [Wilikoki] alakai ana,...ua ao pono ia na lula a pau o ke ki ana i ka pu."[74]

Ma ka hola ʻekolu o ke kulu aumoe o ka lā 30 o Iulai 1889, ua ʻōʻili maila ua pūʻali lā ma ke alanui o Honolulu.

> Ua hoolako pono ia na koa o keia puali me na pu raifela a me na pu ki manu ailaiki, na papale kapu a me na palule ulaula, he like ia mai o a o, o ka puali, me he lehua nenee la o Lihau, ka hele a kilakila i ka nana aku.[75]

Aia he hoʻokahi haneli a ʻoi koa me Wilikoki a ua lawe pio lākou i ka Pā Aliʻi a me ka Hale Aliʻiolani. Ua komo koke aku ka Pūʻali Honolulu Raifela, a na lākou nō ke kī mua. He kīpū nō hoʻi kā Wilikoki mā mai ko lākou wahi kūpaʻa ma ka Hale Mele Hou, a i ia manawa nō i hoʻomaka ai "ka hoouka kaua hahana o na aoao a elua."[76]

Ua hoʻopaʻa ʻia a haʻi hou ʻia ka moʻolelo o kā Wilikoki hana kipi ma nā mele lāhui o ia wā.

HE HOOHENO NO WILIKOKI[77]

Hookahi mea hou ma Honolulu,
O ke kipi kuloko a Wilikoki,

Ku-kui ia aku nei e ka lono,
Lohe aku nei na Mokupuni,
Ke ulele nei e ka iliula,
Me ka ili puakea o Mareka,
Hookahi no oi ma ka'u ike,
O ka eueu o Italia,
Aole no ia i hopo iho,
I ka iho makawalu a ka poka,
A imua a ihope e kulana nei,
I ke kani a na pukuniahi,
A he ahi ua wela mai nei loko,
I ka hookahe koko a ka puakea.
Nani wale Wilikoki a e ku nei,
Me ke kahiko nani Italia,
E alawa iho oe ma ka molina,
Ka memele kohu manu hulu oo,
Kahiko i ka nani o ke kupuna,
O ke kapa Ahuula o Kamehameha,
Ua meha ua lai ke kaona,
Ua pau hoi e ka haunaele,
Eia Wilikoki ke noho nei,
Me na hoa i ka inea,
Ua apo ia mai lakou,
Aia ma ka lima o ke Aupuni,
He u-i a he ninau keia,
Na ka mua me ka muli a o Pape Poe
Ku-i ia ae nei hoi e ka lono,
Aia no ia ke uleu la,
Na oihana o ka pukuniahi,
Hakalia a komo pono aku,
Naueue e ka Hale Mele Hou,
Hookahi mea hou ma ka Pa Alii,
Ua ku aku nei a o Makamu,
Ua ku ia la ma ka poohiwi,
Maluna pono ae o ka puuwai,
Nawai no e ole a e ku oe,
Ua puni kakou i ka muhee,
He i-a kaulana i na Kupuna
O ka i-a hololua la i ka moana

Hakuia e
W.H. LEIKINIHENE.

Ma kēia mele ma ka lālani mua, hoʻākāka mai ka haku mele, ʻo W. H. Leikinihene, no ka "mea hou ma Honolulu / O ke kipi kuloko a Wilikoki" (l. 1-2). Moʻolelo ʻia mai nō hoʻi nā wahi o ia kaua ʻana, "Naueue e ka Hale Mele Hou / Hookahi mea hou ma ka Pa Alii" (l. 33-34). Akā, nui hou aku nā lālani e moʻolelo ana no Wilikoki, kona ʻano, a me kāna hana. Wahi a ka haku mele, "Nani wale Wilikoki a e ku nei / Me ke kahiko nani Italia" (l. 15-16). Hoʻoheno ʻia hoʻi ʻo ia no kāna hana noʻeau a me kona wiwo ʻole ma ke kaua ʻana, "Aole

no ia i hopo iho / I ka iho makawalu a ka poka / A imua a ihope e kulana nei / I ke kani a na pukuniahi (l. 9-12). Pi'i wale maila ka inaina o Wilikoki i ka po'e o ka Honolulu Raifela. "A he ahi ua wela mai nei loko, / I ka hookahi koko a ka puakea" (l. 13-14).

I ka napo'o 'ana o ka lā, ua peki hope ko Wilikoki pū'ali a i ka Hale 'Ākala, ma kahi o Hale Ali'iolani. Eia nō na'e, ma muli o ka pākela kīpū 'ana a me ka pōkāpahū 'ana ho'i o ka Honolulu Raifela, ua lawe pio 'ia ka Hui Kīpū Raifela Kamehameha a Wilikoki. Wahi a Leikinihene, "Ua apo ia mai lakou, / Aia ma ka lima o ke Aupuni," (l. 24-25).

'A'ole i ho'okō 'ia ka 'i'ini o Wilikoki e ho'iho'i hou 'ia ka mana piha i ka Mō'ī. He kā'e'a'e'a na'e 'o Wilikoki no ka lāhui a ua hele nō a kaulana kona inoa i kona 'ano he koa wiwo 'ole.

> E holo ana ma kela a me keia wahi o na pu kuniahi, e haawi ana i na kauoha a me ka paina ana i na pu no kahi e ki aku ai. Ma kahi a Wilikoki e ku iki iho ai, e ike ia no he mau poka lehulehu e helelei ana mao a maanei ona me he mau pakaua la, a me he kopala hao lepo la hoi ka puehu liilii o ke one a me ka lepo iluna, e oni mau ana no hoi kona kino io a ianei ma na wahi a pau ana e hele ai.[78]

I nā mahina ma hope mai, ua ho'ohanohano maoli 'ia 'o Wilikoki ma kona kūlana he me'e no ka lāhui. Ua pa'i 'ia nā mele he nui e like me ke mele o luna a me ka mea e 'ike 'ia ana ma lalo. Ua mo'olelo mai nō kēia mau mele no nā hana o ia lā a me ka po'e pū'ali koa nāna i ho'ouka kaua, akā, 'o Wilikoki nō ka mea nui hanohano ma ka hapanui o nā mele.

HE MELE NO WILIKOKI[79]

Kaulana mai nei a o Wilikoki
O ke koa wiwo ole o ke ao nei
Ua kohu alena ke ike aku
I ke ku kilakila i Halealii
Aohe poka e ku ai
Aohe akamai e loaa aku
Keiki Hawaii alo ehuehu
I ka waha o ka pu e kani nei
Noho mai Waipa i kauahoa
Opu lokoino he aloha ole
No Hawaii oe Hawaii au
Hookahi ke kupuna Kakuhihewa
Hoohewahewa oe ia kaua
Ia'u nei la ko pilikoko

Kuhi ae kuu pono ia Kahalewai
I ka lukanela helu ekahi
Akahi kuu lohe a ike maka
Ke kaua kuloko o Hawaii
Ua ku'i e ka lono lohe Pelekane
He Italia ka'u wahine
Pehea mai oe Kahu Aupuni
I ko lahui i ka Halewai
E hookuu ae me ka maikai
E puka Wilikoki a hemo loa
    Haina ka puana ua ike ia
    He aloha lahui ko Wilikoki
I ka la kanakolu o Iulai
He kaua weliweli ma Honolulu
He kaua kuloko na Wilikoki
He kanaka ikaika he maka'u ole
I ka halahala kau a na pu
I ka oloolohi'o a ka poka
Alo iho alo ae alo ma ke kua
Aohe manuhe'u o Wilikoki
O ka hana ana ia a ka iwikani
Keiki akamai Italia
Alia oukou e ka Lahui
E ke aupuni nui Kelekiela
E ala e Uli eia au
A owau keia ko pulapula
E Uli e nana ia mai
A e Uli hewa ae Uli pono
E lohe i ka leo me ka uwalo
E puka Wilikoki a hemo loa
    Haina ka puana ua ike ia
    He aloha lahui ko Wilikoki

MRS. ANNIE K. KAANOIOKALANI

Ua lawe pio ʻia nō ʻo Wilikoki ma ka hopena o ia kaua ʻana, akā, ʻaʻole hōʻike ʻia ia eo ʻana ma kēia mele i haku ʻia nona. Ma nā lālani mua o kēia mele, kapa ʻia ʻo Wilikoki he "Kaulana" a ʻo "ke koa wiwo ole o ke ao nei" (l. 1-2). I ka manaʻo o Mrs. Kaanoiokalani, kohu kanaka hemolele ʻo Wilikoki a he hemolele nō hoʻi kona kaua ʻana, ʻoiai "Aohe poka e ku ai / Aohe akamai e loaa aku" (l. 5-6). Ma nā mele he nui i haku ʻia nona, kapa ʻia ʻo ia he "Keiki Hawaii alo ehuehu" no kona alo ʻana " I ka waha o ka pu e kani nei" (l.7-8). Ma ia mua aku, e paʻa ana ia ʻōlelo he "alo ehuehu" me he inoa kapakapa no Wilikoki.

He ʻōlelo kūamuamu nō hoʻi ko kēia haku mele, Mrs. Kaanoiokalani, no ka poʻe o ka ʻaoʻao o ke aupuni a me ka Honolulu Raifela. ʻO Robert Waipa

Parker nō kāna mea e nemanema mai ai, ʻo ka Lukanela ʻo ia ma ka Haleali‘i i ko Wilikoki mā wā i hiki aku ai i laila. Ua hōʻole aku ʻo Waipa i kā Wilikoki noi e hāʻawi pio ʻo Waipa i ka Pā Aliʻi. No ia hana, kapa ʻia ʻo Waipa he "kauahoa / Opu lokoino he aloha ole" (l. 9-10). Maliʻa paha, he ʻohana ka haku mele no Waipa, no ka mea, hōʻike ʻia ko lāua pili me ka hoʻomaopopo ʻana, " No Hawaii oe Hawaii au / Hookahi ke kupuna Kakuhihewa" (l. 11-12). Wahi a ka haku mele, ua "hoohewahewa" ʻia ka haku mele ma muli o kona "pilikoko" iā Waipa (l.13-14). Eia naʻe, he koho ko ka haku mele, a aia kona "pono iā Kahalewai" (l. 15) me Wilikoki ka "lukanela helu ekahi" (l. 16).

Ma muli o kēia mau manaʻo o ka haku mele, hōʻike mōakāka ʻo ia i kona mau manaʻo no ka lāhui, nā meʻe o ka lāhui, a me nā hoa paio o ka lāhui. Mōakāka maoli nō kona mahalo i nā kānaka kūpaʻa a kūpono o ka ʻāina, a mōakāka pū kona mahalo ʻole a me kona aloha ʻole i ka poʻe kākoʻo ʻole ana i ka lāhui.

Ma ka paukū ʻelua o kēia mele e hoʻākāka ʻia mai ai nā ʻike kikoʻī o ka moʻolelo. Wahi a ke mele, "I ka la kanakolu o Iulai / He kaua weliweli ma Honolulu / He kaua kuloko na Wilikoki" (l. 27-29). He mau ʻike kikoʻī kēia a he mea ia e poina ʻole ʻia ai ia lā a me nā hana nui koʻikoʻi o ia lā. Ma nā lālani ʻē aʻe o ia mele, hōʻike hou ʻia ko Wilikoki ʻano wiwo ʻole ma ke alo ʻana i nā pōkā, "Alo iho alo ae alo ma ke kua / Aohe manuheʻu o Wilikoki" (l. 33-34). A laila, ma ka hopena o ke mele, kāhea ʻia ka inoa ʻo Uli, he Akua wahine o ka ʻanāʻanā, a noi ʻia ʻo ia "E ala," "e nana," a "e lohe i ka leo me ka uwalo" (l. 39-42). Maliʻa paha, he mea kēia e huhū maoli ai ka poʻe mikionali a me ka poʻe hoʻomana Kalikiano a pau, ʻoiai, he mea hewa a ʻino maoli nō ia ʻano Akua i ka manaʻo o ka poʻe Kalikiano.

ʻO ka manaʻo hope loa o ka haku mele ka mea pono loa. Ma ke mele, ua hoʻākāka maikaʻi ka haku mele i nā kumu ona i mahalo nui aku ai iā Wilikoki. Akā, ma kēia mau lālani, hōʻike leʻa ʻia ka manaʻo nui a me ka mea

nui o ke mele. Wahi āna, "Haina ka puana ua ike ia / He aloha lahui ko Wilikoki" (l. 45-46). Ma kēia mau lālani hope, hōʻike ʻo ia i ka pahu hopu o kona haku mele ʻana—kona hōʻike ʻana i kona mahalo iā Wilikoki, akā, he mea nui nō hoʻi kona mahalo i nā Kānaka Maoli, kona lāhui. He mau mele lāhui kēia, me nā ʻano maʻa mau o nā mele lāhui—ka moʻolelo, ka hana, ka ʻōlelo kūamuamu, no ka poʻe hana ʻino i ke aupuni, a me ka mahalo a me ke aloha no ka lāhui a me nā meʻe o ka lāhui nō hoʻi.

Nā Mea i Kuhi ʻIa

Mokuna 2 - No Ka Wā Ma Mua

[1] Beckwith, 1986, 187.

[2] Poepoe, *Ka Naʻi Aupuni*, 15 Pepeluali 1906.

[3] Beckwith, 1986, 7-8.

[4] Poepoe, *Ka Naʻi Aupuni*, 2 Pepeluali 1906.

[5] Poepoe, *Ka Naʻi Aupuni*, 2-3 Pepeluali 1906.

[6] Nā haumāna o Lāhainaluna, *Ka Mooolelo Hawaii*, hoʻoponopono ʻia na Sheldon Dibble, (Lahainaluna: Mea Pai Palapala No Ke Kulanui, 1838), 32-39.

[7] Lilikalā Kameʻeleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā e Pono Ai?*, (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1992), 25.

[8] David Malo, *Ka Moolelo Hawaii*, kākau lima ʻia, 1841(?), 238-271.

[9] David Malo, 15-237.

[10] Nathanial B. Emerson, *Unwritten Literature of Hawaii: The Sacred Songs of Hula*, (Japan: Charles E. Tuttle Co., Inc., 1965), 68-69.

[11] Elbert & Mahoe, 52.

[12] Abraham Fornander, *Memoirs of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Hawaiian Antiquities and Folk-Lore*, (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1919-1920), Mahele IV, 3-7.

[13] Fornander, 7.

[14] Kīhei de Silva, *Hālau Mōhala ʻIlima Merrie Monarch Fact Sheet 1995*, kikokiko ʻia, (Kaʻōhao, Hawaiʻi, 1995), 1-9.

[15] Samuel M. Kamakau, "He Moolelo No Kamehameha I," 5 ʻOkakopa 1867.

[16] Kamakau, 18 Ianuali 1868.

[17] *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 18 Ianuali 1868.

[18] Chapin, 1996, 15.

[19] Esther Mookini, *The Hawaiian Newspapers*, (Honolulu: Topgallant Publishing Co., Ltd., 1974), iv.

[20] Chapin, 1996, 5-16.

[21] Chapin, 1996, 16-17.

[22] Kameʻeleihiwa, 169-176.

[23] *Ka Nonanona*, 14 Feberuari 1843.

[24] *Ka Nonanona*, 7 Malaki 1843.

[25] *Ka Nonanona*, 7 Malaki 1843.

[26] *Ka Nonanona*, 7 Malaki 1843.

[27] *Ka Nonanona*, 22 ʻAukake 1843.

[28] *Ka Nonanona*, 8 ʻAukake 1843.

[29] John Charlot, *The Hawaiian Poetry of Religion and Politics*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986), 16.

[30] Mookini, v.

[31] *Ka Hae Hawaii*, 25 Pepeluali 1857.

[32] Chapin, 1996, 54-56.

[33] Noenoe Silva, "Ke Kū'ē Kūpa'a Loa Nei Mākou," 1999, 22-25.

[34] Silva, "Ke Kū'ē Kūpa'a Loa Nei Mākou," 1999, 20.

[35] *Ka Hoku O Ka Pakipika*, 26 Kepakemapa 1861

[36] Silva, "Ke Kū'ē Kūpa'a Loa Nei Mākou," 1999, 25-39.

[37] *Ka Hoku O Ka Pakipika*, 17 'Okakopa 1861.

[38] Silva, "Ke Kū'ē Kūpa'a Loa Nei Mākou," 1999, 39-42.

[39] *Ka Hoku O Ka Pakipika*, 3 'Okakopa 1861.

[40] *Ka Hoku O Ka Pakipika*, 3 'Okakopa 1861. ([*pn*], pēlā nō i pa'i 'ia ai; he pa'i hewa paha.)

[41] *Ka Hoku O Ka Pakipika*, 3 'Okakopa 1861.

[42] Chapin, 1996, 53-54.

[43] Chapin, 1996, 57.

[44] *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 3 'Okakopa 1861.

[45] Silva, "Ke Kū'ē Kūpa'a Loa Nei Mākou," 1999, 35.

[46] Silva, "Ke Kū'ē Kūpa'a Loa Nei Mākou," 1999, 25-42

[47] *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 1 Ianuali 2001.

[48] *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 16 Kēkēmapa 1861.

[49] *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 16 Kēkēmapa 1861.

[50] *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 16 Kēkēmapa 1861.

[51] George F. Nellist, luna ho'oponopono, *The Builders of Hawaii* (Territory of Hawaii: Honolulu Star-Bulletin Ltd., 1925), 102-105.

[52] Kame'eleihiwa, 205.

[53] Chapin, 1996, 34-38.

[54] Lili'uokalani, 1974, 31.

[55] Queen Lili'uokalani, *The Queen's Songbook*, (Honolulu: Hui Hānai, 1999), 40-44.

[56] Lili'uokalani, 1974, 31.

[57] Lili'uokalani, 1897, 1-4.

[58] Chapin, 1996, 61.

[59] Elbert & Mahoe, 43-44.

[60] Silva, "Ke Kū'ē Kūpa'a Loa Nei Mākou," 1999, 109.

[61] Silva, "Ke Kū'ē Kūpa'a Loa Nei Mākou," 1999, 112.

[62] Lili'uokalani, 1974, 178.

[63] *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 2 Iulai 1887.

[64] *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 2 Iulai 1887.

[65] Helena G. Allen, *Kalakaua: Renaissance King*, (Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 1994), 183.

[66] *Ke Kumukānāwai ʻĒlau Pū 1887*, Paukū 41.

[67] *Ke Kumukānāwai ʻĒlau Pū 1887*, Paukū 48.

[68] *Ke Kumukānāwai ʻĒlau Pū 1887*, Paukū 59.

[69] *Ke Kumukānāwai ʻĒlau Pū 1887*, Paukū 24.

[70] Thomas K. Nakanaela, *Ka Buke Moolelo o Hon. Robert William Wilikoki*, (Honolulu: Lake me Nakanaela, 1890), 24.

[71] Nakanaela, 24.

[72] Nakanaela, 25.

[73] Nakanaela, 25.

[74] Nakanaela, 25.

[75] Nakanaela, 27.

[76] Nakanaela, 28.

[77] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 5 Kepakemapa 1889.

[78] Nakanaela, 28.

[79] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 10 Kepakemapa 1889.

MOKUNA 3
NO KA HO'OKAHULI AUPUNI

HOOHENO NO LILIU[1]

Kaulana Liliu Ahaolelo
Ma ka Poaono hookuu ia
Aia o Kalani i Iolani
Me na komite o ka lehulehu
He hana ua holo like ka manao
I aupuni Kumukanawai hou
Punihei o Kalani i ka mali leo
Hookohu i na Kuhina o ke aupuni
Kau nui ka manao o na kupa
I pono kaulike no ka lahui
Hea aku no au o mai oe
Lanakila kamahao ko Hawaii
Haina ia mai ana ka puana
A kau o Liliu i ke Kalaunu

Kaulana o Liliu i ka maluhia
Ma na welelau o ka honua
He honua ia a he lani keia
Noho ia iho Ko noho Kalaunu
E Uli eia ko pulapula
O ka Wohi kukahi ku i ka moku
E Hawaii e hohoi mai oe
A pipili me Liliuokalani
Kulia i paa kou kuokoa
I mau ke ea o ka aina
Kohia i paa Ko heiau
Welo haaheo Ko hae Hawaii
Hea aku no au o mai Oe
Lanakila kamahao ko Hawaii
Haina ia mai ana ka puana
A kau o Liliu i ke Kalaunu

Kaulana mai nei oe Kakina
Huakai paoa aohe hope
He hana kumu ole aohe koo
He ulu lau wale aohe mole
Hokai ua manu a'e hewa
Kolea kahu ole no ke kai mai
E lilo i mea ole na enemi
Lehelehe eueu hana lapuwale
E Kane, Kanaloa kii ia aku
E hoihoi mai oe ia Hawaii
E ola o Kalani a mau loa
A kau i ke ao malamalama
Hea ia aku no au o mai oe
Lanakila kamahao ko Hawaii
Haina ia mai ana ka puana
A kau o Liliu i ke Kalaunu

Haku ia e MRS. KAWOHIKAPULANI

Ma kēia mele o luna nei, ua moʻolelo ʻia maila no kekahi mau hana ma ka mahina ʻo Ianuali i ka makahiki 1893. He pilikia a he hihia nui ia no ka Mōʻīwahine Liliʻuokalani, kona aupuni, a me kona lāhui. ʻO ka wā ia i pau ai ka mana kūʻokoʻa o Hawaiʻi, ka wā hoʻi i hoʻokahuli ʻia ai ke aupuni. Hoʻomaka ka moʻolelo o ka haku mele i kekahi mau lā ma mua iho o ka hoʻokahuli aupuni, ma ka lā 14 o Ianuali. I ia lā, he Pōʻaono ia, ua komo akula ka Mōʻīwahine Liliʻuokalani i loko o Aliʻiolani Hale, ʻo ia ka hale aupuni, ma ka hola ʻumikumamālua ponoʻī o ke awakea. Aia ma laila nā kuhina o Hawaiʻi a me nā kuhina o nā ʻāina ʻē, ke kāpena o ka mokukaua ʻAmelika, a me ka poʻe lehulehu o Honolulu. Ma laila nō hoʻi kekahi o nā aliʻi me nā luna makaʻāinana o ka ʻahaʻōlelo.

> Aia ka he poe Hawaii wale no ke noho ana maluna o ko lakou mau noho, a o na 'lii me na lunamakaainana o ka Aoao Hoomaemae, ua nuha a hookeekee no ka hoopau ia ana o ka Aha Kuhina e ka ia ai ke Ea o Hawaii iluna o ka pohuehue.[2]

Ua nui nā hihia o ka ʻahaʻōlelo a me ka ʻaha kuhina i ia makahiki. He ʻelua hui o ka ʻahaʻōlelo—ka hui o ka poʻe aloha ʻāina, ʻo kēia ka poʻe e kākoʻo ana i ka mana o ka Mōʻīwahine a me ke kūʻokoʻa mau o Hawaiʻi nei; a me ka hui i kapa ʻia ka ʻAoʻao Hoʻomaʻemaʻe a i ʻole ka Hui Mikanele, ʻo ia hoʻi ka poʻe e kākoʻo ʻole ana i ke kūʻokoʻa o ko Hawaiʻi Mōʻī a aupuni, he poʻe puni waiwai a puni ʻAmelika hoʻi. ʻO nā lālā o ia mau hui nei, ʻaʻole lākou a pau i kū me ko lākou lāhui, akā nō naʻe, he mau Kānaka Maoli ka hapa nui o ka poʻe aloha ʻāina, a he mau haole nō ka hapanui o ka ʻAoʻao Hoʻomaʻemaʻe, a pēlā i kapa ʻia ai ma nā nūpepa—nā haole a me nā kānaka. I ia lā 14 o Ianuali, ma muli o ke kākoʻo ʻole o nā haole i nā hana a ka Mōʻīwahine a me ka poʻe aloha ʻāina, ʻaʻohe o lākou hele aku i Aliʻiolani Hale.

Wahi a ka moʻolelo i ia lā, ua kū aʻela ka Mōʻīwahine a kūkala akula ʻo ia i ka hoʻokuʻu ʻana o ka ʻahaʻōlelo o ka M. H. 1892 me ka mahalo ʻana aku i ka hana a nā aliʻi a me nā luna makaʻāinana.[3]

Wahi a kekahi moʻolelo e pili ana i ia lā,

> O kekahi ia o na la e poina ole ia ai ma ka moolelo o ko Hawaii noho aupuni ana, na mea e pili ana i ka hookuu ana i ka Ahaolelo, ma o ka haiolelo la mai ka Nohoalii mai.[4]

Mai ka makahiki 1887 me ka hoʻokumu ʻia ʻana mai o ke Kumukānāwai ʻĒlau Pū, ua paʻakikī ko ka Mōʻī hoʻokō pono ʻana aku i kāna hana no ka lāhui a me ke aupuni, ʻoiai ua emi nui ihola kona mana hoʻokō. I ko Liliʻuokalani lilo ʻana mai i Mōʻīwahine i ka makahiki 1891, he keu nā hihia o ka ʻahaʻōlelo a me ke aupuni. ʻO ka ʻaha kuhina kahi i ʻike nui ʻia ai ua mau hihia nei. Wahi a ka Mōʻīwahine:

> the constitution [of 1887]...made the sovereign inferior to the cabinet. The ministry must be appointed by the monarch, but once appointed had absolute control over every measure, nor could the monarch dismiss them, and only a vote of the legislature could deprive them of their portfolios. That provision made the cabinet...a perpetual foot-ball in the hands of political parties.[5]

I ka makahiki 1892, ua hoʻokohu ʻia aku he ʻehā ʻaha kuhina ʻokoʻa a kipaku ʻia aku nō hoʻi nā ʻaha ʻehā. ʻO ka hā o ua poʻe ʻaha nei, ua kū nō i ka makemake o ka ʻAoʻao Hoʻomaʻemaʻe a ua nui ko lākou hauʻoli. Eia nō naʻe, ua kipaku ʻia aku nei ia ʻaha. Wahi a John Colburn, kekahi o nā Kuhina,

> On the 12th day of January, 1893, a resolution was introduced and they were voted out. The reform party or the missionaries, as they are better named and called, were disgruntled and dissatisfied and discouraged at this work, and openly said we will get even with you, meaning the Hawaiians. They knew this vote meant their losing their power and influence in this country for years to come, and they were hostile. However, the majority of the people were satisfied that they were voted out, and looked to the prospects of the Queen appointing a cabinet with at least two Hawaiians in it, so that the race prejudice which had been created for quite a while would wear away and the Hawaians *[pn]* and foreigners would work together.[6]

No ia kumu i huhū ai ka ʻAoʻao Hoʻomaʻemaʻe i ka Mōʻīwahine a me ke aupuni ma ka lā o ka hoʻokuʻu ʻana i ka ʻahaʻōlelo.

Ma ka lā 13 o Ianuali, M. H. 1893, ka lā ma mua iho nei o ko ka Mōʻīwahine hoʻokuʻu ʻana aku i ka ʻahaʻōlelo, ua hoʻokohu ʻia ka lima o nā ʻaha kuhina. ʻO kēia paha ka ʻaha i kaulike nā ʻaoʻao ʻelua, ʻoiai, ua koho ʻia he ʻelua Kānaka Maoli (ʻo Samuel Parker ke Kuhina o Nā ʻĀina ʻĒ, a ʻo John F. Colburn ke Kuhina Kālaiʻāina); a he ʻelua haole (ʻo W. H. Cornwell ke Kuhina Waiwai,

a ʻo A. P. Peterson ka Loio Kuhina).[7] ʻAʻole naʻe i hauʻoli ka ʻAoʻao Hoʻomaʻemaʻe.

Ke Kumukānāwai Hou

Mai ko Liliʻuokalani wā i lilo ai i Mōʻīwahine i ka makahiki 1891, ua noi nui ʻia he Kumukānāwai hou no ke aupuni. Wahi a ka Mōʻīwahine:

> Ua loaa mai...he heluna nui o na palapala hoopii mai na wahi mai apau o koʻu Aupuni, e nonoi ana e haawi aku au i Kumukanawai hou. He mau kaukani inoa i kakauia e na kanaka apau i manao ua keʻakeʻa ia ka pono pili paa o ke kanaka Hawaii malalo o keia kumukanawai e ku nei i keia manawa. He Hawaii Au, ua aloha au a ua kaulike koʻu manao me ko koʻu poe makaainana haahaa.[8]

Ma muli o nā noi i loaʻa iā ia, ua kau nui ko ka Mōʻīwahine noʻonoʻo ʻana no ia kumukānāwai hou. Wahi āna:

> Aole Au i hana i kekahi hana me ka pupuahulu. Iloko o kanakolu la ka noonoo ia ana o keia Kumukanawai, a ua hooponopono ia hoi e Koʻu mau hoaloha oiaio me ke akahele loa. Ua nonoi aku Au ia lakou e hooikaika lakou e hooponopono i keia Kumukanawai ma ke ano kaulike e like me ka hiki ke hana ia; Ua kauoha aku Au ia lakou e akahele loa ka hana ana i lilo ole ai kekahi pono pilipaa o Koʻu mau makaainana i na paha he kanaka a he haole paha.[9]

Ma mua o ko ka Mōʻīwahine koho ʻana i nā kuhina hou iā Samuel Parker mā ma ka lā 13 o Ianuali, ua hoʻoholo ʻē ʻia kona manaʻo e hoʻokumu aku he kumukānāwai hou i ia manawa. Me he mea lā, ua kamaʻilio mua ʻia kēia manaʻo ona me nā kuhina, a ua manaʻo ka Mōʻīwahine, he kākoʻo ko nā kuhina i ke kumukānāwai hou. He kuhihewa naʻe ia.

I loa nō a pau kona hoʻokuʻu ʻana i ka ʻahaʻōlelo ma Aliʻiolani Hale i ia lā 14 o Ianuali, ua hoʻi pololei akula ka Mōʻīwahine i ka Halealiʻi ʻIolani e hālāwai aku ai me nā kuhina a e pūlima ai hoʻi i ke kumukānāwai hou. Ua kali aku ka Mōʻīwahine ma ka Lumi Uliuli o ka Halealiʻi ʻIolani; ʻaʻole naʻe i hiki koke aku nā kuhina i mua o kona alo.

I ia manawa nō, aia ma ka Lumi Kalaunu o ka Halealiʻi e kakali ahonui ana nā hoa kākoʻo o ka Mōʻīwahine, kekahi o nā luna makaʻāinana a me nā aliʻi o ka ʻahaʻōlelo, a me nā lālā o ka Hui Kālaiʻāina, nāna i hāʻawi aku

i nā palapala noi kumukānāwai i ka Mōʻīwahine. Ma hope iho, ua hiki aku nā kuhina i ka Haleali'i, a ua komo i loko o ka Lumi Uliuli e hālāwai pū ai me ka Mōʻīwahine. Wahi a ka Mōʻīwahine:

> Aole au i hana a oi aku mamua o keia, maloko o kekahi rumi mehameha owau wale no me ko'u Aha Kuhina, ke noho ana ia manawa ua waiho aku la A'u [*pn*] i mua o lakou i ke Kumukanawai hou i homakaukau [*pn*] ia no ko lakou apono ana mai.
> Ua hoole mai lakou i ko lakou hoapono ana ma ko lakou ae ole ana e kakauinoa malalo o ke kumukanawai hou.[10]

I ka nīnau ʻana aku o ka Mōʻīwahine i ke kumu o ka hōʻole ʻana mai, ua pane nā kuhina, ʻo ka makaʻu i ke kūʻē a me ke kipi ko lākou mea e hopohopo ana. Ua hoʻāʻo ka Mōʻīwahine e koi aku iā lākou i ka pūlima, akā, ua kānalua nō ka manaʻo o nā kuhina, a haʻalele aku kekahi o lākou i ka Haleali'i. Ua hālāwai pū aku ʻo Peterson lāua ʻo Colburn me Lorrin A. Thurston, ʻo ia hoʻi ʻo Kakina, a me W. O. Smith, he mau kānaka haole o ka ʻAoʻao Hoʻomaʻemaʻe, nāna nō i alakaʻi i ka hoʻokumu ʻia ʻana o ke Kumukānāwai ʻĒlau Pū o ka makahiki 1887. Ma ia hālāwai ʻana, ua paipai nui mai ʻo Kakina mā i nā kuhina e ʻāpono ʻole aku i ke kumukānāwai hou.[11]

I ka ʻauinalā o ia lā hoʻokahi, ua hālāwai hou ka Mōʻīwahine me nā kuhina a ma muli o ka hōʻole paʻakikī o nā kuhina, ua hoʻololi ka Mōʻīwahine i kona manaʻo e hoʻokumu ʻia ke kumukānāwai hou i ia manawa. Ua hoʻomaopopo akula ʻo ia i nā kānaka e ʻākoakoa ana ma ka Lumi Kalaunu, ʻaʻole e pūlima ʻia ke kumukānāwai hou i ia lā, akā, ma ia mua aku e hoʻokō ʻia ai ko lākou ʻiʻini.[12]

Pēia hoʻi nā hana o ia lā, ka lā 14 o Ianuali o ka makahiki 1893, a ʻo kēia mau hana i moʻolelo ʻia maila i luna aʻe nei, ʻo ia hoʻi nā mea i moʻolelo ʻia mai ma ka paukū mua o ke mele o luna ala, ʻo "Hooheno No Liliu" ka inoa. Eia hou ia paukū mua:

Kaulana Liliu Ahaolelo
Ma ka Poaono hookuu ia
Aia o Kalani i Iolani
Me na komite o ka lehulehu
He hana ua holo like ka manao
I aupuni Kumukanawai hou

Punihei o Kalani i ka mali leo
Hookohu i na Kuhina o ke aupuni
Kau nui ka manao o na kupa
I pono kaulike no ka lahui
Hea aku no au o mai oe
Lanakila kamahao ko Hawaii
Haina ia mai ana ka puana
A kau o Liliu i ke Kalaunu

Ma nā lālani mua loa, ua mo'olelo 'ia mai ko Lili'uokalani ho'oku'u 'ana aku i ka 'aha'ōlelo ma ka Pō'aono (l. 1-2). Hō'ike 'ia maila nō ho'i ko ka Mō'īwahine wahi i noho ai a i ho'ā'o ai ho'i e ho'okumu 'ia ke kumukānāwai hou, aia nō ma 'Iolani me "na Komike o ka lehulehu," 'o ia ho'i nā ali'i me nā luna maka'āinana o ka 'aha'ōlelo a me nā lālā o ka Hui Kālai'āina (l. 3-4). Ma ka lālani 'elima, ho'ākāka 'ia maila no ka mana'o lōkahi o nā kānaka ma ko lākou noi 'ana i kumukānāwai hou a me ka mana'o ho'okahi o nā kānaka nāna i kōkua ma ke kākau 'ana i ia mea hou (l. 5-6). Hō'ike 'ia mai nō ho'i ka hilina'i 'ana o ka Mō'īwahine i kona mau kuhina i ka ho'okumu 'ana i ke kumukānāwai hou (l. 7-8). He mōakāka ka mo'olelo a Mrs. Kawohikukapulani i haku ai ma kēia paukū. Akā, 'a'ole i pau kāna mo'olelo, no ka mea, mo'olelo mai nō ho'i 'o ia no ke 'ano o kona na'au a me kona mana'olana e "lanakila kamahao...Hawaii" a e "kau o Liliu i ke Kalaunu" (l. 11-14). 'O ka lanakila a me ka ho'i o Lili'uokalani i kona wahi kapu o ka noho kalaunu ka mea nui ko'iko'i no nā Kānaka Maoli, a 'o ia nō ka mea i ho'ākāka 'ia mai ma nā mele lāhui. 'O ia ka mea ho'okahi e nā ai ko lākou na'au, ka mea e pono ai lākou. I ko'u wehewehe 'ana i ka mo'olelo i ha'i 'ia ma o nā mele, e nānā a e 'ike ho'i i ka nui a me ke 'ano o ke aloha a me ka mahalo no Lili'uokalani a me kona Aupuni. E mo'olelo 'ia nō ia aloha ma ka Mokuna 5.

'Ike hou 'ia kēia mana'o o ka haku mele, a me ka mo'olelo no nā hana o ia Pō'aono, lā 14 o Ianuali, ma kekahi mele hou a'e i hō'ike 'ia ma lalo nei. Ma muli o ke 'ano o ka mo'olelo 'ana mai, mali'a paha, he 'ike maka a he lohe pepeiao nō ho'i ka haku mele i nā hana o ia lā.

HOOHENO KAULANA NO LILIUPOAIMOKU[13]

Kaulana o Liliupoaimoku
I ka hookuu i ka Ahaolelo
Hora o ke awakea Poaono
Pahola e ka nani a ke Akua
O Hawaiiloa ma a'e keia
Na Kapu o ka Noho Kalaunu
O ke kapa Ahuula o ke Kupuna
Nou ia kahiko a mau loa
Kau i ke kaa Moi o Kalani
He anapa ka ka'u e ike nei
Na Hokudaimana i ka Panepoo
Malamalama ia puni ka honua
Ei ae ke Kuini a hiki mai
Me na Alii Opio o ke Alo
Komo i ka Hale Hoonuihana
Me ke kahiko nani o Enelani
A he Lani nui Oe na ka lahui
A he mea milimili na makou
Ku nani ka Opua i ka lai
Na Alii na Makaainana
Hoopau na hana a oukou
Na Kanawai o ke Aupuni
*H*ea mai Iolani Hale i ka lai
Hoi mai e noho i ko Kalaunu
Haina mai ana ka puana
O Liliuokalani ka Onohi Kalaunu

Hakuia e KANEIAKAMA
Ianuari 14, 1893

'Ano kū nā lālani mua loa o kēia mele i nā lālani mua loa o "Hooheno No Liliu" o luna ala, me ka mo'olelo 'ana mai no ka ho'oku'u aku o ka Mō'īwahine i ka 'aha'ōlelo ma ka "Hora o ke awakea Poaono" (l. 1-3). Eia nō na'e, ma nā lālani ma lalo iho, mo'olelo 'ia mai no ke "kapa Ahuula o ke Kupuna" a me ke "kahiko a mau loa" a ka Mō'īwahine i komo ai, 'o ia ho'i ka "Hokudaimana i ka Panepoo," (l. 7-9, 16). Ha'i 'ia mai nō ho'i no ko ka Mō'īwahine kau 'ana ma ke ka'a a me kona hō'ea 'ana aku ma ka Hale Ali'iolani me kona alo ali'i (l. 9-10, 13-15). 'A'ohe paha nui ka mahalo o ka haku mele i ua hale nei, 'oiai kapa 'ia ia hale 'o ka "Hale Hoonuihana" (l. 15). Hō'ike 'ia ka noho 'ana o "Na Alii" a me "Na Makaainana" ma ua hale nei a me ka 'ōlelo a ka Mō'īwahine i kona ho'opau 'ana aku i kā lākou hana ma "Na kanawai o ke Aupuni" no ia makahiki (l. 19-22). Ma ka hopena o ke mele, 'o

ka lilo hou o ka mana aupuni i ka Mōʻīwahine ka ʻiʻini o ka haku mele, a me he mea lā, pēlā pū ka ʻiʻini o ka Haleali'i ʻIolani, ʻoiai, wahi a ka haku mele, ua "Hea mai Iolani Hale i ka lai / Hoi mai e noho i ke Kalaunu" (l. 23-26).

ʻO ka poʻe e ola ana i ia wā, ua maopopo iā lākou kēia moʻolelo. Ua ʻike maka a lohe pepeiao. ʻO ko lākou moʻolelo nō ia. Hoʻopaʻa ʻia ka moʻolelo ma nā nūpepa a me nā puke like ʻole. Hoʻopaʻa ʻia nō hoʻi ma ko lākou naʻau. A e like me nā kūpuna mai ka wā kahiko loa mai, ma ke mele nō hoʻi i hoʻopaʻa ʻia ai ka moʻolelo. He makana aloha kēia mau mele i ka Mōʻīwahine, ke aupuni, a me ka lāhui. A he makana nō hoʻi nā mele no kākou, e ka maka heluhelu, nā kānaka o kēia hanauna nei, i ʻoi aku ko kākou hoʻomaopopo ʻana i ia moʻolelo, no ka mea, ʻo ko kākou moʻolelo nō hoʻi ia.

Ua Maluhia Ka ʻĀina

Ma hope o ko ka Mōʻīwahine kūkala ʻana aku i ka hoʻokumu ʻole o ke kumukānāwai hou, ua puka aku ʻo ia ma waho o ka Haleali'i. Ma laila kekahi mau kānaka e ʻākoakoa ana ma ka pā o ka Haleali'i a e kali ana i ke kūkala ʻia o ke kumukānāwai hou. I ia manawa, noi aku ka Mōʻīwahine iā lākou e hoʻi i ko lākou hale me ka mālama ʻana hoʻi i ka maluhia. A pēlā nō ka hana o ke ahiahi o ka Pōʻaono, ka lā 14, a me ka Lāpule, ka lā 15 o Ianuali, ua maluhia wale nō ke kaona o Honolulu.

Wahi a ka moʻolelo o ia lā,

> Eia ke koloka o ka maluhia ke uhi nei maluna o na makaainana o ka Lani Liliuonamoku, e like no me ko lakou ano mau, he akahai a he hiipoi i ka maluhia—me ka hiipoi makee i ko lakou aina a me kona kuokoa.[14]

Pēia nā ʻano o nā moʻolelo a pau o ia mau lā. ʻAʻohe ʻike ʻia kahi moʻolelo no kahi ʻano hana haunaele ma ke kaona nei. He maluhia nō.

Ua paʻi ʻia he kūkala mai nā kuhina mai:

> Ke makemake nei ko ka Moiwahine Aha Kuhina e hoike aku i ko lakou mahalo nui no ka maluhia i malamaia i waena o keia anaina mai na hana o ka Poaono mai, a ke hooiaio aku nei ua hoomanaia lakou e hoike aku o ke kulana i lawe ia e ka Moiwahine ma na mea e pili ana i ka

> hoolaha ana aku i Kumukanawai Hou, malalo no ia o ke koi ikaika ana a Kona Lahui Hawaii ponoi.
> A ua hoomanaoia no hoi makou e hooia aku o na hoololi ana i manaoia i ke Kanawai Kumu o ka Aina, e hahai waleia no ia malalo o na kuhikuhi i hoakakaia e ke Kumukanawai e ku nei.[15]

Ua ʻikea, he maluhia nō ke kaona i ia lā, a ua hōʻoia aku nō hoʻi ke Aliʻi i kona hoʻohiki e hahai i ke kumukānāwai e kū ana i ia manawa. Wahi a ka moʻolelo, ua mākaukau nō nā kānaka Hawaiʻi e kākoʻo aku i ka Mōʻīwahine. Ua lako ka pūʻali koa o ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi i nā pū laipela a me ka pūkuniahi kekahi. Eia nō naʻe, ma muli o ka leo noi o ka Mōʻīwahine e mālama nā kānaka i ka maluhia, ʻo ia nō ka mea i hana ʻia.

A ma ka paukū ʻelua o "Hooheno No Liliu" o luna ala, ua moʻolelo ʻia mai no ia maluhia ma ka mele ʻana mai penei:

Kaulana o Liliu i ka maluhia
Ma na welelau o ka honua
He honua ia a he lani keia
Noho ia iho Ko noho Kalaunu
E Uli eia ko pulapula
O ka Wohi kukahi ku i ka moku
E Hawaii e hohoi mai oe
A pipili me Liliuokalani
Kulia i paa kou kuokoa
I mau ke ea o ka aina
Kohia i paa Ko heiau
Welo haaheo Ko hae Hawaii
Hea aku no au o mai Oe
Lanakila kamahao ko Hawaii
Haina ia mai ana ka puana
A kau o Liliu i ke Kalaunu

Wahi a ka haku mele ma nā lālani mua o ke mele, ua "Kaulana o Liliu i ka maluhia" a puni ka honua me ka lani (l. 15-17). A hōʻike hou ʻia mai ka pono e "Noho ia iho Ko noho Kalaunu" (l. 18). Moʻolelo mai nō hoʻi ka haku mele no ka pili o Liliʻuokalani me Uli, he Akua wahine o ka ʻanāʻanā a he kupuna nō hoʻi ʻo ia no ka Mōʻī. He mea maʻa mau kēia noi ʻana i ke kōkua o nā Akua ma nā mele lāhui, a ma ka Mokuna 5 e hoʻākāka hou ʻia ai. Ma o ka hōʻike ʻana i ke kākoʻo o nā Akua, hōʻoia nā haku mele i ke kūlana kiʻekiʻe a pono o ka Mōʻīwahine. Aia nō iā ia ka mana o kona moʻokūʻauhau a me ka pōmaikaʻi o nā Akua, ka ʻāina, ka hae Hawaiʻi, a me ka lāhui Hawaiʻi.

Ma kekahi lālani a'e, noi 'ia 'o Hawai'i "e hohoi mai... / A pipili me Liliuokalani" a e "Kulia i paa kou kuokoa / I mau ke ea o ka aina" a noi 'ia nō ho'i ke "Kohia i paa Ko heiau," a "Welo haaheo ko hae Hawaii" (l. 21-26). He mau hō'ailona kēia e hō'ike ana i ka pono o ka noho Mō'ī 'ana o Lili'uokalani. A ma ka hopena o ka paukū, kāhea hou 'ia ka Mō'īwahine me ka mana'olana no ka "Lanakila kamahao o Hawaii" a me ke kau hou 'ana o Lili'u "i ke Kalaunu" (l. 27-30). Ma kēia paukū o ke mele, 'o ka mea nui ka pono o ko Lili'uokalani noho aupuni 'ana a me ka mana'olana o ka haku mele, e ho'i hou 'o ia i ia noho. A ua mo'olelo 'ia mai nō ho'i no ke aloha o nā kūpuna, nā Akua a me ka lāhui i ka Mō'īwahine a me ke aupuni.

Ke Kōmike Ho'opakele

No kekahi mau kānaka, he mea 'ole ke aloha o ka lāhui i ka Mō'īwahine a he mea 'ole nō ho'i ka maluhia i mālama 'ia e ka lāhui, no ka mea, 'a'ohe aloha a 'a'ohe maluhia o ko lākou mana'o a na'au paha. 'O kēia po'e aloha 'ole, 'o lākou ka po'e o ka 'Ao'ao Ho'oma'ema'e a me kekahi o nā mea nāna i limanui i ka ho'okumu 'ana i ke Kumukānāwai 'Ēlau Pū o ka makahiki 1887, 'o ia ho'i 'o Lorrin Thurston, Sanford B. Dole, Samuel M. Damon, William R. Castle, W. C. Wilder a me kekahi mau haole 'ē a'e. Ma nā mo'olelo i kākau 'ia no ia wā, 'o Lorrin Thurston, 'o ia ho'i 'o Kakina, ke alaka'i o ia hui.

I mea e kō ai ko lākou 'i'ini, ua hālāwai pū lākou a ho'okumu hou i kōmike me 'umikūmākolu lālā e like me kā lākou kōmike i ho'okumu ai i ka makahiki 1887. He mau inoa ko kēia kōmike. Ua kapa 'ia 'o ke "Kōmike Ho'opakele," ke " Kōmike Mālama Maluhia," a i 'ole ia 'o ke "Kōmike no ka Maluhia o ka Lehulehu". Ma ko lākou hālāwai 'ana, ua ho'oholo 'ia a kākau 'ia he palapala e kū'ē ana i ka hana a ka Mō'īwahine me ke kapa 'ana aku i ia hana he hana kū'ē i ke kumukānāwai. I ko lākou mana'o, no lākou ke kuleana

o ka hoʻoponopono ʻana i ia ʻano hana kūʻē. Ma ia palapala, ua hōʻoia nō hoʻi lākou i kā lākou hana e:

> consider the situation and further devise such ways and means as may be necessary to secure the permanent maintenance of law and order, and the protection of life, liberty, and property in Hawaii.[16]

Ma ka Lāpule a me ka Pōʻakahi, lā 15 a 16 o Ianuali, ua hālāwai pū akula ke Kōmike Hoʻopakele me Kuhina Colburn, Cornwell, a me Peterson o ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi. Ma ia hālāwai ʻana, ua hoʻāʻo nā kuhina Hawaiʻi e haʻi aku iā Kakina mā no ka hoʻohiki o ka Mōʻīwahine e hoʻokumu ʻole i ke kumukānāwai hou i ia manawa. I ka manaʻo o nā kuhina, ua pau ia hihia. Eia nō naʻe, ʻaʻohe loli iki o ko Kakina mā manaʻo, ua kūpaʻa maoli a hoʻomau akula i ke kamaʻilio ʻana no ka hewa o kā ka Mōʻīwahine hana a me ka pono e hoʻokahuli aku i kona aupuni.

Wahi a Kuhina Cornwell, ʻaʻohe nānā maoli o ke Kōmike Hoʻopakele i ka hana a ka Mōʻīwahine ma ke kumukānāwai hou. ʻAʻole ia ʻo ke kumu maoli o ko lākou makemake ʻana e hoʻokahuli i ke aupuni a e hoʻohui ʻāina hoʻi me ʻAmelika. Wahi a Cornwell,

> It is not difficult...to realize the true cause for the late revolution and for the subsequent desire for annexation. The depression in the sugar business which, since the passing of the McKinley bill, has made havoc with the handsome dividends which we have enjoyed since 1875, and the loss of power of the reform party were the only and true reasons for the revolution. The prospects of the sugar bounty was and is the main motive for the desire to be annexed on the part of the handful of responsible men who still desire such steps to be taken.[17]

No laila, ʻo ke pī paha a me ka puni waiwai ke kumu maoli no ko Kakina mā hoʻokahuli ʻana i ke aupuni. A ua loaʻa nō iā lākou he hoa e kākoʻo ana i ia ʻano manaʻo, ʻo ia hoʻi ʻo John L. Stevens.

Ke Kuhina ʻAmelika

ʻO John L. Stevens, ʻo ia hoʻi ʻo Kīwini, ka inoa o ke Kuhina ʻAmelika e noho ana ma Hawaiʻi i ka mahakiki 1893. Mai kona wā i lilo ai i kuhina no Hawaiʻi i ka makahiki 1889, ua nui kona hoihoi a me kona ʻiʻini e lilo ʻo

Hawai'i i pana lā'au no 'Amelika. Ma mua iho o ka ho'okahuli aupuni, ma Nowemapa o ka makahiki 1892, ua kākau 'o Kīwini he leka 'ano lō'ihi iā John W. Foster, ke Kuhina Moku'āina o 'Amelika, e hō'ike aku ana i kona mau mana'o no ke Aupuni Hawai'i a me kona pilina iā 'Amelika. Wahi a Kīwini:

> In truth, the monarchy here is an absurd anachronism. It has nothing on which it logically or legitimately stands. The feudal basis on which it once stood no longer existing, the monarchy is now only an impediment to good government—an obstruction to the prosperity and progress of the islands...Destiny and the vast future interests of the United States in the Pacific clearly indicate who, at no distant day, must be responsible for the government of these islands. Under a territorial government they could be as easily governed as any of the existing Territories of the United States.[18]

I ka lā 15 a me 16 o Ianuali, ua hālāwai pū ke Kōmike Ho'opakele me Kīwini, a ua hā'awi 'ia he palapala iā Kīwini i pūlima 'ia e nā lālā 'umikumamākolu o ke Kōmike Ho'opakele. Ma ua palapala nei, ua kākau lākou no ka hana a Lili'uokalani me ke kapa 'ana aku i ia hana he hana kū'ē i ke kumukānāwai a he hana ho'oweliweli i ka lehulehu. Wahi a lākou:

> The public safety is menaced, and lives and property are in peril, and we appeal to you and the United States forces at your command for assistance.[19]

'A'ole i kākau 'ia ma ka palapala, akā nō na'e, ua kama'ilio nō ho'i lākou me Kīwini e pili ana i ka ho'okumu 'ana i aupuni hou. Wahi a Kakina, ua 'ae aku 'o Kīwini e 'āpono koke aku i ko lākou aupuni hou, ke ho'okumu 'ia.[20]

Ma ka Pō'akahi, ka lā 16 o Ianuali, i mālama 'ia mai ai nā hālāwai no ka lehulehu, 'o ia nō nā hālāwai i mo'olelo 'ia ma ka 'Ōlelo Ho'ākāka o luna ala. Na ke Kōmike Ho'opakele a me ka po'e o ka 'Ao'ao Ho'oma'ema'e kekahi hālāwai a na ka po'e aloha 'āina kekahi hālāwai.

He 'oko'a nō nā mo'olelo i kākau 'ia no ia mau hālāwai. Wahi a *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, ka *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, a me nā puke mo'olelo i kākau 'ia ma hope, ua nui nō ka po'e haole he 1,000 a 1,200 paha kānaka ma ka hālāwai o ke Kōmike Ho'opakele a 'ano kāka'ikahi nā Kānaka Maoli ma ka hālāwai o ka po'e aloha 'āina. Wahi a ka mo'olelo i kākau 'ia ma nā nūpepa

aloha ʻāina, aia he mau kaukani kānaka ma ka hālāwai o ka poʻe aloha ʻāina, a ʻano kākaʻikahi ka poʻe ma ka hālāwai o ke Kōmike Hoʻopakele.

ʻAʻole paha e maopopo pono ana iā kākou ka nui o ka poʻe ma nā hālāwai ʻelua. Eia nō naʻe, ua ʻaelike nā moʻolelo ma kekahi mahele o ka moʻolelo—ʻo ia ka mahele e pili ana i ke ʻano o nā kānaka ma nā hālāwai. Wahi a nā moʻolelo, ua nui ka ʻeu o nā mea haʻiʻōlelo a me ka poʻe lehulehu ma ka hālāwai o ke Kōmike Hoʻopakele, akā, he ʻano mālia ka poʻe haʻiʻōlelo a me ka poʻe lehulehu o ka hālāwai aloha ʻāina. Ma ka moʻolelo o ke Kōmike Hoʻopakele, he hōʻailona ia ʻeleu no ka ʻiʻini nui o ka ʻAoʻao Hoʻomaʻemaʻe e hoʻoponopono ʻia nā pilikia, a ʻo ka mālie o nā Kānaka Maoli, he hōʻailona ia o ko ke kanaka nānā ʻole ʻana a hopohopo ʻole ʻana i ke aupuni a me ka Mōʻīwahine. Ua pololei nō nā moʻolelo, he mālie nō ke ʻano o nā kānaka. Akā, ʻaʻole ma muli o ka nānā ʻole ʻana a me ka hopohopo ʻole ʻana no ia hihia; ma muli nō ia o ko lākou hoʻāʻo nui e hahai aku i ka leo kauoha o ka Mōʻīwahine e mālama lākou i ka maluhia, i ʻole e loaʻa he kumu maoli no ka hoʻopilikia ʻana i ke aupuni.

> Akā nō naʻe, ma ka ʻauinalā o ka Pōʻakahi, ka lā 16 o Ianuali,
>
> Me ka ike ole o ke Aupuni a me ka ae aku no hoi o ke Kuhina Amerika, aole e lele mai na koa o ka manuwa, oiai, ua makaukau no ke Aupuni e malama i kona maluhia, eia nae, ua kauoha aku no ke Kuhina Amerika e hoopae nae i na koa o ka Bosetona.[21]

ʻO *Bosetona* ka inoa o ka manuā ʻAmelika e kū ana ma ke awa ʻo Honolulu. ʻO G. N. Wiltse ka inoa o ke kāpena o ia manuā, eia nō naʻe, na ke Kuhina o ʻAmelika, ʻo Kīwini, i kauoha i ia pae ʻana.

> I ka po Poakahi, oia ka hoomaka ia ana e ku kiai ia kekahi mau wahi lehulehu o ke kulanakauhale nei e na koa o ka manuwa Amerika Bosetona me ko lakou pono kaua, a i ke kakahiaka Poalua ae ua ikeia aku la lakou e kaahele ana.[22]

Eia nō naʻe, ʻo ko lākou wahi i kū kiaʻi ai a i kaʻahele ai nō hoʻi, ʻaʻole i pili loa i ka ʻāina a me nā hale o ka poʻe ʻAmelika. ʻO ka hale aupuni a me ka hale aliʻi

nā mea i pili i ko lākou wahi kia'i. Penei ka ho'omaopopo 'ana o Pelekikena Kalivilana no kēia hana,

> And so it happened that on the 16th day of January, 1893, between four and five o'clock in the afternoon, a detachment of marines from the United States steamer *Boston*, with two pieces of artillery, landed at Honolulu. The men, upwards of 160 in all, were supplied with double cartridge belts filled with ammunition and with haversacks and canteens, and were accompanied by a hospital corps with stretchers and medical supplies.[23]

Wahi a ka mo'olelo a Kuhina Colburn,

> The troops then marched up by the palace, passed as far out on King Street as the residence of Mr. J. B. Atherton, a distance of about 600 yards and later on returned and quartered for the night in the Arion Hall, a building opposite the government building and the palace. It is noteworthy that the Arion Hall and all the buildings in the immediate vicinity are not American property, so if the troops were landed solely for the protection of American property, the placing of them so far away from the center of the property of Americans and so very close to the property of the Hawaiian Government was very remarkable and very suggestive.[24]

Ua kapa 'ia kā Kīwini hana he "hana lima nui" ma nā nūpepa no kona komo 'ana aku i loko o nā hihia o ke aupuni me ke noi 'ole 'ia a me ka 'ae 'ole 'ia e ke Aupuni Hawai'i a me ka Mō'īwahine.

I ka 'auinalā o ka Pō'alua, ka lā 17 o Ianuali,

> Ua hoomaka ae la na haole e maki me na pono kaua mai Manamana ae a ka Hale Aupuni, a malaila ko lakou Komite i kapaia ke "Komite no ka Maluhia o ka Lehulehu,"...ua kauohaia aku la ke Kakauolelo Nui o ke Keena Kalaiaina e haawi pio mai i ka Hale Aupuni, a ua haawi ia mai la.[25]

Ho'okahuli 'Ia Ke Aupuni

Ma hope koke iho, ua kū akula ua Kōmike lā ma ke alapi'i o Ali'iolani Hale a kuahaua 'ia mai ke aupuni hou. Ma ia kuahaua, ua ho'opau 'ia aku ke "Kulana Aupuni Moi o Hawaii" a ua kūkulu 'ia:

> He Aupuni Kuikawa no ka Manawa no ka noho mana a me ka hooponopono i na hana o ka lehulehu a me ka malama i ka maluhia o ka lehulehu, e mau aku a hiki i ka manawa e kukakuka a e hooholo ia ai na kahua hoohui pu aku me Amerika Huipuia.[26]

Ua mōakāka, ʻo ka hoʻohui aku o Hawaiʻi me ʻAmelika ka pahuhopu nui o ke aupuni hou i kapa ʻia kona inoa ʻo ke Aupuni Kūikawā a me ke Aupuni Pīkī hoʻi. Ma muli o ke kākoʻo a me ke kōkua o Kīwini, ke Kuhina ʻAmelika a me nā pūʻali koa ʻAmelika, ua mahuʻi aku ua kōmike lā, he kākoʻo nō hoʻi ko ke aupuni ʻAmelika i ia hana hoʻokahuli aupuni.

Ma ka hopena o ke kuahaua, ua hoʻonohonoho ʻia akula he "Aha Mana Hooko," ʻo ia hoʻi ʻo S. B. Dole ma ke kūlana Pelekikena a Lunahoʻomalu o ua ʻaha lā, ʻo J. A. King, ma ke kūlana Kuhina Kalaiʻāina, ʻo P. C. Jones ma ke kūlana Kuhina Waiwai, a ʻo W. O. Smith ma ke kūlana Loio Kuhina. Ua loaʻa nō hoʻi he ʻAha Kūkā i hoʻonoho ʻia ma ke ʻano he ʻAhaʻōlelo me ʻumikumamāhā lālā. ʻO L. A. Thurston kekahi, pēlā pū ʻo S. M. Damon, A. Brown, J. F. Morgan, J. Emmeluth, H. Waterhouse, J. A. McCandless, E. D. Tenney, F. W. McChesney, F. Wilhelm, W. R. Castle, W. G. Ashley, W. C. Wilder, and C. Bolte, ʻo lākou hoʻi nā lālā o ke Kōmike Hoʻopakele.

No ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi, ua paʻakikī maoli nō ka hoʻopale ʻana aku i ia hana kipi a kūʻē ma muli o ka noho paʻa ʻana o ka pūʻali koa ʻAmelika ma mua pono o ka hale aupuni. Wahi a Colburn,

> The [Hawaiian] Government had decided not to place forces in the Government building, as the immediate vicinity of the United States troops would endanger the lives of the men from the *Boston* in case of a conflict with the rebels, and the Government desired, at all hazards, to avoid giving Minister Stevens any excuse or pretense for his hostile actions.[27]

Ma hope pono aku o ke kūkala ʻia ʻana aku o ua kuahaua nei, ua ʻāpono aku ke Kuhina ʻAmelika i ke aupuni hou. Wahi a ka moʻolelo a ka Mōʻīwahine,

> O ke Kuhina Amerika, ua hoolele mua mai la oia i kona pualikoa malalo o na mea i hoomaopopo a hooholo malu ia mawaena ona a me ka poe kipi. Mahope iho o ka heluheluia ana mai o ke kukala kuahaua o ke Aupuni Kuikawa, ua ike koke aku la oia i ua Aupuni ala me ka haawi ana aku i ke kokua ana i na puali koa o ke Aupuni o Amerika.[28]

Ua hālāwai hou ka Mōʻīwahine me nā kuhina. Wahi a Kuhina Colburn a me Cornwell ma hope o ke kuahaua, ʻo Aliʻiolani Hale, ʻo ia hoʻi ka Hale

Aupuni, ʻo ia wale nō ka hale i lilo aku i ua poʻe hoʻokahuli aupuni lā; ʻaʻole naʻe i lilo aku ka Halealiʻi, ka Hale Wai, a me ka Hale Koa. Ua hoʻouna ka Mōʻīwahine a me kona ʻAha Kuhina i leka iā Kuhina Kīwini e nīnau aku ana i kāna hana e hana aku ai, ʻoiai, aia nā pūʻali koa o ʻAmelika ma mua pono o ka Hale Aupuni, a ʻaʻole hiki i ka Mōʻīwahine ke hoʻomalu pono i ka Hale Aupuni o komo hewa auaneʻi ka pūʻali koa ʻAmelika. Ua pane nō ʻo Kīwini me ka hōʻoia ʻana i ke kūlana o ke Aupuni hou i kūkulu ʻia aku nei. Ua kamaʻilio a kūkākūkā hoʻi nā kuhina a me ka Mōʻīwahine, a hoʻopuka ʻia aʻela kēia kūkala kūʻē ma ke ʻano o ka palapala a Kamehameha III i kākau ai i ka makahiki 1843, i kona hoʻopilikia ʻia ʻana e ke Aupuni Pelekane.

Ua kākau ʻo Liliʻuokalani penei:

> O wau, Liliuokalani, ma ka lokomaikai o ke Akua, malalo o ke Kumukanawai o ke Aupuni Hawaii, Moiwahine, ma keia ke hoike paa nei i Koʻu kue i kekahi hana a mau hana paha a pau i lawelawe ia e kue ana Iaʻu iho a me ke Aupuni Kumukanawai o ke Aupuni Hawaii e kekahi poe e koi ana ua kukulu lakou he Aupuni Kuikawa no ka manawa no keia Aupuni.
> Ke ae wale nei no Au mamuli o ka mana oi ikaika o Amerika Huipuia nona hoi ke Kuhina Elele Nui, ka Meamahaloia John L. Stevens, ua kauoha aku i na koa o Amerika Huipuia e hoopae ia mai ma Honolulu, a ua kukala ae e kokua no oia i ua Aupuni Kuikawa ʻla no ka Manawa i oleloia.
> Nolaila, i mea e kaupale aku ai i na hookuia ana o na puali i hoolawa ia me na lako kaua, a malia paha o hoopoino ia ke ola; nolaila, malalo o keia Kuahaua Kue a i kauhola ia hoi e ua mana ikaika ʻla, ke ae wale nei no Au e panee aku i Koʻu Mana a hiki i ka manawa a ke Aupuni o Amerika Huipuia, mamuli o na mea oiaio e waiho ia aku ai imua ona, e hooloili ai i na hana a kona Luna Aupuni a e hoonoho hou Iaʻu maluna o ka mana Aʻu e koi nei ma ke ano Aliiaimoku o ka Paeaina Hawaii.[29]

I kekahi lā aʻe, ka lā 18 o Ianuali, ua hoʻouna aku ʻo Kīwini i palapala i ke Kuhina Mokuʻāina John W. Foster ma o ke kelekalapa. Wahi āna, ua hana ʻia kēia,

> An entire overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy and the establishment of a Provisional Government in the interest of the whole people of the islands without the sacrifices of a single life.[30]

Ua hoʻouna aku nō hoʻi ʻo Kīwini i kekahi palapala e hōʻike mōakāka ana i nā mea i hana ʻia ma Hawaiʻi. Wahi āna:

> As soon as practicable a Provisional Government was constituted...The committee of public safety forthwith took possession of the Government

buildings, archives, and treasury, and installed the Provisional Government at the heads of the respective departments. This being an accomplished fact, I promptly recognized the Provisional Government as the *de facto* Government of the Hawaiian Islands...Without the sacrifice of a single life this change of government has been accomplished. Language can hardly express the enthusiasm and the profound feeling of relief at this peaceful and salutary change of government. The underlying cause of this profound feeling among the citizens is the hope that the United States Governement will allow these islands to pass to American control and become American soil.[31]

Ka Poʻe ʻEnemi

Ma muli o ia hana a Kīwini i hana aku ai i ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi, ʻaʻohe mahalo o ka poʻe aloha ʻāina iā ia. Pēlā pū ko lākou manaʻo no ka poʻe o ka ʻAoʻao Hoʻomaʻemaʻe a me ke Kōmike Hoʻopakele. Ua kapa ʻia ʻo Kīwini a me Kakina mā he poʻe ʻenemi a he poʻe pākaha i ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi, ka Mōʻī Hawaiʻi, a me ke kūʻokoʻa Hawaiʻi.

Ma ka paukū ʻelua o "He Hoʻoheno No Liliʻu," wehewehe ʻia aku ka manaʻo o ka haku mele no ia mau kānaka:

Kaulana mai nei oe Kakina
Huakai paoa aohe hope
He hana kumu ole aohe koo
He ulu lau wale aohe mole
Hokai ua manu aʻe hewa
Kolea kahu ole no ke kai mai
E lilo i mea ole na enemi
Lehelehe eueu hana lapuwale
E Kane, Kanaloa kii ia aku
E hoihoi mai oe ia Hawaii
E ola o Kalani a mau loa
A kau i ke ao malamalama
Hea ia aku no au o mai oe
Lanakila kamahao ko Hawaii
Haina ia mai ana ka puana
A kau o Liliu i ke Kalaunu

Wahi a ka haku mele, ua hele a kaulana ka inoa o Kakina ma muli o kāna hana hewa i hana aku ai i ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi (l. 31). He mau ʻōlelo kūamuamu ko ka haku mele no Kakina e hōʻike aku ana i ka pono ʻole o kāna hana. "Aohe hope...aohe koo...aohe mole" o Kakina a me kāna hana (l. 31-34). Hōʻike mai nō hoʻi ka haku mele i ko Kakina kūlana he "Kolea kahu ole no ke

kai mai" (l. 36). He inoa kapakapa kēia no ka poʻe haole, ma muli o ko lākou kū ʻana i ke ʻano o ia manu, no ka mea, he manu ke kōlea no ka ʻāina ʻē mai. I ka wā hoʻoilo, ka wā wī ma kona ʻāina, hele mai ua kōlea lā i Hawaiʻi no ka hoʻomomona ʻana iā ia iho ma nā pono o Hawaiʻi. Hele mai ke kōlea i Hawaiʻi, ʻai ʻo ia i ka waiwai o ka ʻāina, kiʻo aku hoʻi ʻo ia, a laila haʻalele wale mai. A ke hānau maila kāna poʻe keiki, pēlā wale nō ko lākou ʻano, he hoʻomomona iho ma Hawaiʻi nei. ʻO Kakina a me ka poʻe haole hoʻi kēia. No ka ʻāina ʻē mai kekahi o lākou, a ʻo kekahi hoʻi, ua hānau ʻia mai nō ma Hawaiʻi nei. Eia kā, ʻaʻole ʻo Hawaiʻi ko lākou ʻāina aloha, ʻāina makua hoʻi ma ko lākou naʻau ponoʻī. ʻO ʻAmelika nō ia, a i ko lākou manaʻo, he mea wale nō ʻo Hawaiʻi e waiwai ai lākou a e momona ai hoʻi.

Kapa ʻia nō hoʻi ua poʻe nei he "enemi" e ka haku mele me ka manaʻolana e lilo ia ʻenemi "i mea ole" (l. 37). Hoʻāhewa ʻia nō hoʻi ia poʻe ʻenemi no ko lākou "lehelehe eueu hana lapuwale" (l. 38). I ka manaʻo o ka haku mele, ʻaʻohe ʻoiaʻiʻo a ʻaʻohe mana o ka leo o ua poʻe ʻenemi lā. Me ko lākou lehelehe ʻeuʻeu i kupu ai kēia hana lapuwale no ke aupuni. No nā Kānaka Maoli, he mea paʻakikī ka hoʻomaopopo ʻana aku i ka hoʻokō ʻia ʻana o ka pahuhopu o Kakina a me Kīwini mā. ʻAʻohe pono o kā lākou hana, a he mea nui ka pono i ka manaʻo o nā Kānaka Maoli. Ma muli o ko nā kānaka hilinaʻi ʻana i ka lanakila o ka pono, ua hoʻomaka koke lākou e ʻimi i ala hele e hoʻoponopono ai i ka pilikia o ke aupuni ma nā mahina i koe ma hope mai o ka makahiki 1893.

Nā Mea i Kuhi ʻIa

Mokuna 3 - Ka Hoʻokahuli Aupuni

[1] *Hawaii Holomua*, 9, 11 Pepeluali 1893.

[2] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 16 Ianuali 1893.

[3] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 16 Ianuali 1893.

[4] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 16 Ianuali 1893.

[5] Liliʻuokalani, 1974, 234.

[6] U.S. Congress, 497.

[7] U.S. Congress, 497.

[8] Mōʻīwahine Liliʻuokalani, "Ka Hoopii a Ka Moiwahine," *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 31 Malaki 1893.

[9] Mōʻīwahine Liliʻuokalani, *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 31 Malaki 1893.

[10] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 10 ʻApelila 1893.

[11] U.S. Congress, 499.

[12] Liliʻuokalani, 1974, 384-386.

[13] *Hawaii Holomua*, 28 Malaki, 1 Apelila 1893.

[14] *Hawaii Holomua*, 18 Ianuali 1893.

[15] *Hawaii Holomua*, 16 Ianuali 1893.

[16] U.S. Congress, 783.

[17] U.S. Congress, 495.

[18] U.S. Congress, 380-381.

[19] U.S. Congress, 501.

[20] U.S. Congress, 518.

[21] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 17 Ianuali 1893.

[22] *Hawaii Holomua*, 18 Ianuali 1893.

[23] U.S. Congress, 451.

[24] U.S. Congress, 495.

[25] *Hawaii Holomua*, 18 Ianuali 1893.

[26] *Hawaii Holomua*, 18 Ianuali 1893.

[27] U.S. Congress, 495.

[28] Mōʻīwahine Liliʻuokalani, *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 11 Aperila 1893.

[29] *Hawaii Holomua*, 18 Ianuali 1893.

[30] U.S. Congress, 206.

[31] U.S. Congress, 208-209.

MOKUNA 4
'IMI 'IA KA PONO A ME KA PĀKAHA

Ma hope o ka ho'okahuli 'ia 'ana o ke Aupuni Hawai'i i ka lā 17 o Ianuali i ka makahiki 1893, ua maopopo ihola i nā Kānaka Maoli ko lākou pilikia, a ua maopopo nō ho'i iā lākou ka mea e pono ai—'o ia ka 'imi koke 'ana i kekahi hana e ho'okumu hou 'ia ai ke Aupuni Hawai'i. Ma muli o ka hana a Kīwini a me ka pū'ali koa o 'Amelika, ua 'ike nā Kānaka Maoli, 'o ke Aupuni 'Amelika ma Wakinekona, D.C. kahi e nānā ai, e like me ke noi 'ana i ke Aupuni Pelekania i ka makahiki 1843. Ma kēia mokuna, e ho'ākāka 'ia ana nā hana a nā Kānaka Maoli i hana ai ma hope o ka ho'okahuli aupuni ma ka ho'ā'o 'ana e ho'oponopono i ka pilikia a e ho'okumu hou i ko lākou aupuni, a me ko lākou ho'opa'a 'ana i ka hana ma nā mele lāhui.

No Nā Komisina

Ma ka lālani 'elua o ka mele o luna a'e nei 'o "Hooheno No Liliu," ua mo'olelo 'ia mai no kahi "huakai paoa" a Kakina i hele aku ai. He huaka'i ia no ka ho'okō 'ana aku i ka pahuhopu maoli o Kakina a me ke Aupuni Kūikawā—'o ka ho'ohui 'āina me 'Amelika. Ma ka lā 18 o Ianuali, he ho'okahi wale nō lā ma hope o ka ho'okahuli aupuni, ua e'e akula 'o Kakina a me kona hui ma ka moku *Kelaudina*, 'o ia ho'i 'o *Claudine*.

Ua makemake nō ho'i ka Mō'īwahine e ho'ouna i mau komisina no ke Aupuni Hawai'i ma ua moku nei. Wahi a ka mo'olelo nūpepa, "ua ae mua ia mai e kau pu aku kekahi Komisina Elele ma ka aoao o ke alii Liliuokalani."[1] Akā nō na'e, ma hope aku, ua loli ka mana'o a,

> Aole ae o ka mana Aupuni hou i na Komisina o ke Alii e holo pu me ko lakou mau Komisina...no Kapalakiko, maluna o Kelaudine, no ka hoike aku i ke kulana o ke Aupuni i ke Aupuni o Amerika Huipuia, ma Wasinetona.[2]

Ma muli o ia ʻano, ua lilo ka moku *Kelaudina* i mea e moʻolelo ʻia ma nā mele lāhui.

KELAUDINA SONG.[3]

Kaulana mai nei Kelaudina
Ahailono o ka poe pakaha
Nau i lawe aku na komisina
O ke aupuni kuloko o Hawaii
Hopuhopualulu e ka hele'na
A na elele o ua aupuni nei
E ake ana e hookoia
Ka iini pakaha aina
Halawai aku nei lakou
Me kahi paele a Kalivilana
Ninau mai nei kahi paele
Mahea oukou pii mai
Pane aku nei o Kakina
Makou Hawaii pii mai
Makemake kuka Kalivilana
Hoohui kela aina makou
Me Amelika Huipuia
Nalo aku nei kahi paele
A hoi mai me ka pane ana
Kela Kalivilana olelo wau
Nuinui kela mahaoi oukou
Iaia kauoha wau olelo
Pehea oukou kuleana
Kipaku kela Moi Wai-hi
Haina ia mai ana ka puana
Hopuia Kelaudina me ka opiuma

Hakuia e
EKAMOKULAWEOPIUMA

Moʻolelo maila kēia mele no ka holo ʻana o ka moku *Kelaudina* mai Hawaiʻi a i Kapalakiko. Ua holo pū aku ʻo Kakina me W. R. Castle, W. C. Wilder, a me Charles Carter, ma ke ʻano he mau komisina no ke Aupuni Kūikawā. I haʻalele mai nei lākou no Wakinekona e noi aku i ka hoʻohui ʻāina me ʻAmelika. Wahi a kēia mele, ua "Kaulana mai nei Kelaudina" no kāna hana he "Ahailono" no ka poe pākaha, nāna "i lawe aku na komisina / O ke aupuni kuloko o Hawaii" (l. 1-4).

ʻAʻohe mahalo o ka haku mele i ua poʻe komisina lā o ke Aupuni Kūikawā a me ka ʻōlelo nemanema e moʻolelo ʻia mai ai. Kapa ʻia nā komisina he pākaha (l. 2) a me kā lākou huakaʻi he hopuhopuālulu (l. 5). Ua

hoʻākāka ʻia mai nō hoʻi ka pahuhopu o ia huakaʻi, ʻo ia hoʻi ko lākou "iini pakaha aina" (l. 8).

I ka hiki ʻana aku o Kakina mā ma Wakinekona, ua hālāwai pū lākou me Pelekikena Harisona (Harrison), a ma ka lā 14 o Pepeluali, ua hoʻouna aku nō ʻo Harisona i ke Kuʻikahi Hoʻohui ʻĀina i ka ʻAha Kenekoa o ʻAmelika.[4] Akā, ua maopopo nō hoʻi iā Harisona, e pau koke aku ana kona wā e noho ai ma ke kūlana he Pelekikena no ʻAmelika. Ua koho pāloka ʻia aʻela ʻo Kalivilana (Cleveland), ʻo ia ka Pelekikena hou o ʻAmelika, a ma ka lā 4 o Malaki i haʻalele aku ai ʻo Harisona i kona kūlana Pelekikena, a komo mai nō ʻo Kalivilana. Ma hope pono iho, ua kauoha ʻo Kalivilana i ka huki ʻia ʻana o ke Kuʻikahi Hoʻohui ʻĀina mai ka ʻAhaʻōlelo Kenekoa mai a kauoha pū ʻia kekahi komisina e hele aku i Hawaiʻi i mea e ʻimi a e noiʻi ai hoʻi i ka ʻike e pili ana i ka hoʻokahuli aupuni.[5]

No nā Kānaka Maoli, he hōʻailona kēia no ko Kalivilana kākoʻo i ka lāhui a me ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi. Ma kēia mele ʻo "Kelaudina Song," wehewehe maila ka haku mele no ka hele ʻana aku o Kakina mā i Wakinekona e hālāwai pū ai me Kalivilana. Ma nā moʻolelo nūpepa, ʻaʻole i hoʻākāka ʻia mai kahi hālāwai ʻana o ia ʻano. Akā nō naʻe, he mea nui ia hālāwai ma kēia mele. Wahi a ka haku mele, ua kamaʻilio ʻo Kakina me "kahi paele a Kalivilana" a na ia kanaka i lawelawe i ka ʻōlelo ma waena o Kakina a me Kalivilana penei:

Ninau mai nei kahi paele
Mahea oukou pii mai
Pane aku nei o Kakina
Makou Hawaii pii mai
Makemake kuka Kalivilana
Hoohui kela aina makou
Me Amelika Huipuia
Nalo aku nei kahi paele
A hoi mai me ka pane ana
Kela Kalivilana olelo wau
Nuinui kela mahaoi oukou
Iaia kauoha wau olelo
Pehea oukou kuleana
Kipaku kela Moi Wai-hi

Mali'a paha, 'a'ole he 'oia'i'o a 'a'ole i kūkā maoli 'ia kēia mau mea a ka haku mele i ho'ākāka ai ma ke mele. 'O kēia paha ke kumu i kākau 'ia ai, 'a'ole i lohe pepeiao 'ia kēia mau 'ōlelo mai ka waha mai o Kalivilana, akā ma o kona 'elele i lohe 'ia ai. Eia kekahi, he hemahema maoli nō ke 'ano o ke kama'ilio 'ana, me he mea lā, he mau hua 'ōlelo wale nō kai ho'opuka 'ia. A mali'a paha, he mea ia e hō'ike aku ai i ka pupuka o ka namu haole. Inā he 'oia'i'o ia hālāwai 'ana a 'a'ole paha, he hō'ailona nō ke mele no ka mana'o a me ka mana'olana o ka haku mele. Makemake nui 'o ia e ho'okō 'ole 'ia ka 'i'ini o Kakina me kāna hana i ke Aupuni Hawai'i, a makemake nui nō ho'i ka haku mele e ho'omaopopo 'o 'Amelika no ia hewa i hana 'ia e Kakina mā.

Ma ka hopena o ia mele, ho'i hou ka mana'o o ka haku mele i ka moku *Kelaudina* a me ka maika'i 'ole o ko ka moku kōkua 'ana aku i nā komisina o ke Aupuni Kūikawā. Wahi a ke mele:

Haina ia mai ana ka puana
Hopuia Kelaudina me ka opiuma

A he 'oia'i'o maoli nō kēia. Ma ka lā 11 o Pepeluali i kū hou mai ai ua moku lā ma ke awa 'o Honolulu mai ka huaka'i lawe komisina i Kapalakiko. Wahi a ka mo'olelo:

> Ua hopuia e na kiai o ka Hale Dute, he 300 kini opiuma iloko o na Paiki Huluhulu 4. Ua hookuuia keia mau paiki opiuma iloko o ke kai me kekahi kaula i hoopaaia mai ka paiki opiuma a iluna o hope o ka moku.
> I ka manawa i hoao ia ai e huki i ke kaula me ka manao ole ia he mau paiki opiuma ko lalo, ua puiwa ka mea nana i huki i ua kaula nei no ke kaumaha, aole e hiki iaia ke huki.[6]

Ua huki 'ia nō na'e ke kaula, a loa'a ka 'opiuma. No ka haku mele a me ka lāhui, ua lilo ia hihia i hō'ailona no ka 'ino o ka moku, ma muli o kona lawe 'ana aku i ka po'e komisina i Wakinekona no ka 'imi 'ana i ka ho'ohui 'āina. Ua hō'ike hou aku ka haku mele i kona mana'o ma o kona pūlima 'ana aku i ke mele ma ka inoa 'o Ekamokulaweopiuma." 'A'ole paha ia 'o ka inoa maoli o ka haku mele, akā he ho'oikaika nō ia i ke 'ano 'ino o ka po'e pākaha 'āina. Ua maopopo i ka Hawai'i, 'a'ole i kupu wale mai ia hihia no ka moku. Wahi a ka

mo'olelo nūpepa o luna nei, "O keia auanei ka anoano mua o ka huakai Hoohui Aina!" Ma kēia mele, 'o ka mana'o kū'ē o ka haku mele ka mea nui—he kū'ē i ka hana 'ino 'ia o kona aupuni a he kū'ē i nā mea nāna i kōkua a kāko'o i ua hana 'ino nei, inā he kanaka a he moku paha.

No Nā Kānaka Maoli: Nā Nūpepa a me Nā Mele

Ma nā wahi like 'ole a me nā 'ano like 'ole, ua kū'ē aku nā Kānaka Maoli i ia hihia a ua ho'ā'o nui nō ho'i lākou e kūpa'a no nā mea a lākou i no'ono'o ai he pono no ke aupuni a me ka lāhui. 'A'ole lākou i noho wale a noho hāmau leo me ka hō'ike 'ole aku i ia mana'o kū'ē a kūpa'a. Ke nānā 'ia aku a heluhelu 'ia aku nō ho'i nā nūpepa o nā Kānaka Maoli o ia wā, ua akāka wale ko lākou mana'o.

I ka ho'okumu 'ia 'ana o nā nūpepa e nā Kānaka Maoli, ua ho'omaka nā mea kākau a me nā luna ho'oponopono e kākau a e hō'ike i ke 'ano aloha o ke Kanaka Maoli—ke aloha 'āina, aloha lāhui, aloha aupuni, a aloha Mō'ī. Mai ka makahiki 1887, a me ka ho'ēmi 'ia 'ana o ka mana ho'okō o ka Mō'ī, ua ho'okumu 'ia he mau nūpepa hou e kāko'o ana i nā Kānaka Maoli a me ke aupuni Mō'ī. 'O *Ka Makaainana* (1887), *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui* (1889), *Ka Nupepa Oiaio* (1889), *Ka Ahailono A Ka Lahui* (1890), *Ke Kiai O La Lahui* (1890), *Hawaii Holomua* (1891), *Ka Leialii O Hawaii* (1892), a me *Ka Malamalama* (1892).

Ua pa'i 'ia kekahi o nā nūpepa no ka wā lō'ihi a 'o kekahi, no ka wā pōkole wale nō. I ka makahiki 1893, ua loa'a he 'eiwa nūpepa e pa'i 'ia ana ma ka 'ōlelo Hawai'i. 'O *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* kekahi ma lalo nō ia o ko Wini alaka'i 'ana ma ke 'ano he Luna Nui a he Luna Ho'oponopono. Ua kapa 'ia ua nūpepa nei a me *Ka Liberale* (1892) he mau nūpepa ho'ohui 'āina no ke kāko'o 'ana i ka ho'okahuli aupuni a me ka ho'ohui 'āina aku me 'Amelika. Ua loa'a nō ho'i kekahi nūpepa Kalikiano 'o *Ka Hoolaha Oiaio*. Eia nō na'e, 'o nā 'eono i

koe—'o *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui, Ka Makaainana, Nupepa Ka Oiaio, Hawaii Holomua, Ka Lei Momi*, a me *Nupepa Puka La Aloha Aina*—he mau nūpepa e kākoʻo ana i ke aupuni a me ke kūʻokoʻa o nā Kānaka Maoli.

Ua loaʻa ʻekolu o ia mau nūpepa ma ka hale waihona puke o ke kula nui o Hawaiʻi ma Mānoa, ʻo ia hoʻi ʻo *Hawaii Holomua, Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, a me *Ka Lei Momi*. Ma ka huli ʻana i loko o kēia mau nūpepa no ka makahiki 1893, ua ʻohiʻohi maila ka mea kākau he 120 mele lāhui i haku ʻia no kēia pilikia o ke aupuni, a no ka hōʻike ʻana i ka manaʻo kūpaʻa a kūʻē o nā Kānaka Maoli—he kūʻē i ka hana a ka poʻe nāna i hoʻokahuli i ke aupuni a he kūpaʻa i ke aloha i ke aupuni, ka lāhui, a me ka Mōʻīwahine. No kekahi o ia mau mele, he pālua a pākolu kona paʻi ʻia ʻana ma nā lā a me nā nūpepa ʻokoa, a i kekahi manawa, ua ʻokoʻa ka inoa i ka paʻi hou ʻia ʻana o kahi mele.

Ma ka nūpepa ʻo *Hawaii Holomua* i paʻi ʻia mai ai nā mele lāhui mua loa i haku ʻia no ia wā. He Kanaka Maoli ka luna hoʻoponopono, ʻo Kahikina Kelekona, ʻo ia hoʻi ʻo John Sheldon, kona inoa. No Kona, Hawaiʻi, mai ʻo Kelekona, a he keiki ʻo ia na Henry Sheldon. He luna hoʻoponopono nūpepa ka makuakāne, a he kanaka paʻi nūpepa ko Kahikina kaikaina, ʻo Laurence Sheldon. He aloha ʻāina ʻo Kelekona a nui kona kōkua a kākoʻo ʻana i ka lāhui ma kāna nūpepa.

Mai ka makahiki 1851, ua hōʻoia ʻia ka pono kūʻokoʻa o ka ʻōlelo ma ke kumukānāwai o ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi, eia naʻe, ma ka hana o ke aupuni hou, ke Aupuni Kūikawā, ua hoʻēmi ʻia ia kūlana. Ma ka nūpepa o ka lā 15 o Pepeluali 1893, ua kapa aku ʻo Kelekona iā Kakina he hoʻopunipuni no kā Kakina ʻōlelo ʻana, inā hoʻi ka Mōʻīwahine i ka noho kalaunu, inā e kīpaku ʻia nā haole mai Hawaiʻi aku. I kekahi lā aʻe, ua hopu ʻia ʻo Kelekona no kēia ʻano ʻōlelo i kapa ʻia he pelapela a he hoʻāla kipi.

I nā mahina ma hope o ka hoʻokahuli aupuni, ua pono e makaʻala nā luna hoʻoponopono i ke ʻano o kā lākou ʻōlelo o hopu ʻia a hoʻopaʻi ʻia auaneʻi e

ke Aupuni Kūikawā. Ma ke kumukānāwai o ka Repubalika, ua kākau ʻia penei:

> All men may freely speak, write, and publish their sentiments on all subjects...but all persons shall be responsible for the abuse of such right; and no person shall advocate, by writing, printing, or speaking, the restoration or establishment of a monarchical form of government in the Hawaiian Islands; nor advocate the use of force for the accomplishment of any change in the system or form of government hereby established; nor seek or advocate the action of any foreign power for such purpose.[7]

Eia naʻe, ua hoʻomau aku nō nā luna hoʻoponopono i kā lākou hana. He mea maʻa mau ko lākou paʻi ʻana i nā moʻolelo a me nā mele lāhui, he mau mea e hōʻoia ana i ka pono o nā Kānaka Maoli, kā lākou hana, a me ko lākou aupuni ponoʻī. Ma nā moʻolelo a me nā mele lāhui, ua noi ʻia nō ka hoʻi ʻana o ka Mōʻīwahine a me kona mana hoʻokō. No ia kumu, ua lilo hoʻi nā luna hoʻoponopono i meʻe no ka lāhui.

KAHIKINA KELEKONA SONG[8]

Kaulana mai nei oe e Kahikina
O ke koa wiwo ole o ka makakila
Nau i ki-pu iho e ka hoeuli
O ka nupepa HAWAII HOLOMUA
Kilakila na hana au e ke hoa
No ka pono kaulike o ka Lahui
Mamuli o ke aloha aina
Ua paa oe i ka hopuia
Aole loa oe a i hopo iho
I na auna manu misionari
No ka makee a no ke aloha
I ko kakou Aliiaimoku
E lilo i mea ole na hoopii
A na enemi imua o ka aha
A puka KAHIKINA me ka lanakila
A ola KELEKONA me ka HOLOMUA
He leo pule ka Kahikina
No na mamo misionari
E uwalo ana i na Kahikolu
E aloha iho ia lakou
No ko lakou ike ole ana
I ka lakou mea e hana nei
E auamo ana me na pu ki kanaka
A poina i ke a'o a ka Buke Nui
E ola o Kelekona a mau loa
A puka Kahikina a hemo loa

Haina ia mai ana ka puana
He aloha aina ko Kahikina.

Hakuia e
MISS KEONAONAOKALANI.

Ma ke mele nei, mo'olelo 'ia mai ko Kelekona kūlana he "kaulana," he "koa wiwo'ole" a he "hoeuli" no ka nūpepa *Hawaii Holomua* (l. 1-4) a hō'ike 'ia ke 'ano pono o ia hana a me ke kumu o ia hana 'ana, 'o ia ho'i 'o "ke aloha aina" (l. 5-7). A ma muli o ia aloha 'āina a aloha Mō'ī ho'i, 'a'ohe o Kelekona hopo aku i ka po'e 'enemi, 'o ia ho'i ka "auna manu misionari" (l. 10) a me nā "mamo misionari" (l. 18). E noi ana 'o Kelekona me kona "leo pule" e ho'omaopopo aku "na Kahikolu" a me ka lehulehu i ke 'ano kūpono 'ole o ua po'e "mamo misionari" ala ma ko lākou hana 'ino 'ana i ka lāhui Hawai'i a me ko lākou huli kua a ho'opoina 'ana i nā ha'awina o ko lākou ho'omana Kalikiano (l. 17-24). Ma ka hopena, hō'ike aku ka haku mele i kona mana'olana no Kelekona e "ola...a mau loa" a "puka" a "hemo loa" mai kona wahi pa'a (l. 25-26). A laila, ma ka lālani hope loa, hō'ike hou 'ia ko Kelekona kūlana "He aloha aina," a mali'a paha, ma ka no'ono'o a me ka na'au o ka haku mele, 'o ia ke kūlana ki'eki'e loa e pono ai ke kanaka o ia wā a 'o ia nō ho'i ka mea e mahalo nui 'ia a aloha nui 'ia e ka po'e o ia wā—'o ke aloha 'āina (l. 27-28).

Ma ka mahina 'o Iune i ho'okumu 'ia ai he nūpepa hou nona ka inoa 'o *Ka Lei Momi*. 'O W. H. Kapu ka luna ho'oponopono a he nūpepa aloha 'āina nō ia. Ua nui ka mahalo o ka lehulehu i kēia wahi nūpepa hou a no ke 'ano aloha 'āina o ka nūpepa a me nā lima hana o ka nūpepa, ua haku 'ia he mau mele nona. Eia kekahi:

HE MELE NO KA ONO A
KA LEI MOMI[9]

Hooheno na lede o ke kaona
I na lima hei o ka hua metala
E kala ko eha i Ka Lei Momi
I ke kuu pau i ka ono a loko
Ua like me ka wai o ka piula
E pipii nei i ka puuwai
He waiwai nui na'u ko leo
A ke Telepona e honehone nei

Hana mau ka leo o ke Kahuli
E koi mai ana ia Makalapua
He pua makou no KA LEI MOMI
A he waha olelo no ka Lahui
Eia makou la ua lai
I ka lawe poahi i ka hua metala
O ka nanea ana iho ua lai
Hone ana ka pele o ke Telepona
Ua pono kau hana he palu ono
He kono na ka leo i anoi ia
Pela iho oe e kakali ai
A uwila aku maka uwea
O ka mau no ia o Kauluwela—
O ka mikimiki no me ka eleu
Haina ia mai ana ka puana
Na lima hei no o KA LEI MOMI

Hakuia e——
A hoohenoia e na luina leo senora
o KA LEI MOMI

Mahalo ʻia ko *Ka Lei Momi* kūlana he "waha olelo no ka Lahui" ma ia wā o ke kahuli aupuni (l. 12). Akā, ʻo ka manaʻo nui o nā haku mele, ʻo ia nō ka mahalo ʻana i ka ʻeleu a me ka mikimiki o nā lima hana o *Ka Lei Momi* (l. 2).

No ka lāhui, ʻo ka nūpepa a me ka luna hoʻoponopono o nā nūpepa aloha ʻāina kahi mea i aloha nui ʻia. Ma ka nūpepa ʻo *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, ma Ianuali o ka makahiki 1893, ʻo John E. Bush, ʻo ia hoʻi ʻo Ailuene Buki, ka luna hoʻoponopono. Akā, ma Pepeluali, ua lilo ʻo Joseph Nāwahī i luna hoʻoponopono no *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*.

No Kaimū, Puna, Hawaiʻi mai ʻo Nāwahī a he luna makaʻāinana ʻo ia ma ka ʻahaʻōlelo o ka makahiki 1892. He lālā ʻo ia o ka Hui Aloha ʻĀina a ua kaulana ʻo ia i kona ʻano aloha ʻāina a me kona kūpaʻa ʻana no ke aloha ʻāina. ʻO Nāwahī kekahi o nā alakaʻi o ka poʻe aloha ʻāina nāna i noi i ka Mōʻīwahine i kumukānāwai hou.[10]

HE LEI NO NAWAHI[11]

He lei keia no Nawahi
Nelekona oe o ka Pakipika
Ka uila anapa ma ka Hikina
Malamalama ai Hawaii Loa
Hoike ana hoi me ka noeau
I ka lama ku no Hawaii nei
Huai pau ke aloha Aina
E imi ana hoi me ka noeau

Hoike ana hoi me ka hopo ole
Na hana uahoa a ka lokoino
Pahola ke aloha o Nawahi
Kaukau mai ana i ka Lahui
E noho kakou me ka hoomalu
Malama kakou i ka maluhia
Hiki mai ka Elele a Ailuene
O ka lau Oliva a ke aloha
Papahi Rose ia no Nawahi
He waha olelo no ka lehulehu
Hoike e KA LEO O KA LAHUI
Na hana lima nui a ka lokoino
A i Amerika na Komite
Me ke kuikahi hoohui aina
Hea ka leo o Nawahi
E pule kakou me ka lokahi
Ua ae mai hoi na Mana Lani
Ka uwalo a ka leo o ka Lahui
Puuwai hamama oi kelakela
Hawaii Ponoi oia ka oi
Hea aku makou o mai oe
Nawahi o Kalaniopuu

MRS. KALA
Honuakaha, March 17, 1893

Ma ke mele a Mrs. Kala i haku ai, ʻo ka pono a me ka maikaʻi o Nāwahī nō ka mea nui. Hoʻohālikelike ʻia ʻo ia me "ka uila anapa ma ka Hikina / Malamalama ai Hawaii Loa" (l. 3-4). Kapa ʻia ʻo ia a me kāna hana he "noeau," he "aloha aina," a he "lamaku" no ka lāhui (l. 5-8). Mahalo ʻia nō hoʻi ʻo Nāwahī no kona hōʻike ʻana mai i ka "hana uahoa" a ka poʻe "lokoino" (l. 9-10). Moʻolelo ʻia maila no kona panihakahaka ʻana no Ailuene Buki ma ka nūpepa ʻo *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui* a no ka lilo ʻana o Nāwahī i "waha olelo no ka lehulehu" (l. 15-18). A laila, lilo ka nūpepa ʻo *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui* i mea e mahalo ʻia e ka haku mele no ko ka nūpepa hōʻike ʻana i ka "hana lima nui a ka lokoino" (l. 19-20). ʻO ke Kōmike o ke Aupuni Kūikawā ka poʻe loko ʻino, ma ʻAmelika e hoʻāʻo ana e hoʻokō aku i "ke kuikahi hoohui aina" (l. 21-22).

Ma lalo iho, hōʻike ka haku mele i kona aloha no ka lāhui, no ko lākou "puuwai hamama oi kelakela" a me ke kūlana poʻokela o "Hawaii Ponoi oia ka oi," he manaʻo e hōʻike ana i ka pono o ke kūʻokoʻa o Hawaiʻi no nā Hawaiʻi (l. 27-28). A ma ka hopena o ke mele, hea hou ʻia ka inoa ʻo Nāwahī (l. 29-30).

Ma ka lā 17 o Malaki i haku ʻia ai ua mele nei e Mrs. Kala, a ma kekahi lā mai, ka lā 21 o Malaki i haku hou ai ʻo Mrs. Kala i kahi mele, akā, he mele inoa ia no Leʻakahele, ʻo ia hoʻi ʻo Ailuene Buki, ʻo John E. Bush.

No Nā ʻElele Hawaiʻi

I ka makahiki 1880, ua hoʻokohu ʻia ʻo John E. Bush, ʻo Buki hoʻi, e ka Mōʻī Kalākaua ma ke kūlana Kuhina Kālaiʻāina ma kona ʻaha kuhina; ʻaʻole naʻe i lōʻihi ke kū ʻana o ia ʻaha. I ka makahiki 1889, ua hoʻokumu ʻo Buki i kāna nūpepa mua, ʻo *Nupepa Ka Oiaio*, a i ka makahiki 1890, he luna makaʻāinana ʻo ia ma ka ʻahaʻōlelo. I ka makahiki 1891, ua lilo ʻo ia i luna hoʻoponopono o *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*.

He Kanaka Maoli ʻo Buki, akā, ma kāna hana no ke aupuni o Hawaiʻi a me kāna hana ma nā nūpepa, ʻaʻole ʻo Buki i kākoʻo wale aku nō i ka Mōʻī a me ke aupuni. I kekahi manawa, ua hōʻike mai ʻo ia i kona ʻae ʻole ʻana i ka hana a Kalākaua a pēlā pū me Liliʻuokalani i kona lilo ʻana i Mōʻīwahine.[12] He aloha ʻāina naʻe ʻo Buki a he mau nūpepa aloha ʻāina nō hoʻi kāna, a ma ia mau nūpepa, ua kākoʻo nui aku ʻo Buki i ke kūʻokoʻa o ko Hawaiʻi aupuni a lāhui ponoʻī. No ia kumu, ua aloha nui a mahalo nui ʻia ʻo Buki e ka lāhui.

HE WEHI NO LE'AKAHELE[13]

He wehi keia no Le'akahele
Kahia'paiole o ka Makakila
He elele hopo ole na ka Lahui
He imi kaulike no Hawaii
Na Le'akahele i hue pau aku
Ma ke Telegarapa lawe olelo
Hoike ana hoi me ka wiwo ole
No Hawaii moku kele i ke kai
Aia Hawaii ua manuheu
Ua kailiku ia ka Leialii
O Liliuololokulaniikekapu
Me ke Kalaunu hoi o ke Aupuni
Aia i ka nuku o ka Aeko
I ka mana o na koa Amerika
Pehea oukou a i nei hana
I manao ai hoi a e limanui
Ua nui ke aloha o Le'akahele
O Ailuene Buki no ka Lahui
Haalele ke aloha kakia iwi

Imi ia i ka pono o ka aina
I loaa hou ai e ka hanohano
O ka Ihikapu a o Hawaii nei
Ua nui ke aho o Le'akahele
Ua hiki hou i ke one hanau
Ua hui hou hoi me ka Lahui
Na ewe hanau o ka aina
Lohea ka leo o Le'akahele
Ma na kapakai a o Hawaii
Hoike mai ana i ka nuhou
Ua ola Hawaii a mau loa
Hoole mai nei Amerika
Hoohui Aina me Hawaii
Ua kue loa na Senate
Na hana lima nui i manao ia
Ua ola hou o Liliuokalani
Ua kau hou i ka hano haweo
Ke poo Kalaunu a o Hawaii
Hoomalu ana hoi i ka Lahui
Eia e ka leo o Kalivilana
Ua oki Hawaii me ka maluhia
Haina ka puana a o ko wehi
O Le'akahele i ka ehuehu
Hea aku makou o mai oe
O Ailuene Buki kou inoa

Hakuia e

MRS. KALA

Honuakaha, Mar 21, 1893

I ka makahiki 1893, ʻo Buki ka Pelekikena o ka Hui Aloha ʻĀina, a ua paipai nui ʻo ia a me ia hui i ka hoʻokumu ʻia ʻana o ke kumukānāwai hou e ka Mōʻīwahine. Ma hope o ka hoʻokahuli ʻia ʻana o ke aupuni, ua haʻalele iho ʻo Buki i kāna hana luna hoʻoponopono nūpepa a hana ma ke ʻano he ʻelele no ka lāhui a me ka Mōʻīwahine ma kahi huakaʻi i Kapalakiko.

Ua haʻalele mai ʻo Buki iā Hawaiʻi ma ka moku ʻo *Auseteralia* (*Australia*) ma ka lā 1 o Pepeluali, a ua hiki aku ma Kapalakiko ma ka lā 8 o Pepeluali. Ma Kapalakiko, ua hui aku ʻo Buki me nā kānaka nūpepa like ʻole i mea e kuʻi ai ka lono no ka hihia o ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi a me ka manaʻo o ka poʻe aloha ʻāina no ia hihia. Ma muli o kona noho ʻana ma Kapalakiko, ua loaʻa koke akula iā Buki ka nūhou mai Wakinekona mai, a kākau ihola ʻo ia i nā moʻolelo nūhou no kāna nūpepa ʻo *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui* ma Hawaiʻi nei.[14]

Ma ke mele a Mrs. Kala i haku ihola no Buki, ʻo kēia huakaʻi nō ka mea āna i moʻolelo mai ai. Mahalo ʻia ʻo Buki no kona kūlana he "hia'paiole o ka Makakila" a he "elele hopo ole na ka Lahui" e ʻimi ana i ka pono "kaulike no Hawaii" (l. 1-4). Moʻolelo ʻia mai nō hoʻi ko Buki "hue pau" ʻana i nā ʻike a pau e pili ana i ia hihia, a me kona hōʻike a hoʻomaopopo ʻana mai i ia ʻike i ka lāhui—aia hoʻi "ma ke Telegarapa" (l. 5-8). Ma nā lālani ma lalo iho, moʻolelo mai ka haku mele i ke kūlana o ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi a me ka Mōʻī. Wahi āna, ua "kailiku ia" ka Mōʻīwahine mai kona noho kalaunu aku (l. 10). A aia ka mana hoʻokō o ke aupuni i "ka nuku o ka Aeko," kēlā wahi manu o ʻAmelika e hāpai nei he hōʻailona no ka pono a me ke kūʻokoʻa o ʻAmelika. A aia hoʻi i "ka mana o na koa Amerika" (l. 12-14). He nīnau nō hoʻi kā ka haku mele no nei hana a ka poʻe hoʻokahuli aupuni a me ko lākou manaʻo a hana "limanui" (l. 16).

Ma Malaki, ma hope o ka lilo ʻana o Kalivilana i Pelekikina a huki ʻia ke Kuʻikahi mai ka ʻahaʻōlelo mai, ua "hiki hou i ke one hanau" ʻo Buki ma ka lā 27 o Malaki (l. 24). Ma ka lā 30 o ia mahina i mālama ʻia ai he Hālāwai Nui no ka lehulehu. Ma laila nō ʻo Buki a "ua hui hou hoi me ka Lahui / Na ewe hanau o ka aina" (l. 25-26). Kū aʻela ʻo Buki ma ia hālāwai, a wahi a ka haku mele, "lohea ka leo o Le'akahele / Ma na kapakai a o Hawaii" (l. 27-28). Wahi a ia leo nūhou, "Ua ola Hawaii a mau loa aku" a "Ua ola hou o Liliuokalani" ma muli o ka hōʻole ʻia ʻana o ke kuʻikahi ma ka ʻAha Kenekoa (l. 29-32). He kōkua nui hoʻi "ka leo o Kalivilana" ma ka hoʻopau ʻana i ia pilikia "me ka maluhia" (l. 39-40). Ma nā lālani hope loa, hoʻi hou ka haku mele a hoʻohanohano i ka inoa ʻo Leʻakahele, Ailuene Buki, no kāna hana ʻelele no Hawaiʻi (l. 41-44).

Ma kāna huakaʻi i hele aku ai ma Kapalakiko ma ka moku *Auseteralia*, ʻaʻole i hele mehameha ʻo Buki. Ua hele pū aku ʻelua komisina o ka

Mōʻīwahine ma ko lāua huakaʻi no Wakinekona e ʻimi ai i ka pono o ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi. ʻO Paul Neumann, ʻo ia hoʻi ʻo Paulo Numana, kekahi o nā komisina.

HE HOOHENO NO PAULO NUMANA[15]

He inoa kaulana no Numana
Pukuniahi o ka Pakipika
I ne-i nakolokolo aku nei
Ko leo maluna o ka Aiko
Lohaloha na hulu i ka ekekeu
Ua pipili paa ia i ke Kepau
Aohe manu koe i ke kuahiwi
Aia ka palena i Nupepeki
Aina lawaia i ke Kohola
Ua ku pono aku i ka Aiana
Ma ka opi mahamaha o ka Laikuela
Kaanini kela i ke alo makani
I ka noke a ka hau o Alika
I laila ike pono iho ke Kuhina
I ka hana a ka Honu o Polihua
Nana i pauma pii Haupu
Ike ia na hua nee i ke kai
Ua kei aku nei na Kolea
Eono o'u ulakolako
Hoolai ana i ka liko Ohai
I ke kula lehua o Kanoenoe
I ka lohe ana aku o Numana
Ua pii ka mamae i ka iwihilo
I ka ike ana iho i ka epa nui
Na manu Kinihene hulu like ole
Eia mai no ka oiaio
O ka leo kaulana o ka lahui
Lalau mai nei ke Kuhina Nui
I ka Elele waha ole a ke Kuini
I ka alawa ana iho naka haalulu
Ua holo e ka lia i ka puuwai
Me ka manao iho a e pee poli
I ka hua momi nani a o Hawaii
Mai komo i ka eke o ka Pokapia
Ka uwepa hoohee nuku omole
Hoohana e ia mai ka Uavila
Ma ka leo kauoha a Kilivalana
Ekolu Nunu lawe olelo
Nana i ahai puni ka honua
He anapu ana aku ma ka Hikina
Malamalama ana ma ke Komohana
Hoopuni aku nei i ka Akau
Ike i ka poai anu o ka Hema
Haina mai e ka Iwakiani
O Kalani Kawika pua laha ole
O ka hana ana ia a ke Topido
Poka ahi wela a o Hawaii
Noii nowelo imi akamai
Na mea kamahao a o Nu Ioka
O ke kolopa ia nana e une

Na mano wai a o Niakala
Naueue ai na pali paa
I ka eueu a o Kakuhihewa
Aohe mea koe ma ke kuono
Ahuwale i ka ohe hoonui-ike
Ike ia na kukulu o Kahiki
Na kaei olu o ka honua
I ka ipu piha i ka naauao
Olali o na kai ewalu
Ua ola Hawaii ua lanakila
Ua puka i ke ao malamalama
Haina ka puana o kou inoa
Numana i ka waha o ka lahui

Hakuia e
MISS KEKOAOHIWAIKALANI,
Puahaulani Hale, Mar 13, 1893.

He loio ʻo Numana a he hoa kūkā hoʻi ʻo ia no Kalākaua i kona wā e kū ana i ke aupuni. He kanaka haole nō ʻo Numana no ʻAmelika mai, a he ʻeiwa wale nō makahiki kona noho ʻana ma Hawaiʻi nei. I ka makahiki 1893, ua kono ʻia a ua hele aku nō ʻo ia i kekahi hālāwai i mālama ʻia e Kakina a me ke Kōmike Hoʻopakele. ʻAʻohe naʻe kākoʻo iki aku o Numana i ia hana hoʻokahuli aupuni a ua hoʻāʻo maoli ʻo ia e kōkua aku i ka Mōʻīwahine a me ke kūʻokoʻa mau o ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi. Wahi a kā Numana palapala iā Blount:

> The pretext that the troops were landed to protect American lives and property was spurious and false; both lives and property were as safe here and as unlikely to be threatened or disturbed as in Kennebec, Maine, and the sole object of Mr. Stevens and Captain Wiltse was to abet and assist, not alone by intimidation, but by actual violence the revolutionary movement headed by Mr. L. A. Thurston and other persons belonging to his party.[16]

Ma hope o ka hoʻokahuli ʻia ʻana o ke aupuni, ua noi ka Mōʻīwahine e lilo ʻo Numana i komisina no ke aupuni ma ke ʻano he loio no ka Mōʻīwahine. No ia kumu i huakaʻi aku ai ʻo Numana i Wakinekona, a ma muli o ia huakaʻi a me ia hana komisina, ua lilo ʻo Numana i meʻe no ka lāhui.

ʻO Miss Kekoaohiwaikalani ka haku mele o kēia mele no Numana. ʻO Ellen Kekoaohiwaikalani Prendergast kona inoa piha, a ʻo ia ka wahine nāna i haku i kēlā mele kaulana ʻo "He Inoa No Na Keiki O Ka Bana Lahui" ma ka ʻŌlelo Hoʻākāka o luna ala.

Ma ke mele e hoʻoheno ana iā Numana, ʻo kāna hana komisina ka mea e moʻolelo ʻia mai. Wahi a Miss Kekoaohiwaikalani, ua kaulana ka inoa o Numana no kāna hana he "pukuniahi" no ka Pakipika (l. 1-2). ʻO kona leo paha ia pūkuniahi i "ne-i nakolokolo aku nei" a ma muli o ka mana o ia leo, "maluna o ka Aiko" o ʻAmelika, ua "lohaloha na hulu i ka ekekeu" o ia manu a "ua pipili paa ia i ke Kepau" a ma muli hoʻi o ua leo nei, "aohe manu koe i ke kuahiwi" (l. 3-7). He mau mea kēia e hōʻike aku ana i ka ʻiʻini o ka haku mele e lilo i mea ʻole ka manu a me ka mana o ʻAmelika.

Ma lalo iho, ʻano nui ka hōʻike ʻana mai o ka haku mele i nā wahi pana like ʻole o ka ʻāina ʻē—ʻo Nupepeki, ʻo ʻĀlika, a ʻo Niakala (l. 8, 13, 51). Ma kāna mele, he mahalo maoli nō ko Kekoaohiwaikalani iā Numana a hoʻohālikelike ʻia ʻo Numana me ka uila e "anapu" ana ma "ka Hikina" a e "malamalama ana ma ke Komohana" a e "hoopuni" ana i ka ʻākau a me ka hema o ka honua (l. 40-43). A pēlā nō a i ka hopena o ke mele; e hōʻike aku ana ka haku mele i kona mahalo iā Numana no kāna hana "hoonui-ike" me kona "piha i ka naauao" i "ola Hawaii" a "lanakila," i "puka i ke ao malamalama" (l. 55-61). Ma nā lālani waena o ke mele, hoʻoheno ʻia nō hoʻi ko Numana kōkoʻolua ma ia huakaʻi, ʻo ia hoʻi ʻo David Kawananakoa. Hoʻohālikelike ʻia ʻo Kawananakoa me "ke Topido," he "poka ahi wela" e "noii nowelo imi akamai" ana (l. 45-47). He "kolopa ia nana e une" i "na mano wai a o Niakala" a e "naueue ai" hoʻi "na pali paa" o ia ʻāina (l. 48-52). Me he mea lā, he keu hoʻi ka ikaika a me ka mana o Numana me Kawananakoa. Ma nā lālani hope loa o ke mele, hoʻohanohano hou ʻia ka inoa o Numana no kāna hana ma ke ʻano he "waha" no ka lahui (l. 62-63).

Ua maopopo i ka haku mele a i nā Kānaka Maoli nō hoʻi, he kanaka haole ʻo Numana. Maliʻa paha, ʻo ia ke kumu i ʻike ʻia ai nā wahi pana he nui o ka ʻāina ʻē—e hōʻike aku ana i ko Numana pili i kona ʻāina hānau. Eia nō naʻe, he aloha ko nā Kānaka Maoli no Numana, no ka mea, ua maopopo iā lākou,

'a'ole he po'e pākaha 'āina ka po'e haole a pau. He po'e aloha 'āina maoli nō kekahi, a no ia kumu i ho'oheno 'ia ai ko Numana inoa ma nā mele o ia wā.

Ua ho'oheno 'ia nō ho'i 'o David Kawananakoa no kāna hana komisina no Hawai'i ma nā mele lāhui o ia wā. A e like me ke mele no Numana e hō'ike ana i kona kūlana a me kona 'ano—pēlā nō nā mele no Kawananakoa. Akā nō na'e, ma nā mele nona, ho'ohanohano 'ia 'o Kawananakoa ma ke 'ano e pono ai kona kūlana he ali'i no ka lāhui.

HE OHU NO KAWANANAKOA[17]

He ohu keia nou e Kalani
O Kawananakoa o ka wekiu
O ka Opuu liko o ke Kalaunu
Haaheo ae ai o Hawaii Loa
He loa ka helena ou e Kalani
I ka huikau a o Amerika
E imi ana hoi me ka hopo ole
I ka Ea aloha o kou Aina
Kulia i ka Nuu oia ke kapu
O ka noho Kalaunu o Hawaii
Hea'ku makou o mai oe
O Kawananakoa i Kawekiu
E ola o Kalani a mau loa
I milimili hoi na ka Lahui

He ohu keia no Kawika
O Kawananakoa i ka uluwehi
Kahiko mau oe no ka Lahui
He milimili hoi na Liliulani
He lani ke aloha no ka lahui
He hiapo hoi oe na makou
Aole poina kou Lahui
Kau hana pookela i alo aku nei
Kou kino opio puuwai kila
He aloha Lahui i ka umauma
Haina ka puana ao ko wehi
O Kawananakoa i Kawekiu
Hea aku makou o mai oe
O Kalani uluwehi kou inoa

He inoa nou e Kalani Kawika
Ka manu Nunu lawe olelo
Pahola e ka lono i Amerika
O Kawananakoa ua hiki mai
Eia i ka lai Kapalakiko
I kaulu wehi o ka Ipuka Gula
Makaleho ia hoi e ka nui manu
Nene holohau o ke Kuahiwi
Aohe no lua e loaa mai
Hawaii oi kela oia ka oi
Hea aku makou o mai oe

O Kalani Kawika i ka uluwehi
E ola o Kalani a mau loa
A kau i ka olu a o Hawaii

Hakuia e
MRS. KEPEOHOOKALANI,
Honuakaha, Mar. 24th, 1893

He kamāli'ikāne 'o David Kawananakoa no ko ka Mō'īwahine 'ohana. 'O Kekahili ka inoa o ko Kawananakoa kupunahine. He kaikuahine 'o Kekahili no Kapa'akea, ko Lili'uokalani makuakāne. He keiki hanauna 'o Kawananakoa na Lili'uokalani, a ma nā lālani mua loa o kēia mele nei, hō'ike 'ia ia pili 'ohana ma o ko Kawananakoa kūlana "wekiu" a me ke kapa 'ana aku iā ia "ka Opuu liko o ke Kalaunu" (l. 1-3). Mo'olelo mai nō ho'i ka haku mele no ka huaka'i i Wakinekona. Wahi a Mrs. Kepeohookalani, ka wahine nāna i haku i ke mele, "He loa ka helena" o Kawananakoa "i ka huikau a o Amerika," akā, he huaka'i pono nō ia no ka mea "E imi ana hoi me ka hopo ole / I ka Ea aloha o kou Aina" a e "kulia" ana ho'i "i ka nuu" a me "ke kapu / O ka noho Kalaunu o Hawaii" (l. 5-10).

Ma ka paukū 'elua o ke mele, hō'ike mai ka haku mele i kona aloha a me kona mahalo iā Kawananakoa a kapa 'ia 'o ia he "kahiko mau" no ka lāhui, he "milimili," he "lani" a he "hiapo" (l. 17-20). He mea poina 'ole ka "hana pookela i alo aku nei," ke "kino opio puuwaikila" a me ke "aloha Lahui i ka umauma" o Kawananakoa (l. 21-24).

'O kā Kawananakoa hana komisina ke kumuhana o ka paukū 'ekolu a mele mai 'o Mrs. Kepeohookalani no ko ke Kamāli'ikāne kūlana he "manu Nunu lawe olelo" i 'Amelika (l. 30-31). A laila, mo'olelo 'ia maila no ka ho'i 'ana mai o Kawananakoa i Hawai'i nei. Wahi a ke mele, ma Kapalakiko 'o ia i hiki aku ai, i "kaulu wehi o ka Ipuka Gula" (l. 33-34). Ho'omau aku 'o Kawananakoa i kāna huaka'i a hiki hou mai 'o Kawananakoa ma kona one hānau ma ka hopena o Malaki. Ma mua na'e o kona ha'alele 'ana iā

Wakinekona, ua hiki aku kahi hoahānau o Kawananakoa, ʻo ia hoʻi ʻo ke Kamāliʻiwahine ʻo Kaʻiulani.

No Ke Kamāliʻiwahine Kaʻiulani

ʻO Victoria Kawēkiu Lunalilo Kalaninuiahilapalapa Kaʻiulani kona inoa piha. A he keiki ʻo ia na Miriam Likelike, ke kaikaina o Liliʻuokalani, lāua me Archibald Cleghorn. I ka wā i hānau ʻia mai ai ʻo Kaʻiulani, ʻaʻohe kana mai o ka hauʻoli o kona ʻohana a me ka lāhui, ʻoiai ʻo ia ka pua hoʻokahi o ka ʻohana o ka makuahine i ʻike ai he hoʻoilina.

I ka makahiki 1891, i ka lilo ʻana o Liliʻuokalani i Mōʻīwahine, ua koho ʻia ʻo Kaʻiulani e ua Mōʻīwahine aloha lā, ʻo ia ka hoʻoilina o ka Mōʻī. He punahele maoli nō ʻo ia no kona ʻohana a me kona lāhui.

HE OHU NO KAIULANI[18]

He ohu keia no Kaiulani
Ka wehi Kalunu [*pn*] a o Hawaii
Ka pua i poni ia e ke onaona
I ka puuwai hoi o ka Lahui
Eia Hawaii Moku o Keawe
Ua keehi kulana aina ike
Ua ike na Lani i ka Hiwahiwa
I ka wohi ku kahi a o Hawaii
Nau i alo mai na kai anu
O ka moana nui kai hohonu
A hiki i ka lai Wakinekona
I ka Hale Keokeo a o Nu Ioka
Okaoka na hana a ka pakaha
Lilo i mea ole na enemi
Ua haule na hana a ka lokoino
Ua ola Hawaii kau i ka Hano
Ua kokua mai na mana Lani
I ka leo walohia o ka Ihikapu
E noi ana hoi me ka nahenahe
No ke Kalaunu hoi a o Hawaii
Umia e ka hanu e ka Ihikapu
I ola ai hoi kou Lahui
Eia ka lono i Hawaii nei
Ua nele na hana a ke Kolea
Ua hoi luuluu na Komike
Ua nele i ka pono a i upu ai
I manao a hoi a e pakaha
I ka lepo aloha a o Hawaii
Ke hea mai nei ka Pae Opua
Ua ola Hawaii a mau loa
E welo hou kou Hae Hawaii

Ma na kapakai o kou Aina
Aina o ka nani me ka maikai
Makaleho ia ai e ka Hihikolo
Aole e loaa Hawaii nei
Aina no Kane me Kanaloa
Uoi kumu ia ua mole' lalo
Aohe eu e naue ai
He oia mau ia a mau loa
A kau hou i ka hano hawea
Haina ka puana o Kaohulani
E ola o Kalaninuiahilapalapa

Hakuia e
MRS. KALA
Honuakaha, Mar. 10, 1893.

Ma ke mele o luna nei i haku ʻia no Kaʻiulani, hōʻike mai ka haku mele i ke kūlana o Kaʻiulani, he "pua" i ka "puuwai hoi o ka Lahui" (l. 1-4). A ua ʻike nō a hoʻomaopopo hoʻi "na Lani i ka hiwahiwa / I ka wohi kukahi a o Hawaii" (l. 7-9). I ko Kaʻiulani koho ʻia ʻana i hoʻoilina, ua hoʻouna ʻia ʻo ia i ʻEnelani no ka ʻimi naʻauao ʻana, a ma laila nō ʻo ia e noho ana i ka makahiki 1893.

I ka lohe ʻana o Kaʻiulani no ka pilikia o kona aupuni, ua hōʻike koke mai ʻo ia i kona manaʻo ma kahi palapala i hoʻouna ʻia i ke aupuni ʻAmelika. Wahi a ke Kamāliʻiwahine:

> He 4 makahiki mamua ae nei, ma ke noi a Kakina a me ka Aha Kuhina o Hawaii, ua hoounaia Au i Enelani no ke a'o ana i kupono no ke kulana Hooilina Kalaunu o Hawaii.
> Ua hoike ia mai nei ia'u; aia o Kakina ma Wasinetona, no ke noi ana aku ia oukou, e lawe aku i ka hae aloha o kuu aina a me kuu Kalaunu.[19]

Ua ʻano huikau ihola ʻo Kaʻiulani, ʻoiai, ʻaʻohe ona hoʻomaopopo ʻia mai e Kakina mā e pili ana i ka pilikia o ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi. Ma hope pono o ka hoʻouna ʻia ʻana o ua palapala nei a Kaʻiulani, a,

> Ma muli o ka nui o kona aloha ua haalele aku la Oia ia Enelani, ma ka la 22 o Feberuari, a holo mai la no Amerika Huipuia.[20]

Ma ke mele ʻo "He Ohu No Kaiulani," moʻolelo ʻia mai no ka huakaʻi ʻana mai o Kaʻiulani mai ʻEnelani mai. Wahi a ka haku mele, na Kaʻiulani "i alo mai na kai anu / O ka moana nui kai hohonu / A hiki i ka lai o Wakinekona / I ka Hale Keokeo a o Nu Ioka" (l. 9-12).

Ma ka lā 1 o Malaki i hiki mai ai ke Kamāli'iwahine ma Nu Ioka, he 'ekolu wale nō lā ma mua o ko Kalivilana lilo 'ana i Pelekikena a me kona huki 'ana i ke Ku'ikahi Ho'ohui 'Āina mai ka 'Aha'ōlelo Kenekoa mai. Ma muli o ia hana a me ko Kalivilana ho'ouna 'ana i 'elele e noi'i i ia hihia ma Hawai'i, ua ho'oholo nā komisina o ke Aupuni Kūikawā e ho'i mai i Hawai'i nei.

Ma ke mele i haku 'ia no Ka'iulani, 'ano nui nā lālani e mo'olelo ana a e 'ōlelo kūamuamu ana nō ho'i no nā komisina, kā lākou hana, a me kā lākou pahuhopu ho'ohui 'āina. Wahi a Mrs. Kala, ka haku mele, 'a'ohe maika'i o nā komisina. Ua "Okaoka na hana a ka pakaha" a ua "Lilo i mea ole na enemi" a "Haule na hana a ka lokoino" (l. 13-15). A ma lalo iho, mo'olelo 'ia mai no ka "hoi luuluu" mai o nā Komisina a he mea nui ka "nele" o "na hana a ke Kolea" ma ko lākou mana'o "pakaha / I ka lepo a o Hawaii" (l. 24-28).

Ma kekahi lālani o lalo aku, ua kapa 'ia ka hana a ua po'e Aupuni Kūikawā ala he "makaleho" a kapa 'ia lākou he "hihikolo" (l. 34). He mea kanu hihia ka hihikolo, a he kolo wale aku nō ke 'ano o kona ulu 'ana, a 'a'ohe ona mole e pa'a ana iā ia iho ma ka honua. He 'ōlelo kūamuamu kēia, e like me "kōlea," no ka po'e haole a me ko lākou 'ano ho'ohihia aku iā ha'i me ke kūpa'a 'ole i ka 'āina o Hawai'i nei.

Ma ka lā 13 o Malaki i hālāwai aku ai 'o Ka'iulani me Pelekikena Kalivilana a me kāna wahine. Ma ka Hale Ke'oke'o nō i ho'okipa 'ia mai ai ke Kamāli'iwahine ma ke 'ano e pono ai kona kūlana he ali'i no ke Aupuni Hawai'i e kipa aku ana i ke aupuni 'Amelika. Ma ke mele i haku 'ia no Ka'iulani, ua mo'olelo mai 'o Mrs. Kala no ia hālāwai 'ana. Mahalo 'ia ka "leo walohia o ka Ihikapu," 'o ia ho'i 'o Ka'iulani "e noi ana hoi me ka nahenahe / no ke Kalaunu hoi a o Hawaii" (l. 18-20). Wahi a ka mo'olelo, 'a'ole i kūkākūkā 'o Ka'iulani a me ka Pelekikena no ka hana ma Hawai'i, 'oiai e ho'ouna 'ia ana he komisina e noi'i i ka pilikia. No laila, 'a'ole i hiki i ke Kamāli'iwahine ke koi pololei aku iā Kalivilana e ho'iho'i 'ia ka mana kū'oko'a o ke aupuni. No ia

kumu paha, he ʻōlelo aʻo nō hoʻi ko ka haku mele no ke Kamāliʻiwahine. Wahi a kāna ʻōlelo, "Umia e ka hanu e ka Ihikapu / I ola ai hoi kou Lahui," me ka manaʻo e ahonui ʻo ia a hoʻoponopono ʻia ka pilikia o kona aupuni (l. 21-22).

Ma nā lālani ʻē aʻe o ia mele, e hōʻike aku ana ka haku mele i kona aloha iā Kaʻiulani, ka lāhui a me ka ʻāina o Hawaiʻi. A hōʻike mai nō hoʻi ʻo ia i kona hauʻoli no ka hopena o ke Kuʻikahi Hoʻohui ʻĀina. Ma muli o ia hopena o ke kuʻikahi, wahi a ka haku mele, "Ua ola Hawaiʻi a mau loa," a "E welo hou kou hae Hawaii / Ma na kapakai o kou Aina / Aina o ka nani me ka maikai" (l. 30-33). I ka wā i haku ʻia ai kēia mele, ua mau nō ka welo ʻana o ka hae ʻAmelika ma Aliʻiolani Hale, akā, he hōʻailona nō ia hae no ke kūʻokoʻa o Hawaiʻi, a no laila, he mea ʻike pinipine ʻia ka hae ma nā mele o ia wā.

Ma ka hopena o ke mele, hōʻike hou ʻia ka lanakila ʻole a me ka pono ʻole o ke Aupuni Kūikawā a me ka hoʻohui ʻāina me ka ʻōlelo, "Aole e loaa Hawaii nei" (l. 35). A laila, hoʻomau aku nō ka haku mele me ka moʻolelo ʻana mai no ka paʻa pono o ka "mole" o Hawaiʻi (l. 37). Wahi a ke mele, "Aohe eu e naue ai," no ka mea, "He oia mau ia a mau loa / A kau hou i ka hano hawea" (l. 38-40). A ʻo Kaʻiulani kahi hōʻailona o ia "mau" ʻana. A ma nā lālani hope o ke mele, ʻo ke Kamāliʻiwahine nō ka mea e hoʻoheno ʻia ana me ka manaʻolana e "ola" ʻo ia a pēlā hoʻi e ola ai ka lāhui (l. 41-42).

No Komisina Balauna

He mau lā ma mua iho o ko Kaʻiulani hui pū ʻana me Kalivilana, ua kauoha aku ka Pelekikena i kona komisina nona ke kuleana o ka noiʻi ʻana i ka hoʻokahuli aupuni. Aia ma ka lā 11 o Malaki i ka makahiki 1893 i kākau ʻia ai ua palapala kauoha nei i ka Mea mahalo ʻia ʻo James H. Blount, ʻo ia hoʻi ʻo Balauna.

Ma mua, he Luna Makaʻāinana ʻo Balauna ma ka ʻAhaʻōlelo Kenekoa ʻAmelika no ka mokuʻāina ʻo Keokia no 18 makahiki, a ma ia hana, he Luna

Ho'omalu 'o ia o ke Kōmike no Nā 'Āina 'Ē. Ma muli o kona kama'āina i nā hana o nā 'āina 'ē a me kona 'ano 'imi kaulike ma ia hana i noi 'ia ai 'o Balauna e:

> ...investigate and fully report to the President all the facts...respecting the conditions of affairs in the Hawaiian Islands, the causes of the revolution by which the Queen's Government was overthrown, the sentiment of the people toward existing authority, and, in general, all that can fully enlighten the President touching the subjects of your mission.[21]

Ma ka lā 29 o Malaki i pae mai ai ka moku *Rush* ma Hawai'i nei, a ma mua o ko Balauna ha'alele 'ana aku i ka moku, ua e'e aku 'o Kuhina Kīwini no ka launa 'ana me Balauna a no ka ho'omaopopo 'ana iā ia, he hale a he ka'a ko ke Aupuni Kūikawā nona; ua hō'ole na'e 'o Balauna.

> He elua hale i hoomakaukau ia no ke Komisina e ka Poai Hoohui Aina, ka hale o Waila, a me ko Kauka Megaru. Aia nae ke Komisina ma ka Hotele Hawaii kahi i noho ai.[22]

Mai kinohi o kona hiki 'ana mai, ua hō'ike mai 'o Balauna i kona kūpa'a a 'imi pono i ke kaulike ma nā hana a pau a me nā 'ano a pau. Ua 'ike ho'i nā Kānaka Maoli i ia 'ano a lilo 'o ia i me'e no ka lāhui a i mea ho'i e mahalo 'ia ma nā mele lāhui.

HE INOA NO KOMISINA BLOUNT (BALAUNA)[23]

He Inoa keia no Balauna
Komisina ahaiolelo
Na ke Aupuni o Amerika
I hoouna mai a e nowelo
E imi ana i ka oiaio
O na olelo hakuepa wale
A na kolea kauahua
I kolopeka e nui aku nei
No Liliuokalanionamoku
Me na Oiwi o ka Aina
Hoike Balauna i kona mana
Papahi Hawaii i ka lanakila
Adimarala Kamaki ko Enelani
Konela Balauna ko Amerika
Ahai Balauna i ka haaheo
I ka la Ekahi o Aperila
Ma kona kauoha ana aku
E huki hou i ka Hae Hawaii
E mau e ka welo haaheo ana
O ka hae nani o ke Aupuni
Lilo a i mea ole na kuko

O ua auna pakaha nei
Hea aku makou o mai oe
Balauna ka Elele Ola Hawaii
Haina ia mai ana ka puana
Hoi hou o Liliu i ke Kalaunu

Hakuia e MISS MARY ROSE.
Honolulu, April 10, 1893.

Ho'okahi lā ma hope pono o kona hiki 'ana mai, ka lā 30 o Malaki, ua hālāwai pū 'o Balauna me kekahi mau kānaka—'o Sanford B. Dole kekahi, 'o ia ka Pelekikena o ke Aupuni Kūikawā. Ua hālāwai pū aku 'o ia me nā Kuhina Parker lāua me Peterson o ke Aupuni Mō'ī, a me nā Pelekikena o ka Hui Aloha 'Āina.[24]

I ia lā nō i mālama 'ia ai he Hālāwai Maka'āinana Nui a ma laila i ha'i'ōlelo aku ai 'o Buki lāua me Nāwahī i nā kānaka aloha 'āina. Ma ua hālāwai nunui nei, ua ho'oholo 'ia ko lākou palapala e hō'ike ana i ko lākou mahalo iā Pelekikena Kalivilana a iā Komisina Balauna ho'i no ka 'imi 'ana i ka pono. Ua hō'ike pū 'ia aku ma ua palapala nei ka 'i'ini o ka po'e e ho'oponopono 'ia "na hewa nui i hana ia, e kue ana i ke kino o ko makou Aliiaimoku, a me ke Kuokoa hoi o ko makou Aina."[25]

He ho'okahi wale nō lā ka ho'olaha 'ia 'ana aku o ia Hālāwai Maka'āinana, akā nō na'e, "he aneane e 7,000 ka Nui o na Makaainana Aloha Aina Oiaio i Komo ma keia Huakai" a i pūlima ho'i i ka palapala i ho'omākaukau 'ia i ia lā.[26] He hō'ailona nui maoli nō kēia no ka hilina'i 'ana o ka po'e aloha 'āina i ka hana a Komisina Balauna, a 'o kēia nā mea e mo'olelo 'ia ma ka ho'omaka 'ana o ke mele no Balauna. Wahi a Miss Mary Rose, ka haku mele, 'o Balauna ke "Komisina ahaiolelo / No ke Aupuni o Amerika / E imi ana i ka oiaio" (l. 1-3).

He 'ōlelo kūamuamu nō ho'i ko kēia mele no nā "kolea kauahua" no kā lākou "olelo hakuepa wale" a me ke "kolopeka e nui aku nei" (l. 6-8). Na Balauna nō e wae aku i ka pololei a me ka hewa o ia mau 'ōlelo, "No Liliuokalanionamoku / Me na oiwi o ka Aina" (l. 9-10).

I ka wā i hiki mai ai ʻo Balauna ma Hawaiʻi nei, ua mau nō ka welo ʻana o ka hae ʻAmelika ma Aliʻiolani Hale. Eia nō naʻe, ma ka lā 31 o Malaki, ua kauoha akula ʻo Balauna iā Kāpena Wiltse o kēlā mokukaua *Bosetona* e huki aku i ka hae ʻAmelika i lalo. A ma kekahi lā aʻe, ka lā 1 o ʻApelila, ua huki ʻia nō ua hae ʻAmelika lā i lalo a huki hou ʻia aʻela ka hae Hawaiʻi i luna o Aliʻiolani Hale.

No nā Kānaka Maoli, he hōʻailona nui ka hae Hawaiʻi no ke kūʻokoʻa o Hawaiʻi, a he hōʻailona kā Balauna kauoha o kona kākoʻo i ia kūʻokoʻa. Eia kekahi, i kona kauoha ʻana i ia huki ʻana i ka hae ʻAmelika i lalo, he haliʻa ia no ka makahiki 1843, ʻo ia ka wā i lilo aku ai ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi ma lalo o ka Mōʻī Kauikeaouli i ke aupuni ʻo ʻEnelani, a i hele mai nei ʻo Akimalala Kamaki e noiʻi i ia pilikia no ʻEnelani. Iā Kamaki i hiki mai ai i Hawaiʻi nei, ua huki ʻia ka hae Pelekane i lalo a huki hou ʻia ka hae Hawaiʻi i luna, a ua hoʻihoʻi pū ʻia aku nō hoʻi ke ea o ke aupuni iā Kauikeaouli. No ia kumu, ua hoʻohālikelike ʻia ʻo Balauna me Akimalala Kamaki o ʻEnelani (l. 13-14).

I ka hoʻokahuli ʻia ʻana aku o ko Liliʻuokalani aupuni, ua hahai aku ʻo ia i ka hana a Kauikeaouli i kona hāʻawi ʻana aku i ka mana i ke aupuni ʻAmelika, me ka manaʻo, ke hoʻomaopopo ʻia ka hewa i hana ʻia ma o ka mana o ko ʻAmelika pūʻali koa, e hoʻihoʻi hou ʻia ke ea. No laila, i ka hiki ʻana mai o Balauna i Hawaiʻi nei a i kona kauoha ʻana i ka huki ʻia ʻana o ka hae ʻAmelika, he pīhoihoi wale nō nā Kānaka Maoli i ka mahuʻi ʻana mai i ka hopena o kā Balauna hana. I ko lākou manaʻolana ʻana, e kauoha aku ana nō hoʻi ʻo Balauna i ka hoʻihoʻi aku i ke ea iā Liliʻuokalani. ʻO kēia manaʻolana ka mea i hōʻike ʻia ma ka hopena o ke mele no Balauna. Kāhea ʻia ka inoa o Balauna a hōʻike ʻia mai kona kūlana he ʻelele e ola ai ʻo Hawaiʻi (l. 23-24). ʻO Balauna ka mea mahalo nui ʻia ma kēia mele, akā, ma nā lālani hope loa, hoʻākāka maoli nō ka haku mele i ka mea nui koʻikoʻi, a ʻo ka Mōʻīwahine

Lili'uokalani nō ia a me ka 'i'ini o ka haku mele e "hoi hou o Liliu i ke Kalaunu" (l. 25-26).

Ua ho'omau aku nō 'o Balauna i kona noi'i nowelo 'ana i ia hihia ma Hawai'i. Ua hālāwai pū aku 'o ia me nā kānaka like 'ole o ke Aupuni Hawai'i a me ke Aupuni Kūikawā. Ua nīnauele 'o ia iā lākou a ua 'ohi'ohi maila 'o ia i nā palapala maiā lākou. I kona noi 'ana aku i kahi mau palapala i ho'ouna 'ia ma waena o ke Kōmike Ho'opakele a me Kīwini, ua hō'alo 'o Dole i ia noi 'ana a ua 'ano uluhua maila 'o Balauna. Wahi āna:

> A great effort has been continuously made to suppress such information. Absolute falsehoods have in some instances been resorted to by men of whom better conduct would have been expected.[27]

Ma hope o 'ehā mahina, ua ho'omaopopo aku 'o Balauna i nā mea āna i no'ono'o ai he pono, a ma ka lā 31 o Iulai, ua ho'oholo 'ia kona mana'o e ho'i aku i Wakinekona. He mau mahina kona hō'ulu'ulu 'ana mai i ka 'ike a pau e pili ana i ia hihia āna i noi'i aku ai a hā'awi 'ia aku i ke Kuhina Moku'āina W. Q. Gresham. Ma ka lā 18 o 'Okakopa o ka makahiki 1893 i ho'opuka aku a ho'ouna aku ai 'o Gresham i ua 'ike nei i ka Pelekikena Kalivilana.

He 'ekolu mana'o nui o Gresham ma kāna palapala. 'Akahi, 'a'ohe kumu a 'a'ohe pono o ko Kīwini kauoha 'ana i ka pae mai o nā pū'ali koa 'Amelika i ka 'āina, 'oiai, 'a'ohe haunaele o ke kaona nei a 'a'ohe pono ka palekana i nā kānaka 'Amelika; 'a'ole nō ho'i i pono kahi i noho ai ua pū'ali koa nei ma mua pono o ka hale aupuni.

'Alua, 'a'ole i hā'awi pio ka Mō'īwahine i kona aupuni i ke Aupuni Kūikawā. Ua mākaukau ka pū'ali koa pono'ī o ka Mō'ī a me ke Aupuni Hawai'i e ho'opale aku i kekahi pilikia, koe ka ho'ouka kaua 'ana i ka pū'ali koa 'Amelika. I ia manawa nō ho'i, ua 'ike koke aku ke Kuhina 'Amelika i ke Aupuni Kūikawā. Ma muli o ka maka'u o Lili'uokalani i ka pū'ali koa 'Amelika o komo mai auane'i lākou i ka pilikia ma ka 'ao'ao o ke Aupuni

Kūikawā, ua pane'e wale aku nō 'o ia i kona mana i ke aupuni 'Amelika no ka manawa.

'Akolu, ma hope aku, he ho'opunipuni ka 'ōlelo a he hō'alo ka hana a ke Kuhina 'Amelika Kīwini, a pēlā pū me Kakina a me Dole e pili ana no ko Kīwini 'ike koke 'ana i ke Aupuni Kūikawā ma mua o ka lilo maoli 'ana o nā hale aupuni a pau i ke Aupuni Kūikawā.

Wahi a Gresham:

> At an early stage of the movement, if not at the beginning, Mr. Stevens promised the annexationists that as soon as they obtained possession of the Government building and there read a proclamation...he would at once recognize them as a *de facto* government, and support them by landing a force from our war ship then in the harbor, and he kept that promise.[28]

Ma lalo iho o ua palapala nei, ua ho'omaopopo aku 'o Gresham i ke kumu maoli i ho'okahuli 'ia ai ke Aupuni Hawai'i a me ke kuleana o 'Amelika ma ia ho'okahuli 'ana.

> The Provisional Government was established by the action of the American Minister and the presence of the troops landed from the *Boston*, and its continued existence is due to the belief of the Hawaiians that if they made an effort to overthrow it, they would encounter the armed forces of the United States.[29]

No ia mau kumu, wahi a Balauna a me Gresham, he pono ka ho'iho'i 'ana i ka mana o ke aupuni i ka Mō'īwahine, a pēlā pū ka mana'o o Kalivilana ma kāna palapala i ho'opuka aku ai ma ka lā 18 o Kēkēmapa o ka M.H. 1893. Wahi a Kalivilana,

> Actuated by these desires and purposes, and not unmindful of the inherent perplexities of the situation nor of the limitations upon my power, I instructed Minister Willis to advise the Queen and her supporters of my desire to aid in the restoration of the status existing before the lawless landing of the United States forces at Honolulu.[30]

Ua piha hau'oli ka na'au o nā kānaka aloha 'āina i ka lohe 'ana i ia nūhou. Ua ho'okō 'ia ko lākou 'i'ini, ua lohe 'ia ko lākou leo, a ma o ko lākou ahonui a mālama i ka maluhia, ua loa'a maila ko lākou pono, 'o ke ola hou o ke aupuni, a me ka ho'i hou o ka Mō'īwahine i kona noho kalaunu.

Eia nō na'e, he mau lā ma hope koke aku, ua pane 'o Dole, 'o ia nō ka Pelekikena o ke Aupuni Kūikawā i ia kauoha a Kalivilana. 'A'ohe 'ae aku o ke Aupuni Kūikawā i ua 'ōlelo nei a Kalivilana no ka mea, wahi a Dole:

> We do not recognize the right of the President of the United States to interfere in our domestic affairs.[31]

A ma lalo aku ma ka palapala ho'okahi:

> The Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands respectfully and unhesitatingly declines to entertain the proposition of the President of the United States that it should surrender its authority to the ex-Queen.[32]

Ua hō'ike aku nō ho'i 'o Dole i kona hā'awi pio 'ole aku ma ke Ku'ikahi Ho'ohui 'Āina, a me kona pahuhopu e ho'okomo hou 'ia ma ka 'Aha'ōlelo Kenekoa o 'Amelika i kekahi makahiki a'e.

No laila, me he mea lā, he lanakila ko ka lāhui, akā, ma muli o ka ho'okano a me ka maha'oi o Dole mā a me ke Aupuni Kūikawā, 'a'ole e kō ka lanakila.

Ua kākau 'ia ua palapala nei a Dole ma ka lā 23 o Kēkēmapa, a no laila, no ka makahiki 1893, 'o kēia ka hopena o kēia nīnau ho'okahuli aupuni a ho'ohui 'āina. Ua mau aku ke 'ano pākaha 'āina a puni waiwai o ka po'e nāna i ho'okahuli i ke aupuni, a nāna nō ho'i e 'imi ana i ka ho'ohui 'āina. Ua mau aku nō ho'i ke kūpa'a o ka po'e aloha 'āina i ka 'imi 'ana i ka pono o ka lāhui, ke aupuni, a me ka Mō'ī.

Ma nā mele a pau o luna ala, ua hō'ike 'ia mai a ha'i 'ia mai ka mo'olelo o ia wā. Ua mo'olelo pū 'ia mai no nā kānaka nāna i hana i ia mau mea. Ua ho'opa'a 'ia nā 'ano 'ike kiko'ī o ka mo'olelo i loko o nā mele, i akāka le'a ka mo'olelo i nā kānaka o ia wā, a i akāka le'a nō ho'i ka mana'o o nā kānaka e pili ana i ia mo'olelo. Ma o ka pa'i 'ana i ua mau mele nei, ua hō'ike mai nā Kānaka Maoli i ko lākou ho'omaopopo 'ana i ko lākou mo'olelo. A mali'a paha, he mea ia i lana ai ka mana'o o ka lāhui i ia wā. No kākou i kēia mau lā, he mea nā mele lāhui e ola ai kēia mo'olelo no ka hanauna nei. He mea ia e nui

ai hoʻi ko kākou hoʻomaopopo ʻana i ka moʻolelo o ko kākou poʻe kūpuna, e ka maka heluhelu. A he mea ia e lana hou ai ko kākou naʻau, ke maopopo iā kākou ke aloha ʻāina o ko kākou lāhui.

Nā Mea i Kuhi 'Ia

Mokuna 4 - Ke Koena o Ka Makahiki 1893

[1] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 19 Ianuali 1893.

[2] *Hawaii Holomua*, 18 Ianuali 1893.

[3] *Hawaii Holomua*, 18 Pepeluali 1893.

[4] U.S. Congress, 197-205.

[5] *Hawaii Holomua*, 10 Malaki 1893.

[6] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 13 Pepeluali 1893.

[7] *Ke Kumukānāwai o ke Aupuni Repubalika*, paukū 3.

[8] *Hawaii Holomua*, 25 Pepeluali 1893.

[9] *Ka Lei Momi*, 18 'Aukake 1893.

[10] Mo'okini, xii.

[11] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 20 Malaki 1893.

[12] Mo'okini, x.

[13] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 22 Malaki 1893.

[14] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 2, 10, 16 Pepeluali 1893.

[15] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 16 Malaki 1893.

[16] U.S. Congress, 639.

[17] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 28 Malaki 1893.

[18] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 15 Malaki 1893.

[19] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 6 Malaki 1893.

[20] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 6 Malaki 1893.

[21] U.S. Congress, 467-469.

[22] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 31 Malaki 1893.

[23] *Hawaii Holomua*, 10 Apelila 1893.

[24] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 31 Malaki 1893.

[25] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 31 Malaki 1893.

[26] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 18 Ianuali 1893.

[27] U.S. Congress, 605-606.

[28] U.S. Congress, 462.

[29] U.S. Congress, 462.

[30] U.S. Congress, 458.

[31] U.S. Congress, 1276.

[32] U.S. Congress, 1276.

Mokuna 5
No Nā Mele Lāhui O Ka Makahiki 1893

Ma nā mele a pau o luna ala, ua mo'olelo 'ia mai a ha'i 'ia mai nā mea i hana 'ia ma mua iho a ma hope mai nō ho'i o ka ho'okahuli aupuni. Ua ha'i pū 'ia mai ka mo'olelo o nā kānaka e ola ana i ia wā, nāna i hō'eu i ia pilikia a nāna nō ho'i i ho'ā'o e palekana. Ma o ka mele lāhui i hō'ike 'ia mai ai ka mana'o o nā Kānaka Maoli no nā mea i hana 'ia. Hō'ike 'ia nō ho'i ka 'i'ini nui o nā Kānaka Maoli e loa'a hou mai ka pono o ko lākou lāhui, 'o ia nō ke ea o ka 'āina.

Ma ko'u 'ohi'ohi 'ana i nā mele lāhui ma nā nūpepa 'ōlelo Hawai'i o ka makahiki 1893, ua loa'a maila ia'u he 120 mele i haku 'ia no kēia hihia o ka lāhui, he 120 mele lāhui e ho'opa'a ana i kēia mo'olelo. Ma kekahi o ua po'e mele nei, 'a'ole i ho'ākāka mai ka haku mele no nā hana āna i 'ike maka ai a i lohe pepeiao ai ho'i. 'A'ole ha'i 'ia ka mo'olelo o nā hana o kānaka, ha'i 'ia ka mo'olelo o ka mana'o o kānaka—ma o ka 'ōlelo kūamuamu, ke noi i ke kōkua a me ke kāko'o o nā Akua, a me ke aloha no ka Mō'ī, ke aupuni, a me ka lāhui.

Nā Mele Kūamuamu

Ma nā mele i nānā 'ia ma luna a'ela, ua ha'i mai nā haku mele i ko lākou mana'o no ka po'e 'enemi o ke aupuni, nāna i hō'eu i kēia hihia no ka Mō'īwahine a me ke aupuni. 'A'ohe mahalo o nā Kānaka Maoli i ua po'e 'enemi nei, a hō'ike 'ia ko lākou mana'o ma o ka 'ōlelo kūamuamu a nemanema paha. 'O ka po'e 'enemi, e like me Kakina a me Kīwini mā, ua kapa 'ia nō he "enemi" a he "poe pakaha aina." Hō'ike 'ia nō ho'i ko lākou 'ano ma o ke kaona ma ke kapa 'ana iā lākou he kōlea a he hihikolo. Akā, no nā mele o luna, 'a'ole ia 'o ka mea nui; he mahele wale nō ia kūamuamu o ke mele holo'okoa.

Ma kekahi mau mele na'e, he kūamuamu wale nō ko ka haku mele no ka po'e 'enemi, e like me kēia mele i haku 'ia no *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*. He

nūpepa ke *Kuokoa* i kākoʻo i ka nohona ʻAmelika mai kona hoʻokumu ʻia ʻana. I ka wā ma hope mai, he nūpepa nō hoʻi ia e kākoʻo ana i ka ʻAoʻao Hoʻomaʻemaʻe, ke Kōmike Hoʻopakele, ka hoʻokahuli aupuni, a me ka hoʻohui ʻāina me ʻAmelika.

KAHI MANU PIHEETERO[1]

He inoa keia nou—bundalaade,
E ka Manu Piheetero—bundalaade,
Manu kiko lio kuapuka—bundalaade,
Ai waihona o ka ino—bundalaade.

Hui—Menemene wale hoi au—talalaehu,
I kahi Kuokoa—talalaehu,
I ka hoohui aina—talalaehu,
Lokoino i ka Lahui—talalaehu,

A o Mea no ia—bundalaade,
Mea niho maalea—bundalaade,
Hui ae me Kawainui—bundalaade,
Eha niho i ka Mole—bundalaade,

Hui— Menemene wale hoi au—talalaehu, &c.

Nupepa wahahee oe—talalaehu,
Hoopunipuni wahakole—talalaehu,
Hoolilo aina—talalaehu,
I ka Ea o ke Aupuni—talalaehu.

Pau makou—talalaehu,
I ka lawe ana—talalaehu,
Ina nupepa—talalaehu,
Hoohui aupuni—talalaehu.

A e o mai oe—talalaehu,
I kou inoa pono—talalaehu,
Hookahi nuhou—talalaehu,
Ua make ia pepa—talalaehu.

Ma kēlā me kēia lālani o kēia mele, hōʻike aku ka haku mele i ka pono ʻole o *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* me ke kapa ʻana aku iā ia he "waihona o ka ino" (l. 4), he "mea niho maalea" (l. 10), he "wahahee" (l. 14), a he "hoopunipuni wahakole" (l. 15). Ma ka paukū ʻehā o ke mele, hōʻike ʻia ka pau ʻana o ka lawe ʻia ʻana o ia nūpepa, ma muli o kona kākoʻo aku i ka "hoohui aupuni" (l. 17-20). A ma ka paukū hope loa, hoʻākāka ʻia mai ka "nuhou hookahi" e hauʻoli ai, a e pono ai hoʻi ka haku mele a me ka lāhui Hawaiʻi, inā "Ua make ia pepa" (l. 23-

24). No'u iho, 'o kēia mana'olana e make ia nūpepa, he hō'ailona ia no ka 'i'ini o ka po'e aloha 'āina e make a e pau wale aku ka mana o ka po'e 'enemi i 'ole e pilikia hou ke Aupuni Hawai'i iā lākou.

Pēlā nō ka mana'o o kekahi aloha 'āina ma kāna mele i haku ai no ka po'e 'enemi o ka lāhui.

MELE NO KA PUNI LILELILE[2]

Eia e ka lono ua hiki mai,
I lawea mai e ka makani Kona,
Ike ia ai na hana poholalo,
A na muhee o ka Aina,
Puni wale i ka mali leo panai,
Kuai i ke Ola me ka Uhane
Ua paa na maka i ke Kala,
I ka mea lilelile a ka haole,
Ua like me Iuda kumakaia,
Hoomaewaewa i kona Haku,
Aloha ole i kona onehanau;
A i puka mai ai i keia Ao,
Ike ai i ka la he mea mehana;
Hanu ai i ke Ea o ka Aina
Haina ia mai ana ka puana,
No ka poe puni wale i ka lilelile.

MALUIHIKOLOHEIKAHUANENEAKAPOEOWAOLANI.

I ku'u mana'o, ua pili nō ho'i kēia mele i ka huaka'i a Kakina mā i Wakinekona e 'imi ana i ka ho'ohui 'āina. Wahi a ka haku mele, ua hiki mai kahi "lono... / I lawea mai e ka makani Kona" (l. 1-2). Wahi a ua lono lā a ma kēlā me kēia lālani o ke mele, "ike ia" ke 'ano kūpono 'ole o ka po'e 'enemi. Kapa 'ia kā lākou hana he "hana poholalo / A na muhee o ka Aina" (l. 3-4). He "mali leo panai" ko lākou, nāna e "Kuai i ke Ola me ka Uhane" (l. 5-6). 'O kēia ho'okahuli aupuni a me ka ho'ohui 'āina, he hana 'ino maoli nō ia i ka 'āina. A mai poina, 'eā, e ka maka heluhelu, he kupuna ka 'āina no nā Kānaka Maoli, a no laila, ke kū'ai 'ia aku ka 'āina, kū'ai pū 'ia aku ke ola a me ka 'uhane o ka 'āina. Ua maopopo ihola i ka lāhui ke kumu maoli i ho'okahuli 'ia ai ke aupuni—a ma o ka inoa o kēia mele i hō'ike mai ai ka haku mele i kona ho'omaopopo 'ana nō ho'i i ia kumu—ko ka 'enemi "puni lilelile."

Hoʻākāka mai ka haku mele i ua mea lilelile nei. Wahi āna, "Ua paa na maka i ke Kala / I ka mea lilelile a ka haole" (l. 7-8). No laila, he puni kālā ka puni lilelile. He mea hou ia mea he kālā a me ia ʻano manaʻo puni kālā a puni waiwai ma Hawaiʻi nei. Ua lawe ʻia mai e ka poʻe haole i ko lākou hiki mua ʻana mai a ua laha aku hoʻi. He mea ʻē loa kēia ʻano puni i ka poʻe aloha ʻāina, he mea kūʻē maoli nō i ka loina Hawaiʻi a me ka nohona o ka lāhui Hawaiʻi. I ka manaʻo o ka haku mele, he mea ʻino ia "puni lilelile" a no laila, hoʻohālikelike ʻo ia i ua poʻe ʻenemi lā me "Iuda" ke kanaka kū i ke "kumakaia," nāna i "Hoomaewaewa i kona Haku" a "Aloha ole i kona onehanau" (l. 9-11). Ma ko Hawaiʻi moʻolelo, ʻo ka Mōʻīwahine ka Haku a ʻo ia ka mea i hoʻomāʻewaʻewa ʻia e ua poʻe "Iuda" ala, ʻo Ḳakina mā, ma muli o ko lākou ʻimi ʻana i ko lākou waiwai ponoʻī a me ka mālama ʻole ʻana i ko lākou ʻāina hānau.

Eia nō naʻe, ma lalo iho o ia mele, hōʻike mai nō hoʻi ka haku mele i kona manaʻolana no ka hopena maikaʻi o kēia pilikia ma o ka "puka mai" o "ka la he mea mehana / Hanu ai i ke Ea o ka Aina" (l. 12-14). ʻO ia mea he ea, ʻo ia ke ola o ka ʻāina a me ka lāhui. Ua pilikia ke ola o ka āina, a wahi a kēia haku mele a me nā haku mele ʻē aʻe, ʻo "ka poe puni wale i ka lilelile" (l. 15-16) ka mea i pilikia nui ai ka ʻāina. Hōʻike mai nā Kānaka Maoli i ko lākou manaʻo no ka ʻino o ua poʻe pākaha ʻāina ala. No ke kōkua ʻana i nā Kānaka Maoli ma ka hoʻopakele ʻana mai ka poʻe pākaha ʻāina aku, ma kekahi mele, pule ʻia a noi ʻia ke kākoʻo mai o nā Akua.

Nā Mele Pule A Hoʻomana Akua

I kekahi manawa, ma kekahi mau mele, ʻo ka pule a me ka hoʻomana Akua ka mea i hilinaʻi nui ʻia no ka hoʻopau ʻana aku i ia pilikia o ka ʻāina. Ma nā mele lāhui o ka makahiki 1893, ua loaʻa nō he mau "pule" a he mau mele "noi" e noi aku ana i ke kōkua o nā Akua. Ma nā mele i ʻike ʻia ma luna aʻe nei

ma kēia mokuna a me nā mokuna ʻē aʻe, ua ʻike ʻia nō kēia ʻano. Ma ke mele ʻo "Hooheno No Liliu," ma ka Mokuna 3, hoʻākāka mai ka haku male, ʻo Mrs. Kawohikukapulani, i ka pili o Liliʻuokalani a me Uli. "E Uli eia ko pulapula / O ka Wohi kukahi ku i ka moku" (l. 19-20). He Akuawahine ʻo Uli; he mana kona ma ka ʻanāʻanā, a he kupuna nō hoʻi ʻo ia no Liliʻuokalani. Ma kona moʻokūʻauhau, he kaikuahine ʻo Uli no Manua a me Wākea.[3] Ma muli o ia mana ʻanāʻanā o Uli, he mea ia e make ai kekahi a e ola ai hoʻi, maliʻa paha, ma o ke kāhea ʻia ʻana o kona inoa e ka haku mele a me ka hōʻike ʻana i kona pili iā Liliʻuokalani, he noi ia i ke kōkua o Uli e make ke aupuni hou a e ola hou ka mana o ka Mōʻīwahine a me ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi. Ma ka paukū ʻekolu o ua mele nei, pule hou ʻo Mrs. Kawohikukapulani no ke kōkua o nā Akua, ʻo ia hoʻi ʻo Kāne a me Kanaloa. Noi ʻia lāua e "kii ia aku" ka Mōʻīwahine a e "hoihoi" mai i ka Mōʻīwahine "ia Hawaii" (l. 39-40).

Ma kekahi o nā mele lāhui, he mahele pōkole wale nō ke noi ʻana i ke kōkua o nā Akua. Eia nō naʻe, i kekahi mele, ʻo ka hoʻomana Akua ka mea nui hoʻokahi o ke mele. Ma koʻu ʻohiʻohi ʻana i nā mele o ka M.H. 1893, ua loaʻa maila he ʻeiwa mele i kapa ʻia ka inoa he "pule" a i ʻole he "mele noi," a loaʻa hoʻi he ʻehā mele hou aku me ka leo pule ma ka lālani mua loa o ke mele. He mele pule ka mele lāhui mua loa i paʻi ʻia ma hope pono iho o ka hoʻokahuli aupuni, ma ka lā 20 o Ianuali ma ka nūpepa ʻo *Hawaii Holomua*.

KA PULE A KA LAHUI HAWAII.[4]

E—Iehova Sabaota
O—na kaua,—ke Kahikolu
L—aahia Hemolele
A—lana ia no ko ke ao nei.
O—ka makou pule e maliu mai
K—a puuhonua o makou nei,
A—lakai, hoopakele, nana mai,
L—awe aku i na popilikia
A—hoolilo i mea ole.
N—inini mai i Kou Hemolele,
I—ola ai makou ma Ou ʻla.

L—alau mai Kou aloha
I—*hilinai* manawalea,
L—aahia makamae
I—*ko* makou Lei Ali'aimoku.
U—hi Iaia me Kou mana.
O—ka palekana a lanakila;
N—a Kou nani e hoomohala,
A—mao ae na pilihua.
M—a Ou la—e ka Haku,
O—ko ke ao nei a pau,
K—a makou e pule nei,
U—hane Hemolele Kahikolu.

E —Iehova Sabaota,
M—akua o Aberahama me Davida.
A—lakai o ko ka Isaraela,
U—a ikea a hoonani ia.
K—e haliu aku nei makou,
E—waiho aku ma Kou mau wawae,
E—maliu mai i ka makou pule,
A—e hoopakele ia Hawaii.
O—Oe hookahi e ka Haku,
K—o makou palekana,
A—lakai a Alihikaua,
A—ia no ma Ou la,
I—Kinohi a Hoikeana,
N—a lahui me na aina,
A—puni ko ke ao nei,
I—paulele ai no ka malu,
K—a maalahi a me ke ola,
A—Kou Mana Lani i haawi mai ai
P—ule makou e ka Makua,
O—Hawaii e mau aku,
N—o na kupa na oiwi,
O—ka aina—ma Ou la.

Ma kēia mele, ʻo ke Akua Kalikiano nō ka mea e pule ʻia ana. I ka makahiki 1820 i hiki mai ai ka poʻe mikanele mua loa ma Hawaiʻi nei. No ʻAmelika mai lākou, he poʻe Kalikiano o ke ʻano Kalavina. Ma Hawaiʻi, ua lawe lākou i mau haumāna a i ke aʻo pono ʻana mai o ua poʻe haumāna nei, ua lilo lākou i kumu e aʻo aku i nā kānaka ʻē aʻe. Ua aʻo pū ʻia ka heluhelu a kākau palapala me ka hoʻomana Kalikiano a ua lilo nō nā mea ʻelua i mea i aloha ʻia e nā Aliʻi a me nā kānaka he lehulehu.[5]

I ka makahiki 1893, ʻo Reverend C. M. Hyde o ka North Pacific Missionary Institute ka mikionali hoʻokahi e hana ana ma lalo o ka ABCFM

(American Board of Commissions for Foreign Missions), ʻo ka hoʻi ke kōmike nāna i hoʻouna mai a i alakaʻi hoʻi i nā mikionali Kalavina ma Hawaiʻi nei. Wahi a Hyde, aia he hoʻokahi wale nō kahu haole i hoe ma Hawaiʻi nei, ʻo nā kahu ʻē aʻe pau, he mau Kānaka Maoli lākou. I ia manawa, na nā Kānaka Maoli e alakaʻi ana i ka hana ma nā hale pule, a ʻo Hyde kai i aʻoaʻo iā lākou.[6] He nui wale ke aloha o nā Kānaka Maoli i ke Akua Mana Loa o ka hoʻomana Kalikiano me ka hilinaʻi pū aku i nā haʻawina maikaʻi a kūpono o ka Puke Hemolele. ʻIke ʻia nō ia aloha ma nā mele lāhui.

Ma nā lālani pākahi o ke mele i luna aʻe nei, kāhea ʻia a hōʻike ʻia nā inoa like ʻole a me nā ʻano like ʻole i pono ai a i pili ai hoʻi i ka hoʻomana Kalikiano. Kāhea ʻia ʻo "Iehova" no kona kūlana "Kahikolu" a me kona "Laahia Hemolele / Alana ia no ko ke ao nei" (l. 1-4). Kapa ʻia ʻo Iehova he "puuhonua" no kāna hana "Alakai, hoopakele, nana mai / Lawe i ka popilikia / A hoolilo i mea Ole" (l. 6-9). Noi ʻia ka ninini o kona "Hemolele / I Ola ai" ka lāhui (l. 10-11). Noi ʻia ke Akua e uhi i ka Mōʻīwahinė, ʻo ia hoʻi ka "Lei Ali'aimoku" me ka "mana" o ke Akua i "palekana a lanakila" ka Mōʻīwahine a i "mao ae na pilihua" o ka Mōʻīwahine (l. 13-18).

Ma ka hopena o ka paukū mua, pule hou ʻia ka "Haku / O ko ke ao nei a pau" me ka hōʻike hou ʻana aku i kona kūlana he "Uhane Hemolele Kahikolu" (l. 21-24). A pēlā nō ke ʻano o ka paukū ʻelua o ua mele nei, me ka mele ʻana i ko Iehova pili iā "Aberahama me Davida" a pēlā pū me "Isaraela" nō hoʻi (l. 25-27). Noi hou ʻia ko Iehova "hoopakele," "palekana" a "alakai" ʻana "I paulele ai no ka malu" (l. 32-40). Ma ka hopena o ke mele, hoʻomaopopo mai ka haku mele i ke kumu o kona pule ʻana, kāna mea hoʻi e noi aku ana i ke Akua—ʻo ia ka "mau aku" o Hawaiʻi "No na kupa na oiwi / O ka aina" (l. 45-46).

ʻAʻole naʻe i pau kaʻmanaʻo o ka haku mele ma laila, no ka mea, he pālua kona haʻi moʻolelo ʻana mai ma kēia mele. He ʻōlelo a he manaʻo ko nā

lālani o ke mele, ke heluhelu ʻia mai ka hema a ka ʻākau. Eia hoʻi, he ʻōlelo a he manaʻo ko nā hua leka mua o kēlā me kēia lālani, ke heluhelu ʻia mai luna a i lalo. Wahi a ua poʻe hua leka mua nei, "E OLA O KA LANI LILIU O NA MOKU" a ma ka paukū ʻelua, "E MAU KE EA O KA AINA I KA PONO." No laila, ma o kēia mele i hōʻike mai ai ka haku mele i ka nui o kona hilinaʻi iā Iehova a me ka nui o kona aloha i ka Mōʻīwahine a me ka ʻāina.

ʻAʻole naʻe i huli kua aku nā kānaka a pau i ka hoʻomana Hawaiʻi kahiko. ʻAʻole i poina ʻia nā inoa o nā Akua Hawaiʻi. A ma kekahi o nā mele pule i haku ʻia no ka lāhui, ua noi ʻia ke kōkua o ua poʻe Akua nei o ka hoʻomana kahiko.

HE PULE NO KE ALIIAIMOKU[7]

Haku ia no ka Hawaii Holomua

He pule keia nou e Liliu
O Liliulani poai moku
Pehea makou ko Lahui
Aole kapa e mehana ai
Hea ia ae ou kupuna
O Pele Honuamea Hiiakaikapoli
O Papanuihanaumoku laua me Awakea
O Kapoulakinau Kihawahine
Namakaokahai me Haumea
Kanehekili Kamohoalii
Kalaipahoa laua me Uli
E Uli—e, e Uli hoi
No'u ke aloha no ka pulapula
Ka oukou pono hoihoi mai
I ke kuikahi panailike
Hea mai nei o Iiwikau
Hoi mai e noho i ko Kalaunu
Uu ia ko hae i kiekie
I ike Hawaii me Pelekane
Pogutala me Iapana
Ke ola o ka Lahui kou olioli
I onipaa ai Hawaii nei
Ua paa ua mole ko makia
I ka leo aloha o na Mana Lani
I na Kahikolu kiekie loa
Ua hoi nele mai Amerika
Ma ka moana Pakipika
Kiina o Ewa me Adamu
Na kupuna mua o ke ao nei
E pule i ola nou e Liliulani
I mau ko noho i ka Ihikapu
I ka nani o Iolani Hale

Ua sila paa ia oe ma ia noho
E ke aupuni Kelekiala
E pule makou Amene oe.

E pule makou e malu ka aha
No ke Aupuni Moi o Liliupoaimoku
E hoihoi mai i kou Hae Kalaunu
A kau ae me ka lanakila
E kini o ke akua ka mano o ke akua
Ka lehu o ke akua ka pukui akua
Ka lalani akua o na akua o ka po
O na akua o ke ao mai ka hikina a ka la
A ka napoo ana a ka la mai ka akau
A ka hema mai ka hookui a ka halawai
Mai ka paa iluna a ka paa ilalo
E halawai olelo kuka olelo pu
E hoihoi mai i ka ea o ka aina
I ke kuokoa o ka aina i ka Hae Kalaunu
I ka Moiwahine o ka aina
A kau aku i kana pua a mau loa
Ia oukou e Hulihonua ma e Awakea ma
O ka poe akua o lalo no a pau
E hoohuli aku, e owala aku, e kiola aku
I ke aupuni kaili wale pakaha wale
Ilalo, ilalo, ilalo loa i o Milu la o lalo aku
Ia oe e ke Akua nui o ka lani
Me Kou Mana Kahikolu me na anela
E kokua mai i ko makou aupuni nei
E hoomau aku i ko makou Moiwahine
Ma ka Paeaina o Hawaii nei
Oia ka'u pule a me ke kalokalo
A e pule makou Amene oe.

E pule makou e malu ka aha
No ka inoa o Liliuikekapu
Ku ia nana ia ko aupuni
Ka eu, ke kalohe, ke kaili wale
Kahea ia ou kupuna i kai
O Moanaliha o Moananuikaioo
O Uhu Makaikai nana i ka pakaha
O na kupuna no ou a pau i kai
E hoihoi mai i ko aupuni
Kahea ia ou kupuna i ka wai
O Kaneikawaiola, Kanekanaloa
Kalamainuu, Kihawahine, Kapoulakinau
Ou kupuna no a pau i ka wai
E hoihoi mai i ko aupuni
Kahea ia ou kupuna i uka
O Lauawa o Ha'iha'i Lauawa
O na Wahine i ka waokele
O Kulipeenuiaiahua o Kikealaoapiikea
O ka uahi pohina i uka o ke Pookeaikanahele
E hoihoi mai i ko aupuni
Kahea ia ou kupuna i ka Lua
O Pele o Hiiakaikapoli o Kupuena
O Lonomakua o Nahoaikukane
O Nahoaikuwahine o Keahinui

O Kamohoalii o Kulanaioha
Ou kupuna no a pau o ka Lua
E hoihoi mai i ko aupuni
O keia ka'u pule ia oe
E Liliulani-i-ka-moku
Ua sila ia oe ma Hawaii
Aole e hemo kou aupuni
Makia paa ia oe e na haipule
E mau loa Kou Hae Kalaunu
E ke aupuni Kelekiala
E pule makou Amene oe.

Ma kēia mele, hea 'ia nā Akua no ko lākou pili he "kupuna" no Lili'u (l. 1-4) a ma lalo iho, helu papa 'ia nā Akua 'o "Pele Honuamea" me "Hiiakaikapoliopele," 'o "Papahanaumoku laua me Awakea" a pēlā wale aku a hiki aku iā Uli, kēlā Akuawahine i ho'ākāka 'ia i luna ala (l. 5-12). 'A'ole na'e i ho'opoina aku ka haku mele i ke Akua "Mana Lani / I na Kahikolu kiekie loa." Kāhea 'ia ho'i nā inoa o "Ewa me Adamu / Na kupuna mua o ke ao nei" (l. 24-29), a ma ka hopena o ka paukū mua, noi 'ia ka "Amene" o ke Akua (l. 35).

A pēlā nō ke 'ano o ka paukū 'elua o ia mele. Ma ka ho'omaka 'ana, kāhea 'ia aku ke "kini...ka mano," "ka lehu...ka pakui" a me "ka lalani akua" "o ka po" a me:

ke ao mai ka hikina a ka la
A ka napoo ana a ka la mai ka akau
A ka hema mai ka hookui a ka halawai
Mai ka paa iluna a ka paa ilalo

Ma ka mahele waena o kēia paukū 'elua, noi ka haku mele i ke kōkua o nā Akua "E hoohuli aku, e owala aku, e kiola aku / I ke aupuni kaili wale pakaha wale / Ilalo, ilalo, ilalo loa i o Milu la o lalo aku" (l. 54-56). Ma ia mau lālani, e noi ana ka haku mele i ka make o ke Aupuni Kūikawā a 'a'ole nō ia he make pono a 'olu'olu paha; noi 'ia ka make me ka hele pū i Milu, kahi e hele ai ka 'uhane 'ino, ka 'uhane i pili 'ole aku i kona 'ohana i kona wā i make ai.[8] Ma o kēia 'ano 'ōlelo, ua mōakāka ka 'i'ini nui o ka haku mele, 'a'ole e poina 'ia kekahi Akua o ke au kahiko a me ke au hou nō ho'i; 'o ke kōkua o nā Akua ka mea nui i ola hou ai ke Aupuni Hawai'i.

No kekahi ʻohana, ʻo nā Akua Hawaiʻi wale nō ka mea i hilinaʻi ʻia, a no kekahi, he Kalikiano ikaika lākou a ʻo Iehova a me ke Akua Mana Loa ko lākou mea i hilinaʻi ai. Ma kekahi ʻohana, he ʻokoʻa paha ko lākou Akua, e laʻa ʻo ka hoʻomana Buda. Ua ola nō ia ʻano manaʻo i loko o kekahi o ko kākou ʻohana a me ko kākou naʻau a hiki i kēia lā. Ua lohe ʻia nā moʻolelo mai ko kākou mau kūpuna no ka hele ʻana aku i ka hale pule Kalikiano ma ka Lāpule—he Hōʻole Pope kekahi, he Katolika kekahi, a he Molomona kekahi. M.a kekahi ʻohana, hele ʻia ʻelua paha hale pule i ka lā hoʻokahi. Akā, ma hope iho, a i ʻole ma kekahi lā ʻokoʻa ma kekahi hana ʻokoʻa, hāʻawi ʻia nā hoʻokupu a pule ʻia nō hoʻi nā Akua Hawaiʻi a me nā ʻaumākua o ko kākou ʻohana. Hula a oli ʻia nā mele o ke au kahiko no nā Akua o ke au kahiko. Ua ola nō ia mau hana.

ʻO kēia mele o luna aʻe nei, he laʻana maikaʻi nō ia no kēia ʻano hoʻohui ʻana o nā hoʻomana ʻokoʻa. Maliʻa paha, i ko ka haku mele noi ʻana i nā Akua a pau o ke ao kahiko a me ke ao hou, ʻaʻohe ona hōʻole aku a kūʻē aku i ka mana o kekahi Akua. Ma ka hopena o ka paukū ʻelua, noi hou ʻia "ke Akua nui o ka lani" me kona "Mana Kahikolu me na anela" e kōkua pū mai. A ma ka paukū ʻekolu o ke mele nei, kāhea hou ʻia nā inoa like ʻole o nā Akua Hawaiʻi—ʻo Moanaliha, ʻo Kāne, ʻo Haʻihaʻi, ʻo Lonomakua, a ʻo Kamohoaliʻi kekahi (l. 69-85). Kāhea ʻia ua poʻe Akua nei no ko lākou pilina he "kupuna" no ka Mōʻīwahine a hōʻike ʻia kēia pilina he ʻehiku manawa ma kēia paukū (l. 68, 71, 73, 76, 78, 84, 89). A laila, ma ka hopena o ke mele, ʻo Liliʻuokalani kai pule ʻia. Ma muli o kona pili ʻohana i nā Akua, he ʻano Akua nō hoʻi ʻo Liliʻuokalani. No laila, noi aku ka haku mele iā Liliʻuokalani e "sila ia oe ma Hawaii" a "Aole e hemo kou Aupuni / Makia paa ia oe e na haipule / E mau loa Kou Hae Kalaunu" (l. 91-96).

Ma o kēia pule, kēia kāhea ʻana i nā Akua a me nā kūpuna, e noi ana ka haku mele i ua mea hoʻokahi i noi ʻia ma nā mele lāhui a pau e nā haku mele a

pau—'o ke ola mau o ka lāhui. Ma ka paukū mua, noi 'ia ka noho mau 'ana o ka Mō'ī "i ka Ihikapu / I ka nani o Iolani Hale" (l. 31-32). Ma ka paukū 'elua, pule a kalokalo 'ia e "hoomau aku i ko makou Moiwahine / Ma ka Paeaina o Hawaii nei" (l. 60-62). Ma ka paukū 'elua a me 'ekolu, he 'elima manawa ke noi 'ana o ka haku mele "E hoihoi mai" i ke ea o ka 'āina a me ke aupuni (l. 48, 72, 77, 83, 90). Noi 'ia nō ho'i ke "ola" o ka lāhui, ke "kokua" i ke aupuni, a me ka "mau loa" o ka "Hae Kalaunu" (l. 21, 59, 96).

No laila, he mea mōakāka ia, 'o ka Mō'īwahine a me ke kū'oko'a o kona aupuni ke kumu i pule ai kēia mau haku mele, no ko lākou aloha i ka 'āina, ke aupuni, ka lāhui, a me ka Mō'ī.

Nā Mele Aloha—'Āina, Aupuni, Lāhui, Mō'ī

Mai ka pō mai ia mea he aloha 'āina no ka lāhui Hawai'i. He akua ka 'āina no kākou, ma muli o ka hānau moku 'ana mai o Papahānaumoku me nā Akua wahine 'ē a'e; he kupuna ka 'āina no kākou, ma muli o ko kākou kūlana he mo'opuna na Papa a me Wākea; a he kaikua'ana ka 'āina no kākou, ma muli o ko kākou kūlana he kaikaina no Hāloanakalaukapalili ke kalo mua loa. He 'ohana ka 'āina no ke kanaka a he mea aloha nui 'ia.

E HAWAII[9]

Aina nani kamahao
Hoku o ka Pakipika
Lei momi o ka honua
Hoola kupaianaha
Ua luuluu oe a hoonani ia
Me he opua la kou kuakoko
Pehea la e nele ai ko'u aloha
O oe ko'u aina hanau
Li'a au maeele
No kuu aina hanau
Paa mau kuu manao
Iehova ke ola a pau.

He wahi mele pōkole kēia, akā, ua piha nō i ke aloha. Ma nā lālani mua loa, 'o ka "nani kamahao" o Hawai'i ka mana'o nui o ka haku mele, no ko ka 'āina kūlana he "Hoku," he "Lei momi" a he "kupaianaha" (l. 1-4). Ua

akāka maoli ke aloha a me ka mahalo o ka haku mele i kona ʻāina. Moʻolelo maila nō hoʻi ka haku mele no ka pilikia o kona mea aloha. Wahi āna, "Ua luuluu" a "kuakoko" (l. 5-6). A laila, he nīnau kā ka haku mele no ka "nele" o kona aloha. "Pehea la e nele ai ko'u aloha / O oe ko'u aina hanau" (l. 7-8). Ua "li'a" a "maeele" nō hoʻi ka haku mele no kona ʻāina hānau, a "paa mau" kona manaʻo (l. 9-11). A laila, ma ka lālani hope loa, hōʻike mai ka haku mele i kona pilina iā Iehova, ʻo ia "ke ola a pau" (l. 12). Ma o nā hua ʻōlelo a ka haku mele i koho ai, hoʻākākar ʻia ka pili o ka ʻāina a me ke kanaka—he pili ia no ke kino, ka naʻau, a me ka ʻuhane o ke Kanaka Maoli.

Hoʻākāka mai kekahi o nā mele lāhui i ka pili paʻa o ke kanaka a me ka ʻāina, e laʻa me kēia mele na Kahikina Kelekona, kēlā aloha ʻāina o ka nūpepa *Hawaii Holomua*.

KA'U MELE.[10]

Pehea la e hiki ai,
Ia'u ke uumi iho,
I ko'u aloha e ka aina hanau.
Nau wau i hoohua mai.

O kou kuakoko no'u ia,
Eha oe, no'u ia eha,
Mailani oe ia'u, he milimili,
I ola ai kakou, ma o ka Haku.

E ka Haku—e—Puuhonua,
Kalahea o ko ke ao nei,
Ina ua hewa au, ke noi nei au,
Ma Ou 'la, e ola au.

KAHIKINA KELEKONA.

ʻO ke aloha ʻāina nō ka mea nui o kā Kelekona mele, a hōʻike mai ka haku mele i kona pili i ka ʻāina. Ma ka paukū mua a me ka paukū ʻelua, e ʻōlelo pololei aku ana ʻo Kelekona i ka ʻāina. He nīnau kāna no ka ʻuʻumi ʻana i kona aloha, ʻoiai "Nau wau i hoohua mai" (l. 1-4). Ma ka manaʻo o nā Kānaka Maoli, he mea ola ʻo Hawaiʻi a nāna nō i hoʻōla mai i nā kānaka. ʻO ka pau ʻana o ko Hawaiʻi kūʻokoʻa, he mea ia e ʻeha ai ʻo Hawaiʻi. A ma muli o ka pili ʻohana a me ke aloha o ke kanaka i ka ʻāina, he mea nō hoʻi ia e ʻeha ai ke

kanaka. Ma ka paukū ʻelua o ua mele nei, hōʻike mai ua Kelekona lā i ka ʻeha o kona naʻau ponoʻī. Wahi āna, "O kou kuakoko noʻu ia / Eha oe, noʻu ia eha" (l. 5-6).

Hoʻākāka ʻia mai nō hoʻi ko Kelekona pili i ka ʻāina ma ke ʻano he keiki ʻo ia no ka ʻāina. "Mailani oe iaʻu, he milimili" (l. 7). Ma ka hopena o ka paukū ʻelua a ma ka paukū ʻekolu nō hoʻi, moʻolelo mai ka haku mele no kona hilinaʻi i ka Haku "I ola ai kakou, ma o ka Haku" (l. 8). Kāhea hoʻi ʻo ia, "E ka Haku—e—Puuhonua," a maliʻa paha, ma o ia kāhea ʻana e ʻike hou ʻia ai ke kūlana akua o ka ʻāina (l. 9).

Ma ka hopena o ke mele, hōʻike aku ʻo Kelekona i kona hilinaʻi i ka Haku ma ke kapa ʻana aku iā ia ke "Kalahea o ko ke ao nei" a laila, noi ʻia aku ke kōkua o ka Haku, no ka mea, wahi āna, "Ma Ou ʻla, e ola au" (l. 11-12). Ma kēia lālani hope loa e hōʻike hou mai ai ka haku mele i kona pilina i ka ʻāina, no ka mea, me he mea lā, ʻaʻohe ola o Kelekona ma muli o ke ola ʻole ʻana, ke kūʻokoʻa ʻole ʻana o ka ʻāina.

Ma kekahi o kēia mau mele aloha, ʻo ka lāhui, ke aupuni, a me ke kūʻokoʻa kai mele ʻia mai. Inā nānā hou ko kākou maka i nā mele o ka Mokuna 3, ʻike ʻia nō ka ʻōlelo i piha i ke aloha. Ma ke mele ʻo "He Lei No Nawahi," mahalo ʻia nā Kānaka Maoli no ko lākou "puuwai hamama oi kelakela," no ka mea, wahi āna, "Hawaii Ponoi oia ka oi" (l. 28-29). A pēlā nō ka mea i kākau ʻia e kēlā me kēia haku mele. Ma koʻu ʻimi ʻana aku i nā mele lāhui, ua ʻohiʻohi ʻia mai he 27 mele i kapa ʻia ko lākou inoa no ka ʻāina, ka lāhui, ke aupuni, a me ke kūʻokoʻa o ia mau mea. I kekahi mele, ʻo ka lāhui a me ke kanaka ka mea i hoʻoheno ʻia. I kekahi mele, hōʻike nui mai nā haku mele i ko lākou manaʻolana e "mau," ke "ea" a me ke "ola" o ke aupuni. A ʻike nui ʻia nō hoʻi kekahi hōʻailona no ia ola o ke aupuni, a ʻo ka hae Hawaiʻi a me kona welo ʻana nō ia.

KA HAE O KA LANAKILA[11]

Kupaa ia iho,
Ke one hanau o kupuna,
I kahua a i mole,
No na pua me na mamo.

HUI:—Imua e ka lahui,
E lokahi e ka puuwai,
I hano mau ai Hawaii,
I ka lei o ka lanakila.

Oni paa ia iho,
Ke Kuokoa o ka aina,
A kau hou ae o Liliu,
Ma ke Kalaunu o Hawaii.

Mahalo i ka Mana Kahikolu,
I Kona kokua ana mai,
E mau Kona kakoo ana,
I ke Aupuni Hawaii.

Hakuia e KEAKALAUOLONO.
Honolulu, Aperila 15, 1893.

Ua ʻokoʻa ke kino o kēia mele, ʻoiai ua hoʻonohonoho ʻia ma nā paukū me ka hui—he ʻano ia o nā hīmeni haipule. Ma ka paukū ʻekolu i hōʻike ʻia ai ka mahalo o ka haku mele i ka "Mana Kahikolu / I Kona kokua ana mai" (l. 13-14) a ua noi ʻia hoʻi "E mau kona kakoo ana / I ke aupuni Hawaii" (l. 15-16). ʻAʻole naʻe ʻo ke Akua Kalikiano ka mea nui o nei mele. Ma ka inoa a me ka hui o ke mele, hōʻike mai ʻo Keakalauolono, ka haku mele, i ka mea nui o kona manaʻo a me kona naʻau—a ʻo ke aupuni a me ka lāhui nō ia. Ma ka inoa o ke mele, ʻo ka hae Hawaiʻi kahi hōʻailona o ke aupuni a ʻo kona "lanakila" ke kūʻokoʻa o ia aupuni. Ma ka hui o ke mele, ka mahele e lohe ʻia ana he mau manawa ma ka hīmeni ʻia ʻana o nei mele, e ʻōlelo pololei aku ana ka haku mele i ka lāhui a me ko lākou puʻuwai me ke kauoha "Imua" a "E lokahi" (l. 5-6). Hōʻike pū ʻia mai ke kumu e pono ai ia mau mea "I hano mau ai Hawaii / I ka lei o ka lanakila" (l. 7-8).

Ma ka paukū mua o kēia mele, hōʻike mai ka haku mele i kona manaʻo no ka ʻāina. Wahi āna, "Kupaa ia iho / Ke one hanau o kupuna" no ka mea he "kahua" a he "mole" ia "No na pua a me na mamo" (l. 1-4). ʻO ia one hānau

ho'i, he kahua ia no ke aupuni, a ma ka paukū 'elua, ho'omau aku nō ka haku mele i ia 'ano mana'o. He mana'olana ko ka haku mele e "Oni paa ia iho / Ke Kuokoa o ka aina" (l. 9-10), a e "kau hou ae o Liliu / Ma ke Kalaunu o Hawaii" (l. 11-12). Ma ka hopena o kēia paukū, 'ike 'ia ka inoa o ka Mō'īwahine a me ka hō'ailona o kona mana ho'okō, 'o kona kalaunu. He mau mea ka Mō'īwahine, kona kalaunu, a me ke kū'oko'a o kona aupuni e hiki 'ole ke ho'oka'awale 'ia.

No nā Kānaka Maoli o Hawai'i, he mea nui ia mea he aloha Ali'i a he aloha Mō'ī.

> He mea paa loa ia i na puuwai aloha alii o Hawaii nei, mai ka po mai; mai na kupuna mai o kakou, ka ili mau ana mai o keia momi makamae lua ole; *"ke aloha Moi."* Ua mole, a ua paa loa iloko o na kupuna o kakou i hala aku ia makana nui, he aloha i na Alii Aimoku... He mea hiki wale no ke laweia, a ke hoonohoia, a ke hoopauia na nani, a ma ka hanohano o keia ao; aka, o ke aloha pilipaa oiaio; aole loa e hiki i kekahi mea ke hoopau aku.[12]

Hō'oia maoli 'ia kēia 'ano mana'o ma nā mele lāhui he nui wale. Ma ka makahiki 1893, 'o Lilu'okalani ka Mō'īwahine o Hawai'i nei, a no laila, 'o ia nō ka mea i ho'ohenoheno nui 'ia, ka mea i aloha nui 'ia ma nā mele lāhui o ka makahiki 1893. Ua mo'olelo mai nā haku mele no ia aloha ma o ka ho'ohanohano 'ana aku i ka inoa o ka Mō'īwahine. Ma nā mele i 'ohi'ohi 'ia mai nā nūpepa o ka makahiki 1893, ua 'ike 'ia kona inoa ma ka inoa o 41 mele, a 'ike 'ia nō ho'i kona inoa ma ka lālani mua o nā mele he 'elima hou aku.

I kekahi manawa, kapa wale 'ia aku ka Mō'īwahine ma ka inoa 'o Kalani, akā, ma ka hapanui o nā mele, kapa 'ia 'o ia 'o Lili'u. Ma kekahi mele, 'o Lili'u wale nō ka inoa i hea 'ia, a i 'ole ia, kāpili 'ia aku he mau mana'o hou aku i kona inoa. 'O Lili'ulani, a 'o Lili'uokalani kekahi. Pēlā pū me Lili'uonāmoku a 'o Lili'upō'aimoku. I kekahi manawa, 'ike 'ia ka mea lō'ihi loa, 'o ia nō 'o Lili'uolololoku a me Lili'uolololokuikekapu.

Ma nā mele lāhui, kapa 'ia 'o Lili'uokalani he "Kuini malama i ka lahui" a he "kuini noho i ke kapu." Kapa 'ia nō ho'i 'o ia he "Kukui a mau" a he

"lama" no ka lāhui. Pili kēia i kona kupuna, Iwikauikaua, nona ke kuleana e hāpai ai i ke kukui ʻā mau i ka pō me ke ao. ʻO Liliʻuokalani "ka makua o ka lehulehu" a me "Ke Aliiaimoku puuwai kila." He aliʻi "aloha lahui" a he aliʻi "kaulana alo ehuehu" ʻo ia, "He Onohi Momi no ka Pakipika / A he milimili hoi na ka lahui."

Ua piha kuʻi kekahi mau mele i kēia ʻano manaʻo aloha no ka Mōʻīwahine a me ka ʻiʻini nui o ka puʻuwai e mao kēia pilikia o ka lāhui. Ma ke mele ʻo "He Hooheno No Liliu," noi ʻo Mrs. Kawohikukapulani, "E ola o Kalani a mau loa" (l. 39-42). Ua like loa nā lālani hope o kēlā me kēia paukū. Kāhea aku a kāhea hou aku ka haku mele no ka hoʻi ʻana mai o ka Mōʻīwahine. Wahi āna, "Haina ia mai ana ka puana / A kau o Liliu i ke Kalaunu" (l. 13-14, 29-30, 45-46).

Ma ka paukū ʻelua o ia mele, kohu mea lā, e ʻōlelo pololei aku ana ʻo Mrs. Kawohikukapulani iā Hawaiʻi. Noi ʻia ʻo Hawaiʻi "e hohoi mai... / A pipili me Liliuokalani" a e "Kulia i paa kou kuokoa / I mau ke ea o ka aina" (l. 21-24). Noi nō hoʻi ka haku mele e "Kohia i paa Ko heiau" a "Welo haaheo ko hae Hawaii" (l. 25-26). He mau hōʻailona ka heiau a me ka hae no ke ea a me ke kūʻokoʻa o ka Mōʻīwahine; he mau hōʻailona nō hoʻi no ka pono o kona noho aupuni ʻana. Ma ka hopena o ka paukū, hoʻākāka hou ʻia mai ka ʻiʻini e "Lanakila kamahao o Hawaii" ma ka hoʻi ʻana o Liliʻuokalani "i ke Kalaunu" (l. 27-30). Ma kēia paukū o ke mele, ʻo ka pono o ka Mōʻīwahine a me kona kūlana ke kumuhana nui.

Ma ke mele ʻo "Hooheno Kaulana No Liliupoaimoku," hōʻike hou ʻia mai ka ʻiʻini no ka hoʻi hou ʻana o ka Mōʻīwahine. Wahi a ke mele, "Hea mai Iolani Hale i ka lai / Hoi mai e noho i ke Kalaunu" (l. 23-26). Ma kēia mele, ʻo ʻIolani Hale nō ke hea a ke makemake i ka hoʻi ʻana mai o ka Mōʻī.

Ma kekahi mele, he mau lālani wale nō kēia mau ʻōlelo aloha i ka Mōʻī, ke Aupuni, ka lāhui, a me ka ʻāina. Ma ke mele ʻo "Ka Hae O Ka Lanakila,"

hō'ike akula ka haku mele i kona mana'o no ka 'āina. Wahi āna, "Kupaa ia iho / Ke one hanau o kupuna," no ka mea, he "kahua" ka 'āina a he "mole / No na pua a me na mamo" (l. 1-4). Ma kekahi paukū o ia mele, hō'ike 'ia ke kūlana hiehie o ko kākou kahua. Wahi a ka paukū 'elua, "Oni paa ia iho / Ke Kuokoa o ka aina" a "kau hou ae o Liliu / Ma ke Kalaunu o Hawaii" (l. 9-12). Ma ka hopena o ia paukū, hō'ike pū 'ia ka inoa o ka Mō'īwahine a me kahi hō'ailona o ka pono o kona noho aupuni 'ana, 'o kona kalaunu. 'A'ohe ka'awale aku o ia mau mea mai ka Mō'īwahine aku, 'o kona kalaunu, kona noho kalaunu, a me ke ea o ke aupuni.

HE INOA UWEPA PAA NO LILIULANI I KE KAPU[13]

Eia o Liliupoaimoku
Ua wela i ka hana a ka enemi
Ei ae Ko wai e ohu ai
O ka puuwai o Malieikamalu
Ua ike ia hoi na hailona
Na akaku o ka aina
Kahiko Nuuanu i ka ua koko
O ka punohu ula i ka moana
O ke alaula ia o Kanaloa
Imi ia ka pono ia Kealohilani
Ilaila sila ia Ko aupuni
Hoi ai e ka pono i Hawaii nei
Uwepa paa ia iho Ko Kalaunu
Ua lono ia e mana ia Kalani
Nani Hawaii kukilakila
Ohaoha i ka pae Opua
Ka Pua ia a ka Na'i Aupuni
O Keaweheulu no he kupuna
Ke hea mai nei Iolani Hale
Hoi mai e noho i Ko Kalaunu
Haina ia mai ana ka puana
O Liliuokalani noho i ke Kapu

KEAHIKAAPUNI
Maraki 30, 1893

Ma kēia mele, nui ka mahalo o ka haku mele, 'o ia ho'i 'o Keahikaapuni, i ke kūlana Ali'i o ka Mō'īwahine. Wahi a ka haku mele, "Ua ike ia hoi na hailona" o ka Mō'īwahine, 'o ia ho'i "Na akaku o ka aina" a me ke "Kahiko...i ka ua koko," "ka punohu ula i ka moana" a me "ke alaula o Kanaloa" (l. 5-9). Ma lalo iho, hō'ike mai ka haku mele i mau hō'ailona hou—'o ka "sila ia," ka

ho'i o "ka pono" a me ka "uwepa paa ia iho" o ke "Kalaunu" (l. 10-13), he mau hailona e hō'oia ana i ka pa'a pono o ke aupuni.

'O ka mo'okū'auhau o ka Mō'īwahine ka mea i 'ike 'ia ma ka hopena o ke mele, ma o ke kāhea 'ana i ka "Na'i Aupuni," 'o ia ho'i 'o Kamehameha Pai'ea, a me ko Liliu'okalani kupunakāne 'o "Keaweheulu," he pulapula na ka 'ohana 'Ī (l. 17-18). He mea ko'iko'i ka mo'okū'auhau no nā Ali'i a pau, no ka mea, 'a'ole pau wale aku ka mana o nā kūpuna ke hala aku. Ola nō ia mana ma o kā lākou pulapula. No ka Mō'ī, he pono nō ke kāko'o a me ka 'āpono 'ia o kona kūlana Mō'ī a me kāna mau hana a pau e nā kūpuna a me nā Akua. Ma o ke kāhea 'ana i nā inoa o Kamehameha a me Keaweheulu, e hō'ike pū ana ka haku mele i ke kāko'o o nā kūpuna a me ka mana o nā kūpuna no Lili'uokalani.

Eia he mele hou aku e ho'ohenoheno nui ana i ka Mō'īwahine.

HE INOA NO LILIUOKALANI[14]

He inoa keia nou e Liliu
Ke Queen kaulana o Hawaii
Nau i hookele me ka wiwo ole
I pono kaulike no ka lahui
Pane mai ko leo olu makou
Like me ka wai ua lana malie
O oe e Liliu ko Hawaii nei
A o Vitoria ko Enelani
He lani nui oe na ka lahui
He onohi daimana no Hawaii
Eia ke noi me ka haahaa
Ma ka inoa o ka Mana Kahikolu
E sila paa ia ko aupuni
Me ka noho kalaunu ou e Liliu
I haaheo mau ko hae Hawaii
Ma ka piko kaulana o Hale'lii
He lii nui oe e Lolokulani
A he mamo hoi na Keohokalole
Hea aku makou o mai oe
O Liliuololoku i ke Kalaunu
Haina ia mai ana ka puana
O Liliuokalani ua lanakila

Hakuia e
MRS. MAUNAKAMALA,
Hawaii, Mei 2, 1893.

Ma kēia mele inoa no ka Mōʻīwahine, kapa ʻia ʻo ia ʻo "Ke Queen kaulana o Hawaii" a mahalo ʻia ʻo ia no kāna hana "hookele" a me kona ʻano "wiwo ole" a "pono kaulike" (l. 1-4). Hoʻoheno ʻia nō hoʻi ka "leo" o ka Mōʻīwahine e maluhia ka ʻāina, a hoʻoheno pū ʻia kona lāhui i ka hoʻokō ʻana i ia leo kauoha e "like me ka wai ua lana malie" (l. 5-6). Hoʻohālikelike ʻia ka Mōʻīwahine Liliʻuokalani me "Vitoria" ka Mōʻīwahine o ʻEnelani, a kapa ʻia ʻo Liliʻuokalani ka "lani nui...na ka lahui" a me ka "onohi daimana no Hawaii" (l. 9-10).

Ma lalo iho o ke mele, noi ʻia ke kōkua o "ka Mana Kahikolu" e "sila paa ia" ke aupuni, a me ka "noho kalaunu" a e welo hou "ka hae Hawaii" ma ka "Hale'lii" (l. 13-16). Ma nā lālani o lalo aku, ʻike hou ʻia ka moʻokūʻauhau o ka Mōʻīwahine ma o ka inoa ʻo Keohokalole, ka makuahine o Liliʻuokalani. A laila, ma ka hopena o ke mele, hoʻākāka mai ʻo Mrs. Maunakamala, ka haku mele, i kona manaʻolana no ka Mōʻīwahine a me kona aupuni, a ʻo ka "lanakila" nō ia manaʻolana (l. 21-22).

Ma kēlā me kēia mele lāhui, ʻo kēia nō ka mea nui koʻikoʻi. Ua moʻolelo kikoʻī maila kekahi mau mele no ka hana i hana ʻia a me nā kānaka nāna i hana. Ma kekahi mele, ʻo nā nūpepa aloha ʻāina a me nā kānaka aloha ʻāina kai mele ʻia mai, a ma kekahi, ʻo ka ʻōlelo kūamuamu no ka poʻe ʻenemi ka mea nui. He mele pule kekahi e noi ana i ke kōkua a me ka kākoʻo o nā Akua Hawaiʻi a me ke Akua Kalikiano. He mele aloha kekahi—aloha no ka Mōʻīwahine, no ke aupuni, a no kā lāhui. I ka nānā ʻana i kēia mau mele, he maopopo, he manaʻo ko nā Kānaka Maoli a ua hōʻike maikaʻi ʻia nō ko lākou manaʻo no ka pono o ka lāhui. Ma nā mele lāhui a pau, hoʻokahi wale nō ʻiʻini nui, manaʻolana nui, a pahuhopu nui i hōʻike ʻia e nā haku mele. Wahi a lākou, "E hoi o Liliuokalani / Ma ke Kalaunu o Hawaii," e "Hoi hou ke Ea o ka Aina,"a e "Welo mau / Kou Hae Nani." He ʻiʻini nui nō ko lākou, a ma ko lākou mele nō i hōʻike ʻia mai ai ia ʻiʻini nui, "E ola o Kalani," a "E ola o Hawaii."

Nā Mea i Kuhi 'Ia

Mokuna 5 - No Nā Mele O Ka Makahiki 1893

[1] *Hawaii Holomua*, 24 Ianuali 1893.

[2] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 21 Pepeluali 1893.

[3] Beckwith, Martha, *Hawaiian Mythologies*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1970), 114-115.

[4] *Hawaii Holomua*, 20, 28 Ianuali 1893.

[5] Kamakau, "Ka Moolelo No Kamehameha," 18 Ianuali 1868.

[6] U. S. Congress, 822.

[7] *Hawaii Holomua*, 7 Pepeluali 1893.

[8] Beckwith, 1970, 160-162.

[9] *Hawaii Holomua*, 16 Pepeluali 1893.

[10] *Hawaii Holomua*, 25 Ianuali 1893.

[11] *Hawaii Holomua*, 18 Apelila 1893.

[12] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 7 Pepeluali 1893.

[13] *Hawaii Holomua*, 1 Apelila 1893.

[14] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 10 Mei 1893.

Mokuna 6
Ua Mau Loa

I nā makahiki ma hope aku o ka hoʻokahuli aupuni, ua noke aku ka poʻe pākaha ʻāina o ke Aupuni Kūikawā a me ka ʻoihana kālepa mahikō i ka hoʻohui ʻāina me ʻAmelika. Ua noke pū aku nā kānaka aloha ʻāina i ke kūpaʻa ʻana me ka hāʻawi pio ʻole o ko lākou manaʻo a me ko lākou naʻau. Ua noke aku nō hoʻi nā Kānaka Maoli i ko lākou haku mele ʻana i nā mele lāhui no ka hoʻopaʻa ʻana i ka moʻolelo o kā lākou hana a me ko lākou manaʻo.

No Ka Makahiki 1894

Ua koho aku nā kānaka o ke aupuni hou i ka lā 4 o Iulai o ka makahiki 1894, ʻo ia ka lā kūʻokoʻa o ʻAmelika, no ka hoʻokumu ʻana aku i aupuni hou, ʻo ia hoʻi ka Repubalika o Hawaiʻi. No ka lāhui Hawaiʻi, ʻaʻole loa ia he lā e hoʻohanohano ai i ke kūʻokoʻa.

Ma ke kumukānāwai o ia aupuni hou loa, ua loaʻa ʻelua ʻano o ke koho pāloka ʻana—no ka ʻAha Kenekoa a no ka ʻAha Luna Makaʻāinana. No ka ʻāpono ʻia ʻana e koho i ka poʻe no ka ʻAha Kenekoa, he pono ka waiwai ponoʻī o $1,500 a i ʻole ia ka loaʻa makahiki i emi ʻole ma lalo o $600. No ke koho pāloka ʻana i nā Luna Makaʻāinana, ʻaʻole i pono ke kālā e ko ai ke koina. Eia nō naʻe, ua koi ʻia ka hoʻohiki e hoʻokō aku i nā kānāwai o ke Aupuni Repubalika me ka hoʻohiki pū e kākoʻo ʻole i ka hoʻokumu hou ʻia ʻana o ke Aupuni Mōʻī.[1]

Ma muli o ia mau koina, ʻaʻole nō i nui ka poʻe i koho pāloka i ia makahiki. "He 1233 kūpono (paha) i ke koho Senetoa, a he 684 wale no kupono i ke koho lunamakaainana."[2] He 1,917 ka huina o ka poʻe kānaka iā ia ka mana o ke koho pāloka ʻana. Ma mua o ka hoʻokahuli aupuni, i ka makahiki 1890 a 1892, ua loaʻa he 9,500 a ʻoi kānaka nona ia mana. Mai loko mai o kēia huina he 1,917 kanaka o ka makahiki 1894, ʻaʻole nō hoʻi i hōʻike ʻia

mai ka helu o nā Kānaka Maoli. Wahi a ka moʻolelo nūpepa o ia wā, ua hōʻike wale ʻia mai:

> he 509 poe hanau ma Hawaii nei, aia iloko olaila na poe Hawaii ponoi maoli. Heaha la ka mea hoike ole ae i ka nui o na Hawaii maoli? Aole anei no ka uuku loa [o na Kanaka Maoli].[3]

No ka lāhui Hawaiʻi, he pilikia nui ia no lākou, no ka mea, ʻaʻohe o lākou mana koho ma ke aupuni hou. Inā ʻaʻole lākou e koho pāloka aku, ʻaʻole paha e lohe ʻia a hoʻolohe ʻia ko lākou leo ma ka ʻahaʻōlelo. Eia nō naʻe, ua maopopo nō hoʻi iā lākou, ʻaʻohe pono o ka hoʻohiki aku ma lalo o ke aupuni hou. No lākou, ʻo ia helu liʻiliʻi o nā kānaka koho pāloka, he hōʻailona nō hoʻi ia no ka nui o ka poʻe aloha ʻāina, ka poʻe kūpaʻa a hoʻohiki ʻole ma lalo o ke kumukānāwai hou. Wahi a ka moʻolelo nūpepa, "pahohao loa ia na poe noonoo i ka lapuwale a me ke apuka o keia mau hana a na poe aihua aina."[4] Ua maopopo ihola i ka poʻe aloha ʻāina, ʻo lākou nō ka hapanui o ka lehulehu, a ʻaʻohe kākoʻo o ia hapanui i ke aupuni hou, inā kapa ʻia kona inoa he Aupuni Kūikawā a i ʻole he Aupuni Repubalika.

Ma nā mele lāhui o ka makahiki 1894, ʻaʻole nō ke aupuni hou, ke Aupuni Repubalika, he mea i aloha nui ʻia.

HE MOEWAA NO KA RIPUBALIKA.[5]

Hoehaa ka nohona aupuni la
E ka poe Repubalika la
Aole i loea noeau la
Ku ana i ka puka o ka noka la
O ka la poni Peresidena la
Pule ole ia e ke kahuna la
Kohu kii no Pakaka la
Ke kahunapule Waiamau la
Ekolu poe i ka hanohano la
O ka ha no hoi Mikila la
Na hana pakaha aina la
Na mamo a ka Misionari la
He hoku ka hae o lakou la
Aole i kau i ka la nui la
Ka hoku i pule ole ia la
Ao ae, helelei wale mai la
Hokai ua hana kumu ole la
Kohu ole i ka noho aupuni la
Mai puni aku hoi kakou la
Na hana a ka Mooalualu la
I ke koi mai e hoohiki la

Aole, aole e puni la
Papa KA LEO O KA LAHUI la
Mai kau i ka hapa pulima la
Haina ia ka puana
Na Mikanele hao aina.

He nemanema wale nō ko ka haku mele no ka "Ripubalika," e la'a me ka hua 'ōlelo "Moewaa" ma ka inoa a 'o "Hoehaa" ma ka lālani mua. He hō'ailona ka "moewa'a" (he moe 'uhane no ka wa'a) no ka make 'ana o kahi mea, a 'o ka Repubalika ke make. Kapa 'ia ke 'ano o ke aupuni he "hoeha'a," he mea kūpa'a a kūpono 'ole, he mea e hiki 'ole ke hilina'i 'ia.

E like me ka po'e 'enemi o nā mele lāhui o ka makahiki 1893, kapa 'ia nā kānaka o ke aupuni 'o "Na mamo a ka Misionari la" a kapa 'ia nā hana a ke aupuni he "hana pakaha aina" (l. 11-12). Ma lalo iho, mo'olelo 'ia mai nō ho'i no ka "hoku" ma ka "hae o lakou." Hō'ike mai ka haku mele i kona mana'o no ia hae hou o ka Repubalika. I kona mana'o, he mea 'ole ia hae a me ia aupuni, a 'o ka hōkū ma ka hae hou kāna mea e kūamuamu ai. Wahi āna, ua "pule ole ia" ia hae, a no laila, ke "Ao ae" ia hoku, ia hae, ia aupuni, e "helelei wale mai la" me ka mana'o e helele'i pū ka hōkū, ka hae, a me ke aupuni hou (l. 13-16).

Ma ka hopena o ke mele, he 'ōlelo a'oa'o kā ka haku make i nā Kānaka Maoli. Wahi āna, "Mai puni aku / ...I ke koi mai e hoohiki" i ke Aupuni Repubalika (l. 18-20). A laila, na ka nūpepa *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui* i pāpā aku i ka po'e me ka 'ōlelo, "Mai kau i ka hapa pulima la" (l. 24). A pēlā nō ka hana a nā Kānaka Maoli, 'a'ole lākou i ho'ohiki aku ma lalo o ke Aupuni Repubalika. Ua kūpa'a maoli nō lākou no ka pono o ka 'āina. Wahi a kekahi mo'olelo nūpepa, "Aohe dala ma ke ao nei nana e kuai a lilo aku ko ke kanaka Hawaii aloha aina oiaio mai iaia aku!"[6]

Ma 'Okakopa o ia makahiki 1894 i hō'ike hou mai ai nā Kānaka Maoli i ko lākou aloha nui i ka Mō'īwahine. Ma ka lā 11 o ia mahina i ho'opōmaika'i 'ia ai ka māla pua nona ka inoa 'o Uluhaimalama. Aia nō ia māla pua ma

Pauoa, O'ahu, a ua kanu 'ia a ho'okupu 'ia aku "na makana pua makamae" me ke aloha o nā kānaka no ko lākou Mō'īwahine.[7]

Ma nā nūpepa nō ho'i i ho'okupu aku ai nā kānaka i ko lākou makana makamae i ka Mō'īwahine.

ONAONA O ULUHAIMALAMA[8]

Hookahi la nui ua hiki mai
O Uluhaimalama he mala pua
Ua ana pono ia na kapuai
Ka loa a me ka laula
Ua hoolawa ia e na hoa
E kanu a ulu liko a lau
Pua mohala i ke kakahiaka
Puia i ke ala o na pua
Onaona mapuana hanu o ka Panse
Popohe a ka lihilihi weleweka
Pehea iho oe a i ka lehua
Na lehua makanoe o Luupali
Haina mai e ka punohu
Ka pipio a ke anuenue iluna
A oe ana iho kuu makemake
Ka popohe a ka pua poni moi
Kuu pua violeta poina ole
Noho mai i ka malu hoonoenoe
Auhea la pua ohawai
A he pua milimili na ke aloha
Puia onaona ka puana ia
O Uluhaimalama o ka lanakila.

Oct. 11, 1894

Ma kēia mele a ma ka mana'o o nā Kānaka Maoli, he hō'ailona ua māla pua nei no ke ola a me ka mōhala 'ana o ka lāhui. Ma ka mo'olelo nūpepa, ua helupapa 'ia nā mea kanu i ho'okupu 'ia a me ka mana'o a me ke kumu paha i kanu 'ia ai. No kekahi, he mea ia e kū'ē a e ālai ai i ka hana a ka po'e 'enemi, e la'a me ka 'ape no ka ho'omane'one'o 'ana i ka lehelehe 'eu'eu o ka po'e pākaha 'āina. No kekahi o nā mea kanu, he kōkua a he hō'ailona paha ia no ka maika'i o ke aupuni. 'O ke kukui kekahi, he mea ia e mālamalama ai 'o Hawai'i. Aia nō nā lālā o ka Pana Lāhui ma laila, a ua ho'okani 'ia nō ke mele a Miss Kekoaohiwaikalani i haku ai no lākou 'o "He Lei No Ka Poe Aloha Aina," kēlā mele i ho'ākāka 'ia akula ma ka Mokuna 1. He pōhaku ka mea i

kanu ʻia e nā kānaka o ka pana, he hōʻailona ia no ke mele a no ko lākou kūpaʻa i ka ʻāina.[9]

Ma ke mele, ʻike ʻia nā ʻōlelo nani a maikaʻi e pono ai ia ʻano wahi, ua "kanu a ulu liko a lau" nā mea kanu o ia māla (l. 6). Ua "mohala," "puia," "onaona mapuana" a "popohe" nā pua o ia māla (l. 7-10). Ua ʻike ʻia nō hoʻi nā hōʻailona o ke Aliʻi kūlana kiʻekiʻe ma ka "punohu" a me ka "pipio anuenue," ma ke ʻano he mau hōʻailona no ka pono o ia wahi (l. 13-14). Ma ka lālani hope o ke mele, hōʻike mai ka haku mele i kona manaʻo, ma ke ola ʻana o kēia mau mea kanu ma kēia māla pua i kapa ʻia ʻo Uluhaimalama, he lanakila, he ola nō ia no ka lāhui.

No Ka Makahiki 1895

Me ka ulu ʻana o nā mea kanu ma ka māla pua ʻo Uluhaimalama, ua ulu pū ka ʻiʻini o nā kānaka aloha ʻāina e kū hou ka Mōʻīwahine i ke aupuni, e hoʻi hou ʻo ia i kona noho kalaunu, a e welo hou kona hae. Ua maopopo ihola nō hoʻi iā lākou ke ʻano ʻānunu a pākaha o ka poʻe ʻenemi. No kekahi o nā kānaka, ua hoʻomaopopo ihola nō hoʻi lākou, ʻaʻohe kōkua o ka maluhia a lākou i mālama ai no nā makahiki ʻelua i hala akula. Ma o ko lākou mālama ʻana i ia maluhia, ʻaʻohe mea o ka poʻe ʻenemi e hopo ai, ʻoiai, ʻaʻohe kōkua o ko ʻAmelika pūʻali koa, a ʻaʻohe paio aku o ke Kanaka Maoli. No laila, ua holo ko nā kānaka manaʻo e kipi maoli aku, e kūkala i ko lākou kumukānāwai e pono ai, a e kau hou ka Mōʻī ma kona noho kalaunu.

Ma ka hopena o ka makahiki 1894, ua hoʻomaka maoli nō nā kānaka aloha ʻāina e hoʻomākaukau iā lākou iho me ka hoʻolako ʻana mai i nā pū laipela, a me ka hoʻolālā ʻana i kā lākou hana e hana ai. Ua alakaʻi ʻia nēia hana e nā kānaka aloha ʻāina—he Kanaka Maoli kekahi a he haole kekahi. ʻO Nāwahī a me Buki kekahi a ʻo Samuel Nowlein (Nolena) a me Henry Bertelmann (Betelamana) nō hoʻi.

ʻO Nolena ke ʻAlihikaua no ka poʻe aloha ʻāina; ʻaʻole naʻe i nui kona aʻo ʻana aku i nā pūʻali koa ma lalo ona. Ma mua aku, ua noi ʻia nō hoʻi ʻo Robert W. Wilcox, ʻo Wilikoki, e komo pū mai ma ia hana ma muli o kona mākaukau ma ka hoʻouka kaua. I ia manawa, ʻaʻohe komo maoli o Wilikoki, akā, ma nā lā mua loa o ka makahiki 1895, ua ʻae ʻo ia e lilo i ʻAlihikaua ma ko lākou wā e hoʻouka kaua ana.[10]

ʻO kā lākou pū laipela, ua lawe huna ʻia ma ka mokupuni ʻo Mānana ma ka ʻaoʻao hikina o Oʻahu. Ma nā lā mua loa o ka makahiki 1895, ua kiʻi ʻia a lawe ʻia aku nā pū ma Lēʻahi a hoʻokaʻawale ʻia ma ʻelua pūʻulu. Ua hūnā ʻia kekahi ma ka hale o Betelamana ma ka ʻaoʻao komohana o Lēʻahi a hūnā ʻia kekahi ma Kaʻalāwai, he ʻāina ma ka ʻaoʻao hikina o Lēʻahi.[11]

Ua mākaukau a hoʻolālā hoʻi ka poʻe aloha ʻāina e kipi aku a hoʻokahuli hou aku i ke aupuni ma ka lā 7 o Ianuali o ka makahiki 1895. Eia nō naʻe, ua kuʻi ʻē ka lono no kā lākou hana a puni ke kaona ʻo Honolulu nei. No ia kumu, ma ke ahiahi ma mua iho, ka lā 6 o Ianuali, ua hele aku kekahi mau mākaʻi i ka hale o Betelamana e huli ai i nā pū laipela.[12]

Iā lākou i hiki aku ai ma laila, aia lā ka poʻe aloha ʻāina e hoʻomākaukau ana i nā pū laipela. A ʻike lākou kekahi i kekahi, hoʻāʻo nā aloha ʻāina e pakele aku, akā, ʻo ke kī pū akula nō ia o nā mākaʻi. Ua kī pū aku a kī pū mai, a ma ka hopena o ia lā, ua kū kekahi mākaʻi i ka pōkā, ua lawe pio ʻia kekahi mau aloha ʻāina—ʻo Betelamana mā—e ke aupuni, a ua pakele aku kekahi mau aloha ʻāina—ʻo Nolena me Wilikoki mā—i uka o Lēʻahi.

KE ALA MALIHINI ALOEHUEHU[13]

(Hooheno ia mahope iho o ke kaua,
oiai e naku ana iloko o kanahele.)

Aia i ka luna Daimana Hila
Ke aloha aina e hoolulu nei
Ilaila makou i ike iho ai
Ka uwahi-noe o ka pu-raifela

O ke kani kuilua a ka pukuniahi
E nakolo i ke kai-la'i o Kahala
Ekolu poka i ka neo ia
Houhewa i ka lepo o ka aina

A ka hora 4 auwina la
Alo ana i ke kula o Waialae
Ilaila makou i ike iho ai
Ka iniki walania a ka Lanatana

Palekana kakou e na hoa
Ua hiki i ke ala a ka malihini
A hiki i ka piko o Palolo
Nana i ka nani o Kauhelemoa

Ke Kupua kaulana o ia uka
Ia uka kamahao i ko'u maka
Hookahi makamaka o na hoa
Na hoa aloehuehu i ka inea

A hiki i ka olu o Manoa
Ike i ka wai lelehune Akekua
O ka ulu-ohia e memele ana
Hamu ana i ka hua o ke kuawa

E aho ia la e na hoa
Kamau ka hele'na o ke kula loa
A Manoa ike i ka ehuehu
Aloalo poka me ka enemi

Hanohano Pauoa i ka uhiwai
Haaheo i ka uka o Kupanihi
Haina ia mai ana ka puana
Ke Aloha Aina paa mau loa

I ia pō a ao, ka lā 7 o Ianuali, he Pō'akahi ia, ua kūpa'a maoli nā kānaka aloha 'āina ma ko lākou mau kūlana pāpūkaua i koho ai. Na Nolena i alaka'i i kekahi pū'ali, a na Wilikoki kekahi i alaka'i. 'A'ohe hiki i nā koa aupuni ke hō'auhe'e aku iā lākou mai ko lākou wahi i kūpa'a ai. Eia nō na'e, he mau pūkuniahi ko ke aupuni a lawe 'ia maila ua mau pūkuniahi nei a i kahi e kūpa'a ana nā aloha 'āina ma uka o Lē'ahi. A ma muli wale nō o ia pōkāpahū 'ana o ka pūkuniahi i 'auhe'e ai nā aloha 'āina, a holo aku no Wai'alae ma ka 'auinalā o ia Pō'akahi.

Ua ho'ouka kaua hou nā koa aupuni a me nā aloha 'āina ma Wai'alae. Kūpa'a hou ihola nā aloha 'āina a lawe hou 'ia mai ua mau pūkuniahi ala e hō'auhe'e hou aku ai i nā aloha 'āina. Ma ka 'auinalā o ka Pō'alua i pakele ai

lākou ma ke kualapa ma waena o Pālolo me Mānoa, a noho nō lākou ma Mānoa a i ke ahiahi Pōʻakolu, a mai laila aku i Pauoa. Ma hope o kēlā me kēia kīpū ʻana aku, ua lawe pio ʻia aku he mau hoa paio no ka ʻaoʻao aloha ʻāina—he 14 ma ka hale o Betelamana, he 29 ma Waiʻalae, he 30 hou ma Mānoa. Ma Pauoa, ma ka lā 14 o Ianuali, he hoʻokahi pule ma hope o ka hoʻomaka ʻana, i lawe pio ʻia ai ʻo Wilikoki me nā koa ʻē aʻe i koe o ka ʻaoʻao aloha ʻāina.[14]

Ua kūpono ʻiʻo nō ka inoa o ke mele o luna ala ʻo "Ke Ala Malihini Aloehuehu," no ka mea, moʻolelo ʻia mai no ke ala a nā aloha ʻāina i hele aku ai. ʻO ia ala hoʻi a lākou i holo ai, ua malihini nō, a ʻo kā lākou hana ma ia ala malihini, ʻo ia ka ʻalo ehuehu. ʻAʻole i hōʻike mai ka haku mele i kona inoa, akā, ua hōʻike mai nō hoʻi ʻo ia i kona kūlana he lālā no nā kānaka kipi a hōʻike pū ʻo ia i kona wahi i haku ai i ke mele—ʻoiai lākou ma ia ala "e naku ana iloko o kanahele."

Ma "luna Daimana Hila" nō i hoʻomaka ai ke kaua ʻana, a ma laila i ʻike ʻia ai "ka uwahi-noe o ka pu-raifela" (l. 1-4). Ma ka paukū ʻelua i hoʻākāka ʻia mai ai no "ke kani kuilua a ka pūkuniahi" e "nakolo" ana i ka ʻāina me "ekolu poka i ka neo ia / Hou hewa i ka lepo o ka aina" (l. 5-8). Ma nā paukū o lalo iho, moʻolelo ʻia mai ke alahele o nā koa aloha ʻāina a i Waiʻalae, me Pālolo, mai laila aku i Mānoa me Pauoa.

He ala paʻakikī nō ia ma muli o ka "iniki walania a ka Lanatana" ma Waiʻalae (l. 9-12), a me "ke ala a ka malihini" o ka "uka kamahao" o Pālolo (l. 13-20). "A hiki i ka olu o Manoa" (l. 21-24) a "Aloalo poka me ka enemi" (l. 25-28). Pau akula ka moʻolelo i ka haʻi ʻia ma ka paukū ʻewalu o ke mele ma Pauoa. Eia nō naʻe, ʻaʻohe pau o ke aloha ʻāina. Wahi a ka haku mele, ʻo "Ke Aloha Aina paa mau loa" (l. 29-32).

Kūpaʻa nō ka manaʻo o nā Kānaka Maoli ma laila. ʻAʻole paha i kō ka ʻiʻini o lākou i ia manawa, akā, ʻaʻohe hāʻawi pio o ko lākou naʻau. A ma o nā

mele lāhui nō lākou i hō'ike mai ai i ko lākou mana'o kūpa'a ma hope o ka 'āina a ma hope ho'i o nā kānaka nāna i 'imi aku i ka pono o ka 'āina.

Ma kēia hana noi'i nei, ua 'ohi'ohi 'ia he 50 mele lāhui ma nā nūpepa 'ōlelo Hawai'i o ka makahiki 1895. Ua haku 'ia kēia mau mele no Lili'uokalani a me kona aupuni, akā, ua nui nō ho'i nā mele i haku 'ia no kēia hana kipi a me nā me'e o ke kipi. I ia makahiki, ua pa'i 'ia nō ho'i he 253 mele lāhui ma ka *Buke Mele Lahui*. No ka ho'okahuli aupuni kekahi o ia mau mele, a no kēia hana kipi kekahi. Ma ua po'e mele nei i haku 'ia no ka hana kipi o ka makahiki 1895, ua lilo 'o Wilikoki i mea e ho'oheno nui 'ia no kona alaka'i 'ana aku i nā kānaka aloha 'āina.

HE INOA NO WILIKOKI[15]

Eia Wilikoki ke koa nui o na moku,
Ka pukaua o ke Aupuni Hawaii,
Ka olali nana i hehiku o Italia,
Loaa ai ke kupueu o ia aina,
Noho i ka malu kapu o ia aupuni,
Hoi no Wilikoki i ke one hanau,
I ke one aloha a na kupuna,
Punihei e i ka upena a ka leo,
He leo ka na ka lokoino aloha ole.
Aloha wale na keiki a ka Na'i Aupuni,
E uhauhaia nei e na kolea kaulana;
He hilahila ole o Nupepeki e kaunu nei,
I ke kikowaena o ke Aupuni Hawaii,
Hookahi no Wilikoki e alo nei i ka ehuehu,
Huelani e ka hana a na pukuniahi,
Ku aku la ko laau i ka aama kua lenalena,
Aohe e pakele ua kukai ka ila o Pupukea,
I ka Ihe Laumeki a Kamehameha Akahi.
He niuhi mai au no ka moana kai hohonu,
He pukonakona mai au no Maui Hikina,
O ka apu kowali keia nana e hue aku polena,
Popo auhuhu keia nana e hoala ke kai aholehole,
Ke kolopa keia nana e une na aupuni,
Ka ulahiwa nana e peku na moa lawa;
Akahi oukou a ike e na malihini,
I ka apu piiku a ka Hawaii,
O ka iki au nana e kaa ke kahua loa,
He aalii ku naue ole i ka makani Kona;
E ola Hawaii o Keawe a mau loa,
A puka i ke ao malamalama.

KEAOLIPOLIPO KEAHIOENE.

He mahalo a he hoʻoheno wale nō ko kēia mele no Wilikoki. Kapa ʻia ʻo ia "ke koa nui o na moku" a me "ka pukaua o ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi" (l. 1-2). Hōʻike ʻia kona aʻo ʻana i ka hana kaua ma Ikalia (l. 3-5). He ʻōlelo kūamuamu nō hoʻi ko ke mele no nā kānaka "lokoino aloha ole" a me ke ʻano "uhauha" a "hilahila ole" o "na kolea kaulana" (l. 11-12).

Ma nā lālani ʻē aʻe o ke mele, moʻolelo ʻia mai no Wilikoki "e alo nei i ka ehuehu" (l. 14). Kapa ʻia ʻo ia he "niuhi . . . no ka moana kai hohonu" (l. 19) a he "kolopa nana e une na aupuni" (l. 23). Wahi a Keaolipolipo Keahioene, ka haku mele, ma ka hopena o ke mele, ʻo Wilikoki ke "aalii ku naue ole i ka makani Kona" e ola ai ʻo Hawaiʻi "A puka i ke ao malamalama" (l. 28-30).

E like me nā mele lāhui o ke au i hala, ʻo ke ola o Hawaiʻi a me kona puka ʻana aku mai ka pouli o kona mau pilikia nā mea i makemake nui ʻia e nā kānaka aloha ʻāina, a ʻo ia nō hoʻi nā mea i noi ʻia ma nā mele lāhui. Ma hope o ka hana kipi o ka makahiki 1895, ua hoʻopaʻahao ʻia nā kānaka nāna i kipi, a ua hoʻopaʻahao ʻia nō hoʻi ka Mōʻīwahine ma ka Halealiʻi ʻIolani. Ua hoʻopaʻi ʻia a ʻāhewa ʻia ʻo Wilikoki, Nolena, a me Betelamana mā ma ka ʻAha Hoʻokolokolo Koa i mālama ʻia. Pēlā pū me ka Mōʻīwahine Liliʻuokalani, a ua mau akula kona hoʻopaʻa ʻia ʻana ma ka Halealiʻi ʻIolani a hoʻokuʻu ʻia ʻo ia i ka mahina ʻo Kepakemapa o ia makahiki 1895.[16]

No Ka Makahiki 1896

I ka hopena o ka makahiki 1895, ua hoʻoholo aku ka Mōʻīwahine i kona manaʻo e holo aku i Wakinekona e hoʻāʻo hou ai e hoʻoponopono i ka pilikia o kona aupuni, a ma laila nō ʻo ia e noho ana i ka hoʻomaka ʻana o ka makahiki 1896.

HE KANAENAE NO LILIUOKA-LANI.[17]

O Liliu, o Loloku i ke kapu,
O ka lamaku o ka noeau,
O ka waihona o ke akamai,
O ke aniani o ka pololei,

E imi ana i ka makemake,
I ke ola nui o ka lahui,
Ola Hawaii nui o Keawe,
A kau i ka pua aneane,
E ola ka pua i poniia,
O Liliuokalani he inoa,
Aia o Loloku i Maleka,
I ka piko la i Wakinekona,
Haku ia, kui ia ka wehi,
Ko Hae Kalaunu e Kalani,
I kahiko nou e Liliu,
No ko la nui hanohano,
I ola na Makaainaina,
A kau i ka pua aneane,
E ola ka pua i poniia,
O Liliuokalani he inoa,
Ei ae o ka Lanikiekie,
Me ka pono nui o ka lahui,
Pono Hawaii nui o Keawe,
Ola Molokai nui a Hina,
Ola pu o Maui o Kama,
Oahu o Kakuhihewa,
Kauai o Mano o Kalani,
Niihau i ka mole o Lehua,
E ola ka pua i poniia,
A kau i ka pua aneane,
Ko wehi Kalaunu i ke kapu,
O Liliuokalani he inoa.

Hakuia e ke
KILO A KA LAHUI

Ua kāka'ikahi maila nā mele lāhui i pa'i 'ia i ka makahiki 1896. Mali'a paha, ma muli o ke kū mau 'ana o ke Aupuni Repubalika ma ka 'āina no 'elua makahiki. 'A'ole na'e i emi iki aku ka 'imi 'ana a me ka hilina'i 'ana o nā Kānaka Maoli i ka pono o ka 'āina a me ka lāhui; 'a'ole nō i emi iki ka 'i'ini o lākou e loa'a hou ka pono o ka 'āina. 'Ike 'ia nō kēia 'i'ini ma kēia mele o luna a'e nei. Mo'olelo 'ia maila ka huaka'i a ka Mō'īwahine "i Maleka / I ka piko la o Wakinekona" (l. 11-12). He mea pohihihi ka hana polokika ma Wakinekona, no ka mea, aia nō ho'i he mau komisina o ke Aupuni Repubalika ma Wakinekona e kapa ana iā lākou iho, he mau komisina "Hawai'i" a he mau kānaka "Hawai'i" i mea e lohe 'ia ai ko lākou leo e pili ana i ka ho'ohui 'āina o Hawai'i a me 'Amelika. Ua pi'i mai ka inaina o ka Mō'īwahine i ua po'e "Hawai'i" nei me ke kapa 'ana aku iā lākou he mau "pseudo-Hawaiians." Wahi āna:

> They are not and never were Hawaiians. Although some have had positions under the monarchy which they solemnly swore by oath of office to uphold and sustain, they retained their American birthright. When they overthrew my government, and placed themselves under the protectorate established by John L. Stevens, . . . they designated themselves as Americans; as such they called on him to raise their flag on the building of the Hawaiian Government. When it pleased the Provisional Government to give their control another name, they called it the Republic of Hawaii. To gain the sympathy of the American people, they made the national day of the Independence of the United States their own, and made speeches claiming to be American citizens. Such has been their custom at Honolulu, although in Washington they represent themselves as Hawaiians.[18]

He ala malihini nō ia no nā kānaka aloha ʻāina a pau—no Liliʻuokalani ma Wakinekona, a me nā Hawaiʻi ʻoiaʻiʻo o ka ʻāina nei. Akā, ʻo ka pono kā lākou mea e ʻimi ana, a no laila, ua mau loa aku ko lākou kūpaʻa ʻana.

No Ka Makahiki 1897

Mai ka makahiki 1893 a i ka makahiki 1897, ua noke aku ua poʻe ʻAmelika lā o ke Aupuni Repubalika i ka hoʻohui ʻāina me ʻAmelika ma o ka hoʻokomo ʻana i ke kuʻikahi ma ka ʻAhaʻōlelo Kenekoa o ʻAmelika. I kēlā me kēia manawa, ua kūpaʻa ka poʻe aloha ʻāina me ka hoʻomaopopo ʻana aku i nā Kenekoa a me ka poʻe i koho ʻia i ke kūʻē o nā kānaka i ka hoʻohui ʻāina. I ka makahiki 1897, ua lōkahi mai nā hui ʻekolu o ka poʻe aloha ʻāina, ʻo ka Hui Aloha ʻĀina o Nā Wāhine, ka Hui Aloha ʻĀina o Nā Kāne, me ka Hui Kālaiʻāina. Wahi a Noenoe Silva:

> Together, these three organizations represented a majority of the Kanaka Maoli. The Kanaka Maoli strategy was to challenge the U.S. government to behave in accordance with its stated principles of justice, and of government of the people, by the people, and for the people. They hoped that once the U.S. President and members of Congress saw that the great majority of Kanaka Maoli opposed the annexation, the principles of fairness would prevail, and Liliʻuokalani's government would be restored.[19]

No laila, ua hoʻomākaukau nā hui i "Palapala Hoopii Kue Hoohui Aina." Ua lawe kino ʻia a puni ke aupuni e ua poʻe aloha ʻāina nei a ʻohiʻohi ʻia maila he 38,000 pūlima o nā Kānaka Maoli. Na nā alakaʻi o nā hui i lawe aku i nā palapala a i Wakinekona.[20] Ua hālāwai pū lākou me ka Mōʻīwahine ma laila

a hā'awi 'ia aku nā palapala ho'opi'i i nā Kenekoa me ka ho'omaopopo 'ana aku iā lākou no ka mana'o o nā Kānaka Maoli.

No Ka Makahiki 1898

He mau mahina ka noho 'ana aku o ua po'e 'elele nei ma Wakinekona. He mau Kānaka Maoli lākou, a 'o ko lākou inoa 'o James Kaulia, David Kalauokalani, John Richardson, a me William Auld. Ua kūkākūkā nui lākou me nā Kenekoa a ua loa'a nō iā lākou ke kāko'o o kekahi o nā Kenekoa. Ua pono e 'āpono 'ia ke ku'ikahi e 'elua hapakolu o nā Kenekoa—he 60 kānaka. Ma ko lākou kama'ilio 'ana me nā Kenekoa, ua maopopo iā lākou, 'a'ole e 'āpono 'ia ana ke ku'ikahi, no ka mea, 'a'ole e lawa ana ka po'e nāna e 'āpono aku. No laila, ua ho'i mai nā 'elele o nā hui aloha 'āina i Hawai'i nei me ka mana'o, ua lanakila lākou:

Eia nō na'e, ma Iulai o ia makahiki, ua ho'okomo 'ia aku he mea hou ma ka 'Aha'ōlelo e noi ana i ka ho'ohui aku o Hawai'i me 'Amelika. Eia nō na'e, 'oko'a ke 'ano o ka palapala. Ua kapa 'ia kēia mea hou he 'ōlelo ho'oholo hui, 'o ka Newlands Resolution kona inoa. No ia 'ano palapala 'ōlelo ho'oholo hui, ua pono e 'āpono 'ia e ka hapanui wale nō o nā Kenekoa. 'A'ole ma laila nā 'elele e kama'ilio ai i nā Kenekoa a e ho'omaopopo aku ai ho'i i ka mana'o o nā Kānaka Maoli o Hawai'i no ia mea he ho'ohui 'āina, a no laila, ua 'āpono 'ia nō ka 'ōlelo ho'oholo hui. A pēlā i ho'ohui 'ia ai 'o Hawai'i me 'Amelika. Ma ka mana'o a me ka na'au o nā Kānaka Maoli, 'a'ohe pono o ia 'ano hana. Ua ho'ouna 'ia akula he mau palapala e kū'ē ana i ia ho'ohui 'āina a e noi ana i ka ho'oponopono.

Wahi a nā aloha 'āina:

> Ma ke ano hoi he poe elele no kekahi mahele nui a ikaika o na kanaka Hawaii oiwi maoli ke kue aku nei makou me ka manao kulipolipo kukonukonu loa i ka hoohuiia mai ma ke ano i manaoia a me ka ui ole ia mai hoi a loaa aku paha hoi ka ae ana o ka lahuikanaka o ko Hawaii Paeaina nei.[21]

Ua holo nō na'e ia ho'ohui 'āina me ka nīnau 'ole a me ka 'ae 'ole o nā Kānaka Maoli. Ma ka lā 12 o 'Aukake o ka makahiki 1898 i huki 'ia ai ka hae Hawai'i i lalo ma ka Haleali'i 'Iolani a me Ali'iolani Hale, ka hale aupuni.

'A'ohe na'e hiki ke huki 'ia ka hae Hawai'i mai ka na'au o ke kanaka aku.

KUU HAE HAWAII ALOHA[22]

Kuu Hae Hawaii aloha,
Nou mau ka'u upu ana,
Kou mau kahakahana nani,
Ka'u e poina ole nei,
Nou wai i na hora o ka la,
Nou wau i na hora o ka po,
Nou wau mai luna a lalo,
Nou wau me kuu puuwai,
He oiaio e hiki io mai ana,
Kou la nani oi kelakela,
Au e hoomalu hou ai,
I na kaiaulu aloha o Hawaii,
Hoomalu no oe a malu,
Mai Hawaii a Kauai,
Aohe kupu nana e hooni,
I ka ola mai luna loa mai,
O ke ola ia pono ka nohona,
Kou lahui oiwi ponoi,
Ola ke kane, ola ka wahine,
Ola ka aina mai o a o,
Ke i mai nei ka olelo,
Ua malu ka honua i ke aloha,
Ua ike o luna ua ike o lalo,
Ua ike na welelau o ka honua,
No Liliu no Loloku i ke kapu,
No ka lahui oiwi ponoi,
No ka I, no ka Mahi, no Kapalena,
No lakou ia Hae Hawaii,
E mau loa kona welo ana,
Ma ko Hawaii Paeaina,
Nane ia mai ana ke aloha,
Kuu Hae Hawaii mau loa.

SAM. K. KAMAKAIA.
Honolulu, Aug 14, 1898.

Ma ka inoa a me kēlā me kēia lālani o ke mele, 'o ke aloha i ka hae Hawai'i ka mea e mo'olelo 'ia mai ana e Sam. K. Kamakaia, ka haku mele. Ma ke mele, e 'ōlelo pololei aku ana 'o Kamakaia i ka hae me ke kapa 'ana aku i ka hae 'o "kuu hae" me ka mahalo 'ana aku i "Kou mau kahakahana nani" e "poina ole" 'ia (l. 1-4). Ma nā lālani ma lalo iho, ho'ohiki aku ka haku mele i

kona pili i ka hae, "i na hora o ka la...i na hora o ka po" a "mai luna a lalo...me kuu puuwai" (l. 5-8). Na ka hae Hawai'i nō e "hoomalu" i nā "kaiaulu aloha o Hawaii... Mai Hawaii a Kauai" (l. 11-14). Wahi a ka haku mele, "Ua ike o luna ua ike o lalo / Ua ike na welelau o ka honua" i nā mea nona ka hae Hawai'i. "No Liliu no Loloku i ke kapu / No ka lahui ponoi / No ka I, no ka Mahi, no Kapalena / No lakou ia Hae Hawaii" (l. 23-28). A 'o ka mana'olana nui o ka hopena o ke mele "E mau loa kona welo ana / Ma ko Hawaii Paeaina" (l. 29-30). A laila, ma ka lālani hope loa, ua hō'ike hou mai ka haku mele i kona mana'olana. Wahi āna, "Kuu Hae Hawaii mau loa" (l. 32). A ua pololei loa ka haku mele. I loko o ka na'au a me ka pu'uwai o nā Kānaka Maoli, nā kānaka aloha 'āina, ua mau loa.

Ua Mau Loa

Mai kēlā wā a hiki mai nei i kēia wā o kākou, ua mau loa ia mana'o. 'A'ole i pau ka 'eha o ko kākou na'au i ke kā'ili 'ia o ko kākou kū'oko'a, ma muli paha o ka hana 'ino mau 'ia mai o ko kākou po'e kūpuna, ko kākou 'āina, a me kākou ho'i e ka po'e kolonaio o 'Amelika. 'A'ole i poina 'ia nā hana a ka po'e pākaha 'āina. 'A'ole i emi iho ka ha'aheo i nā me'e o ka lāhui, nā aloha 'āina. Ua mau loa.

I nā makahiki 1960 a 1970, ua ho'omaka hou nā Kānaka Maoli e kūlia a 'imi i ka pono o ka lāhui a me ka loina Hawai'i. Ua kūpa'a nā kānaka no ka pono o ka 'āina a me ka wai. Ua pau akula ka pōkāpahū 'ana o ko 'Amelika pū'ali koa iā Kaho'olawe; ua mau na'e ma Mākua, O'ahu me nā wahi like 'ole. Mihi maila ke aupuni 'o Amelika ma o ka leo o ko lākou Pelekikena Clinton no ka hana hewa i hana 'ia i Hawai'i i ka makahiki 1893. Ho'okomo 'ia mai nei he pila hou ma ka 'Aha Kenekoa o 'Amelika, 'o ia ho'i ka Pila Akaka, no ka hō'oia 'ana i ke kūlana o nā Kānaka Maoli he kanaka 'ōiwi o 'Amelika. Ua

maopopo ihola iā kākou, pono e maka'ala aku o pilikia hou auane'i nā pono kanaka.

Maopopo nō ho'i ihola iā kākou, he pono ka ho'ōla 'ana a me ka ho'omaika'i 'ana i ke ola, ka nohona, a me ka loina o kākou. Holo aku a holo mai kākou ma nā wa'a 'o *Hōkūle'a* a me *Makali'i* a puni ka moana kai hohonu o ka Pākīpika; ua ho'okumu 'ia ka Hui Mālama Iwi nona ke kuleana o ka ho'iho'i 'ana aku i nā iwi o ko kākou po'e kūpuna i ka 'āina hānau nei; ua ulu a mōhala mai nā kula kaiapuni o ke kula kamali'i, ke kula ha'aha'a, a me ke kula ki'eki'e; ke ho'olālā a ke ho'okumu 'ia nei nā kēkelē laeo'o a laepua o ka 'Ōlelo Hawai'i a me ka 'Ike Hawai'i ma ke kula nui o Hawai'i i Mānoa. Ua mau loa ke aloha lāhui.

Ma nā wahi like 'ole e kūpa'a ai ke kanaka no ka pono o ka 'āina—ma Hālawa, Wa'ahila, ma ke kapikala ma Honolulu, a hiki loa aku i Wakinekona. Ma ia mau hana kūpa'a a kū'ē, lohe 'ia nā leo o nā kānaka, a i kekahi manawa, ma o nā mele nō ia leo 'ana. 'O "'Au'a 'Ia" kekahi mele ' o "I Kū Mau A Mau," a 'o "E iho ana" nō ho'i. Hula 'ia a oli 'ia nā mele, ma ke 'ano he kū'ē i ka hana 'ino 'ia o ke kanaka a me ka 'āina, a me ke 'ano he kūpa'a no ka pono o ka 'āina. Ua mau loa ke aloha 'āina.

Ua mau loa ke kaulana o kekahi mele lāhui o ka makahiki 1893. 'O "He Lei No Ka Poe Aloha Aina" kekahi inoa a 'o "Mele 'Ai Pōhaku," akā, ua kaulana i ke ao nei ma ka inoa 'o "Kaulana Nā Pua." Mai kēlā makahiki a i kēia wā 'ānō, he 40 a 'oi manawa ka ho'opa'a leo 'ia 'ana o nei mele. Ho'omaka hou a'ela nā kānaka e haku i nā mele e kū'ē aku ana i ka hana a ka po'e 'enemi o ka lāhui, ka po'e 'enemi o ka 'āina—inā 'o ke aupuni 'Amelika paha, ke aupuni o ka moku'āina 'o Hawai'i, a me ke kanaka nō ho'i paha. Ua haku 'ia nā mele e like me "Keep Hawaiian Lands in Hawaiian Hands" no ka pilikia o ka 'āina ho'opulapula a me ka pilikia o ke kū'ai 'āina. Ua haku 'ia ke mele 'o "Hawaiian Soul" no ka ho'ohanohano 'ana i nā aloha 'āina i make ma muli o

ko lākou hoʻāʻo ʻana e hoʻopale aku iā Kahoʻolawe. Ua haku ʻia nō hoʻi nā mele e paipai ana a e hoʻoheno ana i ka waiwai o ko kākou loina ʻōiwi, a e koi ana hoʻi i nā kānaka e pūlama i ia loina, e laʻa me nā mele ʻo "Alu Like," ʻo "Hōkūleʻa," a me "Keiki o ka ʻĀina." I nā makahiki i hala iho nei, ua haku ʻia nā mele o ke ʻano pāleoleo ma ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi a me ka ʻōlelo Haole e ka poʻe ʻōpiopio—he mau mele kūʻē a kūpaʻa no ka pono o ka ʻāina a me ka loina o nā Kānaka Maoli. Ua mau loa ka mele lāhui.

Mai ka wā i hoʻokumu ʻia mai ai ka lāhui Kanaka Maoli o ka ʻāina nei, ua hoʻopaʻa ʻia ko kākou moʻolelo ma nā mele—ma ka mele koʻihonua, ka mele inoa, a me ka mele aloha nō hoʻi. I ka naʻi ʻia ʻana mai o nā mokupuni a lilo i aupuni hoʻokahi, ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi, ulu maila ia ʻano manaʻo i loko o ka naʻau o nā Kānaka Maoli. Ua hoʻomaopopo ihola lākou no ia aupuni a me ke kūlana a me ke kuleana o ka lāhui ma ia aupuni. I ka hopena o nā makahiki 1800, ua loaʻa he mau hihia e hoʻopilikia ana i ke aupuni ma muli o nā kānaka o nā ʻāina haole, ko lākou loina, ko lākou aupuni, a me ke ʻano kolonaio o lākou. I ka wā i kupu mai ai kēia mau hihia, lilo ihola ka mele lāhui a me nā nūpepa ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi, kahi i paʻi ʻia ai nā mele lāhui, i wahi a i alahele e hōʻike aku ai ke Kanaka Maoli i kona manaʻo. ʻO ka mele lāhui kahi e ʻike ʻia ai ka moʻolelo ʻoiaʻiʻo o nā Kānaka Maoli, ke ʻano pololei o ko lākou manaʻo a me ko lākou naʻau.

ʻAʻole loa i hoʻoponopono ʻia nā pilikia a pau i ili mai ma luna o ko kākou lāhui kanaka, akā, ua pololei nō ka manaʻo o ka haku mele i kona mele ʻana, "Kuu Hae Hawaii mau loa." Hoʻokahuli ʻia akula ke aupuni, a hoʻohui ʻia aku nō hoʻi ʻo Hawaiʻi me ʻAmelika. Eia nō naʻe, ma ka naʻau o ke Kanaka Maoli, ua mau loa ka welo ʻana o ka hae Hawaiʻi, a ua mau loa ka noho ʻana o ka Mōʻīwahine Liliʻuokalani ma kona noho kalaunu. Ma ka naʻau o ke Kanaka Maoli, ola ke aupuni a me ka lāhui. Ua mau loa.

PĪPĪ HOLO KAʻAO

Nā Mea i Kuhi ʻIa

Mokuna 6 - Ua Mau Loa

[1] *Ke Kumukānāwai o ke Aupuni Repubalika,* Paukū 74, 76, 101.

[2] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui,* 16 ʻOkakopa 1894.

[3] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui,* 16 ʻOkakopa 1894.

[4] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui,* 16 ʻOkakopa 1894.

[5] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui,* 6 ʻAukake 1894; *Nupepa Ka Oiaio,* 10 ʻAukake 1894.

[6] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui,* 6 Kepakemapa 1894

[7] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui,* 16 ʻOkakopa 1894.

[8] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui,* 16 ʻOkakopa 1894; *Nupepa Ka Oiaio,* 19 ʻOkakopa 1894.

[9] *Ka Makaainana,* 15 ʻOkakopa 1894.

[10] Andrade, 152-153.

[11] Andrade, 150-152.

[12] Andrade, 155-156.

[13] Thomas B. Spencer, luna hoʻoponopono, *Ke Kaua Kuloko,* (Honolulu: Papapai Mahu Press Publishing Co., 1895), xi-xii.

[14] Spencer, 16-71.

[15] F. J. Testa, 55.

[16] Liliʻuokalani, 1974, 289-295.

[17] *Ke Aloha Aina,* 26 Kēkēmapa 1896.

[18] Liliʻuokalani, 1974, 325.

[19] Silva, ʻKe Kūʻē Kūpaʻa Loa Nei Mākou," 183.

[20] Silva, ʻKe Kūʻē Kūpaʻa Loa Nei Mākou," 194.

[21] U.S. State Department Files, National Archives and Records Administration, 1898, ka mea i kuhikuhi ʻia e Silva, 200.

[22] *Ke Aloha Aina,* 20 ʻAukake 1898.

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HE PUKE MELE LĀHUI:

NĀ MELE KŪPA'A, NĀ MELE KŪ'Ē A ME NĀ MELE ALOHA O NĀ KĀNAKA MAOLI

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAI'I IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

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IN

HISTORY

DECEMBER 2002

By
J. J. Leilani Basham

Thesis Committee:

David Hanlon, Chairperson
David Chappell
Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa

We certify that we have read this thesis and that, in our opinion, it is satisfactory in scope and quality as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in History.

THESIS COMMITTEE

David Hanlon
Chairperson

David A. Chappell

Lilikalā Kameʻeleihiwa

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No ka poʻe aloha ʻāina.

KA MAHALO

Mahalo nui
e nā kūpuna
no ka haʻi ʻana i ka moʻolelo
a no ka hoʻopaʻa ʻana hoʻi i ia moʻolelo
ma nā mele a me nā nūpepa.

Aloha nui a mahalo nui i
koʻu ʻohana no ke aloha,
ke ahonui, a me ke kākoʻo ʻana mai iaʻu
ma kēia wahi alahele aʻu e hele aʻe nei.

Nui hoʻi kuʻu mahalo
i kaʻu poʻe kumu
no ke kuhikuhi ʻana mai
i ke alahele nei
no ka pono o ka lāhui a me ka ʻōlelo ʻōiwi
o ka ʻāina nei.

Palena ʻole kuʻu aloha a me kuʻu mahalo
i koʻu mau hoa kākoʻo,
nāna i paipai nui a kōkua nui mai.

Mahalo nui loa iā ʻoukou pākahi a pau!

ABSTRACT

Following the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom in 1893, Kānaka Maoli composed numerous mele lāhui in commemoration of the events. These mele were published in Hawaiian language newspapers, the place where Kānaka Maoli reported the events of their time as well as their opinion about those events. Through the mele lāhui which they composed and published, the Kānaka Maoli reported the historical details of the overthrow and the period following. In the mele are recorded the people's loyalty to their nation, along with their resistance and protest to the abuse of their rights to independence. The composers use language of insult and disparagement in their portrayals and descriptions of those who played vital roles in the overthrow. There are also many mele which are prayers and request the assistance and the blessings of Hawaiians Gods as well as the Christian God. In addition, there are even more mele whose main purpose and theme are expressions of aloha for the Hawaiian Kingdom, the Native people, and their Queen. From that time until today, Kānaka Maoli have continued to compose mele as expressions of our lives and our history, as protest against the continued dominance and subjugation of our people, and as admiration for the loyal and steadfast support of the rights of our land and our people.

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Ka ʻŌlelo Mua
(Preface)

ʻAnoʻai kākou, e oʻu kūpuna o ke au i kala loa aku, nāna i hoʻokumu a hoʻōla maila i ka loina o ko kākou lāhui kanaka. Aloha nō iā ʻoukou, e oʻu mākua, nāna i kūpaʻa i ka mālama ʻana mai i ka moʻolelo a me ka loina o nā kūpuna. Welina kākou, e oʻu hoa kūpono o ka ʻāina, nāna e kūlia i ka pono o ke au nei. Aloha hoʻi, e nā keiki o ka ʻāina, nāna e huli hele i ke ala o ke au e hiki mai ana i mea e holomua pū aku ai ka lāhui ʻōiwi o ka ʻāina nei. Welina me ke aloha.

Mele lāhui, which are poems, songs, and chants written in honor of the Nation and the Kānaka Maoli (Native People of Hawaiʻi), are a gift from our kūpuna (ancestors, elders). Between 1893 and 1898, kūpuna composed hundreds of mele (poems, songs, chants, anthems) through which they told their moʻolelo (history, story, tale). Our kūpuna also printed these mele in the newspapers and books of their time and in their language. These newspapers, as well as the moʻolelo and the mele that they published, are the waha (mouth) through which the history is told, while the lāhui (people, nation), through reading the mele in the newspapers, gave leo (voice) to the history.

Things are quite different today. During my time as a student in the University of Hawaiʻi system, I was required to read Hawaiian history books in my Hawaiian history classes. These books were written by historians like Gavan Daws, Lawrence Fuchs, and Ralph Kuykendall. Their books are well-known in Hawaiʻi and around the world; they are bought and sold in bookstores; they are read in classrooms. These histories begin with or quickly focus on the arrival of Captain Cook, as if Hawaiʻi did not exist or just was not significant until that moment in time. As a Hawaiian reading a "Hawaiian" history book, I expected to read about the history of Hawaiʻi and its people.

Instead, I found a history written about Hawai'i as told by a foreigner, with the perspective of a foreigner, who does not speak the language and who makes little or no attempt to acknowledge and comprehend, much less express, the experiences, thoughts and reactions of the Kānaka Maoli.

Furthermore, it does not seem to matter when the history was written. With regards to the overthrow of the Hawaiian kingdom in 1893, there are few differences between the books written in the 1890's by William Alexander or William Russ and the books written by Daws, Fuchs, and Kuykendall in the last 40 years. In each of them, the Kānaka Maoli are described as very quiet, confused, and frustrated, showing little or no signs of protest at their loss of sovereignty. In these versions of Hawaiian history, the actions of the Kānaka Maoli were not shown; the thoughts of the Kānaka Maoli were not explained; the voices of the Kānaka Maoli were not heard. Basically, only one perspective is presented and it is a decidedly "foreign" one.

In the last decade, this trend has changed somewhat with the publication of books, papers, theses, and dissertations written from the perspective of the Kānaka Maoli. In these works, by such scholars as Noenoe Silva, Jon Osorio, Kanalu Young, and Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa, the authors understood that the voice and words of the Kānaka Maoli must be included in any comprehensive explanation of Hawaiian history and perspective.

In researching the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom in 1893, we must look at the mo'olelo written in the language of the Kānaka Maoli. Although few books were being published in 1893, there were quite a few newspapers which were in print in the Hawaiian language. In these newspapers are stories, histories, letters, and also mele, through which the Kānaka Maoli of that time were able to publicly express and describe their thoughts, their actions and their emotions in response to the overthrow.

In 1993, I was a student in the Mo'olelo Hawai'i (Hawaiian History) class taught within the Hawaiian Language department. As it was the 100 year anniversary of the overthrow, many of the students decided to focus on some aspect of the overthrow for our research projects. I was truly blessed to work with two other students, Kalei 'A'arona-Lorenzo and U'ilani Bobbitt, in gathering and interpreting a select number of mele lāhui found in the Hawaiian language newspapers of the time.

Afterwards, I worked for Amy Ku'uleialoha Stillman on her project on mele hula ku'i, in which she studied the emergence in the 1860's of a new format of mele into two-line couplets. These mele blend characteristics of traditional Hawaiian mele with the newly introduced even-lined verse format of foreign songs and hymns. For this project, we gathered over 400 mele in Hawaiian language newspapers published between 1881 and 1895. Through this project, I became aware of the sheer quantity of mele which relate to the events leading up to and including the overthrow and the period following, some of which are written in this couplet format as well as some mele written in a more traditional format or in a verse and chorus format commonly seen in Christian hymns.

When I chose a topic for my master's thesis, I sat and talked with another teacher of mine, Kīhei de Silva, who is the husband of my kumu hula (hula teacher) and who is very knowledgeable in the mo'olelo and mele of our people. In that conversation, he explained his interest in the mele kū'ē (resistance poetry, songs) of our people, stating that while there are many mele aloha (love chants, songs, poetry) and mele inoa (name chants, songs, poetry written in honor of people, family, and friends), these emotions of love and admiration are not the only things described in Hawaiian mele. Sometimes, Kānaka Maoli have used mele to express exactly the opposite; to

express protest and resistance, and that these mele of protest probably record a rather unique history.

In thinking about all of these experiences, I understood that I had to follow the path on which my kūpuna had directed me by way of my teachers. I felt that I should help to retell the story which had been originally voiced through these mele. And so, I returned to the Hawaiian language newspapers of 1893, sought out, and found the mele and the mo'olelo of our kūpuna. As a result of looking for information in the newspapers between the overthrow in 1893 and annexation in 1898, I gathered in excess of 250 mele from newspapers and books.

The composing and publishing of these mele are an expression of the Kānaka Maoli's protest of the overthrow. These acts, however, are not just acts of protest, merely written and published to show their thoughts. In actuality, from the Hawaiian perspective, the composing and publishing of these mele are truly acts of resistance. 'Ōlelo no'eau, "I ka 'ōlelo nō ke ola; i ka 'ōlelo nō ka make" (Proverb, "In the language there is life; in the language there is death"). When we pray, when we chant, when we speak, there is power. For Hawaiians, when a prayer is spoken or a mele is chanted, it does not affect only the mental or spiritual world but, in fact, can and does affect the physical world as well. Therefore, when the words of these mele were printed, read, seen, and spoken over and over again in the minds and voices of the composers, the editors and then the readers of the newspapers, the words of the mele created their own mana (spiritual force) and were not only expressions of protest but truly acts of resistance, which still continue as such today.

The mele, therefore, are the focus of this examination, as they are a vital aspect of the complete history of the period. In examining the mele, we are able to access the historical and cultural context in which the mele were

composed, as well as insight into the thoughts, feelings, and perspectives of the Kānaka Maoli of the time. This thesis is written in order to express and record a portion of this history, our history, so that we can better understood the true thoughts and actions of our kūpuna. I hope that this paper will help to reduce the confusion in the hearts and minds of the Kānaka Maoli of this and future generations, when we read and learn about our past.

Because the sources upon which this examination are based are Hawaiian language sources, and because I am a Hawaiian who believes in the importance of expressing Native perspective in Native language, I have chosen to write this thesis in the Hawaiian language. You are currently reading the English version of this thesis, which is intended for the non-Hawaiian speaking members of my thesis committee, as well as other members of the Hawaiian community who are not yet able to fully understand the Hawaiian text. As such, I have chosen not to underline or italicize Hawaiian words which are used within this English version of the thesis, although I have tried to provide an English translation the first time the term is used. Even if you do not understand Hawaiian, I strongly urge you to read this thesis in its original, intended form. In the creation of the two texts, I have come to an even greater understanding of the differences between the two languages. One is simply not a translation of the other. They are, in fact, two different theses.

As you read, I ask you to remember that the goal of this thesis is to express Hawaiian perspective in the Hawaiian language, so that we may all better understand Hawaiian history and the ways it continues to impact our present and our future. No kākou, e nā ʻōiwi, kēia moʻolelo ʻōiwi.

CHAPTER 1
KA ʻŌLELO HOʻĀKĀKA
(INTRODUCTION)

Mele, which is defined as "song, anthem, or chant of any kind; poem, poetry; to sing, chant,"[1] is very important to the Kānaka Maoli of Hawaiʻi, whether from the aspect of composing, studying, or performing. Since ancient times, mele have been used by Kānaka Maoli to describe their world—what they did and what they saw, as well as what they felt and thought. For the Kānaka Maoli of Hawaiʻi, their histories and stories were not recorded in written documents until the 1830's, and it was only through memorization that these histories were maintained and perpetuated. For this reason, creating, caring for, and remembering mele were significant to remembering the past.

The *Kumulipo* is one such mele from the ancient period. This mele is 2,102 lines in length and within it, the genealogy of the Hawaiian people is traced from the creation of the universe and the earth, through to the birth of the islands, the plants, animals, gods and goddesses, and the people themselves.[2] The *Kumulipo* is known as a mele koʻihonua (cosmogonic mele) because it records Hawaiian history in the form of the genealogy of the Hawaiian people. However, there are many other types of mele in which histories are recorded.

In the book *Nā Mele o Hawaiʻi Nei*, Noelani Mahoe divides mele into various categories. According to Mahoe, in addition to mele koʻihonua, there are also mele aloha, mele inoa, as well as mele wahi pana (mele for place names), mele kanikau (mele of lamentation, dirges), and also mele lāhui.[3] These categories are somewhat ambiguous because each includes aspects of the others. For the most part, all Hawaiian mele express some aspect of love and/or lamentation, and often include references to place names and personal

names. In addition, all of these characteristics are seen in the single mele lāhui found in *Nā Mele o Hawai'i Nei*, which was written by Lili'uokalani.

In 1866, then Princess Lili'uokalani presented her mele lāhui to Lota Kapuāiwa, King Kamehameha V, who had requested her to compose a national anthem.[4] In the mele Lili'uokalani composes, she expresses aloha for and requests protection for the Mō'ī (King, Queen, Sovereign Ruler). Lili'uokalani honors the Mō'ī and his reign. She includes the islands of Hawai'i and Ni'ihau, showing the dominion of that reign, and asking for the continued life and independence of the nation.[5] Lili'uokalani called her mele "He Mele Lahui Hawaii," although neither she nor Mahoe define the term mele lāhui. Therefore, for the purposes of this work, I will use the term mele lāhui to refer to any poetic text written in honor, support, and loyalty to any aspect of the lāhui, whether it is the land, the people, the government or the Mō'ī, as well as mele which request their protection or continued independence.

Following the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom in 1893, hundreds of mele lāhui were written and published in honor of Queen Liliu'okalani, her people, her land, and her nation. The mele published immediately following the overthrow and throughout 1893 relate specific events which occurred immediately preceding and following the overthrow. Most of these mele were dedicated to Lili'uokalani and her nation, but there were also mele written in honor of the po'e aloha 'āina (po'e, people; aloha, love, respect, affection; po'e aloha 'āina, people who love the land, royalists) who love the land, royalists), who played prominent roles in supporting and assisting the Kingdom and the Mō'īwahine (Queen; in mele and mo'olelo of the time, both Mō'īwahine and the genderless Mō'ī are commonly used to refer to Lili'uokalani). There are also mele written which use 'ōlelo kūamuamu (insulting, disparaging language) to express their thoughts of kū'ē (resistance, protest) against those who

supported and were instrumental in the planning and success of the overthrow.

For the purposes of this thesis, I collected and studied many of the mele lāhui published between 1893 and 1898. I believe that the mele, in and of themselves, tell the history of Native expression and Native resistance in the face of overwhelming colonialism and oppression. Read the mele, for they are the voice of this history. It is through studying and perhaps performing these mele that the voices of the composers are heard. Where available, I have provided information on the names, origins, and genealogies of the composers. However, for a large majority of the mele, no composer is indicated, perhaps because the mele were meant to be representative of a larger consciousness of the people, and perhaps due to fear of reprisals from the Provisional Government. Even when the composer's name is provided, genealogical information is scarce and difficult to track down for the most part. This remains as an area which will require additional research and interpretation in the future.

In addition to collecting and studying the mele lāhui, I have also attempted to supplement the history they tell by providing background information on the events of the time, as well as explanatory text about the mele. In researching and gathering the information for the explanatory text, I have tried to use Hawaiian language sources, again in order to ensure that our kūpuna tell their story. My hope is that this thesis will provide Kānaka Maoli of today and future generations with a better understanding of the mele lāhui and their unique historical, cultural, and political content. My hope is that these mele lāhui will provide a better understanding of the actual thoughts and actions of Kānaka Maoli and a more complete expression of Hawaiian history.

As such, I did not wish to alter the voice of the mele lāhui in any manner, and have therefore not included Hawaiian diacritical marks ('okina and kahakō), except where they appeared in the original, keeping in mind that the apostrophe was used in most printing for the 'okina. Words have not been separated or joined in the manner of today's writing, and any numbers which appear to indicate verse are from the original. The mele appear as similar as possible to the original, although I have indicated line numbers for the mele, which appear on the right of the text, in order to assist in the explanation of the mele.

As you read, please keep in mind that you are reading the English translation of this thesis, which was originally written in Hawaiian. At times, it is the mele themselves which introduce a new chapter or a new topic, because it is the mele themselves that tell this mo'olelo. In the Hawaiian version, I have included quotes from the mele within the explanatory text of the thesis, so that again the mele tell the story whenever possible.

In this English version, I have not provided complete translations of the texts of the mele. Rather, I have kept to the format of quoting lines of the mele within the explanatory text. I have translated these lines into English so the reader can follow and comprehend the explanation. Although this creates some awkwardness in the flow of text, I have a firm conviction in the vital importance of Hawaiian expression in the Hawaiian language. I do not believe that a complete translation of the mele would be either respectful to the composer or beneficial to people who truly want to understand these mele. If you truly want to understand these mele, you must understand them in Hawaiian, not in translation.

I am also convinced that whether the reader does or does not understand Hawaiian, there is a necessity for and a much greater understanding to be gained from taking the time to study the mele with the

assistance of a Hawaiian language dictionary. It is my hope that the translation of the explanatory text into English is sufficient for both Hawaiian language speakers and non-speakers to understand the most pertinent aspects of these mele and the history they relate.

As for the translations of the mele, they are my own and from my own perspective, and by no means meant to be or assumed to be the absolute intention of the composer. Also, keep in mind that often there are several words which must be used in English in order to fully express a single Hawaiian word. An excellent example of this if the word pono, which is often translated simply as "righteous," but conveys a much broader meaning, including the ideas of "goodness, moral, correct, true condition or nature, in perfect order" and "necessary" as well as many other closely related words.[6] Other examples are kūʻē which is literally to "stand against," but also conveys the idea to "oppose, resist, protest."[7] In addition, there are words which are commonly used in Hawaiian, but which are rarely used, or somewhat awkward, in English, such as kūpaʻa, which means to be "steadfast, firm, constant, immovable; loyal, and faithful."[8] The same is true for Mōʻī which has no gender information included in the Hawaiian, while the English must be either King or Queen, or the generic, but unusual, Sovereign or Monarch. Within the translations of mele lines, I have usually provided only single word translations, even though several words are required to convey the full meaning in English. However, within the explanatory text, there are times where the Hawaiian term and its meaning are necessary. If it is a quotation of lines from a mele, it will appear in quotation marks and exactly as the original without ʻokina or kahakō; all quotes used within the text will have an English translation. However, there are some words and terms, like mele lāhui and pono which I feel are best expressed in Hawaiian. In these cases, I have chosen to use the Hawaiian term, with a translation the first time, and

inclusion of the word in the glossary. For myself, the expression and understanding of Hawaiian thought within the Hawaiian language is essential. It is essential to our own and future generations' understanding of ourselves and our kūpuna, our future and our past.

In this, the first chapter of this thesis, the characteristics of the mele lāhui published in 1893 will be discussed and described, providing a better understanding of this genre of mele. Then, we will look to an earlier time of Hawaiian history in Chapter 2. We will explore the history of the Hawaiian people and the Hawaiian Kingdom, as well as the important role that mele have played in the recording of that history. It is through this history of the people, their nation, and their mele that we see the creation and birth of mele lāhui. The overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom in January, 1893 is the focus of Chapter 3, while Chapter 4 focuses on the events, actions, and reactions of the remaining months of 1893. Chapter 5 looks at some of the common characteristics found within many of the mele lāhui, such as prayers to, and requests for assistance from, the Akua (Gods). Language of insult and disparagement towards those who overthrew the government are also common with the mele, as is the aloha expressed for the poʻe aloha ʻāina, the Mōʻīwahine, the government, and the nation. These words of insult and praise are expressive of and indicative of Kānaka Maoli feelings and opinions of kūpaʻa as well as kūʻē. The conclusion, Chapter 6, looks to the years following the overthrow, and the continued efforts of the Kānaka Maoli to restore their government and relate their experiences and their moʻolelo within mele lāhui.

Ka Mele Lāhui

Since its first publication, there is one mele lāhui which was a favorite of the Kānaka Maoli. This mele has many names. On its first date of publication, March 23, 1893, in *Hawaii Holomua*, the mele was entitled "He

Inoa No Na Keiki o Ka Bana Lahui" ("A Name Chant for the Children of the Royal Band").[9] It was published repeatedly in *Ka Leo o Ka Lahui* under the name of "He Lei No Ka Poe Aloha Aina" ("A Lei for the People Who Love the Land)[10] and it also appears as the first mele in the *Buke Mele Lahui* of 1895, under the name "Mele Aloha Aina" (Song for the Beloved Land), as well as the more commonly known "Ai Pohaku" (Stone Eating).[11] Today, we know this song by its first line, "Kaulana Nā Pua," ("Famous are The Flowers") or "Mele 'Ai Pōhaku" ("Song for Stone Eating").[12]

According to the newspapers, the mele was written by Kekoaohiwaikalani or Miss Kekoaohiwaikalani, whose complete name is Ellen Kekoaohiwaikalani Wright Prendergast. She was born in Honolulu in 1865 and she was an attendant to Lili'uokalani. Following the overthrow, she composed and had published many mele written for the Queen, her nation, and her people. I have collected a total of fourteen mele composed by Kekoaohiwaikalani, and each of them is filled with expressions of aloha for the 'āina and support and loyalty for the rights of her people.[13]

Kekoaohiwaikalani composed this mele at her home, known by the name of Puahaulani Hale in Kapālama. On the day it was written, according to the story, Kekoaohiwaikalani was relaxing on the lānai (porch) of her home and was visited by some friends, who were all musicians in the Royal Band. According to the daughter of Kekoaohiwaikalani, the band members were angry and frustrated because of the actions of the new Provisional Government, which required all employees of the government to sign documents swearing allegiance to the new government, promising not to try to re-establish the monarchy. On February 1, the band members refused to sign the document because of their continued loyalty to their Queen and her government, and they asked Kekoaohiwaikalani to compose a mele in honor of their rebellion.[14]

HE LEI NO KA POE ALOHA AINA.

Kaulana na pua a Hawaii
Kupaa mahope o ka Aina
Hiki mai ka Elele a ka lokoino
Palapala anunu me ka pakaha
Pane mai Hawaii Nui a Keawe
Kokua na Hono'a Piilani.
Kakoo mai Kauai o Mano
Pau pu me ke one o Kakuhihewa
Aole e kau kuu pulima
Maluna o ka pepa a ka Enemi
Aole makou e minamina
I ka puu kala a ke Aupuni
Ua ola makou i ka pohaku
I ka ai kamahao a ka Aina
Hoohui Aina kuai hewa
I ka pono Kiwila a o ke kanaka
Mahope makou o Liliulani,
A kau hou ia i ke Kalaunu
Haina ia mai ana ka puana
No ka poe i Aloha i ka Aina.

MISS KEKOAOHIWAIKALANI.
PUAHAULANI HALE.
Honolulu, Feb. 10, 1893.

Figure 1. "He Lei No Ka Poe Aloha Aina," *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 15 May 1893.

This mele quickly became a favorite of the Kānaka Maoli. Between 1893 and 1895, I have found eight separate publications of this mele in newspapers and books. For the large majority of these mele lāhui, we have no information regarding the performance of the mele. There is, however, documentation of several instances where this mele was performed. It was performed by the members of the Royal Hawaiian Band on February 1, 1894, it being the one-year anniversary of their refusal to sign the documents of allegiance to the Provisional Government.[15] In October 1894, at the dedication ceremony for the Queen's garden, Uluhaimalama, the mele was sung in conjunction with the placing of a large stone in the garden. The stone was placed there to signify the loyalty of the people to the land as described in

the mele itself. For the other mele lāhui, I have found no evidence for either public or private performance, which is not to conclude that there were none, or that the lack of performance would in any way decrease the import and impact of these mele on the psyche of the Kānaka Maoli. In fact, I would make the argument that each individual's reading of the mele is, in fact, a performance of the mele.

I have found no citations of Kekoaohiwaikalani's mele in the first half of this century, and it was believed that the melody created by Kekoaohiwaikalani had been lost. It was believed that Maddy K. Lam created a new melody for the mele in the 1950's at the request of Kekoaohiwaikalani's children.[16] However, as a result of the determined research of Amy Ku'uleialoha Stillman at the U. S. Library of Congress, sheet music was found with a copyright of 1895. It was copywritten by J. S. Libornia, a member of the Royal Band in 1893, who became a leader of the new band which they formed. According to Stillman, the melody of this 1895 sheet music is the same as the melody that we sing today. It is her belief that when Maddy Lam sat down at the piano at the request of Kekoaohiwaikalani's children, she hadn't created a new melody for the mele; she had in actuality played the melody that she had previously heard.[17]

In the period which followed, this mele regained its popularity. It has been recorded over forty times by the most famous of Hawai'i's musicians, such as Genoa Keawe, Myrtle K. Hilo, Leinaala Haili, Marlene Sai, Kahauanu Lake Trio, Hui Ohana, the Brothers Cazimero, and Keola Beamer. The recording made by the Peter Moon Band has become a well loved classic due to its energy and strength; it reminded many Kānaka Maoli of our history and inspired us to continue the steadfastness of our kūpuna. Within the last five years, Nā Waiho'olu'u o ke Ānuenue with Sudden Rush, and the Big Island Conspiracy have also recorded this mele.[18]

In each publication and recording between 1893 and 2002, there are some slight variations found in the words, although they are in general very similar to each other. In most cases, it would be difficult to discern which version is the most correct. However, fortunately for us, a caption was included at the bottom of the version of May 15, 1893, in *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, which stated,

> Mamuli o ka nui o na noi ia makou e hoopuka hou ia aku ke mele o ka poe Aloha Aina, ke hooko ia aku nei ko oukou makemake; a o keia ana ke kope pololei loa o keia Mele i loaa mai ka Lede nana i haku keia mele.[19]
>
> As a result of the great number of requests to us to reprint the mele of the people who love the land, your requests are being fulfilled; and this is the most correct version of this mele which was received from the lady who composed this mele.

This statement was included with the May 10 and May 12 publications of the mele as well; however, there are several lines missing from these two versions which appear in all other versions. As such, I chose the May 15 version because of its inclusions of this statement along with the complete version of the mele.

The majority of mele lāhui seen in the newspapers follow the format of this one, in that they are in what has been labeled by Stillman as a "hula ku'i" format. As previously discussed in the Preface, these are mele which combine a traditional content and format of mele with the new, even-lined verse structure seen in hymns and other Western musical forms. These mele usually follow a two-line, couplet verse format with the very last couplet containing a "puana" or "ha'ina" verse. These are common occurrences at the conclusion of mele to reiterate the main idea or theme of the mele.[20] Although the text of Kekoaohiwaikalani's mele originally appeared in this format, when she added music to it, the story relates that she used her guitar and divided the mele into five verses of four lines each.

From the time of Miss Kekoaohiwaikalani's composition until now, the Kānaka Maoli have loved this mele because of its expression of many of the important issues of the time—the history, the cultural values, and the thoughts and emotions of the people. By looking at this single mele lāhui, we can better comprehend all mele lāhui and the common themes found within them. As such, I am going to use it as a framework for discussing and describing the historical, cultural, and political perspectives found within mele lāhui of this time. Each verse expresses different characteristics and commonalities of the mele lāhui, and so I will be using lines from the mele as topic headings to lead my discussion and description.

Kaulana Na Pua A Hawaii
(Famous Are The Children Of Hawai'i)

At times, mele are relatively understandable, because the composer's explanations and descriptions are clear and concise. However, mele are also filled with kaona (hidden, underlying meaning), making it very difficult to understand the composer's true meaning. In her book, Nona Beamer explains that the kaona of a mele is closely attached to the composer's thoughts, feelings, and experiences, to such an extent that only he or she truly understands every aspect of it.[21]

In the first lines of Kekoaohiwaikalani's mele, one aspect of mele lāhui is readily apparent. She states, "Kaulana na pua a Hawaii / Kupaa mahope o ka Aina" ("Famous are the children of Hawai'i / Stand firm behind the Land") (l. 1-2). Here, Kekoaohiwaikalani, like other composers of mele lāhui, expresses her attitudes, thoughts, and feelings for her people. The mele lāhui are expressions of thoughts and feelings of admiration for the Kānaka Maoli, their actions, and their love, beauty, hope, and righteousness. She uses the word pua, which means flower as well as children and descendants to describe the Hawaiian race. This is a vital concept for the Kānaka Maoli. We are the

pua, because we come from this land, we are born of it. The Kānaka Maoli cannot be separated from our ʻāina or our lāhui, even if circumstances take us physically from our ʻāina, the spiritual and familial connection can never be severed. Kekoaohiwaikalani also shows her admiration for her people, stating that they are loyal and steadfast to the land, "Kupaa mahope a ka Aina." In describing the connection between the people and the ʻāina, Kekoaohiwaikalani and other haku mele affirm the pono of the Kānaka Maoli within our own homeland.

These mele lāhui are not comprised of only positive descriptions, however. In the next two lines of this mele, Kekoaohiwaikalani uses ʻōlelo kūamuamu (disparaging, insulting language) in order to express her negative thoughts and feelings towards the haole businessmen who were instrumental in the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom. This is a common theme of mele lāhui where composers express anger, sadness, and pain. Kekoaohiwaikalani states, "Hiki mai ka elele a ka loko ino / Palapala anunu me ka pakaha" (The evil-hearted messenger arrives / [With a] greedy document of extortion"). Here, the composer uses words like loko ʻino (evil-hearted), ʻānunu (greed), and pākaha (thievery) to describe the actions taken against her Queen, her nation, and her people. Since the 1880's, haole leaders of business interests in Hawaiʻi had been pushing for annexation to the U.S., in order to secure a market for their sugar. In her mele, Kekoaohiwaikalani clearly perceives and portrays these haole as the enemy, documenting their attempts to achieve annexation with her reference to their palapala, their document. Here, we see the historical references common in mele lāhui, as this palapala is the Treaty of Annexation. By including this in her mele, Kekoaohiwaikalani expresses her own opinion on the negative impact this would have on Hawaiʻi and the Kānaka Maoli.[22]

Kimo Alama also wrote about mele and the connections inherent within them. According to Alama, the thoughts of another generation about their time and their activities are expressed inside of the mele they compose. Therefore, when we look at mele of another era, we are able to achieve a greater understanding of their lifestyles and their thoughts. It is through mele that people, places, and stories of the past live. The histories are explained through mele and it is the mele that "jog[s] the mind and memory of the listener."[23] In some ways, when we look at or listen to mele, we can return to the time of the composer and better understand their life, their feelings, their thoughts, as well as their relationship to the place, activities and histories of their time.

In the next lines of Kekoaohiwaikalani's mele, she exemplifies this relationship between people and places, their actions and feelings. She writes:

Pane Mai O Hawaii Nui A Keawe
(Great Hawai'i Of Keawe Answers)

In the next lines of Kekoaohiwaikalani's mele, she describes the support of the people of the islands for Lili'uokalani and her cause by including the name of the famous chief connected with each island. Wahi āna, "Pane mai o Hawaii nui a Keawe / Kokua na hono a Piilani / Kakoo mai Kauai o Mano / Pau pu me ke one o Kakuhihewa" (Great Hawai'i of Keawe Answers / The bays of Pi'ilani Assist / Kaua'i of Mano supports / Completely with the sands of Kakuhihewa" (l. 5-8). This is a powerful tool in mele lāhui for a number of reasons. First, the composer shows the dominion of the nation from one end of the archipelago to the other—an important point of cultural and national identity for the Kānaka Maoli. Their 'āina (land), their reliance on it, and their personal and familial relationship with it, have also become a national connection. The composers' expression of the boundaries of their

nation, and their conceptualization of the separate islands as a single land base are symbolic of their support for their Mō'īwahine and their nation. The reference to the bays of Pi'ilani is inclusive not just of Maui, but Kaho'olawe, Lāna'i, and Moloka'i as well, just as the reference to Kaua'i traditionally refers to Ni'ihau, Ka'ula, and Nihoa. In these descriptions, Kekoaohiwaikalani shows the unified thoughts and actions of the Kānaka Maoli. She expresses a national consciousness, demonstrating that she does not stand alone in the thoughts and feelings expressed in her mele. She recognizes and she displays for everyone that she stands together with her people, that her people stand together with her and with their Queen in support of their independent nation.

From these four lines of this single mele, we find more information on Kānaka Maoli reaction to the overthrow than found in most of the popular "Hawaiian" history books described in the Preface. Before discussing Kānaka Maoli reaction to the overthrow, let's look carefully at the information provided by these "Hawaiian" history books, in order to better understand the racist aspects of their descriptions and opinions towards the Kānaka Maoli. Hopefully, these descriptions will also provide a better understanding of the effects these descriptions have on the psyche of the Kānaka Maoli when we are forced to read them again and again as history, as well as the effects the descriptions have on the Kānaka Maoli's and the general public's understanding and interpretation of events.

According to Lawrence Fuchs in his book, *Hawaii Pono: A Social History*:

> The word *pilikia* (trouble) was on the lips of hundreds of Hawaiians on the evening of January 16, 1893, as they peeked from behind doors and around corners, watching American sailors arrogantly parade two light cannon through the virtually empty streets of Honolulu.[24]

He also writes:

> To the overwhelming majority of Hawaiians, from the Queen to the commoner in the taro patch, a black cloud descended over the Islands; their birthright had been stolen.[25]

In the book *Hawaii: An Uncommon History*, Edward Joesting states that:

> There was no disorder in the Kingdom the night the monarchy died, although there was intense frustration among the Hawaiians.[26]

Although these last descriptions are somewhat sympathetic and show some of the effects that the overthrow had on the Kānaka Maoli, they are still portrayed as only passive recipients who expressed only frustration at the events.

In his description of the events of 1893, William Adam Russ provides a quote from P. C. Jones (who later became the Minister of Finance to the Republic). According to Jones:

> It was a surprise to us to see how quickly and quietly they yielded, and it is an evidence of the rottenness of the monarchy which fell as soon as any resistance was made."[27]

William Alexander writes in his book *History of Later Years of the Hawaiian Monarchy and the Revolution of 1893* about a public meeting of Hawaiians held on January 16, one day before the overthrow:

> It was a tame and dispirited meeting...the tone of this meeting was constrained and unnatural, the only genuine enthusiasm being called out by expressions of sympathy with the attempted *Coup d'etat* of Saturday, the 14th.[28]

Alexander's perspective towards the actions of the Hawaiian people is very negative as evidenced by his choice of words to describe the attitude of the Kānaka Maoli and the actions of the Queen. Although he does indicate that their "constrained" attitude was "unnatural," he still concludes that they showed little "genuine enthusiasm." His perspective is even more obvious by his reference to the events of January 14 as an "attempted *Coup d'etat*," though for many of us today, this may be a somewhat confusing reference. He is in fact referring to Lili'uokalani's attempt to establish a new constitution as a *coup d'etat*, as revolutionary, even though she absolutely acted within her

legal and constitutional rights to make changes to the constitution of the Hawaiian Kingdom.

Daws' description of the events is equally lacking in detail and substance, and we again read about the "subdued gathering" of Hawaiians at Palace Square while "about fifteen hundred people gathered to hear what the Committee of Safety had to say."[29]

In Kuykendall's version of the overthrow, we do get a little more detail in his description of the two meetings held on Monday, January 16 by the "Committee of Safety" as well as the royalists' "Committee of Law and Order." According to Kuykendall, the meeting held by the "Committee of Safety" was attended by approximately 1,260 to 1,500 people, composed of nearly all of the "male white foreign element" of the city.[30] At the meeting, their resolution calling for the "permanent maintenance of law and order and protection of life, liberty and property in Hawaii was passed without dissent," by a "unanimous standing vote, and with loud and enthusiastic cheers." Kuykendall also agrees that even though "no mention had been made either of dethronement or abrogation of the monarchy,...all apparently understood what was obviously intended."[31] Kuykendall also mentions that only one speaker, H.R. Baldwin, wanted to proceed by constitutional methods, but was shouted down, while other speakers placed emphasis on the revolutionary nature of the Queen's attempted coup.

Following this description, Kuykendall continues his history of the royalist meeting which was held at Palace Square. He states that a "shifting audience of between five hundred and a thousand Natives, interspersed with knots of curious bystanders" were in attendance. He also says that many of the Queen's most vocal supporters were there but were extremely cautious in their speech so as not to inflame the opposition, resulting in a "notable lack of enthusiasm."

After reading these descriptions, some people will immediately believe them as fact. When people research a topic, and the same version of history is repeated again and again, with almost the exact same words used to describe the events, even more people will believe them as fact. When similar descriptions are seen for a third and fourth time in book after book, almost anyone will believe it as fact. It is similar to a worm inside of the na'au (guts, intestines) of the Kānaka Maoli which is eating away at our insides. One must question the qualifications, or lack thereof, of these supposed scholars and historians. One must wonder if they conducted any original research before writing their accounts. As a Kanaka Maoli (Native Person; lack of kahakō shows singular form), I have to wonder if they sought out any alternatives to what they believed to be the universal truth that the Hawaiian people just didn't care about their loss of sovereignty. As a historian, I have to wonder if they even attempted to access primary information recorded in the Native language of the Native People, although I'm sure that they found it much easier to find Hawaiian reaction in the pro-American, English language newspapers. After reading these versions, one is left with a picture of Kānaka Maoli standing around, almost loitering, in a confused, perhaps frustrated, manner. If one is to believe these histories, the Kānaka Maoli had very little reaction to the events of the overthrow. Whether intentional or merely a result of these historians' ignorance, the effects of these histories are the same—they leave the reader, whether Kanaka Maoli or not, with the idea that Kānaka Maoli did not have or express any true protest against the overthrow; they took very little action; and the action they did take was neither constructive nor worthwhile.

This, however, is a false assumption due to these historians' lack of research into Hawaiian expression. It takes only a short look at the headlines of Hawaiian language newspapers to find evidence of Hawaiian reaction and

expression. According to these sources, "He Mau Tausani o na Hawaii i Akoakoa ae me ka maluhia" ("Several Thousand Hawaiians Gathered in Peace") and "Pihakui ka Hale Mele Hou i na mamo a Kamehameha," ("The New Music Hall was filled to overflowing with the descendants of Kamehameha").[32] These sources also explain the reason for the calm demeanor of the people. It was due to the aloha for their Mōʻīwahine,

> Aloha iloko o ka puuwai, iloko o ko kakou umauma, no ko kakou Moiwahine Liliuokalani, ka Moiwahine mua loa iloko o ke aloha, ke kupaa a me ka malama i ka maluhia.[33]
>
> Love inside of the heart, inside of our chests, for our Queen Liliʻuokalani, the supreme Queen in love, loyalty, and the maintenance of peace.

Besides these descriptions found within the prose of newspaper articles, the quantity and content of the mele lāhui are a huge indication of the true thoughts of the Kānaka Maoli. Although it is true that the people did not take up arms and violently oppose those who overthrew their Queen and their nation, they did indeed resist.

In the following lines of her mele, Kekoaohiwaikalani expresses her resistance to the overthrow, the newly established Provisional Government, and annexation in the following manner.

Aole E Kau Kuu Pulima
(My Signature Will Not Be Placed)

In the next lines of her mele, Kekoaohiwaikalani documents and advises the resistance actions of the Royal Band and other Kānaka Maoli when she promises and urges, "Aole e kau kuu pulima / Maluna o ka pepa a ka Enemi" ("I will not place my beloved signature / Atop the paper of the Enemy") (l. 9-10). This is a reference to the refusal to sign the document of allegiance of the Provisional Government, which she refers to as the "Enemi" ("Enemy"). She also documents this enemy's desire to be annexed to the U.S., describing it as "Hoohui Aina kuai hewa / I ka pono kiwila a o ke kanaka"

("Joining, Annexing of Land in an evil trade, sale / Of the civil rights of the people") (l. 11-12). In this verse, Kekoaohiwaikalani strongly expresses her resistance and rebellion against not only the new government and their actions, but also against the U.S. In truth, her description of these rebellious acts is a form of resistance, in and of itself.

Herein is an important lesson for all of us. We should never assume that there is only one way to resist, for in reality, the different forms that protest and resistance take are broad and varied. The modern era of Hawaiian protest and resistance began in the 1960's with the Kalama Valley protest and into the 70's with the protest against the bombing of Kaho'olawe. Through our participation in the language and sovereignty movements of the 80's and 90's, many of us are familiar with some forms of resistance. We go down to the capitol to protest a bill being introduced to the legislature. We take signs and stand proudly on the street and in front of the government representatives and discuss (sometimes calmly and sometimes emotionally) our opinion. At other times, we conduct acts of civil disobedience to protest the actions of government, such as was done at Hālawa valley during the construction of the H-3 freeway. We have conducted vigils at the State Capitol and other places, such as Kīlauea and Wa'ahila, where we protest through the performance of song, dance, chant, and prayer.

In describing a people's reaction and resistance to such drastic events as those occurring in Hawai'i, it is important to remember and to understand the various, and sometimes quite subtle, forms that resistance can take. For example, Jacques Semelin defines resistance as:

> the civil society's spontaneous process of struggle, by unarmed means, against aggression of which it is victim.
>
> [Resistance] refers to acts through which a determination to refuse is expressed collectively. To resist is first to find the strength to say 'No' without necessarily having a clear idea of what one wants. The act of resistance is characterized by the determination not to give into the will of the aggressor. It is based on a radical attitude of non-cooperation and confrontation with the adversary. [34]

Therefore, all activities and desires of a people do not have to be known or unified in order for there to be resistance. In James C. Scott's book, *Weapons of the Weak*, he explains the different types of resistance employed by the Native people of Malaysia. Their forms of resistance do not take place in face to face confrontations. Rather, they resist through foot-dragging and feigned ignorance. Sometimes, they will desert their jobs and at other times, sabotage the workplace and equipment.[35]

The book *Plantation Workers: Resistance and Accomodation*, edited by Brij V. Lal, Doug Munro, and Edward D. Beechert, explores the variety of forms of resistance expressed by plantation workers. In his chapter, Munro states that while resistance often did not take outright and overt forms of rebellion, such as strikes, revolts, murder, and arson, resistance still occurred within the framework of plantation workers' accommodation to the overseer and owners, and through acts such as those described by Scott. These acts of resistance were not necessarily effective in changing the life of the worker; instead, they were largely unpremeditated acts which provided a momentary psychological release for the worker.[36]

Resistance also took the form of cultural practices. James Fenelon describes the problems between the Lakota Nation and the United States. In the collective mind of the U.S. government, the Lakota people's continuation of cultural practices, such as the performance of the Ghost Dance, were acts of rebellion.[37] In an attempt to stop the dancing, U.S. military forces were ordered to arrest the leaders, one of whom was Sitting Bull. During the arrest, gunfire broke out between the Lakota and the military, and Sitting Bull was killed. The arrest of another leader of the Ghost Dance, Big Foot, was also ordered. When Big Foot heard of Sitting Bull's death and that he was to be arrested next, he began to move his people to take refuge with another great chief near the area known as Wounded Knee. Before they

reached this place of refuge, the U.S. military caught up with the fleeing party and arrested Big Foot. Four Hotchkiss guns, which could hurl explosive charges further than two miles, were set up around the Lakota encampment. While attempting to disarm Big Foot's followers, one Lakota man refused to turn over his gun. The gun accidentally went off, and although no one was wounded, the U.S. military opened fire. The Lakota had few weapons and so began running, at which time the military opened fire with the Hotchkiss guns. Of the 350 Lakota men, women, and children, only 50 Lakota survived. The others were killed, as a result of their determination to perform the dance of their people.[38]

Through these examples, we can understand that there are many facets to resistance. Sometimes, violence is involved, but often it is not. All kinds of activities can be defined as resistance--by refuting the actions of the colonizer, by foot-dragging, feigning ignorance, pilfering, as well as standing firmly in the perpetuation of cultural practices.

In her document to the U.S. at the time of the overthrow, Queen Lili'uokalani relinquished her government to the superior force of the United States of America in order to ensure the health and safety of her people.[39] Because of the love and respect that the people had for their Queen, they obeyed her command without question. But, at the same time, they sought other pathways by which they could achieve their goals of restoring the independent government of their kingdom, and returning their Queen to her throne.

In 1893, there were quite a few newspapers being published in Hawai'i. While some of them were published in English, the majority were in Hawaiian. In her book, *Shaping History: The Role of Newspapers in Hawai'i*, Helen G. Chapin wrote about the significance of this fact. According to Chapin, the editors of these newspapers recognized the connection between

the "English language and imperialism." Their decision to print their newspapers in Hawaiian was in and of itself an affirmation of Hawaiian ways and resistance against the almost overwhelming effects of imperialism and colonization.[40]

Immediately following the overthrow and through annexation, various delegates of Kānaka Maoli, including the Queen herself as well as her niece, Princess Ka'iulani, traveled to Washington, D.C. to request that the U.S. government take responsibility for their role in the overthrow. Furthermore, they requested the sovereignty of the Hawaiian Kingdom be restored, and voiced protests to the establishment of the Republic and the U.S. annexation.

According to Noenoe Silva, there were many types of resistance employed by Kānaka Maoli during the period following the overthrow until annexation to the U.S.[41] Several organizations were created, which were known as the Hui Aloha 'Āina (Organization/Group that Loves the Land) and also the Hui Aloha 'Āina o Nā Wāhine (Organization/Group of Women that Loves the Land). Their members called themselves po'e aloha 'āina, and one of their goals was to protect and preserve, through legal and peaceful means, the independence of Hawai'i.[42] These hui assisted in raising funds to send delegates to Washington and provided fundamental information during the U.S.'s investigation of the overthrow. The hui also prepared the "Palapala Hoopii Kue Hoohui Aina" ("Petitions Protesting Annexation"). These petitions were mailed and hand-carried around the islands and over 38,000 signatures were gathered. These petitions were then taken to Washington, D.C. for the purpose of submitting to the Senate and Congress of the United States. On December 9, 1897, these documents were read and officially submitted to the record of the U.S. Senate.[43] Through these means, the Kānaka Maoli voiced their protest.

Many of these examples of Hawaiian resistance to the overthrow and subsequent events leading up to annexation took the form of Western expression, as evidenced by the publication of newspapers and the signing of petitions. However, the mele lāhui written during the period are a distinctly Hawaiian form of expression as are many of the motifs found within the mele themselves, as seen in these next lines of Kekoaohiwaikalani's mele.

In the next lines of her song, Kekoaohiwaikalani writes:

Aole Makou E Minamina
(We Place No Value)

In the following lines of her mele, Kekoaohiwaikalani also illustrates an important Hawaiian value. Specifically, it compares two items—money and land. For myself, the words Kekoaohiwaikalani uses in this verse were chosen to encourage and inspire the Kānaka Maoli of her time, and perhaps our time as well. According to Kekoaohiwaikalani, "Aole makou e minamina / I ka puu kala a ke Aupuni / Ua ola makou i ka pohaku / I ka ai kamahao o ka Aina" (We place no value / In the piles of money of the Governments / We live by means of the rocks / The wondrous food of the Land" (l. 13-16). With these words, Kekoaohiwaikalani reminds us of what is truly important to us as a people—our 'āina.

Money, and the hoarding of it for individual gain, is, in essence, the antithesis of Kānaka Maoli conceptions of and relationship to the 'āina. For the Kanaka Maoli, piles of money are useless, and without value, because we cannot eat money. Furthermore, the concept of profit, in the form of stockpiling goods, resources, and money, is a foreign concept to Kānaka Maoli culture. We recognize that the stockpiling of goods does not feed our body or our spirit. It is the power of the stone which feeds our spirit, as it is the land which feeds our bodies. It is the land and the foundations of the land (the rocks) that nurture and sustain us physically and spiritually.

Within each mele lāhui, there is evidence of the aloha and the mahalo (admiration) that the composers have for the cultural practices of their people, and the mele themselves are full of references to these cultural practices—connections to ʻāina; prayer and worship; genealogy; symbols of rank, such as rain, lightning, dreams); as well as kaona. However, expressions of mahalo and aloha for the Queen, the nation, the land, and the people of Hawaiʻi are the most prevalent themes found in the mele lāhui. In the last verse of Kekoaohiwaikalani's mele, this aloha is very apparent.

Mahope Makou O Ka Moi
(We Are Behind The Queen)

According to Kekoaohiwaikalani, the people will continue to stand firmly in support of their Queen until her rightful restoration to the throne. With this kind of statement, we understand that the love the Kānaka Maoli had for the Queen and their nation did not end with her reign. Through these mele the people let Liliʻuokalani and the world know that they would never forget nor would they rest until justice was done. Although Liliʻuokalani's return to the throne cannot be achieved today, her sitting on the throne was, and is, seen as a symbol of the Kānaka Maoli's ability to lead our own independent nation. This idea is reflected in the way the song is sung today, in that the second line of this verse has been changed to "A loaa e ka pono o ka aina" ("Until the rights of the land have been achieved"), in what I believe to be an effort to show the hopes of this generation that one day we will again be in possession of our land and our sovereignty.

In the very last line of the mele, we see that although Kekoaohiwaikalani has incorporated many detailed aspects of history and culture within her mele, its real purpose and focus is on the "poʻe aloha ʻāina." For myself, I don't believe that Kekoaohiwaikalani was thinking only of the

people of her own time, but that her intention was to include the future generations of "po'e aloha 'āina". And we do live on.

Through this single mele and the hundreds of others composed during this period, some of the deepest and most profound thoughts, emotions, and memories of the Kānaka Maoli are recorded. The mele detail the historical events of the period. They describe the people involved and the places they visited. The mele express the thoughts of the haku mele in response to a period of overwhelming change. The mele express the aloha felt for the nation, the people, the government, and the Queen. The thoughts of the composers are in their mele; the resistance efforts of our ancestors are in the mele; our history is in the mele.

Notes

Chapter 1 - Ka ʻŌlelo Hoʻākaka (Introduction)

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[5] Liliuokalani, *He Buke Mele Hawaii*, a typed manuscript, (Washington, D.C., 1897), 1.

[6] Pukui and Elbert, 340.

[7] Pukui and Elbert, 172.

[8] Pukui and Elbert, 184.

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[10] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 10, 11, 15-18 Mei (May) 1893.

[11] Testa, F. J., luna hoʻoponopono, *Buke Mele Lahui*, (Honolulu: Halepai Makaainana, 1895), 1.

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[14] Ethel M. Damon, *Sanford Ballard Dole and His Hawaii* (Palo Alto, California: Pacific Books, 1957), 317.

[15] Amy Kuʻuleialoha Stillman, "'Aloha 'Āina": New Perspectives on 'Kaulana Nā Pua'," *Hawaiian Journal of History*, (Volume 33, 1999), 95.

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[17] Stillman, 1999, 84-90.

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CHAPTER 2
NO KA WĀ MA MUA
(IN REGARD TO THE TIMES BEFORE)

No ka Hoʻokumu Honua
(The Creation of the Earth)

The Kānaka Maoli of the ancient times understood the histories and stories of their people. These histories were stored in the memories of the people and passed orally from generation to generation. Often, it was through mele that these histories were told. This chapter will focus on Hawaiian history and its inherent connection to mele, as well as the development, evolution, and genealogy of mele lāhui within the historical context and evolution of the Hawaiian Nation and Kingdom.

KE KUMULIPO[1]

Ka Wa Akahi

O ke au i kahuli wela ka honua
O ke au i kahuli lole ka lani
O ke au i kukaʻiaka ka la
E hoʻomalamalama i ka malama
O ke au o Makaliʻi ka po
O ka walewale hoʻokumu honua ia
O ke kumu o ka lipo, i lipo ai
O ke kumu o ka Po, i po ai
O ka lipolipo, o ka lipolipo
O ka lipo o ka la, o ka lipo o ka po
Po wale ho–ʻi
Hanau ka po
Hanau Kumulipo i ka po, he kane
Hanau Poʻele i ka po, he wahine...

The initial lines of the above mele tell of the creation of the earth. According to J. M. Poepoe in *Ka Moolelo Hawaii Kahiko* (*Ancient Hawaiian History*), "he hookumu ana iloko o ka lipolipo hohonu o ka Po" ("it is a creation inside of the deep darkness of night, black").[2] This is a mele koʻihonua and it relates the birth of the earth and the heavens. This birthing begins in "Ka Wa Akahi" ("The First Era") with Pō, Kumulipo, and Pōʻele. In the fifteen era of time which follow this one, the fish of the ocean and the animals of the land are born, as are the birds, the plants, and the trees. Gods are also born, known by

the names of Haumea and Hina, Kāne and Kū, Papa and Wākea. The *Kumulipo* also lists many genealogies of Hawaiian Ali'i, culminating in the birth of Lonoikamakahiki, who was later consecrated with the name Ka'īamamao or Kalaninui'īamamao, of the sacred 'Ī lineage.[3]

There are other mele ko'ihonua which relate the birth of the islands, such as the following "Ka Mele a Pakui." According to Poepoe this is a mele inoa "no Kualii, Moi o ka mokupuni o Oahu nei; a i hooiliia aku hoi i ka Moi Kaumualii o Kauai" ("for Kuali'i, King of the island of O'ahu; which has been inherited by King Kaumuali'i of Kaua'i").[4]

KA MELE A PAKUI[5]

O Wakea a Kahiko Luamea, a—e,
O Papa, o Papa-hanau-moku ka wahine,
Hanau o Kahiki ku, Kahiki moe,
Hanau ke apaapaa nuu, ke apaapaa lani
Hanau *Hawaii* ka moku hiapo,
He keiki makahiapo a laua—a—a.
O Wakea la ua kane,
O Papa, o Walinuu ka wahine,
Hookauhua Papa i ka moku,
Ho-iloli ia *Maui*;
Hanau Maui-loa, he moku,
I hanauia he ololani, he uilani,
Uilani he-i kapa lau maewa
He nuu no Ololani, no Lono, no Ku,
No Kane ma laua o Kanaloa—o—a,
Hanau kapu ke kuakoko
Kaahea Papa ia Kanaloa, he moku
I hanauia he pu-nua, he naia,
He keiki i'a na Papa i hanau
Haalele Papa hoi i Kahiki
Hoi a Kahiki Kapakapaka-ua
Moe o Wakea—
Moe ia Kaula-wahine
Hanau *Lanai* a Kaula,
He keiki makahiapo na ia wahine;
Hoi Wakea loaa Hina
Loaa Hina, he wahine moe na Wakea
Hapai Hina ia *Molokai* he moku,
O Molokai a Hina he keiki moku,
Haina e ke kolea a Laukaula
Ua moe o Wakea i ka wahine
Ena Kalani, ku ka hau lili o
Papa—a—pa,
Hoi mai o Papa mailoko mai o Kahiki-ku
Ku inaina, lili i ka punalua
Hae manawa ino i ke kane o Wakea
Moe ia Lua, he kane hou ia

Hanau o *Oahu* a Lua;
Oahu a Lua, he keiki moku
He keiki maka-na-lau na Lua—u—a,
Hoi hou aku no noho me Wakea
Naku Papa i ka moku o Kauai
Hanau Kamawaelualani, he moku.
He wewe Niihau, he palena Lehua,
He panina Kaula o ka Moku Papapa

According to this mele, Hawai'i is the eldest child born to Papahānaumoku and Wākea (l. 5). And he is followed by Maui and Kanaloa, who we know today as Kaho'olawe (l. 10-17). "Haalele Papa hoi i Kahiki" ("Papa leaves, returns to Kahiki") and "Moe o Wakea— / Moe ia Kaula-wahine" ("Wakea sleeps/mates / mates with Kaula-wahine"), and Lāna'i, the fourth of the island children, is born (l. 21-25). Afterwards, "Hoi o Wakea loaa Hina" ("Wakea returns, finds Hina") and Molokai is born (l. 26-29). When Papa learns that Wākea has slept with other women, she is jealous and angry, and so she sleeps with Lua, "he kane hou ia" ("a new man"), and O'ahu is born (l. 33-39). Papa then returns to Wākea, and Kaua'i, Ni'ihau, Lehua, and Ka'ula are born (l. 40-44).

The kalo plant and the kanaka (human, person) also came from the Gods; from the mating of Wākea and his daughter, Ho'ohōkūkalani. Their child, Hāloanakalaukapalili, is born, a premature child, and in the place where his body is buried grows the first kalo plant. Ho'ohōkūkalani later gives birth to another child, also named Hāloa, who is a kanaka.[6] Through this genealogical relationship, the islands and the kalo plant are the kua'ana (elder sibling) of the Kānaka Maoli, feeding and nurturing us. In turn, the Kānaka Maoli are the younger sibling and have a responsibility to mālama (care for) the elder.[7]

As a result, the Kānaka Maoli flourished in the homeland. They cultivated the land and they fished the oceans and streams. They built their houses and arranged their settlements. The Mō'ī and the Ali'i (chiefs) ruled the government; the kahuna (priests) and the people worshipped their Gods.

The people chanted and they danced, and their hana lima no'eau (arts), such as kapa, featherwork, and weaving, also flourished. They carved canoes and traveled back and forth between the islands and across the ocean as well.[8] There were good and bad chiefs, who led their people through periods of war and peace. At times, the land flourished, while other times were marked by famine. The people, the land, and the culture was continuously evolving and changing as happens everywhere. The lifestyles and customs of some communities differed from others—depending on their environment, the island, and perhaps district in which one resided.

The mele that the people created to record their life experiences also changed. Although the above mele are about the land and the people of Hawai'i, they are not called mele lāhui, because the Kānaka Maoli did not view themselves as a single, separate nation, as different from others; they were the only people, the true people, the Kānaka Maoli. They were born of the earth and this chain of islands on which they lived, from which they were born, as an extension of other islands, of Kahiki and Polapola, Nu'umea and Hōlani. Each island, or sometimes groups of islands, or districts of an island, was perceived as a separate nation. The Kānaka Maoli identified with their own Mō'ī and Ali'i, as well as their own island, genealogy, and family. The haku mele of that time composed their mele in honor of these things. Rather than writing mele for the entire lāhui, they recorded and recited their own reality in their mele, honoring the actions of Ali'i and other heroes, honoring marriages, and children. However, there is still a connection between the mele ko'ihonua discussed above and the mele lāhui of the period to follow. In a way, the mele ko'ihonua is the kupuna of the mele lāhui. They are a reflection of the Kānaka Maoli's conception of their Mō'ī and their Ali'i, and of their distinct island nations. In order to better understand this genealogical

evolution of mele lāhui, it is important to look as well at the historical evolution of the Hawaiian Nation.

No Ke Au Iā Kamehameha Pai'ea
(The Era Of Kamehameha Pai'ea)

If the mele ko'ihonua is the kupuna of the mele lāhui, then the mele inoa is perhaps its makua (parent). Innumerable mele inoa were composed in honor of family and friends, as well as Mō'ī and Ali'i, and continue to be composed today. In these types of mele, the composer often focused on the genealogy of the chief for whom the mele was written, or perhaps on the actions for which that chief was famous.

HOLE WAIMEA[9]

Hole Waimea i ka ihe a ka makani,
Hao mai na ale a ke Ki-pu'u-pu'u;
He laau kala-ihi ia na ke anu,
I o'o i ka nahele o Mahiki.
Ku aku la oe i ka Malanai a ke
Ki-pu'u-pu'u;
Nolu ka maka o ka oha-wai o Uli;
Niniau, eha ka pua o Koaie,
Eha i ke anu ka nahele o Wai-ka-,
A he aloha, e!
Aloha Wai-ka ia'u me he ipo la;
Me he ipo la ka maka lena o ke Koo-lau,
Ka pua i ka nahele o Mahule-i-a,
E lei hele i ke alo o Moo-lau.
E lau ka huaka'i-hele i ka pali loa;
Hele hihiu, pili, noho i ka nahele.
O ku'u noho wale iho no i kahua, e-e.
A he aloha, e-e!
O kou aloha ka i hiki mai i o'u nei.
Mahea la ia i nalo iho nei?

According to Nathaniel B. Emerson, this is simply a mele aloha.[10] While it is definitely an expression of aloha, it is also widely recognized as a mele inoa for Kamehameha Pai'ea, during a time of warfare at Waimea on the island of Hawai'i.[11] Kamehameha is honored in the mele, as are the people of Waimea and their war battalion, known as the Kīpu'upu'u. Kīpu'upu'u is also the name of the wind of Waimea, and the mele states that, "Hole Waimea i ka ihe

a ka makani / Hao wale na ale a ke Kipu'upu'u" ("Waimea strips/files the spears of the wind / The waves/billows of the Kīpu'upu'u blow/come on with force"). On one level, the mele is about the Kīpu'upu'u wind that blows strongly through Waimea, but it is also about the strength, the expertise, and the fierceness of the Kīpu'upu'u war battalion. And their warfare was like wind and waves in its intensity. As a result of their fierceness and bravery, "niniau, eha ka pua o Koaie" ("the flowers of the Koaie were drooping, injured"), meaning that their adversaries were defeated, literally crushed like flowers by the Kīpu'upu'u wind (l. 7).

In addition to the above, there are numerous other mele inoa written in honor of Kamehameha Pai'ea and his conquering of the entire archipelago of islands under one rule.

KA MELE A KAHAKUIKAMOANA[12]

1 Ea mai Hawaiinuiakea,
Ea mai loko, mai loko mai o ka po.
Puka mai ka moku, ka aina,
Ka lalani aina o Nuumea,
Ka pae aina o i kukulu o Tahiti.
2 Hanau o Maui he moku, he aina,
Na kama o Kamalalawalu e noho.
3 Na Kuluwaiea o Haumea he kane,
Na Hinanuialana he wahine
Loaa Molokai, ke akua, he kahuna,
He pualena no Nuumea,
4 Ku mai ke alii ka lani.
Ka haluku wai ea o Tahiti.
Loaa Lanai he keiki hookama.
5 Na Keaukanai i moe aku,
Moe ia Walinuu o Holani,
He *kekea* kapu no Uluhina
Hanau Kahoolawe, he lopa.
6 Kiina aku Uluhina,
Moku ka piko o ke kamaiki,
Ka *iewe* o ke keiki i lele,
I komo i loko o ka ape nalu,
Ka apeape kai aleale,
Loaa ka malo o ke kama,
O Molokini ka moku
He *iewe* ia-a. He iewe ka moku.
7 Ku mai Ahukinialaa,
He alii mai ka nanamu,
Mai ka api o ka ia,
Mai ka ale poi pu o Halehalekalani.
Loaa Oahu, he wohi,

He wohi na Ahukinialaa.
8 Na Laakapu he kane ia,
Na Laamealaakona he wahine.
Hookauhua, hoiloli i ka Nuupoki alii,
Ka heiau kapu a Nonea
I kauila i ka po kapu o Makalii.
Hanau Kauai he alii, he kama, he pua alii,
He huhui alii a Hawaii,
Na ke poo kelakela o na moku.
9 I paholaia e Kalani.
Holo wale na moku i Holani,
I ka wewehi kapu a ka lanakila.
Kulia i ka moku a Kanekanaloa,
Ka ihe laumaki i Polapola.
Nana i mahiki Wanalia.
10 O Wanalia ke kane,
O Hanalaa ka wahine,
Hanau Niihau he aina, he moku,
He aina i ke *aa* i ka mole o ka aina.
Ekolu lakou keiki,
I hanau i ka la kahi,
O Niihau, o Kaula, Nihoa pau mai,
Pa ka makuwahine,
Oili moku ole mai mahope.
Na Kalani e hoolaa na moku,
Kau iluna o Nuumea.
I ka ahui alii o Kaialea.
11 Na ka lanakila e au na moku.
I huia na kolu e Kalani;
O Hilo, O Puna, o Kau, lele wale.
Ku mai Kalani me ke kahuna,
Kilohi mai ia Maui a Kama.
Aole e u aku puni ka aina
Ke kalele a Kalanimakahakona,
A ka uiaa i kilakila,
Ke koa nui o lanakila,
Nana i keehi Oahu.
Nakolo na moku i ka pea
I ka maha o Kauai, malia.
Puni na aina ia Kalani,
Ia Kalanialonoapii,
Ke kumu alii o Haloa.
Ea mai Hawaii ka moku
Ea pu me ka lanakila-la.

This mele could be defined as a mele ko'ihonua, because it speaks of the creation and birth of the twelve major islands of the Hawaiian archipelago. But, in the last verse, the names of many of the islands appear again, this time in reference to Kamehameha's conquering of the districts of the island of Hawai'i, "O Hilo, O Puna, o Kau" (l. 61) as well as the other islands of the archipelago, Maui (l. 63), O'ahu (l. 68), and Kaua'i (l. 70).[13] Previously, the

name Hawai'i referred only to the island of Hawai'i. It wasn't until all of the islands came under his rule, the rule of the chief from Hawai'i, that the entire archipelago came to be known by that name. Hence the last lines of the mele, which state, "Ea mai Hawaii ka moku; / Ea pu me ka lanakila-la" ("Hawai'i the island rises up / Rises up together with victory") (l. 74-75). And so we see that there are many histories recorded in this mele—about the genealogy of the islands, about Kamehameha, and about the new nation named Hawai'i.

I know of only one mele which has been interpreted to be a mele of protest against Kamehameha. It is a mele inoa for Kupake'i, also known as Kupake'e, an Ali'i Nui of Ka'ū, Hawai'i. According to Kīhei de Silva, Kupake'i was a hoa paio (a combatant) and peer of Kamehameha; one verse of this mele inoa for Kupake'i was in direct response and protest to Kamehameha's victory and conquering of the Ka'ū distriect.[14] In truth, almost any mele written in honor of any of Kamehameha's contemporaries, such as Kahekili or Kaumuali'i, could be interpreted as a protest against his conquering of their islands.

While it is certain that not all Kānaka Maoli were in favor and support of Kamehameha's conquering of the islands, nevertheless, his achievements were documented and preserved by the composers of his time. These mele were a means for the kūpuna of that time to express their histories, as well as their aloha for the Mō'ī, the 'āina, and the nation. They are mele that show the strength and fearlessness of our people and their steadfastness to the land. Since Kamehameha's era, and perhaps in response to the extreme loss of cultural knowledge due to colonial influences and oppression, both of these mele, "Hole Waimea" and "Ka Mele a Kahakuikamoana," have become expressions of aloha and examples of the strength and perserverance of our kūpuna. We continue to chant, dance, and sing these mele, and in doing so, we show our aloha for Kamehameha and for the lāhui as well.

No Nā Mea Hou O Ka Poʻe Haole
(Foreign Introductions)

Kamehameha was still a young warrior when Captain Cook's ships arrived in Hawaiʻi and the Kānaka Maoli first met poʻe haole (foreigners). During his reign as Mōʻī, the lifestyle of the Kānaka Maoli began to change drastically, due to a variety of introductions made by the foreigners—including, but not limited to, deadly and debilitating disease, the squandering of wealth for personal gain, firearms, and even their manner of eating. When Kamehameha died, the 'ai kapu system (sacred eating) was not re-established, as was the norm by the new Mōʻī, Liholiho, Kamehameha II.[15] Within one year, Calvinist missionaries had arrived from the U.S. and the lifestyle of the Kānaka Maoli was additionally altered due to the conversion to Christianity and the influence of the Christian missionaries in teaching the Hawaiians to live in the ways which they believed were proper.[16]

No Ka Paʻi Palapala A Me Nā Nūpepa
(Printing of Documents And Newspapers)

When the missionaries came, they brought with them a printing press and it quickly became a point of interest to the Kānaka Maoli. According to Kamakau,

> A ike iho la na Lii he ike maikai ka ike palapala, a he mea maikai ka heluhelu ana i ka palapala, alaila, lawe ae la kela a me keia alii i mau kumu ao pi-a-pa no kela a me keia alo alii, a me na ohua o lakou...A ike iho la hoi o Kaahumanu ua ike kona aialo a pau i ka palapala, alaila, hoouna aku la oia i na haumana o ke kula a Kaomi Moe, i mau kumu mai Hawaii a Kauai, e ao aku i na kanaka e noho ana maluna o na mokuaina, na kalana, na okana a me na ahupuaa; a pela no hoi kela a me keia alii i hoouna aku ai i mau kumuao i ko lakou mau aina e ao aku i na kanaka i ka palapala. Aole i hala ka makahiki hookahi o ke ao ana a na kumuao mai Hawaii a Kauai, aia hoi, ua ike na elemakule a me na luahine i aneane aku i ke kanawalu a kanaiwa o na makahiki, ua hiki ke heluhelu i ka Baibala.[17]
>
> And the Chiefs recognized that knowledge of documents was a good knowledge, and the reading of documents as a good thing, then, each chief took some alphabet teachers for the members of their entourage, and the servants of them...And when Kaʻahumanu saw that all of her retainers knew the documents/reading, then she sent students of the school of Kaomi Moe as teachers from Hawaiʻi to Kauaʻi, to teach the

> people living on the moku'āina (islands/districts); the kālana (counties), the okana (subdistricts), and the ahupua'a (land district from mountain to sea); and also in that manner did each chief send teachers to their lands to teach the people to read. One year had not passed of the teaching from Hawai'i to Kaua'i, behold, old men and women of almost eighty and ninety years, could read the Bible.*

At the time, printing was a vital aspect to the conversion activities of the missionaries because of their desire for the Kānaka Maoli to be able to read the Bible and Christian lessons. Printing also became important to the government for the publications of announcements and government documents.[18] In 1834, the first newspaper was established at Lāhainaluna School on Maui, and was named *Ka Lama Hawaii.* Within a year, another newspaper was also established under the name *Ke Kumu Hawaii.*[19] Lorrin Andrews, a Calvinist minister, directed the students of Lāhainaluna in their research, writing, and printing. According to Helen G. Chapin,

> They [the missionaries] thus inaugurated an establishment press—establishment in that even though the papers spoke for just a handful of people and not for the vast majority of the native population, in just a few years they had come to exert a dominant influence on the Islands.[20]

In these newspapers, Andrews published articles promoting American ideals, values, government and lifestyle, as well as Christian theology.

> Explanatory text spoke to the 'superiority' of American culture, the Christian religion, and the Protestant work ethic...Accounts relate how, upon receiving their copies, students would immediately sit down to read them through. By such 'truth in an attractive form' were Hawaiian readers indoctrinated into the new culture.[21]

In addition, Andrews printed articles instructing the Ali'i on what the missionaries believed was the proper way to rule over the government and the people of the Kānaka Maoli.

---

* all translations of Hawaiian language sources and texts of mele have been made by the author of this thesis, unless otherwise noted.

No Ke Au Iā Kauikeaouli
(The Reign Of Kauikeaouli)

It was during the reign of Mōʻī Kamehameha III, Kauikeaouli, that the missionaries began to strongly urge the Mōʻī to authorize private ownership of land and to also establish a constitutional government. They asserted, and in their church lessons and publications, they instructed the Mōʻī that a constitution and a legislative body were essential to a civilized nation.[22]

And so, in October, 1840, a constitutional government was established in the Hawaiian Kingdom. Prior to the establishment of the constitution, several incidents had arisen between the Kingdom of Hawaiʻi and other nations, such as Great Britain and France. The problems arose out of the foreign governments' concerns regarding the safety of their citizens and the protection of their private property, due to a lack of encoded laws. Unfortunately, these problems did not cease with the establishment of a constitutional government. Rather, foreign governments began to worry and complain about the types of laws established in Hawaiʻi and the ways in which they differed from their own country's laws.

In 1843, Kauikeaouli was still the Mōʻī when a problem of this sort arose with Great Britain. On February 10, the British warship H.B.M.S. *Carysfort* arrived in Honolulu Harbor, under the command of Captain George Paulet. As reported in the newspaper *Ka Nonanona*, "aole oluolu ka manao o keia alii manuwa; aole kani mai na pu aloha; ua oleloia no ka hoole ana o na alii i ke Kanikela hou no Beretania ka pilikia" ("the thoughts of this war chief are not pleasant; guns of greeting were not sounded; it has been said that the problem is the Aliʻi's rejection of the new British counsul").[23]

In the documents sent to Mōʻī Kauikeaouli, Paulet stated that he had six demands which he insisted be met. These demands included the timely agreement of the Mōʻī to the appointment of the Vice Consul, Mr. Simpson, as well as the protection of the British citizens residing in Hawaiʻi in accordance

with British law. Some of the demands were relative to the court systems, whereby any British citizen who was a defendant before the court would have a jury "he hapalua o lakou he poe haole Beretania ua ae ia lakou e ke Kanikela" ("half of whom were British haole, as agreed to by the Consul").[24]

The Mō'ī refused to accede to Paulet's demands, and on that same day, Paulet advised the Mō'ī as follows:

> E hoomakaukauia ka H.B.M. Moku o Carysfort malalo iho o'u e kaua koke aku i keia kulanakauhale ma ka hora 4 o ka la apopo (Satude) ke ae ole ia mai na mea au e koi aku nei maluna o ke 'Lii o keia pae aina.[25]
>
> The H.B.M.S. Carysfort, under my command will swiftly attack this town at four o'clock tomorrow (Saturday) if the things which I have demanded of the Chief of this archipelago are not agreed to.

And so, on February 25, the Mō'ī surrendered:

> I ka Pae Aina i kapaia ko Hawaii Pae Aina na Rt. Hon. Haku Geo. Paulet, Kapena o ko ke 'Lii Wahine o Beretania Nui a me Irelani mai keia la aku, a no keia manawa e noho nei.[26]
>
> The Archipelago named Hawai'i to Rt. Hon. Lord Geo. Paulet, Captain of the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, from this day, and for the time being.

In this document, the Mō'ī explained that he had sent representatives to the government of Great Britain in order to rectify this problem.

An answer was received on July 26 with the arrival of the British warship H.B.M.S. *Dublin*, under Rear Admiral Richard Thomas, the chief of the British Navy in the Pacific. On July 30, Thomas issued a proclamation returning the sovereignty of the Hawaiian Kingdom to Mō'ī Kauikeaouli, Kamehameha III. According to Thomas, the reason he returned the Kingdom to Kamehameha III was because Great Britain's representative, Paulet, had acted without cause, as no abuse of the rights of British citizens' had occurred. Therefore, in the interests of international relations, Thomas returned the sovereignty of the Hawaiian Kingdom to Kauikeaouli.

Thomas, however, did issue a veiled threat to the Mō'ī and the Hawaiian Kingdom, stating that if circumstances ever warranted it, if

conflicts were to arise wherein British citizens and their interests were unprotected or threatened, then the British government would have a foundation to take action against the Hawaiian Kingdom.[27]

Nevertheless, on July 31:

> ma ka hora 10, hele mai no ke alii [Kauikeaouli] me kona poe koa, a hiki, alaila ua weheia ko Hawaii nei hae, a ua kuuia ko Beritania hae malalo ma ka papu, a ua kau ia ko Hawaii nei hae ilaila, a mauka hoi kekahi ma ka puu o puawaina; a ua ki nui mai na pu aloha mai o a o;...a ua hookaniia no hoi na pele. Ua paapu na moku manuwa i na hae, maikai, nani loa ke nana'ku.[28]
>
> at 10 o'clock, the chief [Kauikeaouli] came with his soldiers, then the Hawaiian flag was revealed, and Britain's flag was lowered at the fort, and Hawai'i's flag was raised, and upland as well at Puawaina; and guns were fired in salute everywhere;...and bells were rung. The warships were teeming with flags, good, and beautiful to see.

The people gathered that day in multitudes, estimated to be approximately 10,000, to watch the amazing activities of the day. Their love for the Mō'ī was shown through their repeated firing of their weapons and shouting out of their voices.

In 1843, these events were recorded and reported in good detail in *Ka Nonanona*, the only newspaper in publication in Hawai'i at that time. It was a mission press paper under the direction of Rev. Richard Armstrong, who was known as Limaikaika. This paper printed more than Christian lessons and church information, including information on government and community activities and events. *Ka Nonanona* is, however, decidedly lacking in Hawaiian perspective and input, as many of the articles and editorials were written by Reverend Armstrong himself. This attitude and perspective are also reflected in a mele published in the September 5, 1894 issue of *Ka Nonanona*. This is a mele lāhui, because it is written in commemoration of these events and in honor of the Mō'ī and the lāhui. However, like the newspaper itself, the mele is lacking in Hawaiian perspective and traditional expression.
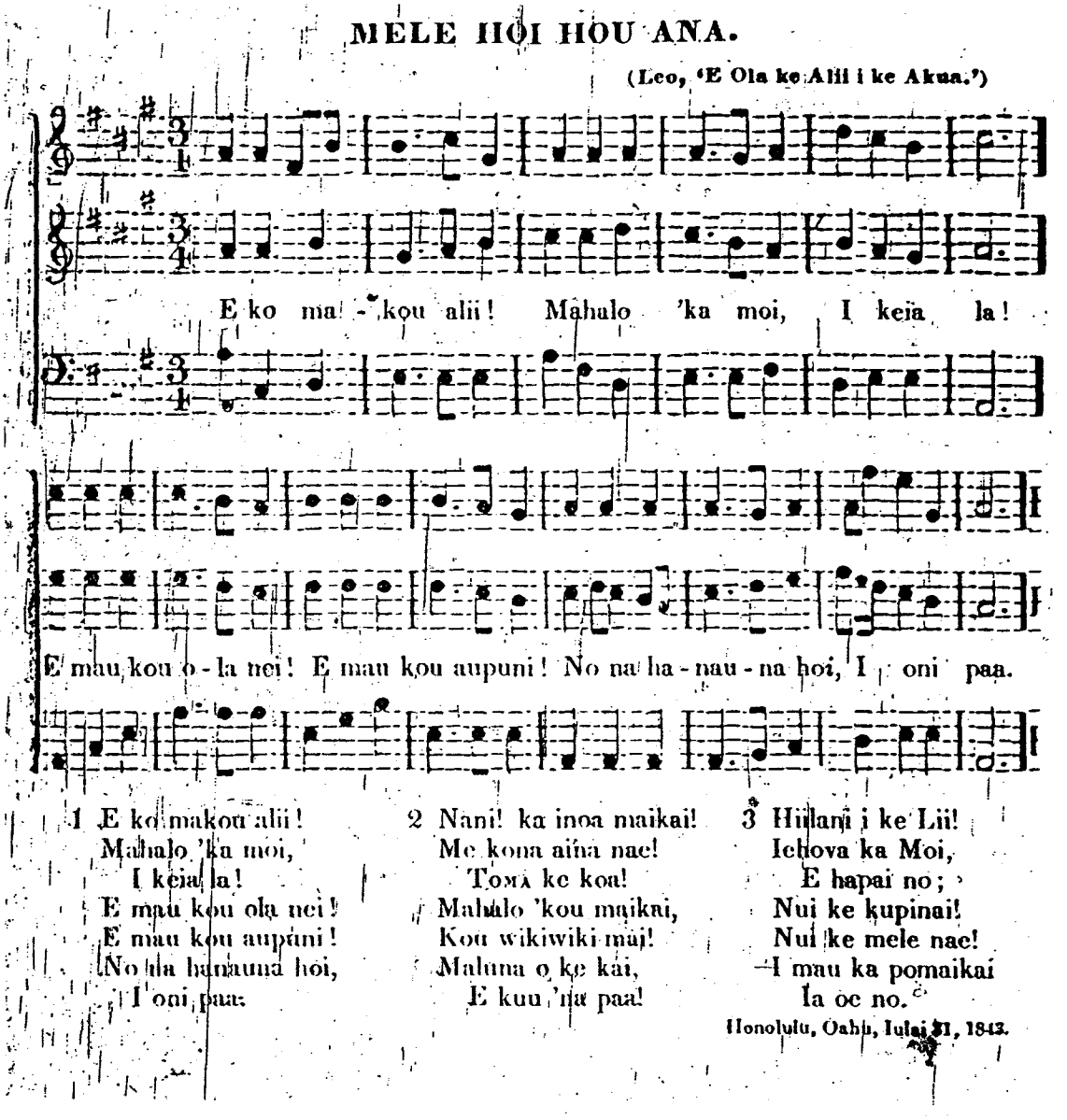


Figure 2. "Mele Hoi Hou Ana," *Ka Nonanona*, 19 September 1843.

According to John Charlot in his book on political and religious mele, there is nothing in this mele which is characteristic of Hawaiian mele.[29] For the most part, I agree with Charlot, although there are a few aspects which this mele shares with other mele lāhui. It should actually not be of any surprise that this mele is lacking in characteristics of Hawaiian mele, especially since it was written by Edwin O. Hall, a haole who was well known only for his work as a printer. In his composition, Hall followed not only the melody, but also the style, of the British anthem, "God Save The King." Hall did not praise the Mō'ī in the traditional manner of genealogy or the other symbols of his chiefly rank. The mele does not use kaona or metaphor, nor does it speak to heroic actions taken by or characteristics of the Mōʻī. Rather, Hall says in the first verse, "Mahalo ka Moi i keia la" ("The Mōʻī is thankful today") (v. 1). In the next lines, the mele requests, "E mau kou ola nei! / E mau kou aupuni! / No na hanauna hoi, / I oni paa;" ("Let your life continue / Let your government continue / For the generations / Who stand firm") (l. 1-4).

The honoring of Rear Admiral Thomas' name, which appears as Toma, is the theme of the second verse, expressing admiration ("mahalo") for his "koa" ("bravery"), his "maikai" ("goodness"), and his "wikiwiki / Maluna o ke kai" ("swiftness / On the ocean") in coming to Hawaiʻi (l. 11-12). This is an historical reference and relating of the events. The third verse is devoted to the Christian "Akua" ("God"), asking that he "Hiilani i ke Lii!" ("Carry, care for the Chief!") (l. 15-16). There is indeed very little about the mele which could be called traditionally Hawaiian; however, there is some evidence of the commonalities seen in mele lāhui of 1893, such as the relating of historical detail and the request for assistance of the Gods; it also contains words and ideas which appear frequently in the mele lāhui of the later era, such as "ola mau" ("continuous life") of the Mōʻī, the "pomaikai" (blessing) of the nations, and the "onipaa" ("perserverance") of the "hanauna" (next generation) (l. 4, 7,

20). Although these are common aspects or characteristics of national anthems, these are also concepts which meld easily with the concepts of aloha and mahalo that the Kānaka Maoli have for their Mōʻī and their lāhui.

No Nā Nūpepa: 1843 - 1861
(The Newspapers: 1843 - 1861)

The above mele was published in the newspaper named *Ka Nonanona*, which, as stated, was the only newspaper being published at the time. In order to better understand the mele lāhui, it is important to have an understanding of the venue in which they developed and were published—the Hawaiian language newspapers—especially as the newspapers became a strong force in the expression of Kānaka Maoli thoughts and perspectives.

In 1843, Reverend Armstrong was the Editor of *Ka Nonanona* and he also published *Ka Elele Hawaii* in the year 1845, and then *Ka Hae Hawaii* in 1856.[30] Both *Ka Nonanona* and *Ka Elele Hawaii* were Christian newspapers, while *Ka Hae Hawaii* was a government paper, also under the direction of Armstrong in his capacity as the head of the Hawaiian Kingdom's Office of Public Instruction. There is not a great deal of evidence as to the quantity of newspapers being printed on a daily basis or on the circulation capacity of the newspapers. However, in *Ka Hae Hawaii*, on the first anniversary of its first publication in 1857, it was reported that it had 2,400 subscribers.[31]

Between 1852 and 1861, more Calvinist newspapers as well as some Catholic newspapers were established, such as *Ka Nuhou* (1854), *Ka Misionari Hawaii* (1856), and *He Mau Hana i Hanaia* (1859). It was at this time also that *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser* was first established (1856) by Henry M. Whitney. This newspaper was written in English with the inclusion of a one page synopsis written in Hawaiian and called *Ka Hoku Loa o Hawaii*. In its first issues, Whitney stated that his was an independent press, because it had no connections either to church or government; however,

the *Advertiser*'s intended audience was largely comprised of the haole merchants, businessmen, and plantation owners, as reflected in its articles and perspectives.

Whitney was the son of a missionary, and born here in Hawai'i; however, he was, like almost all of the children of the first wave of missionaries, sent to America for his education. Perhaps in part because of this, as well as his parents' generation's assertions of American superiority, his admiration and loyalty to America were notable. It was as if America were his birth place, especially as America's Independence Day was regularly featured in his paper. Perhaps he desired for his paper to be independent of the government and the churches of Hawai'i; and yet, since the time of its inception, the *Advertiser* strongly supported the lifestyle, the government, and the capitalistic, trade system of America.[32]

No *Ka Hoku O Ka Pakipika* (*Ka Hoku O Ka Pakipika*)

In 1861, a group of Kānaka Maoli established Ka 'Ahahui Ho'opuka Nūpepa Kūikawā o Honolulu (The Special Newspaper Publishing Organization of Honolulu). Some of the initial members were David Kalākaua, J. W. H. Kauwahi, S. N. Hale'ole, Kawaili'ulā and J. H. Kānepu'u. They wished to publish a newspaper which was without connection to the government or the approval of the missionaries, a newspaper which would support the Native people and their lifestyle.[33] According to their by-laws, "he nupepa keia no na kanaka maoli, a he poe kanaka maoli no ka poe nana i kukulu, a ke noho nei he Ahahui kanaka maoli" ("this is a newspaper for the kanaka maoli, and the people who have created it are kanaka maoli, and it is being run by a board of kanaka maoli"). *Ka Hoku O Ka Pakipika* was the name of this newspaper, and according to Silva, the support *Ka Hoku O Ka Pakipika* demonstrated for the nation and the lifestyle of the people was

made in an effort to rebel against the colonizing influences of both America and Europe:

> mean[ing] that (mainly) European-Americans came to Hawai'i, settled here, attained positions of power in business and government, and proceeded to establish a capitalist European-American political and economic system that benefited themselves while subjugating and oppressing the Kānaka Maoli. They imposed the English language, a Western system of government, U.S. currency, and Christian religion.[34]

Silva analyzes the Kānaka Maoli response to colonization in depth, especially in areas like the newspapers. She explains that where and when they could, Kānaka Maoli established and held on to pockets of power that were accessible to them. *Ka Hoku O Ka Pakipika* was a big help in this endeavor, especially as it spread its anti-colonial message throughout the archipelago. In the beginning J. W. H. Kauwahi, a lawyer and a member of the legislature (1853-64), was the editor-in-chief. Afterwards, in 1862, David Kalākaua became the editor.

In *Ka Hoku O Ka Pakipika*, the Kānaka Maoli printed stories which demonstrated their aloha for this land, its history, its chiefs, and its independence. In its first issue in September, 1861, a mele was published under the name of "He Mele no ka Naauao" ("A Song for Knowledge/Wisdom"), which used the kaona of body parts and sexuality to demonstrate knowledge and wisdom. Immediately following its publication, accusations against *Ka Hoku O Ka Pakipika* arose. The mele and the newspaper were labeled as "olelo pelapela, lapuwale, he mea hoohaumiaia i ka naau o ke kanaka" ("profanity, useless, a thing which defiles the core of man") in a letter to the editor of the newspaper *Ka Hae Hawaii*. According to the author, "hoolahaia ma ia pepa, he mau olelo i paa i na manao welo o ke kuko" ("there was published in this paper some words which are permanently secured in the hot thoughts of lust"). The letter was signed under what is probably a pseudonym, "Puni Maemae" ("Surrounded by, Lover of Chastity, Purity").[35]

The Kānaka Maoli quickly surmised that Puni Ma'ema'e was not a Kanaka Maoli due to his labeling of the mele as pelapela (indecent, profanity). According to Silva, the Kānaka Maoli understood the kaona of the mele and its descriptions of the body; the Kānaka Maoli understood that the body, as well as love and lovemaking, were often alluded to in mele. For the Kanaka Maoli, these things were not pelapela. They were things of beauty, expressions of aloha, and a normal aspect of the human experience. However, for the missionaries and, to a certain extent, the other haole residents as well, these ideas were highly offensive, as the body and its beauty were not recognized, but were rather things to be ashamed of, things by which the "kuko" ("sinful desires") would become "wela" ("hot, incited"). These ideas however are related solely to their culture, not to the rest of the world, and certainly not to Hawai'i.[36]

In the days following the publication of Puni Ma'ema'e's letter, this issue became a popular one, with many letters being published in response. It also became an issue within the churches and missionary community, when several haole Christian ministers spoke against *Ka Hoku O Ka Pakipika*, advising their congregation that, "O ka Hoku o ka Pakipika, no ka aoao lealea ia, no ka Diabalo la, e imi...e kinai ia pepa" ("the Hoku o ka Pakipika, it is for the side of pleasure, for the Devil, seek...to extinguish this paper").[37]

However, many Kānaka Maoli came to believe that the foreigners of the community were not really concerned with the content of *Ka Hoku O Ka Pakipika*, especially since mele with similar kaona had been published in other newspapers without complaint. According to Silva, the Kānaka Maoli came to understand the true objections of the foreigners centered around the fact that the Kānaka Maoli had moved into the media business and had begun to assume a leadership role for other Kānaka Maoli, broadcasting their anti-colonial, pro-Kānaka Maoli beliefs.[38] In their dealings with the Kānaka

Maoli, the missionaries had established themselves as parental figures, and the Kānaka Maoli as the child under their direction and control. However, the Kānaka Maoli realized that when they established:

> ...i Nupepa no lakou iho...ua pau ka noho ana ma lalo o na makua oia na Kumu. Aka ke keakea mai nei na makua, me he mea la e olelo ana, aole oukou i hiki i na makahiki e oo ai, na makou ia hana, a ma ia ano, ke hoohuli ia nei i kekahi mau keiki.[39]
>
> ...a Newspaper for themselves...the sitting below the parents, that is the Teachers, was finished. But, the parents are looking down at us, as if they are saying, you do not have enough years of maturity, it is we who must do it [lead, instruct], and in this manner, they turn us into children.

The pride displayed by the leaders of *Ka Hoku O Ka Pakipika* was also a point of contention. In the mission and government press, there were many stories which were published about the superiority of the haole lifestyle, the haole government, the haole religion, and haole economics and industry, while they scorned the Native lifestyle, Native government, Native religion, and the Native perspective of aloha ʻāina. In *Ka Hoku O Ka Pakipika*, the editors declared their pride and their aloha for the values and culture of their people, and the newspaper quickly became popular with the people; it also became a place in which all Kānaka Maoli could show their aloha, as evidenced by this letter to the editor:

> Ua pomaikai kakou e na kanaka Hawaii a pau, i ka loaa ana ia kakou ka waha kamailo [*pn**], ka wehe pilikia a me ka makua nanana [*pn*] e hanai mai ia kakou i ka ike a me ka naauao, oia hoi ka Nupepa Hoku o ka Pakipika.[40]
>
> We, all of the Hawaiian people, are blessed, at the acquisition of this conversational mouthpiece, the problem solver and the progenitor, who will feed us the knowledge and the wisdom, it is indeed the Newspaper Hoku o ka Pakipika.

Other letters show how the Kānaka Maoli began to assert their own identity, as separate physically, genealogically and culturally from others, as seen in the salutation of this letter :

> E na makamaka huina Hawaii, i hanauia i loko o ka lahui nei, e na kupuna hoʻokahi, a kino Hawaii, a ili Hawaii, a olelo Hawaii,

---

* *pn* = pēlā nō i paʻi ʻia ai; [*sic*]

> a helehelena Hawaii, a keiki papa Hawaii, a kupa Hawaii, a ano Hawaii, na 'lii, na makaainana, na makua, na keiki, na ohana, ka poe kiekie, me ka poe haahaa.[41]
>
> To all Hawaiian friends, who were born inside of this nation/people, by the same kupuna, with a Hawaiian body, and Hawaiian skin, Hawaiian language, Hawaiian features, a Hawaiian genealogy, a Hawaiian Native, a Hawaiian manner, the chiefs, the commoners, the parents, the children, the families, the people of high status and low.

At about this time, Henry M. Whitney, who had previously founded the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, tried to take over the leadership of *Ka Hoku O Ka Pakipika*.[42] Chapin states that while Whitney had aloha for the islands of Hawai'i and even the Hawaiian language, he had "contempt for Hawaiians."[43] Unfortunately, I do not believe that these feelings were unique to Whitney, rather they were the feelings of a majority of missionaries and other foreigners—the perception of themselves and the establishment of themselves in paternal positions of power over the Kānaka Maoli.

Therefore, when *Ka Hoku O Ka Pakipika* was created, a newspaper by Kānaka Maoli for Kānaka Maoli with the stories of Kānaka Maoli, Whitney attempted to usurp the leadership of such a paper. Fortunately for the Kānaka Maoli, *Ka Hoku O Ka Pakipika* was held securely under the control of their newly established publishing house.

No *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*
(*Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*)

When Whitney was denied the leadership *Ka Hoku O Ka Pakipika*, he established a new, Hawaiian language paper, which he named *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa (The Independent Newspaper)*.

> He pepa ia e hoopili ole ana i kahi aoao ma kana mau olelo ana a pau. E hoolaha aku ia i na mea ike, no ka hoonaauao ana i na kanaka Hawaii a pau, i ka poe oo, a me ka poe opiopio, i na mea o kela aoao keia aoao hoomana.[44]
>
> It is a paper which is not connected to any one side in all of its speech. It will disseminate information for the purpose of educating all of the Hawaiian people, the mature people, and the young people, the ones of every type of religion.

According to Silva, the missionaries approved of Whitney's new paper, and the Kahu of the various churches voiced their support for Whitney's new paper. The reason, according to Silva was because,

> It would...be much more to the liking of the missionary community that Whitney control any new, so-called independent newspaper, especially since Whitney was one of their own.[45]

This attitude is clear from the inception of *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*. In its first issues, which began in October 1861, the newspaper employed various tactics to entice Kānaka Maoli to buy the newspaper, through the inclusion of a variety of Hawaiian things. In the first column, mele inoa were printed in honor of "Ka Haku o Hawaii" ("the Master of Hawai'i"), Prince Albert, son of the Mō'ī Kamehameha IV, Alexander Liholiho, and the Mō'īwahine (Queen) Emma. On the first day of 1862, a picture of the Hawaiian flag was printed front and center on the first page and in color. For its time, this was an astonishing feat. In the accompanying story, the reason for the printing is explained as a result of the "aloha nui i ko kakou Moi, a me ka Moiwahine, a me ka Haku o Hawaii, ka laua keiki, a me ke Aupuni hoi o kakou" (great aloha for our Mō'ī, and Mō'īwahine, and Ka Haku o Hawai'i").[46] The name of the author is not included, but it is made clear that he is a Hawaiian and that, "ua hanaia ke pai ana e ka poe Hawaii wale no" ("the printing was done only by Hawaiians"). As a part of the article, a mele in honor of the flag was also printed. In the mele, Kamehameha Nui is honored for his conquering of the islands, as are the Mō'ī, the Mō'īwahine, and Ka Haku o Hawai'i. However, at the end, it becomes a song written in honor of the newspaper itself, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*.

"He Mele Hou No Ke 'Lii"
("A New Song For The Chief")

On December 16, 1861, an announcement appeared in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* in regards to a mele competition with a prize of $10 for the composing of a mele for the Mōʻī. According to the announcement:

> Eia ka mea i makemakeia, he mea e lealea ai na kanaka Hawaii, ka poe aloha i ka Moi. Ua makemakeia ke mele hou no keia lahuikanaka e hapai i ke Alii a i ke 'Lii Wahine a me ka Haku o Hawaii.[47]
>
> Here is the thing that is desired, a thing which will delight the Hawaiian people, the people who love the Mōʻī. A new mele is wanted for this nation of people to lift up/carry up the Chief, the Chiefess and Ka Haku o Hawaii.

The rules of the competition were also included, and according to the first rule, it must be a "hanauna Hawaii (kanaka maoli)" who would compose it, and therefore, at least at first glance, it appears that a Hawaiian mele written by a Hawaiian person is wanted. This is a misassumption however, as evidenced by the remainder of the rules, which speak to exactly the type of mele that is acceptable, specifically:

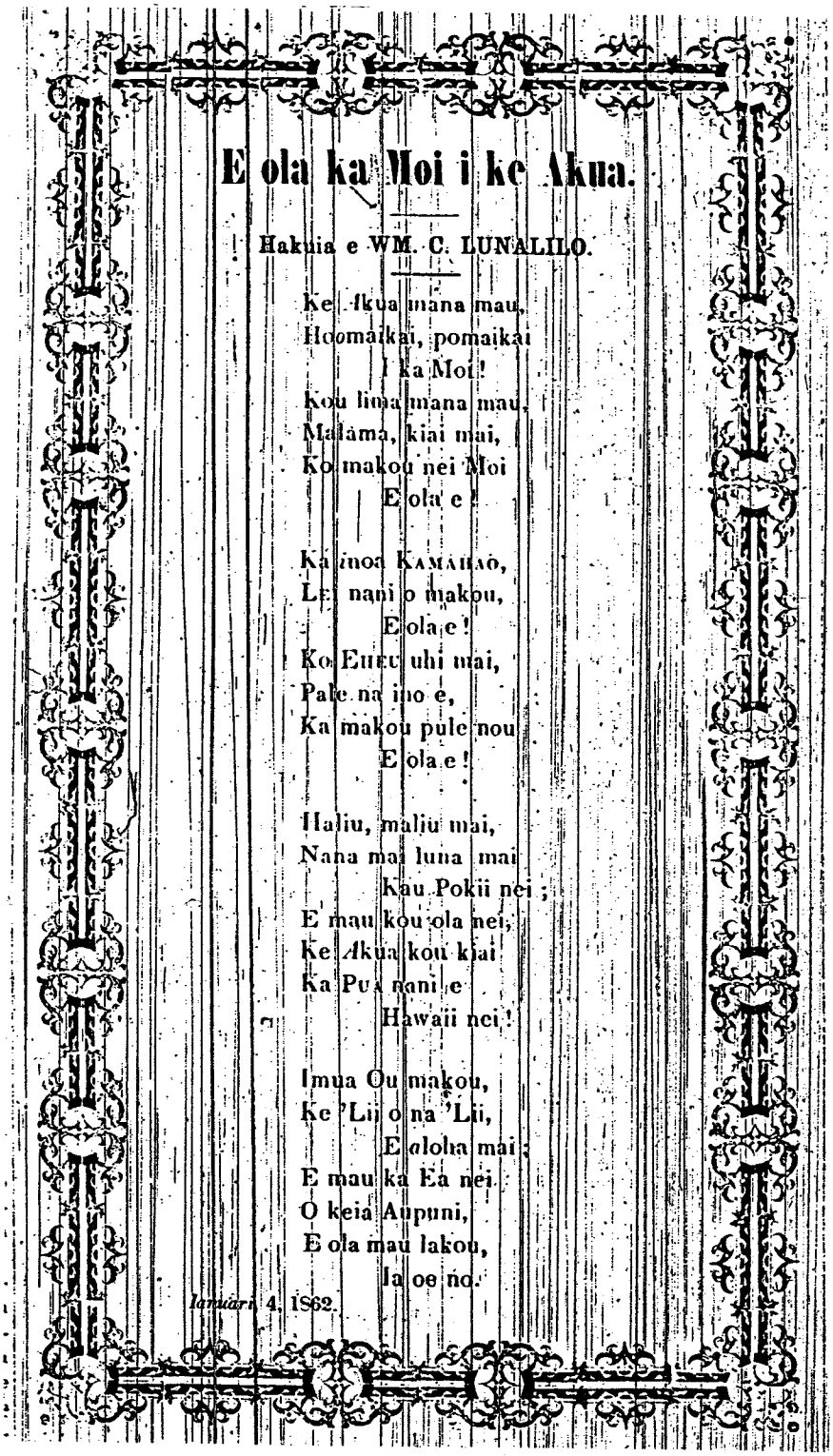
> 5. I eha wale no pauku o ke mele, a e like loa ke pili ana i ka leo, *God Save the King.*
> 6. E pili loa ke mele hou ma ke ano o ka olelo o ke mele i paiia malalo.[48]
>
> 5. Only four verses should the mele have, and the melody should be exactly like *God Save the King.*
> 6. The new mele should closely resemble the style of the language of the mele printed below.

Directly beneath was printed the mele *God Save the King* in English, along with a translation of the main ideas of each line into Hawaiian. It is literally a vocabulary list of thoughts and expressions which had been deemed acceptable by Whitney. A mele which expressed genuine Hawaiian thought and feeling was not desired and would not be accepted, nor would a mele whose form and melody were traditionally Hawaiian in format. Only the Hawaiian language and a Hawaiian person were wanted. The feeling, the expression, and the ideas were haole.

Ka Nupepa Kuokoa assured the fulfillment of this desire in their choice of judges for the mele competition. According to the original announcement, "e waeia i ekolu poe noiau e nana a e hooholo i ke mele maikai," ("three knowledgeable people will be selected who will choose the appropriate mele"), and that the names of these knowledgeable people would be published at a later date.[49] On January 25, 1862, the names of the knowledgeable judges were published, and they were James I. Dowsett, G. P. Judd, and E. O. Hall.

All three were foreigners. James I. Dowsett was born in Hawai'i in 1829. At the time of the mele competition, he was a leader in the shipping industry and also owned a great deal of land which was used for lumber and raising cattle.[50] Gerritt P. Judd was a missionary and a doctor, and played a pivotal role in the creation of the Board of Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles in 1845. At the time of the competition, he was the Minister of Finance to the Kingdom. Hall was attached to the Calvinist mission, having arrived with the sixth company in 1835.[51] He was an editor for various newspapers, including *The Polynesian*, and he was also employed as a printer for the government press.[52] In 1843, Hall was the person who composed the "Mele Hoi Hou Ana" discussed above in honor of Kamehameha III. As stated previously, it was not a mele which exemplified the true beauty and style of Hawaiian mele. However, Hall's mele was very similar to the style of mele required by the rules of the competition, especially in that Hall's original mele also followed the melody of "God Save the King."

On the day that the names of the judges was announced, there was no explanation as to what qualified them as "noiau" ("wise, knowledgeable, gifted") in the area of Hawaiian mele. Neither did I find such evidence of their noiau in their biographies recorded in various locations. However, on February 8, 1862, the judges announced the chosen mele. The prize was given over to the Ali'i William C. Lunalilo for the mele he composed.



E ola ka Moi i ke Akua.

Hakuia e WM. C. LUNALILO.

Ke Akua mana mau,
Hoomaikai, pomaikai
I ka Moi!
Kou lima mana mau,
Malama, kiai mai,
Ko makou nei Moi
E ola e!

Ka inoa KAMAHAO,
Le nani o makou,
E ola e!
Ko EHEU uhi mai,
Pale na ino e,
Ka makou pule nou
E ola e!

Haliu, maliu mai,
Nana mai luna mai
Kau Pokii nei;
E mau kou ola nei,
Ke Akua kou kiai
Ka Pua nani e
Hawaii nei!

Imua Ou makou,
Ke 'Lii o na 'Lii,
E alolia mai;
E mau ka Ea nei
O keia Aupuni,
E ola mau lakou,
Ia oe no.

Ianuari 4, 1862.

Figure 3. "E Ola Ka Moi I Ke Akua," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 8 Pepeluali 1862.

In the months following, other mele which had been submitted for the competition were printed in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*. When one looks at the mele, there is not a great deal of difference between the versions; they are all relatively similar. They each have four verses as required, and the words are quite alike, such as "hoomaikai" ("blessing"), "ola mau" ("continued life"), and the "kia'i" ("protection/guardianship"), o ke "Akua Mana Loa" ("All Powerful God"). Although I do believe that they were written with genuine aloha for the Mō'ī, the mele are still quite British in feeling, because they followed the style, manner, and theme of a British hymn. They are, for the most part, merely a translation of the British hymn into the Hawaiian language for the Hawaiian people. The thoughts and ideas expressed belong to the foreigners, and they represent a continued assertion of haole superiority by limiting expressions of admiration to the constraints of the haole ideal.

"He Mele Lahui Hawaii"
("A Hawaiian National Anthem")

While the prize money went to William C. Lunalilo, for his mele, it is not clear whether his mele became a mele for the kingdom. According to Lili'uokalani:

> In the early years of Kamehameha V, he brought to my notice the fact that the Hawaiian people had no national air...but we were using...the time-honored British anthem, "God save the Queen." This he desired me to supplant.[53]

She does not give us a detailed explanation of which "God Save the Queen" (aka, "God Save the King") she is referring to. It is unclear whether Lili'uokalani refers to the singing of the English version of this song, or whether it could refer to Hall's "Mele Hoi Hou Ana" of 1843 or to Lunalilo's "E Ola ka Moi i ke Akua" of 1861, both of which used the same melody.

What we do know is that Lili'uokalani composed a new mele and that she named it, "He Mele Lahui Hawaii". Because "it is the only song...

Lili'uokalani describe[d] in detail,"[54] we know that Lili'uokalani was the leader of the Kawaiaha'o church choir when they sang it for the first time in 1866. The Mō'ī, Kamehameha V, Lota Kapuāiwa was present, and following the performance, he expressed his mahalo for the words and the melody.[55] The mele was printed in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* on November 24, 1866.

HE MELE LAHUI HAWAII[56]

1. Ka Makua Mana Loa,
   Maliu maila makou
   E haliu aku nei
   Me ka naau haahaa
   E mau ka maluhia
   O nei Pae Aina
   Mai Hawaii a Niihau,
   Malalo o kau malu.

Hooho;-
   E mau ke Ea o ka Aina
   Ma kou pono mau
   A ma kou mana nui
   E ola e ola ka Moimau.

2. E ka haku malama mai
   I ko makou nei Moi
   E mau kona noho ana
   Maluna o ka Noho Alii
   Haawi mai i ke aloha
   Maloko o kona naau
   A ma kou ahonui
   E ola e ola ka Moi

Hooho:-
   E mau ke, etc. etc.

3. Malalo o kou aloha nui
   Na Lii o ke Aupuni
   Me na Makaainana
   Ka lehulehu no a pau
   Kiai mai ia lakou
   Me ke aloha ahonui
   E ola no makou
   I kou mana mau

Hooho;-
   E mau ke ea, etc. etc.

Lili'uokalani's mele was not a carbon copy of the previous mele lāhui of William Lunalilo, nor did it reflect a style that was traditionally seen in Hawaiian mele. The mele has three verses with a chorus, which is a very new

introduction in Hawaiian mele, and commonly seen in Christian hymns. In many ways, this is a mele haipule (prayer, church song), because it calls upon the name of the "Makua Mana Loa" ("All Powerful Parent") and the "haku" ("lord) (l. 1, 13). Lili'uokalani requests the "pono" ("righteousness"), the "mana" ("spiritual power, strength"), "ahonui" ("patience"), and "aloha" ("love") from Akua (l. 10, 11, 19, 16). She also asks that the peace continue ("mau ka maluhia") and that God care for the Mō'ī ("malama mai"), and guard over Hawai'i ("kiai mai") (l. 5, 13, 25).

Lili'uokalani called her mele, "He Mele Lahui Hawaii" and it was perhaps the first time that this term mele lāhui was used. In the chorus, the most important hopes of Lili'uokalani are expressed. She states, "E mau ke Ea o ka Aina" and "E ola e ola ka Moi Mau" (l. 9, 12). In this mele, like the mele lāhui of the later period, the independent sovereignty and the continued life of the Mō'ī are of vital importance. The conceptualization of the archipelago as a single entity and the Kānaka Maoli as a unique and distinct people comprised of "Lii" ("Chiefs"), "makaainana" ("commoners, farmers"), and the "lehulehu" ("general public"), was firmly secure within the hearts and minds of the Kānaka Maoli (l. 22-24). As the people began to understand this concept, it was reflected in the mele lāhui that they composed.

No Nā Nūpepa: 1861 - 1876
(The Newspapers: 1861 - 1876)

Ka Hoku O Ka Pakipika, under Kauwahi and Kalākaua, remained in publication for only three years, until 1864, while, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* continued until 1927. Many new papers were also established, and like before, some were government sponsored, such as the *Daily Legislative Bulletin* (1867), while other were missionary papers, *Ke Alaula* (1866), *Ka Hae Katolika* (1868), and *Ka Lau Oliva* (1871).

There were papers published by Kānaka Maoli for Kānaka Maoli. *Ke Au Okoa* (1865) is one as are *Ko Hawaii Ponoi* and *Ka Nuhou* (1873). David Kalākaua also established another paper in 1870, named *Ka Manawa*. Each of these papers had some common themes which were clearly expressed:

> "One, a conviction that Hawaiians knew what was best for themselves; two, an awareness that the decline of the native population was a serious matter; three, an insistence that Hawai'i remain an independent nation; four, a deep respect for the monarchy; and five, a great love for their land.[57]

No Ke Au Iā Kalākaua
(The Reign Of Kalākaua)

It was in 1874 that David Kalākaua became the Mō'ī of the Hawaiian Kingdom. Prior to becoming King, especially as a result of his leadership within the newspaper business, Kalākaua had refined his political and cultural beliefs and used his newspaper, *Ka Hoku O Ka Pakipika*, as a venue through which to voice his opinions and perspectives. As he had already expressed in his newspapers, he had a great love for his people, his culture, and his history, as well as a strong belief in the ability and rights of Kānaka Maoli to govern themselves.

In 1876, the Mō'ī composed a new mele lāhui for his people reflecting his personal and political viewpoints.

HAWAI'I PONO'Ī[58]

Hawai'i pono'ī
Nānā i kou mō'ī,
Ka lani ali'i,
Ke ali'i.

Makua lani e,
Kamehameha e,
Nā kāua e pale
Me ka ihe

Hawai'i pono'ī
Nānā i nā ali'i
Nā pua muli kou,
Nā pōki'i,

Hawai'i pono'ī,
E ka lāhui e,
'O kāu hana nui,
E ui e.

In Kalākaua's mele lāhui, support of Hawai'i's pono'ī (Hawai'i's own) is the primary message. It is as if he is requesting Hawai'i's own to look to the Mō'ī and the Ali'i and they will protect the people. I believe that Kalākaua sought to support all of Hawai'i's pono'ī—the Mō'ī, the chiefs, and the people, as well as the culture, lifestyle and kingdom. Since Kamehameha's conquering of the islands, the Hawaiians had begun to think of themselves as one, independent nation. During the reign of Kalākaua, it became necessary to protect and care for the uniqueness of Hawai'i's own, due to the influx of foreigners and their colonial attitudes, policies, and practices, so that the cultural practices of the Kānaka Maoli would not simply disappear. According to Silva:

> The lāhui was also created in the collective imagination by Kānaka Maoli grouping themselves as alike, sharing a language and culture, albeit with regional variations, and in opposition to the haole. That opposition was not simply an othering based on differences in color and language, but an attempt to fend off U. S. and various European colonial advances.[59]

And it was in these endeavors that Kalākaua persevered throughout his reign—support of the Kānaka Maoli and resistance against the colonization of the foreigners.

It was during the reign of Kalākaua that the offspring of the missionaries became a source of concern for the Kānaka Maoli and the Hawaiian Kingdom. As previously discussed in regards to Henry Whitney, these children of missionaries were born here in Hawai'i, but they did not consider Hawai'i as their 'āina makua (homeland); rather, it was to America that they were loyal, in voice, action, and sentiment. In addition, they had none of the restraints which had been imposed on their parents' generation by their church affiliations, and therefore had no qualms whatsoever in seeking

the fulfillment of their desires for more money, power, and land in Hawai'i, as well as the annexation of Hawai'i to the U.S.[60] Lili'uokalani wrote:

> Although settled among us, and drawing their wealth from our resources, they [foreigners] were alien to us in their customs and ideas respecting government, and desired above all things the extension of their power, and to carry out their own special plans of advancement, and to secure their own personal benefit. It may be true that they really believed us unfit to be trusted to administer the growing wealth of the Islands in a safe and proper way. But if we manifested any incompetency, it was in not foreseeing that *they* would be bound by no obligations, by honor, or by oath of allegiance, should an opportunity arise for seizing our country, and bringing it under the authority of the United States.[61]

Kalākaua's goals were quite different. Prior to becoming Mō'ī, it was in the newspapers that Kalākaua had found his venue for supporting the Kānaka Maoli, but as the Mō'ī, he was able to support his people with the full power of the throne. *Ke Kumulipo* was printed under his name as a way to demonstrate and validate the worthiness of his genealogy and his reign. He established the Papa Kū'auhau o Nā Ali'i Hawai'i (Genealogical Board of the Hawaiian Chiefs) in 1880 and the Hale Nauā (Secret Genealogical and Artisan Organization) in 1886 for the purpose of the ensuring the maintenance and perpetuation of the knowledge of the kūpuna. Kalākaua also sponsored several very large hula performances at Poni Mō'ī (Coronation) in 1883 and his Iubile (Jubilee) in 1886 in celebration of his fiftieth birthday.

Kalākaua also tried to increase the wealth of the nation and to assert the recognition of Hawai'i as a nation among other world nations. The Reciprocity Treaty with the U.S. was signed in 1876, allowing for the import of Hawai'i's sugar to the U.S. without tax, a great benefit to the sugar industry. Kalākaua also went on a world tour, visiting various other nations, such as China, Japan, Siam, Italy, England, and America. When he returned, he began building the Hale Ali'i 'o 'Iolani ('Iolani Palace).

In 1884, there was a great deal of grumbling from the foreigners and also some Kānaka Maoli in regards to the quantity of money that had been

spent on the world tour, the Hale Ali'i, and the parties for his Coronation and Jubilee. People also began to complain about the ministers of his cabinet, specifically Walter Murray Gibson.

On June 30, 1887, a meeting was held by these complainers, who were foreigners, and they chose "he Komite umikumakolu lala...e hoike aku i na olelo hooholo...a me na noi i hooholoia imua o ka Moi" ("a Committee of Thirteen to inform the decisions...and the requests that were decided before the Mō'ī").[62] Lorrin Thurston, Sanford B. Dole, P. C. Jones, W. R. Castle, Clarence W. Ashford and Nathaniel B. Emerson are the names of a few of the thirteen. This meeting was held at the hale paikau (drill, practice building) of the Honolulu Raifela (Honolulu Rifles), where the arms and ammunition of the kingdom were stored. The Committee of Thirteen sent documents to the Mō'ī listing their demands, specifically, that the Mō'ī dismiss his current cabinet of ministers under Gibson and choose another.[63]

In response, Kalākaua called out the Honolulu Rifles. However, under the direction of Volney Ashford, the elder brother of Clarence W. Ashford and a member of the Committee of Thirteen, the battalion refused to help Kalākaua and instead backed the Committee of Thirteen. With the threat of these guns, the Committee forced Kalākaua to dismiss the Gibson cabinet and choose another. While there were three Kānaka Maoli in the old cabinet, the new cabinet was composed entirely of foreigners. They were William L. Green, Minister of Finance; Godfrey Brown, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Lorrin Thurston, Minister of the Interior; and Clarence W. Ashford, Attorney General. Two of the new ministers, Thurston and Ashford, were members of the Committee of Thirteen, and as soon their new positions were secure, they immediately wrote a new constitution to be signed by Kalākaua. It came to be known as the Kumukānāwai 'Ēlau Pū (Bayonet Constitution) as it was signed at the threat of military insurrection.[64]

In the Bayonet Constitution, the sovereign authority of the Mōʻī had been greatly and truly reduced. Previously, the Mōʻī had the power of appointment and dismissal of the ministers of his cabinet; however, under the new constitution, the Mōʻī could only dismiss the cabinet "ma muli wale no o ka hooholo ia ana o ka olelo hooholo hilinai ole o ka hapanui o na hoa a pau i koho ia o ka Ahaolelo" ("only as a result of a want of confidence vote by the majority of the members of the Legislature").[65]

Also gone was the Mōʻī's ability to veto a new bill, if "hoapona ia ua Bila Kanawai nei e ka elua hapakolu o na hoa a pau i koho ia o ka Ahaolelo" ("the Bill is approved by two thirds of the members of the Legislature").[66] In addition, whereas previously the Mōʻī appointed Aliʻi to sit in the House of Nobles, while the Luna Makaʻāinana (Representatives) were elected into office, the new constitution called for the election of all the legislative positions. The requirements for voters were also changed, "he waiwai ponoi...i emi ole iho...ma lalo o ekolu tausani dala" ("independent wealth/net worth...which does not decrease...below three thousand dollars") or "kekahi loaa makahiki i emi ole malalo o eono haneri dala iloko o ka makahiki" ("an annual salary not less than six hundred dollars a year").[67] And as for the people who were eligible to hold office in the legislature, they had to swear to uphold the Bayonet Constitution.[68] For the Kānaka Maoli, both of these requirements were problematic, because there were not a great many Kānaka Maoli who had that kind of wealth, and from within this small group there were even fewer willing to swear allegiance to the new constitution.

As a result, fewer Kānaka Maoli were eligible to vote in elections; fewer Kānaka Maoli were eligible to be candidates for government positions. The Bayonet Constitution resulted in a loss of political power which had belonged to the Mōʻī, the kingdom, and the people. Before, the Mōʻī was the Mōʻī, and he ruled the nation. There was a constitution, but the power resided with the

Mōʻī—the power over the laws, the cabinet, and the legislature. However, with the new constitution, the full authority of the Mōʻī was finished.

> Ua lilo ihola ka hoomalu ana i ke Aupuni i loko o na lima o na Kuhina eha, a o ka Moi ma ka Nohoalii, ua noho mumule iho la Oia... Hoopau ia ae la na kanaka Hawaii e noho ana ma na oihana Aupuni iloko o ia mau la...a hoonoho ia ae la na haole o ia auna hookahi ma ia mau kulana.[69]
>
> The power to protect the Kingdom passed into the hands of the four ministers, and the Mōʻī on the Throne, He sat mutely...while the Hawaiian people who were holding positions within the Kingdom were released within a few days...and foreigners from within that one group were given these positions.

Ka Hana Kipi A Wilikoki Mā
(The Rebellion Of Wilcox)

From the time that Kalākaua had been forced to sign the Bayonet Constitution, "ulu nui ae la na uluaoa iwaena o ka lahui" ("excitement, unease grew amongst the people".[70] This unease felt by the people led to a movement to re-establish the old constitution, which was led by Robert W. Wilcox, known as Wilikoki. These endeavors by Wilikoki and other poʻe aloha ʻāina was documented in *Ka Buke Moolelo of Hon. Robert William Wilikoki (The Biography of Hon. Robert William Wilcox)* by Thomas K. Nathaniel, known as Nakanaela in Hawaiian print, a haole publisher who supported Kānaka Maoli independence. Wilikoki had become a leader in these efforts because of his recognition and understanding of the solution to their dilemma, "o ia ka hapai ana i kekahi hana e hiki ai ke hookahuli i ka noho'na Aupuni" ("it was the raising up, carrying forth with activities by which the current government situation could be overthrown").[71]

Wilikoki was the son of William S. Wilcox, of England, and Kalua, a descendant of Niaunui, making him a cousin of Keohokalole, Kalākaua's mother. He was raised and educated on Maui, where he had also become a teacher at the school his father established. In 1880, he was elected as a Representative for the legislature of the Hawaiian Kingdom. At the end of

the session, he was selected by the Mōʻī Kalākaua to be sent to Italy for military training. When he returned home to Hawai'i, he began to "komo iwaena o na opio puuwai Hawaii, e hoike ana i kona manao lili a makee loa i ka pono o ke kanaka i hanau ia ma ke one oiwi" ("go amongst the Hawaiian hearted youth, showing them his angry, upset and desirous thoughts about the rights of the people born on this Native sand)."[72]

In the first week of June, 1889, the "Hui Kipu Raifela Kamehameha" ("Kamehameha Rifle Corps) was established to seek the re-establishment of the old constitution, and was joined by "he mau hoa lehulehu o na kanaka Hawaii opio ponoi o ka aina, ma lalo o kana [Wilikoki] alakai ana,...ua ao pono ia na lula a pau o ke ki ana i ka pu" ("a large, numerous group of young Hawaiian people belonging to the land, [and] under his [Wilikoki's] leadership,...all of the rules of firearms were properly taught").[73]

At 3 o'clock in the morning of the dawn of July 30, 1889, the battalion emerged onto the street.

> Ua hoolako pono ia na koa o keia puali me na pu raifela a me na pu ki manu ailaiki, na papale kapu a me na palule ulaula, he like ia mai o a o, o ka puali, me he lehua nenee la o Lihau, ka hele a kilakila i ka nana aku.[74]
>
> The soldiers were properly supplied with rifles and ricebird guns, caps, and red shirts, each of them just alike, the battalion was like a moving lehua of Lihau, commanding admiration whenever they were seen.

More than one hundred soldiers joined with Wilikoki and they took possession of the Palace Grounds and the Government Building. The Honolulu Rifles quickly responded and it was they who fired the first shot. Wilikoki's men returned fire from the Hale Mele Hou (New Music Hall), and so began "ka hoouka kaua hahana o na aoao a elua" ("the heated warfare of both sides").[75]

This action on the part of Wilikoki to support the independence of his sovereign nation was detailed and recorded in several mele lāhui published at the time.

HE HOOHENO NO WILIKOKI[76]

Hookahi mea hou ma Honolulu,
O ke kipi kuloko a Wilikoki,
Ku-kui ia aku nei e ka lono,
Lohe aku nei ma Mokupuni,
Ke ulele nei e ka iliula,
Me ka ili puakea o Mareka,
Hookahi no oi ma ka'u ike,
O ka eueu o Italia,
Aole no ia i hopo iho,
I ka iho makawalu a ka poka,
A imua a ihope e kulana nei,
I ke kani a na pukuniahi,
A he ahi ua wela mai nei loko,
I ka hookahe koko a ka puakea.
Nani wale Wilikoki a e ku nei,
Me ke kahiko nani Italia,
E alawa iho oe ma ka molina,
Ka memele kohu manu hulu oo,
Kahiko i ka nani o ke kupuna,
O ke kapa Ahuula o Kamehameha,
Ua meha ua lai ke kaona,
Ua pau hoi e ka haunaele,
Eia Wilikoki ke noho nei,
Me na hoa i ka inea,
Ua apo ia mai lakou,
Aia ma ka lima ke Aupuni,
He u-i a he ninau keia,
Na ka mua me ka muli a o Pape Poe
Ku-i ia ae nei hoi e ka lono,
Aia no ia ke uleu la,
Na ooihana o ka pukuniahi,
Hakalia a komo pono aku,
Naueue e ka Hale Mele Hou,
Hookahi mea hou ma ka Pa Alii,
Ua ku aku nei a o Makamu,
Ua ku ia la ma ka poohiwi,
Maluna pono ae o ka puuwai,
Nawai no e ole a e ku oe,
Ua puni kakou i ka muhee,
He i-a kaulana i na Kupuna
O ka i-a hololua la i ka moana

W. H. LEIKINIHENE, Sept. 5th.

In this mele lāhui, the composer, W. H. Leikinihene, begins by praising the "mea hou ma Honolulu / O ke kipi kuloko a Wilikoki" (new thing in Honolulu / The internal, civil rebellion of Wilikoki") (l. 1-2). Some detailed description is also given of the location of the events, "Naueue e ka Hale Mele Hou / Hookahi mea hou ma ka Pa Alii" ("March to the New Music Hall / A new

occurrence at the Palace Grounds") (l. 33-34). However, Wilikoki, and the descriptions of his appearance and his actions, receive even more attention. The composer describes Wilikoki as, "Nani wale Wilikoki a e ku nei / Me ke kahiko nani Italia" (Wilikoki is beautiful and standing / With the beautiful adornments of Italy") (l. 15-16). In the following section of the mele, Wilikoki's abilities and his fearlessness in battle are described. According to the mele, "Aole no ia i hopo iho / I ka iho makawalu a ka poka, / A imua a ihope e kulana nei, / I ke kani a na pukuniahi," ("He did not worry at all / At the numerous descending bullets / In front and in back of his position / The sound of the cannonfire") (l. 9-12). This onslaught of gunfire only serves to increase Wilikoki's anger, "A he ahi ua wela mai nei loko" ("A fire that is heat from within") (l. 13).

As the sun was setting, Wilikoki's battalion retreated to the Hale Akala (Pink House) nearly Hale Ali'iolani. However, because of the barrage of gunfire and even dynamite from the Honolulu Rifles, the Kamehameha Rifle Corps was captured and imprisoned, as is also related within the mele. According to Leikinihene, "Ua apo ia mai lakou, / Aia ma ka lima ke Aupuni," ("They have been captured / They are in the hands of the Government") (l. 25-26).

Although he was not successful in his attempt to restore the full monarchical power of the Mō'ī, Wilikoki had proven himself a true warrior of the people and his ability in warfare became legendary:

> E holo ana ma kela a me keia wahi o na pu kuniahi, e haawi ana i na kauoha a me ka paina ana i na pu no kahi e ki aku ai. Ma kahi a Wilikoki e ku iki iho ai, e ike ia no he mau poka lehulehu e helelei ana mao a maanei ona me he mau pakaua la, a me he kopala hao lepo la hoi ka puehu liilii o ke one a me ka lepo iluna, e oni mau ana no hoi kona kino io a ianei ma na wahi a pau ana e hele ai.[77]
>
> He was running to every place of the cannon fire, giving commands and supplying guns for others to shoot. In the place where Wilikoki stood, many bullets could be seen falling here and there on each side of him like raindrops, and the slight scattering upward of the dirt and sand was like a shovel, and his body was constantly in motion here and there as he moved from place to place.

In the months which followed, Wilikoki was honored as a hero of the people. Many mele like the one shown above and the next mele below appeared in the newspapers of the time. Although the mele described and chronicled the events of the day and gave honor to the soldiers who fought, an even more dominant theme was the exaltation of Wilikoki's name.

HE MELE NO WILIKOKI[78]

Kaulana mai nei a o Wilikoki
O ke koa wiwo ole o ke ao nei
Ua kohu alena ke ike aku
I ke ku kilakila i halealii
Aohe poka e ku ai
Aohe akamai e loaa aku
Keiki Hawaii alo ehuehu
I ka waha o ka pu e kani nei
Noho mai Waipa i kauahoa
Opu lokoino he aloha ole
No Hawaii oe Hawaii au
Hookahi ke kupuna Kakuhihewa
Hoohewahewa oe ia kaua
Ia'u nei la ko pilikoko
Kuhi ae kuu pono ia Kahalewai
I ka lukanela helu ekahi
Akahi kuu lohe a ike maka
Ke kaua kuloko o Hawaii
Ua ku'i e ka lono lohe Pelekane
He Italia ka'u wahine
Pehea mai oe Kahu Aupuni
I ko lahui i ka Halewai
E hookuu ae me ka maikai
E puka Wilikoki a hemo loa
    Haina ka puana ua ike ia
    He aloha lahui ko Wilikoki
I ka la kanakolu o Iulai
He kaua weliweli ma Honolulu
He kaua kuloko na Wilikoki
He kanaka ikaika he maka'u ole
I ka halahala kau a na pu
I ka oloolohi'o a ka poka
Alo iho alo ae alo ma ke kua
Aohe manuhe'u o Wilikoki
O ka hana ana ia a ka iwikani
Keiki akamai Italia
Alia oukou e ka Lahui
E ke aupuni nui Kelekiela
E ala e Uli eia au
A owau keia ko pulapula
E Uli e nana ia mai
A e Uli hewa ae Uli Pono
E lohe i ka leo me ka uwalo
E puka Wilikoki a hemo loa

Haina ka puana ua ike ia 45
He aloha lahui ko Wilikoki

MRS. ANNIE K. KAANOIOKALANI

The first eight lines of this mele, like the other mele for Wilikoki, are dedicated to language of praise for Wilikoki and his military prowess, stating that he is famous as the "koa wiwo ole o ke ao nei" ("fearless warrior of the times") (l. 1-2). "Aohe poka e ku ai / Aohe akamai e loaa aku" ("There is no bullet which will strike him / There is no one smart enough to capture him") (l. 5-6), because Wilikoki is the "Keiki Hawaii alo ehuehu / I ka waha o ka pu e kani nei" ("Hawaiian child who dodges bullets / Of the mouths of guns being fired") (l. 7-8). Although Wilikoki was captured in the end, and was unsuccessful in his attempt to restore the full power of the monarch, many of the mele do not focus on this defeat. Rather, in the mele, Wilikoki is without flaw or fault, and is honored as a true hero of his people.

In addition to the praise for Wilikoki, the composer, Mrs. Kaanoiokalani, also included ʻōlelo kūamuamu for those who stood on the side of the government and therefore against Wilikoki. The object of this ʻōlelo kūamuamu is Lt. Robert Waipa Parker, referred to as Waipa in the mele. When Wilikoki and his contingent of approximately 150 members of the Kamehameha Rifle Corps arrived and entered the Palace Grounds, it was Waipa who refused their entrance into the Palace itself, locking the doors. In "He Mele No Wilikoki" the composer, Mrs. Kaanoiokalani, whose genealogy is unknown, is very clear in her labeling of Waipa as "kauahoa / Opu loko ino he aloha ole" ("harsh, indifferent / Evil hearted, without love") (l. 9-10).

In the next lines, Kaanoiokalani explains her reason for targeting Waipa. She states "No Hawaii oe Hawaii au / Hookahi ke kupuna Kakuhihewa" ("You are from Hawaiʻi, I am from Hawaiʻi / There is one common ancestor Kākuhihewa") (l. 11-12). Because of their connection, Waipa has created problems for the composer herself, "Hoohewahewa oe ia

kaua / Ia'u nei la ko pilikoko" ("You have condemned us both / Your blood connection is to me") (l. 13-14). It seems that their pilikoko (blood connection, familial relationship) is closer than that of just any two Hawaiians, that it is, in fact, a closer family relation. No matter the degree of relation, Kaanoiokalani makes it clear that she and, by extension, all Kānaka Maoli, are ashamed and have been put into a tenuous, precarious position due to Waipa and his actions. Kaanoiokalani recognizes the choice that she must and does make, "Kuhi ae kuu pono ia Kahalewai" ("I choose my righteousness at the Prison") with Wilikoki who she identifies as the "lukanela helu ekahi" ("number one lieutenant") (l. 15-16). Based on these descriptions of the composer's alliances, and her conceptions and portrayals of other individuals involved, it is obvious that loyalty to the independence of the Hawaiian Kingdom had become an important issue for the lāhui, and therefore had become an issue for expression within the mele lāhui they composed.

The second verse of Kaanoiokalani's mele expresses historical detail about the events which occurred. According to the composer, "I ka la kanakolu o Iulai / He kaua weliweli ma Honolulu / He kaua kuloko na Wilikoki" ("On the thirtieth day of July / There was a frightening war at Honolulu / An internal, civil war by Wilikoki") (l. 27-29). She also describes the "pu" ("guns") and the "poka" ("bullets") (l. 31-32) used in the battle. This is very detailed historical data so that the events of that day will never be forgotten. In the other lines of the mele, Wilikoki's fearlessness in dodging bullets is recorded and honored, "Alo iho alo ae alo ma ke kua / Aohe manuhe'u o Wilikoki" ("Dodging here, dodging there, dodging at the back / Wilikoki has no injuries, bruises") (l. 33-34). Then, Kaanoiokalani calls out to Uli, a Goddess of 'anā'anā (sorcery, prayers of life and death), and requests her to "ala" ("wake, rise up") a "lohe i ka leo me ka uwalo" ("listen to the resounding voices") (l. 39-42).

Kaanoiokalani's last thought expressed in here mele is perhaps its most powerful. Even though she had previously shown the reasons for her aloha and mahalo for Wilikoki, Kaanoiokalani provides the ultimate reason, "Haina ka puana ua ike ia / He aloha lahui ko Wilikoki" ("The refrain is told, it is known / Wilikoki has love for his people, nation") (l. 45-46). With these last two lines, the composer clearly demonstrates her intentions with her mele. Her purpose is to express her admiration for Wilikoki, but also to express her aloha for her people, her lāhui.

Although these two mele were written specifically for Wilikoki, they are truly written in admiration of his actions taken on behalf of the lāhui and are therefore, mele lāhui. They contain characteristics in common with those found in Kekoaohiwaikalani's mele lāhui of the last chapter, as well as the other mele lāhui written in the period following the overthrow—admiring language for the hero; disparaging language for the enemy; the detail of story, time, and place; as well as expressions of aloha for the lāhui.

Notes

Chapter 2 - No Ka Wā Ma Mua (In Regard To The Times Before)

[1] Beckwith, 1970, 187.

[2] J. M. Poepoe, "Ka Moolelo Hawaii Kahiko, *Ka Na'i Aupuni*, 15 Pepeluali (February) 1906.

[3] Beckwith, 1970, 7-8.

[4] Poepoe, 2 Pepeluali (February) 1906.

[5] Poepoe, 2-3 Pepeluali 1906.

[6] Nā haumāna o Lāhainaluna (The Students of Lāhainaluna), *Ka Mooolelo Hawaii*, Sheldon Dibble, ed., (Lahainaluna: Mea Pai Palapala No Ke Kulanui, 1838), 32-39.

[7] Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land And Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai?*, (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1992), 25.

[8] David Malo, *Ka Moolelo Hawaii*, handwritten manuscript, 1841(?), 15-237.

[9] Nathanial B. Emerson, *Unwritten Literature of Hawaii: The Sacred Songs of Hula*, (Japan: Charles E. Tuttle Co., Inc., 1965), 68-69.

[10] Emerson, 69.

[11] Elbert & Mahoe, 52.

[12] Abraham Fornander, *Memoirs of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Hawaiian Antiquities and Folk-Lore*, (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1919-1920), Volume IV, 3-7.

[13] Fornander, 7.

[14] Kīhei de Silva, *Hālau Mōhala 'Ilima Merrie Monarch Fact Sheet*, a typed manuscript, (Ka'ōhao, Hawai'i: 1995), 1-9.

[15] Samuel M. Kamakau, "He Moolelo No Kamehameha I," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 5 'Okakopa (October) 1867.

[16] Kamakau, 18 Ianuali 1868.

[17] *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 18 Ianuali 1868.

[18] Chapin, 1996, 15.

[19] Esther Mookini, *The Hawaiian Newspapers*, (Honolulu: Topgallant Publishing Co., Ltd., 1974), iv.

[20] Chapin, 1996, 15-16.

[21] Chapin, 1996, 15-16.

[22] Kame'eleihiwa, 169-176.

[23] *Ka Nonanona*, 14 Pepeluali 1843.

[24] *Ka Nonanona*, 7 Malaki 1843.

[25] *Ka Nonanona*, 7 Malaki 1843.

[26] *Ka Nonanona*, 7 Malaki 1843.

[27] *Ka Nonanona*, 22 'Aukake (August) 1843.

[28] *Ka Nonanona*, 8 'Aukake 1843.

[29] John Charlot, *The Hawaiian Poetry of Religion and Politics*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986), 16.

[30] Mookini, v.

[31] *Ka Hae Hawaii*, 25 Pepeluali 1857.

[32] Chapin, 1996, 54-56.

[33] Silva, "Ke Kū'ē Kūpa'a Loa Nei Mākou," 1999, 22-25.

[34] Silva, "Ke Kū'ē Kūpa'a Loa Nei Mākou," 1999, 20.

[35] *Ka Hoku O Ka Pakipika*, 26 Kepakemapa (September) 1861

[36] Silva, "Ke Kū'ē Kūpa'a Loa Nei Mākou," 1999, 26-39.

[37] *Ka Hoku O Ka Pakipika*, 17 'Okakopa 1861.

[38] Silva, "Ke Kū'ē Kūpa'a Loa Nei Mākou," 1999, 39-42.

[39] *Ka Hoku O Ka Pakipika*, 3 'Okakopa 1861.

[40] *Ka Hoku O Ka Pakipika*, 3 'Okakopa 1861.

[41] *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, 3 'Okakopa 1861.

[42] Chapin, 1996, 53-54.

[43] Chapin, 1996, 57.

[44] *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 'Okakopa 1861.

[45] Silva, "Ke Kū'ē Kūpa'a Loa Nei Mākou," 1999, 26-35.

[46] *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 1 Ianuali 1861.

[47] *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 16 Kēkēmapa (December) 1861.

[48] *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 16 Kēkēmapa 1861.

[49] *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 16 Kēkēmapa 1861.

[50] George F. Nellist, ed., *The Builders of Hawaii*, (Terr. of Hawai'i: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Ltd., 1925), 102-105.

[51] Kame'eleihiwa, 205.

[52] Chapin, 1996, 34-38.

[53] Lili'uokalani, 1974, 31.

[54] Queen Lili'uokalani, *The Queen's Songbook*, (Honolulu: Hui Hānai, 1999), 40-44.

[55] Lili'uokalani, 1974, 31.

[56] Queen Lili'uokalani, *He Buke Mele Lahui*, a typed manuscript, (Washington, D.C., 1897), 1-4

[57] Chapin, 1996, 61.

[58] Elbert & Mahoe, 43-44.

[59] Silva, "Ke Kū'ē Kūpa'a Loa Nei Mākou," 1999, 109.

[60] Silva, "Ke Kū'ē Kūpa'a Loa Nei Mākou," 1999, 112.

[61] Lili'uokalani, 1974, 178.

[62] *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 2 Iulai (July) 1887.

[63] *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 2 Iulai 1887.

[64] Helena G. Allen, *Kalakaua: Renaissance King*, (Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 1994), 183.

[65] *Ke Kumukānāwai ʻĒlau Pū 1887*, Paukū (Paragraph) 41.

[66] *Ke Kumukānāwai ʻĒlau Pū 1887*, Paukū 48.

[67] *Ke Kumukānāwai ʻĒlau Pū 1887*, Paukū 59.

[68] *Ke Kumukānāwai ʻĒlau Pū 1887*, Paukū 24.

[69] Thomas K. Nakanaela, *Ka Buke Moolelo o Hon. Robert William Wilikoki*, (Honolulu: Lake me Nakanaela, 1890), 24.

[70] Nakanaela, 24.

[71] Nakanaela, 25.

[72] Nakanaela, 25.

[73] Nakanaela, 25.

[74] Nakanaela, 27.

[75] Nakanaela, 28.

[76] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 5 Kepakemapa 1889.

[77] Nakanaela, 28.

[78] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 10 Kepakemapa 1889.

CHAPTER 3
NO KA HO'OKAHULI AUPUNI
(THE OVERTHROW)

HOOHENO NO LILIU[1]

Kaulana Liliu Ahaolelo
Ma ka Poaono hookuu ia
Aia o Kalani i Iolani
Me na komite o ka lehulehu
He hana ua holo like ka manao
I aupuni Kumukanawai hou
Punihei o Kalani i ka mali leo
Hookohu i na Kuhina o ke aupuni
Kau nui ka manao o na kupa
I pono kaulike no ka lahui
Hea aku no au o mai oe
Lanakila kamahao ko Hawaii
Haina ia mai ana ka puana
A kau o Liliu i ke Kalaunu

Kaulana o Liliu i ka maluhia
Ma na welelau o ka honua
He honua ia a he lani keia
Noho ia iho Ko noho Kalaunu
E Uli eia ko pulapula
O ka Wohi kukahi ku i ka moku
E Hawaii e hohoi mai oe
A pipili me Liliuokalani
Kulia i paa kou kuokoa
I mau ke ea o ka aina
Kohia i paa Ko heiau
Welo haaheo Ko hae Hawaii
Hea aku no au o mai Oe
Lanakila kamahao ko Hawaii
Haina ia mai ana ka puana
A kau o Liliu i ke Kalaunu

Kaulana mai nei oe Kakina
Huakai paoa aohe hope
He hana kumu ole aohe koo
He ulu lau wale aohe mole
Hokai ua manu a'e hewa
Kolea kahu ole no ke kai mai
E lilo i mea ole na enemi
Lehelehe eueu hana lapuwale
E Kane, Kanaloa kii ia aku
E hoihoi mai oe ia Hawaii
E ola o Kalani a mau loa
A kau i ke ao malamalama
Hea ia aku no au o mai oe
Lanakila kamahao ko Hawaii
Haina ia mai ana ka puana
A kau o Liliu i ke Kalaunu

Haku ia e MRS. KAWOHIKAPULANI

The story told by this mele begins on January 14, 1893, several days prior to the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom. The 14th of January was a Saturday, and it was at noon of that day that the Mōʻīwahine Liliʻuokalani entered the government building, named Aliʻiolani Hale. The ministers of the Queen's cabinet were present, as well as other officials and dignitaries of the Hawaiian and foreign governments. The Aliʻi (Nobles) and Luna Makaʻāinana (Representatives) of the legislature were also present.

> Aia ka he poe Hawaii wale no ke noho ana maluna o ko lakou mau noho, a o na 'lii me na lunamakaainana o ka Aoao Hoomaemae, ua nuha a hookeekee no ka hoopau ia ana o ka Aha Kuhina e ka ia ai ke Ea o Hawaii iluna o ka pohuehue.[2]
>
> There were, however, only Hawaiian people sitting in their seats, as the nobles and the representatives of the Reform Party were sullen and surly due to the dismissal of the cabinet by which the Sovereignty of Hawai'i would be struck by the pōhuehue vine [an activity which causes the death of one's enemy].

There were many problems in the legislature and the cabinet that year, due to the divisions and party lines existing within these entities. Basically, the government and the legislature were comprised of two political groups or parties. One group was comprised of the poʻe aloha ʻāina, who supported the power of the Mōʻī and the continued independence of Hawaiʻi.

The other group was called the ʻAoʻao Hoʻomaʻemaʻe, (the Reform Party), or the Hui Mikanele (the Missionary Party). This group did not support the continued independence of Hawaiʻi's monarchy and government. It was largely comprised of capitalist businessmen whose main goals centered around their own personal wealth and continued increase thereof, especially as it related to U.S. marketplaces and Hawaiʻi's resources. Although the members of these two groups were not absolutely divided by race, a great majority of the poʻe aloha ʻāina were Kanaka Maoli, and an equally large majority of the Reform Party were haole (foreign, white,

caucasian). In addition, "kanaka" and "haole" were the terms used the time to describe the two groups in the newspapers of the time.

Due to their lack of support for the actions of the Mō'īwahine, the haole members of the government and the community chose not to attend the activities at Ali'iolani Hale on the 14th of January. Inside of the government building, the Mō'īwahine stood and announced the closing of the legislature for the year 1892, with expressions of thanks and admiration for the work completed by the Ali'i and the Luna Maka'āinana.[3] According to one newspaper article,

> O kekahi ia o na la e poina ole ia ai ma ka moolelo o ko Hawaii noho aupuni ana, na mea e pili ana i ka hookuu ana i ka Ahaolelo, ma o ka haiolelo la mai ka Nohoalii mai.[4]
>
> It is one of the days that will not be forgotten in the history of Hawai'i's nationhood, the things pertaining to the closing of the Legislature, by means of the Sovereign's speech.

Since 1887 and the establishment of the Bayonet Constitution, it had become difficult for the Mō'ī to properly fulfill the duties of the nation and government, due to the decrease in the Mō'ī's power, as discussed in Chapter 2. When Lili'uokalani became Queen in 1891, there were many difficulties which arose within the legislature, as well as her cabinet of ministers. According to the Mō'ī:

> the constitution [of 1887] . . . made the sovereign inferior to the cabinet. The ministry must be appointed by the monarch, but once appointed had absolute control over every measure, nor could the monarch dismiss them, and only a vote of the legislature could deprive them of their portfolios. That provision made the cabinet . . . a perpetual foot-ball in the hands of political parties.[5]

In 1892, four different cabinets had been appointed by the Mō'ī and subsequently dismissed by the Legislature. The fourth cabinet was known as the Reform Cabinet and although strongly supported by the Reform Party, this cabinet was eventually dismissed as well. According to John Colburn, who would be named to the new cabinet,

> On the 12th day of January, 1893, a resolution was introduced and they were voted out. The reform party or the missionaries, as they are

> better named and called, were disgruntled and dissatisfied and discouraged at this work, and openly said we will get even with you, meaning the Hawaiians. They knew this vote meant their losing their power and influence in this country for years to come, and they were hostile. However, the majority of the people were satisfied that they were voted out, and looked to the prospects of the Queen appointing a cabinet with at least two Hawaiians in it, so that the race prejudice which had been created for quite a while would wear away and the Hawaians *[pn]* and foreigners would work together.[6]

It was for this reason that the Reform Party was feeling resentful towards the Queen and the Hawaiian Kingdom on the day of the closing of the Legislature.

On January 13, 1893, the day just prior to the Queen's closing of the legislature, a fifth cabinet of ministers was appointed. Racially, this was perhaps the most equal of the cabinets, as two Kānaka Maoli and two haole had been appointed. The Kānaka Maoli were Samuel Parker as Kuhina o Nā ʻĀina ʻĒ (Minister of Foreign Affairs) and John F. Colburn as Kuhina Kālaiʻāina (Minister of Interior); and the haole were W. H. Cornwell as the Kuhina Waiwai (Minister of Finance) and A. P. Peterson as the Loio Kuhina (Attorney General).[7] Although perhaps the most equitable of cabinets appointed, the members of the Reform Party were not pleased, and it was for this reason that they did not attend the closing of the legislature.

Ke Kumukānāwai Hou
(The New Constitution)

Since 1891, when Liliʻuokalani ascended the throne, her people had been requesting a new constitution. According to the Mōʻīwahine:

> Ua loaa mai . . . he heluna nui o na palapala hoopii mai na wahi mai apau o koʻu Aupuni, e nonoi ana e haawi aku au i Kumukanawai hou. He mau kaukani inoa i kakauia e na kanaka apau i manao ua keʻakeʻa ia ka pono pili paa o ke kanaka Hawaii malalo o keia kumukanawai e ku nei i keia manawa. He Hawaii Au, ua aloha au a ua kaulike koʻu manao me ko koʻu poe makaainana haahaa.[8]
>
> I have received a great number of petitions from every area of my Nation, requesting that I give them a new Constitution. There are several thousand names signed by all of the people who believe that the inalienable rights of the Hawaiian people have been obstructed by the currently standing constitution. I am a Hawaiian, and I have great love and respect, and my thoughts are in complete accordance with those of my humble people.

As a result of the petitions received by her, the Queen carefully contemplated and considered the details of her new constitution. According to the Mōʻī:

> Aole Au i hana i kekahi hana me ka pupuahulu. Iloko o kanakolu la ka noonoo ia ana o keia Kumukanawai, a ua hooponopono ia hoi e Koʻu mau hoaloha oiaio me ke akahele loa. Ua nonoi aku Au ia lakou e hooikaika lakou e hooponopono i keia Kumukanawai ma ke ano kaulike e like me ka hiki ke hana ia; Ua kauoha aku Au ia lakou e akahele loa ka hana ana i lilo ole ai kekahi pono pilipaa o Koʻu mau makaainana i na paha he kanaka a he haole paha.[9]
>
> I did not complete this activity in a careless manner. Thirty days was the length of time taken in contemplating this Constitution, and it was edited and corrected by my trustworthy colleagues with great care. I have requested them to reinforce and make changes to this Constitution with the utmost fairness and impartiality possible; I have commanded them to take great care in their work so that none of the inalienable rights of My people are reduced, whether they are kanaka or haole.

Prior to the Queen's appointing of Samuel Parker and the other cabinet members on January 13th, she had already decided to promulgate her new constitution. It seems almost certain that she had previously discussed this desire with at least some of the new ministers, and believed that she had their support. Unfortunately, she was mistaken in this belief.

As soon as the ceremony at Aliʻiolani Hale was completed on that 14th day of January, 1893, the Mōʻī returned directly to ʻIolani Palace to await the arrival of the ministers and the signing of the constitution. The Mōʻī waited in the Lumi Uliuli (Blue Room) of ʻIolani Palace, yet the ministers did not immediately arrive.

At that same time, in the Lumi Kalaunu (Crown Room) of the palace, the supporters of the Queen were waiting. There were members of the legislature, as well as members of the Hui Kālaiʻāina, a political party comprised of poʻe aloha ʻāina who had prepared the petitions requesting a new constitution. The ministers eventually did arrive and met with the Queen inside of the Lumi Uliuli. According to the Mōʻīwahine:

Aole au i hana a oi aku mamua o keia, maloko o kekahi rumi mehameha owau wale no me ko'u Aha Kuhina, ke noho ana ia manawa ua waiho aku la A'u [*pn*] i mua o lakou i ke Kumukanawai hou i homakaukau [*pn*] ia no ko lakou apono ana mai.
Ua hoole mai lakou i ko lakou hoapono ana ma ko lakou ae ole ana e kakauinoa malalo o ke kumukanawai hou.[10]

I have never worked harder, inside of a lonely, barren room, with only myself and my Cabinet, in attendance at that time. I submitted before them the new Constitution which had been prepared for their approval. They declined to approve, refusing to sign below the new constitution.

When the Mō'īwahine asked the reason for the refusal, the ministers stated that they feared a violent revolt or uprising. The Mō'īwahine continued to urge them to sign, but they were unsupportive and they left the palace at that time. Peterson and Colburn met with Lorrin A. Thurston, known as Kakina in Hawaiian print, as well as W. O. Smith, both of whom were haole businessmen and members of the Reform Party. Both Thurston and Smith had been instrumental in the establishment of the Bayonet Constitution of 1887. At this meeting, Thurston strongly urged the ministers not to sign the new constitution.[11]

Later in the afternoon of that same day, the Mō'īwahine met again with the ministers of her cabinet and because of their continued refusal to sign the new constitution, the Mō'īwahine decided to withdraw her request for their signatures and her attempt to establish a new constitution at that time. She in turn informed the people who were gathered in the Lumi Kalaunu of this decision to postpone the establishment of a new constitution, with the assertion that at some day in the future their desires would be fulfilled.[12]

These activities which occurred on the 14th of January, 1893, are described in the first verse of the above mele lāhui, entitled "Hooheno No Liliu." Here is another look at the first verse:

Kaulana Liliu Ahaolelo
Ma ka Poaono hookuu ia
Aia o Kalani i Iolani
Me na komite o ka lehulehu
He hana ua holo like ka manao
I aupuni Kumukanawai hou
Punihei o Kalani i ka mali leo

Hookohu i na Kuhina o ke aupuni
Kau nui ka manao o na kupa
I pono kaulike no ka lahui
Hea aku no au o mai oe
Lanakila kamahao ko Hawaii
Haina ia mai ana ka puana
A kau o Liliu i ke Kalaunu

The first lines of the mele relate the story of Lili'uokalani's closing of the legislature "Ma ka Poaono" ("On Saturday") (l. 1-2). The mele also shows the location where the Mō'īwahine tried to promulgate the new constitution, "i Iolani" ("in Iolani [Palace]") with "na Komike o ka lehulehu" ("the Committees of the people"), specifically the Ali'i and the Luna Maka'āinana of the legislature, as well as the members of the Hui Kālai'āina (l. 3-4). The fifth line tells of the "holo like" ("similarity, unity of decision") of the people in requesting a "Kumukanawai hou" ("new Constitution") (l. 5-6). The trust that the Mō'ī had in her ministers to support her new constitution is also related. According to the composer, "Punihei o Kalani i ka mali leo / Hookohu i na Kuhina o ke aupuni" ("The Chiefly One was ensnared, tricked by the flattering words / Appointed the Ministers of the government") (l. 7-8). The mele also relates that "Kau nui ka manao o na kupu / I pono kaulike no ka lahui" ("The thoughts of the Natives had greatly pondered / The just and equal rights for the nation") (l. 9-10). The details of the story related by Mrs. Kawohikukapulani in this verse are quite clear. But, it is not only the details of the events that she expresses, but also the state of her mind, and the feelings of her heart as well as her na'au (guts, intestines, emotional center). Her hopes are that Hawai'i will "lanakila kamahao" ("be amazingly victorious") and that Lili'u will "kau...i ke Kalaunu" ("to wear the Crown, be placed on the Throne" (l. 11-14). This victory and return of Lili'u to her proper place on the throne is the most vitally important thing to the Kānaka Maoli, as expressed in their mele lāhui. It is the one thing which will ease their na'au, which will be pono. As we look at the details of history told in each

mele, take note of the frequency of these types of expressions of aloha and mahalo for Lili'uokalani and the Kingdom. They will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

The activities of January 14th are described in detail in other mele lāhui also. Based on the details and perspective given in the following mele, it is very likely that the composer was an eyewitness and participant in the events.

HOOHENO KAULANA NO
LILIUPOAIMOKU[13]

Kaulana o Liliupoaimoku
I ka hookuu i ka Ahaolelo
Hora o ke awakea Poaono
Pahola e ka nani a ke Akua
O Hawaiiloa ma a'e keia
Na Kapu o ka Noho Kalaunu
O ke kapa Ahuula o ke Kupuna
Nou ia kahiko a mau loa
Kau i ke kaa Moi o Kalani
He anapa ka ka'u e ike nei
Na Hokudaimana i ka Panepoo
Malamalama ia puni ka honua
Ei ae ke Kuini a hiki mai
Me na Alii Opio o ke Alo
Komo i ka Hale Hoonuihana
Me ke kahiko nani o Enelani
A he Lani nui Oe na ka lahui
A he mea milimili na makou
Ku nani ka Opua i ka lai
Na Alii na Makaainana
Hoopau na hana a oukou
Na Kanawai o ke Aupuni
*H*ea mai Iolani Hale i ka lai
Hoi mai e noho i ko Kalaunu
Haina mai ana ka puana
O Liliuokalani ka Onohi Kalaunu

Hakuia e KANEIAKAMA
Ianuari 14, 1893

The initial lines of the mele are very similar to the first lines of "Hooheno No Liliu" in describing the Mō'īwahine's closing of the legislature at the "Hora o ke awakea Poaono" ("Mid-day hour Saturday") (l. 1-3). However, in the next lines, the composer describes the "kapa Ahuula o ke Kupuna" ("Feather Cape of the Ancestors") and the "kahiko a mau loa" ("timeless

adornments") that the Mōʻī wore, and specifically the "Hokudaimana i ka Panepoo" ("Diamond Star on the Crown of her head") (l. 7-9, 16). The composer also provides detail about the Mōʻī's traveling that day. "Kau i ke kaa Moi o Kalani" ("The Chiefly, Heavenly Moi boards the carriage") and then arrives at the Hale Aliʻiolani "Me na Alii Opio o ke Alo" ("With the Young Chiefs of her Entourage") (l. 9-10, 13-15). .

The composer did not have a great admiration for Hale Aliʻiolani, as evidenced by his calling it the "Hale Hoonuihana" ("Work-increasing, work-creating House") (l. 15). The composer also tells the story of the sitting of "Na Alii" and "Na Makaainana" in the government building. The mele also refers to the speech made by the Mōʻī when she dismissed the legislature, and the work accomplished by the legislature that year on "Na kanawai o ke Aupuni" ("The laws of the Government") (l. 19-22). At the end of the mele, Kaneiakama, expresses hope for the return of the sovereign control of the Queen and her government. And it is as if ʻIolani Palace itself shares this desire and hope. Kaneiakama states, "Hea mai Iolani Hale i ka lai / Hoi mai e noho i ke Kalaunu" ('Iolani Hale calls out in the calm / Return to sit on the Throne") (l. 23-26).

The people living at that time were not only familiar with these events, but they were eyewitnesses as well as participants, as it appears from the details of the description that Kaneiakama was present that day. This is their story, their history. They recorded it in the newspapers and books of their time. They remembered it in their naʻau, and in a manner similar to the kūpuna of previous generations, they recorded their history in mele. These mele are gifts of aloha to the Mōʻīwahine, her government, and her people. They are also a gift for us, the descendants of the present generation, so that we have a better understanding of their history, for it is our history as well.

Ua Maluhia Ka ʻĀina
(The Land is Peaceful)

Following the Mōʻīwahine's announcement in the Lumi Kalaunu that she would not be promulgating a new constitution, she emerged onto the balcony of the Palace. A crowd of people were waiting outside for the announcement of a new constitution as well, but instead she announced again that she would not be establishing a new constitution at that time, and requested that her people return to their homes in a peaceful manner. The people did just as their Queen requested, and both the evening of Saturday, the 14th, and all of Sunday, the 15th of January were peaceful in Honolulu.

According to a newspaper article of that day,

> Eia ke koloka o ka maluhia ke uhi nei maluna o na makaainana o ka Lani Liliuonamoku, e like no me ko lakou ano mau, he akahai a he hiipoi i ka maluhia—me ka hiipoi makee i ko lakou aina a me kona kuokoa.[14]
>
> Here is the cloak of peace covering the people of the Royal Liliuonamoku, as per their usual manner, a gentleness and a cherishing of the peace—with an affectionate and possessive cherishing of the land and its independence.

Such were all of the stories reporting the activities of these days. No stories are printed which report any type of disturbance in Honolulu and surrounding areas. The ministers of the government announced the following in the newspapers:

> Ke makemake nei ko ka Moiwahine Aha Kuhina e hoike aku i ko lakou mahalo nui no ka maluhia i malamaia i waena o keia anaina mai na hana o ka Poaono mai, a ke hooiaio aku nei ua hoomanaia lakou e hoike aku o ke kulana i lawe ia e ka Moiwahine ma na mea e pili ana i ka hoolaha ana aku i Kumukanawai Hou, malalo no ia o ke koi ikaika ana a Kona Lahui Hawaii ponoi.
> A ua hoomanaoia no hoi makou e hooia aku o na hololi ana i manaoia i ke Kanawai Kumu o ka Aina, e hahai waleia no ia malalo o na kuhikuhi i hoakakaia e ke Kumukanawai e ku nei.[15]
>
> The Queen's Cabinet wishes to show their appreciation for the peace which has been maintained by the public since the activities of Saturday, and they are confirming that they have been empowered to express that the position that was taken by the Moiwahine relating to the announcing of a New Constitution, was as a result of the strong urging of her own Hawaiian Nation.
> And we are also reminded to assure that the changes that were considered in the Constitution of the Land, were conducted in absolute

accordance with the manner which is required by the Constitution which is currently existing.

It was apparent to all concerned that Honolulu was a peaceful town, and the Mōʻī and her government made assurances that they had and would conduct themselves within the constraints of the existing constitution. The Hawaiian people were prepared to support the Mōʻīwahine. The government's military troops were well supplied with guns and cannon as well. However, due to the Mōʻī's request, the people remained peaceful, and did not resort to violent means.

This peace commanded by the Mōʻīwahine is the focus of the first mele lāhui of this chapter, entitled "Hooheno No Liliu." In the second verse of this mele, the composer gives praise to the "maluhia" ("peace") which was commanded by the Mōʻīwahine.

Kaulana o Liliu i ka maluhia
Ma na welelau o ka honua
He honua ia a he lani keia
Noho ia iho Ko noho Kalaunu
E Uli eia ko pulapula
O ka Wohi kukahi ku i ka moku
E Hawaii e hohoi mai oe
A pipili me Liliuokalani
Kulia i paa kou kuokoa
I mau ke ea o ka aina
Kohia i paa Ko heiau
Welo haaheo Ko hae Hawaii
Hea aku no au o mai Oe
Lanakila kamahao ko Hawaii
Haina ia mai ana ka puana
A kau o Liliu i ke Kalaunu

According to the first lines of this verse, "Kaulana o Liliu i ka maluhia / Ma na welelau o ka honua" ("Liliu is Famous because of the peace / To the ends of the earth") (l. 15-17). The compose again reiterates the proper position for the Queen, "Noho ia iho Ko noho Kalaunu" ("Your Throne Should be Reigned From") (l. 8). The rest of this verse has a request for assistance from the Goddess Uli, a Goddess of ʻanāʻanā (sorcery) and an ancestor of Liliʻuokalani. Mrs. Kawohikukapulani also acknowledges various symbols of

the Queen's reign, specifically her "heiau" ("temple) and her "hae Hawaii" ("Hawaiian flag"). These are common characteristics of mele lāhui, which will be the focus of further discussion in Chapter 5. They are very pertinent to the statement that the Kānaka Maoli are making with their mele lāhui, that the Mō'īwahine has the genealogy, as well as the blessing of the Gods, the 'āina, and the Hawaiian flag itself, to rule the Hawaiian Kingdom.

Ke Kōmike Ho'opakele (Committee of Safety)

For the members of the Reform Party, however, the rights of the Mō'ī and the lāhui, as well as the peaceful state of Honolulu were both unimportant and insignificant. They had neither aloha nor peace in their own hearts. These people without aloha were members of the Reform Party. Some of them had had been instrumental in the establishment of the Bayonet Constitution of 1887, specifically, Lorrin Thurston, Sanford B. Dole, Samuel M. Damon, William R. Castle, and W. C. Wilder, as well as a few other haole. In the histories written and reported in the years to follow, Lorrin Thurston was the leader of this group and the main instigator of the events to follow.

In order to satisfy their desires for a closer connection to America, these members of the Reform Party met and decided to reinstate their Committee of Thirteen, which they had established in 1887 for the purposes of establishing the Bayonet Constitution. This committee was known by various names. In Hawaiian, they were called the "Kōmike Ho'opakele," the "Kōmike Mālama Maluhia," and the "Kōmike no ka Maluhia o ka Lehulehu," all of which are usually translated into English as the Committee of Safety. During their meeting, they approved and formally drafted a document protesting the actions of the Mō'ī in attempting to promulgate a new constitution, actually calling her acts "illegal" and "unconstitutional," even though the Queen was absolutely within her constitutional rights to

promulgate a new constitution. They also affirmed that the Committee of Safety would continue to:

> consider the situation and further devise such ways and means as may be necessary to secure the permanent maintenance of law and order, and the protection of life, liberty, and property in Hawaii.[16]

On that Sunday and Monday, the 15th and 16th of January, the Committee of Safety met with the ministers of the Hawaiian government, Colburn, Cornwell, and Peterson. At these meetings, the ministers attempted to tell Thurston and the other members of the Committee of Safety that the Mō'ī had decided not to promulgate a new constitution. In the minds of the ministers, any problem or threat thereof had been resolved, and yet Thurston and the committee continued their discussions and strategizing on how to ensure their control of the government.

According to Minister Cornwell, the Committee of Safety had no true concern about the actions of the Mō'īwahine in attempting to promulgate a new constitution, as it was not the real reason behind their desire to overthrow the government and be annexed to the United States. Cornwell states:

> It is not difficult . . . to realize the true cause for the late revolution and for the subsequent desire for annexation. The depression in the sugar business which, since the passing of the McKinley bill, has made havoc with the handsome dividends which we have enjoyed since 1875, and the loss of power of the reform party were the only and true reasons for the revolution. The prospects of the sugar bounty was and is the main motive for the desire to be annexed on the part of the handful of responsible men who still desire such steps to be taken.[17]

As such, capitalistic greed was the true reason that Thurston and the other foreign businessmen of the Committee of Safety overthrew the Hawaiian government. Although this was the motivation, they would not have been successful, without the support and assistance of a certain U. S. government official.

Ke Kuhina 'Amelika
(The American Minister)

John L. Stevens, known as Kīwini, was the name of the U. S. Minister appointed to and residing in Hawai'i in 1893. Since 1889, when he became Minister to Hawai'i, Stevens had expressed hope that Hawai'i would become an official part of the United States. Prior to the overthrow, in November 1892, Stevens had submitted official documents to U. S. Secretary of State John W. Foster, reporting not only his opinion of the Hawaiian government, but also on the future relationship between the U. S. and Hawai'i.

> In truth, the monarchy here is an absurd anachronism. It has nothing on which it logically or legitimately stands. The feudal basis on which it once stood no longer existing, the monarchy is now only an impediment to good government—an obstruction to the prosperity and progress of the islands. . . . Destiny and the vast future interests of the United States in the Pacific clearly indicate who, at no distant day, must be responsible for the government of these islands. Under a territorial government they could be as easily governed as any of the existing Territories of the United States.[18]

On the 15th and 16th of January, the Committee of Safety also met with Stevens, submitting to him their resolution, in which they described the actions of the Mō'īwahine Lili'uokalani as illegal and unconstitutional. In addition, the resolution stated that:

> The public safety is menaced, and lives and property are in peril, and we appeal to you and the United States forces at your command for assistance.[19]

At this meeting, they verbally discussed with Stevens their belief in the necessity of more drastic changes in the government in order to ensure that any future attempts by the Queen would be unsuccessful. According to Thurston, Stevens agreed at that time to immediately recognize a new government, if and when it was established.[20]

On Monday, January 16, two public meetings were held in Honolulu. The Committee of Safety and the members of the Reform Party held one meeting, as did the po'e aloha 'āina. As discussed in the Introduction of this thesis, the reports of these meetings differ greatly depending on the source to

which one looks. *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, and most of the books written since then, describe the Committee of Safety's meeting as well-attended and well-supported, with between 1,000 and 1,200 attendees. The same sources reported attendance at the Hālāwai Maka'āinana held by the Kānaka Maoli as pretty minimal and inconsequential. In contrast, the Hawaiian newspapers, *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui* and *Hawaii Holomua*, disputed such attendance figures, and reported that more than a thousand Kānaka Maoli attended the Hālāwai Maka'āinana (Citizens' Meeting), suggesting that perhaps actual attendance figures at the two meetings were somewhat similar. While the exact numbers may never be known, it seems that both meetings had a thousand and more people in attendance, who supported the goals and perspectives of that group.

Although the reports differ in exact figures; there is one point on which the two perspectives do agree, specifically, the attitude and reaction of the people at the two meetings. By all accounts, the haole people leading and in attendance at the Committee of Safety's meeting were louder and more belligerent, while the Kānaka Maoli were rather subdued in both voice and action.

While the actual degree of attitude and reaction are described in similar manners, there is again variation in the interpretation of the attitude and reaction. *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, and almost every historical recounting of these events written by haole since then, perceive and portray the lack of enthusiasm expressed by the Kānaka Maoli as a sign of their lack of concern about their situation and about the overthrow of their sovereignty. However, in *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui* and *Hawaii Holomua*, the mildness of the voice and actions of the Kānaka Maoli were perceived and reported as the fulfillment of the command given by their Mō'īwahine to "malama i ka maluhia" ("maintain peace"). The mildness and calmness did

not reflect a lack of concern or support for their nation. Rather, the people's attitude was a sign of their great love and respect for their Mōʻīwahine.

Even though all reports described Honolulu and the people as peaceful, on the afternoon of that Monday, January 16,

> Me ka ike ole o ke Aupuni a me ka ae aku no hoi o ke Kuhina Amerika, aole e lele mai na koa o ka manuwa, oiai, ua makaukau no ke Aupuni e malama i kona maluhia, eia nae, ua kauoha aku no ke Kuhina Amerika e hoopae nae i na koa o ka Bosetona.[21]
>
> Without the knowledge of the [Hawaiian] Government and with the agreement as well of the American Minister that he would not land military forces of the warship, since the Government was prepared to maintain its own peace, nevertheless, the American Minister indeed commanded the landing of the military forces of the Boston.

The *Boston*, or *Bosetona*, was the name of the American warship which was anchored in Honolulu Harbor. G. N. Wiltse was the captain of the warship, however, it was the U. S. Minister Stevens who ordered the landing of the troops.

> I ka po Poakahi, oia ka hoomaka ia ana e ku kiai ia kekahi mau wahi lehulehu o ke kulanakauhale nei e na koa o ka manuwa Amerika Bosetona me ko lakou pono kaua, a i ke kakahiaka Poalua ae ua ikeia aku la lakou e kaahele ana.[22]
>
> On the evening of Monday, this was the beginning of the guarding of some public areas of the town by the troops of the American warship Boston with their weapons, and on the morning of the following Tuesday, they were seen marching.

However, the areas which they guarded and marched were not close to the property or the homes of the American citizens. Rather, these troops guarded and patrolled the areas directly across from and in the area surrounding the government building and the palace. In his synopsis of the events, President Cleveland stated:

> And so it happened that on the 16th day of January, 1893, between four and five o'clock in the afternoon, a detachment of marines from the United States steamer *Boston*, with two pieces of artillery, landed at Honolulu. The men, upwards of 160 in all, were supplied with double cartridge belts filled with ammunition and with haversacks and canteens, and were accompanied by a hospital corps with stretchers and medical supplies.[23]

More detail is also provided by Colburn:

> The troops then marched up by the palace, passed as far out on King Street as the residence of Mr. J. B. Atherton, a distance of about 600 yards and later on returned and quartered for the night in the Arion Hall, a building opposite the government building and the palace. It is noteworthy that the Arion Hall and all the buildings in the immediate vicinity are not American property, so if the troops were landed solely for the protection of American property, the placing of them so far away from the center of the property of Americans and so very close to the property of the Hawaiian Government was very remarkable and very suggestive.[24]

Stevens' actions were described as "lima nui" ("big handed"), because of his encroachment into the affairs of the Hawaiian government, without the request or consent of the government or its Queen.

> On the afternoon of that Tuesday, the 17th of January,
>
> Ua hoomaka ae la na haole e maki me na pono kaua mai Manamana ae a ka Hale Aupuni, a malaila ko lakou Komite i kapaia ke "Komite no ka Maluhia o ka Lehulehu,"...ua kauohaia aku la ke Kakauolelo Nui o ke Keena Kalaaina e haawi pio mai i ka Hale Aupuni, a ua haawi ia mai la.[25]
>
> The haole began to march with weapons from Manamana to the Government Building, and there their Committee which is called the "Committee of Safety,"...demanded that the Secretary of the Government Office surrender the Government Building, and it was surrendered.

Ho'okahuli 'Ia Ke Aupuni
(The Government Is Overthrown)

Directly after Ali'iolani Hale was surrendered, the Committee of Safety stood on the steps, and even though there were very few citizens present to consent to, or even witness, their actions, they proclaimed a new government. According to the proclamation, the "Kulana Aupuni Moi o Hawaii" ("Monarchical Government of Hawai'i") was ended and they created:

> He Aupuni Kuikawa no ka Manawa no ka noho mana a me ka hooponopono i na hana o ka lehulehu a me ka malama i ka maluhia o ka lehulehu, e mau aku a hiki i ka manawa e kukakuka a e hooholo ia ai na kahua hoohui pu aku me Amerika Huipuia.[26]
>
> A Temporary, Provisional Government for the time being with the power to govern and set to rights the actions of the public with the maintenance of public safety and peace, to continue until such a time as discussions can be conducted and decisions made on the foundations for annexation with the United States.

They made it immediately clear that annexation with the United States was the ultimate goal of the new government, now known as the Provisional Government, or the "P. G." Because of the support and assistance of Stevens and the U. S. military forces, the members of the committee believed that the U. S. government would also support annexation.

At the end of their proclamation, they created an Executive Council, with Sanford B. Dole as President and Chairman of the Council, J. A. King as Minister of the Interior, P. C. Jones as Minister of Finance, and W. O. Smith as Attorney General. They also established an Advisory Council, which was composed of fourteen members, namely Lorrin. A. Thurston, S. M. Damon, A. Brown, J. F. Morgan, J. Emmeluth, H. Waterhouse, J. A. McCandless, E. D. Tenney, F. W. McChesney, F. Wilhelm, W. R. Castle, W. G. Ashley, W. C. Wilder, and C. Bolte, most of whom were members of the Committee of Safety.

For the Hawaiian Government, it was difficult indeed to oppose this blatant act of rebellion due to the presence of the U. S. military forces directly in front of the government building. According to Minister Colburn:

> The [Hawaiian] Government had decided not to place forces in the Government building, as the immediate vicinity of the United States troops would endanger the lives of the men from the *Boston* in case of a conflict with the rebels, and the Government desired, at all hazards, to avoid giving Minister Stevens any excuse or pretense for his hostile actions.[27]

Directly after the proclamation of the new government on the steps of the government building, U. S. Minister Stevens immediately recognized the new government. According to the Mōʻīwahine,

> O ke Kuhina Amerika, ua hoolele mua mai la oia i kona pualikoa malalo o na mea i hoomaopopo a hooholo malu ia mawaena ona a me ka poe kipi. Mahope iho o ka heluheluia ana mai o ke kukala kuahaua o ke Aupuni Kuikawa, ua ike koke aku la oia i ua Aupuni ala me ka haawi ana aku i ke kokua ana i na puali koa o ke Aupuni o Amerika.[28]
>
> The American Minister has landed his troops as a result of the things secretly discussed and decided between himself and the rebels. After the reading of the proclamation of the Provisional Government, he

quickly recognized the aforementioned Government while assisting them with the military forces of the American Government.

The Queen met again with her cabinet members. Only Ali'iolani Hale was in possession of the Committee of Safety and the Provisional Government. They did not have possession of the Palace, the Prison, or the Military Barracks. The Queen and her cabinet sent a document to Stevens asking his position, since the presence of U.S. military forces directly across from the occupied Government Building precluded the Queen's ability to protect and militarily enforce her control of the Hawaiian Kingdom. Stevens replied to the Queen by asserting the status of the new government and his recognition of that new government. The Queen spoke with her cabinet and her advisors and she made the following proclamation, in a manner similar to Kamehameha III when he surrended the government to Great Britain in 1843. The Queen stated,

> O wau, Liliuokalani, ma ka lokomaikai o ke Akua, malalo o ke Kumukanawai o ke Aupuni Hawaii, Moiwahine, ma keia ke hoike paa nei i Ko'u kue i kekahi hana a mau hana paha a pau i lawelawe ia e kue ana Ia'u iho a me ke Aupuni Kumukanawai o ke Aupuni Hawaii e kekahi poe e koi ana ua kukulu lakou he Aupuni Kuikawa no ka manawa no keia Aupuni.
> Ke ae wale nei no Au mamuli o ka mana oi ikaika o Amerika Huipuia nona hoi ke Kuhina Elele Nui, ka Meamahaloia John L. Stevens, ua kauoha aku i na koa o Amerika Huipuia e hoopae ia mai ma Honolulu, a ua kukala ae e kokua no oia i ua Aupuni Kuikawa 'la no ka Manawa i oleloia.
> Nolaila, i mea e kaupale aku ai i na hookuia ana o na puali i hoolawa ia me na lako kaua, a malia paha o hoopoino ia ke ola; nolaila, malalo o keia Kuahaua Kue a i kauhola ia hoi e ua mana ikaika 'la, ke ae wale nei no Au e panee aku i Ko'u Mana a hiki i ka manawa a ke Aupuni o Amerika Huipuia, mamuli o na mea oiaio e waiho ia aku ai imua ona, e hooloili ai i na hana a kona Luna Aupuni a e hoonoho hou Ia'u maluna o ka mana A'u e koi nei ma ke ano Aliiaimoku o ka Paeaina Hawaii.[29]

> I, Liliuokalani, by the grace of God and under the constitution of the Hawaiian Kingdom, Queen, do hereby solemnly protest against any and all acts done against myself and the constitutional Government of the Hawaiian Kingdom by certain persons claiming to have established a Provisional Government of and for this Kingdom.
> That I yield to the superior force of the United States of America, whose minister plenipotentiary, His Excellency John L. Stevens, has caused United States troops to be landed at Honolulu and declared that he would support the said Provisional Government.
> Now, to avoid any collision of armed forces, and perhaps the loss of life, I do, under this protest and impelled by said forces, yield my authority

> until such time as the Government of the United Sates shall, upon the facts being presented to it, undo the action of the representative and reinstate me in the authority which I claim as the constitutional sovereign of the Hawaiian Islands.[30]

The following day, January 18, Stevens dispatched a telegram to U. S. Secretary of State John W. Foster and reported:

> An entire overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy and the establishment of a Provisional Government in the interest of the whole people of the islands without the sacrifice of a single life.[31]

On that same day, Stevens dispatched a more detailed report, with his version of the events and his thoughts and hopes for the future. According to him:

> As soon as practicable a Provisional Government was constituted... The committee of public safety forthwith took possession of the Government buildings, archives, and treasury, and installed the Provisional Government at the heads of the respective departments. This being an accomplished fact, I promptly recognized the Provisional Government as the *de facto* Government of the Hawaiian Islands . . . Without the sacrifice of a single life this change of government has been accomplished. Language can hardly express the enthusiasm and the profound feeling of relief at this peaceful and salutary change of government. The underlying cause of this profound feeling among the citizens is the hope that the United States Government will allow these islands to pass to American control and become American soil.[32]

Ka Poʻe ʻEnemi
(The Enemy)

Because of Stevens' actions towards the Hawaiian government, the poʻe aloha ʻāina had absolutely no respect or admiration for him. The attitude of the people towards the Reform Party and the Committee of Safety were very similar. Stevens, Thurston, and the others were labeled as poʻe pākaha ʻāina (people who robbed, plundered, stole the land). They were the enemies of the Hawaiian government, the Hawaiian monarchy, the Hawaiian people, and Hawaiian independence.

In the second verse of the song "He Hoʻoheno No Liliʻu," the first mele lāhui of this chapter, the thoughts of the Kānaka Maoli towards these enemy are described.

Kaulana mai nei oe Kakina
Huakai paoa aohe hope
He hana kumu ole aohe koo
He ulu lau wale aohe mole
Hokai ua manu a'e hewa
Kolea kahu ole no ke kai mai
E lilo i mea ole na enemi
Lehelehe eueu hana lapuwale
E Kane, Kanaloa kii ia aku
E hoihoi mai oe ia Hawaii
E ola o Kalani a mau loa
A kau i ke ao malamalama
Hea ia aku no au o mai oe
Lanakila kamahao ko Hawaii
Haina ia mai ana ka puana
A kau o Liliu i ke Kalaunu

According to the composer, the name "Kaulana mai nei oe Kakina" ("Thurston has become famous") because of the wrongs he has committed against the Hawaiian Kingdom (l. 31). The composer has several disparaging descriptions for Thurston, to show his lack of righteousness. "Aohe hope...aoha koo...aohe mole" ("There is no backing...no support...no foundation root") for Thurston and his actions (l. 32-34).

The composer also describes him as a "Kolea kahu ole no ke kai mai" ("Guardianless kōlea bird from the ocean"). The kōlea is a bird from the ocean. It is not from Hawai'i; it is a bird born in a foreign land. However, in the winter, when the kōlea's homeland has no food, he flies to Hawai'i for the purpose of fattening itself up on the resources found here. In mele lāhui, the kaona of the kōlea is a reference to foreigners. It is used to describe Kakina, and many other foreigners, some of whom were born in a foreign land, and some of whom were born in Hawai'i. This term was reflective not necessarily of their actual birthplace, but their mindset, as Hawai'i was not the homeland of their hearts, minds, and bank accounts. Rather, for the most part, America, and sometimes England or another European country, was the land to which they felt most attached. In a manner similar to the kōlea, they viewed Hawai'i as the resource from which they would feed themselves and fatten their own pockets.

In the mele, these poʻe pākaha ʻāina are also clearly labeled as the "enemi" ("enemy") with the expressed desire that they "lilo i mea ole" ("become as nothing, cease to exist") (l. 37). These enemy are criticized for their "lehelehe eueu hana lapuwale" ("worthless, fast-moving lips") (l. 38). In the mind of the composer, there is no truth and no power in the voices of the enemy. For it is only with their fast-moving lips, a reference to deceitful speech, that they are able to achieve their goals.

For the Kānaka Maoli, it was, and is, difficult to conceive of the fact that Thurston, Stevens, and the other poʻe pākaha ʻāina were successful in overthrowing the Hawaiian Kingdom. The Kānaka Maoli's belief in the importance of pono behavior made it even more difficult to accept that their sovereignty was lost to a group of people who had acted so far outside of the boundaries of pono behavior. For this reason, and because of their belief in the pono of their independence, Kānaka Maoli reacted immediately to the overthrow, seeking various avenues of response through the remaining months of 1893.

Notes

Chapter 3 - No Ka Ho'okahuli Aupuni (The Overthrow)

[1] *Hawaii Holomua*, 9, 11 Pepeluali 1893.

[2] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 16 Ianuali 1893.

[3] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 16 Ianuali 1893.

[4] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 16 Ianuali 1893.

[5] Mō'īwahine Lili'uokalani, 1974, 234.

[6] U.S. Congress, 497.

[7] U.S. Congress, 497.

[8] Mō'īwahine Lili'uokalani, "Ka Hoopii a Ka Moiwahine," *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 31 Malaki 1893.

[9] Mō'īwahine Lili'uokalani, *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 31 Malaki 1893.

[10] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 10 'Apelila (April) 1893.

[11] U. S. Congress, 499.

[12] Mō'īwahine Lili'uokalani, 1974, 384-386.

[13] *Hawaii Holomua*, 28 Malaki (March), 1 Apelila 1893.

[14] *Hawaii Holomua*, 18 Ianuali 1893.

[15] *Hawaii Holomua*, 16 Ianuali 1893.

[16] U.S. Congress, 783.

[17] U.S. Congress, 495.

[18] U.S. Congress, 380-381.

[19] U.S. Congress, 501.

[20] U.S. Congress, 518.

[21] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 17 Ianuali 1893.

[22] *Hawaii Holomua*, 18 Ianuali 1893.

[23] U.S. Congress, 451.

[24] U.S. Congress, 495.

[25] *Hawaii Holomua*, 18 Ianuali 1893.

[26] *Hawaii Holomua*, 18 Ianuali 1893.

[27] U.S. Congress, 495.

[28] Mō'īwahine Lili'uokalani, *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 11 Apelila 1893.

[29] *Hawaii Holomua*, 18 Ianuali 1893.

[30] U.S. Congress, 866. This is the translation which appears in the Blount Report.

[31] U.S. Congress, 1895, 206.

[32] U.S. Congress, 1895, 208-209.

CHAPTER 4
'IMI 'IA KA PONO A ME KA PĀKAHA
(RIGHTEOUSNESS AND GREED ARE PURSUED)

Following the events of January 17, 1893, while the Kānaka Maoli were still comprehending their loss of sovereignty, they recognized the need for immediate action and effort toward regaining it. Because the United States, through Minister Stevens and the military forces, had played such a pivotal role in the overthrow, the U.S. and Washington, D. C. became focal points in these recovery efforts. In this chapter, we will focus on the events which occurred in the remaining months of 1893, the ways in which Kānaka Maoli responded to their loss of sovereignty and sought to regain it, and their depictions of their efforts within mele lāhui.

No Nā Komisina
(The Commissioners)

In the first two lines of the above mele, entitled "He Hooheno No Liliu," the story is related of a "huakai paoa" (an "odoriferous journey") upon which Thurston embarked. It was a journey for the purpose of fulfilling the ultimate goal of the Committee of Safety, and now the Provisional Government, for the annexing of Hawai'i to America.

On January 18, 1893, just one day after the overthrow, the Kānaka Maoli began their recovery efforts. Thurston and other members of the Committee of Safety, who were now members of the Provisional Government's Advisory Council, were given passage aboard a ship to San Francisco on the first leg of a journey to Washington, D.C. It was their goal to submit the Treaty of Annexation to the U.S. Senate

The Mō'īwahine wished to send commissioners on behalf of the Hawaiian government on the same ship. According to the newspaper report, "ua ae mua ia mai e kau pu aku kekahi Komisina Elele ma ka aoao o ke alii

Liliuokalani" ("The Commissioners representing the Queen Liliuokalani were initially approved to board [the ship] as well").[1] However, permission was revoked by the Provisional Government, a decision supported as well by the Captain of the ship.

> Aole ae o ka mana Aupuni hou i na Komisina o ke Alii e holo pu me ko lakou mau Komisina...no Kapalakiko, maluna o Kelaudine, no ka hoike aku i ke kulana o ke Aupuni i ke Aupuni o Amerika Huipuia, ma Wasinetona.[2]
>
> The new Government did not allow the Commissioners of the Queen to travel with their Commissioners...to San Francisco, aboard the Claudine, for the purpose of reporting the state of the Government to the United States Government, in Washington.

The *Claudine*, also known as the *Kelaudine* or *Kelaudina* in Hawaiian, was the name of the ship which took the commissioners of the Provisional Government. As a result, the ship herself became the object of a mele lāhui.

KELAUDINA SONG.[3]

Kaulana mai nei Kelaudina
Ahailono o ka poe pakaha
Nau i lawe aku na komisina
O ke aupuni kuloko o Hawaii
Hopuhopualulu e ka hele'na
A na elele o ua aupuni nei
E ake ana e hookoia
Ka iini pakaha aina
Halawai aku nei lakou
Me kahi paele a Kalivilana
Ninau mai nei kahi paele
Mahea oukou pii mai
Pane aku nei o Kakina
Makou Hawaii pii mai
Makemake kuka Kalivilana
Hoohui kela aina makou
Me Amelika Huipuia
Nalo aku nei kahi paele
A hoi mai me ka pane ana
Kela Kalivilana olelo wau
Nuinui kela mahaoi oukou
Iaia kauoha wau olelo
Pehea oukou kuleana
Kipaku kela Moi Wai-hi
Haina ia mai ana ka puana
Hopuia Kelaudina me ka opiuma

Hakuia e
EKAMOKULAWEOPIUMA

This mele relates the journey of the *Kelaudina* from Hawai'i to San Francisco. Along with Thurston were W. R. Castle, W. C. Wilder, and Charles Carter, all acting as commissioners on behalf of the Provisional Government. According to the mele, "Kaulana mai nei Kelaudina" ("The Claudine had become famous") because of its role as an "Ahailono o ka poe pakaha" ("Messenger of the cheating, plundering people"). It is as if the ship itself became an enemy of the people because it transported these commissioners to Washington, D. C. ("lawe aku na komisina / O ke aupuni kuloko o Hawaii") (l. 1-4).

The composer had no admiration for the commissioners of the Provisional Government and so it is with insulting language that he relates these events. The commissioners are labeled as "pakaha" ("cheaters, plunderers, robbers") (l. 2) and their journey is described as "hopuhopualulu" ("done quickly, and without proper thought, leading to careless mistakes") (l. 5). The composer also recognizes and relates the true purpose of the journey, due to their "iini pakaha aina" ("deceitful, thieving desire for land") (l. 8).

When Thurston and the other commissioners arrived in Washington, they met with President Harrison, and on the 14th of February, Harrison sent a Treaty of Annexation to the U. S. Senate.[4] This act seems to indicate Harrison's approval of the annexation; however, he also knew that his term of office as the President would shortly end. Cleveland had been elected President in the recent election and was sworn into office on March 4. Immediately, Cleveland withdrew the Treaty of Annexation from the Senate and announced that a commissioner on behalf of the U. S. would be sent to Hawai'i to investigate the situation and events leading up to the overthrow.[5]

For the Kānaka Maoli, this was a sign of Cleveland's support for the Hawaiian Kingdom and the lāhui. In this mele, "Kelaudina Song", the composer describes the journey of Kakina and the other commissioners to

meet with President Cleveland. This meeting is not reported in the newspapers, even though it takes up a substantial part of this mele. According to the composer, "Halawai aku nei lakou / Me kahi paele a Kalivilana" ("They [Thurston folks] met / With some black, servant of Cleveland") and it was this person who relayed the messages back and forth between Thurston and Cleveland (l. 9-10). Here again are the pertinent lines from "Kelaudina Song."

Ninau mai nei kahi paele
Mahea oukou pii mai
Pane aku nei o Kakina
Makou Hawaii pii mai
Makemake kuka Kalivilana
Hoohui kela aina makou
Me Amelika Huipuia
Nalo aku nei kahi paele
A hoi mai me ka pane ana
Kela Kalivilana olelo wau
Nuinui kela mahaoi oukou
Iaia kauoha wau olelo
Pehea oukou kuleana
Kipaku kela Moi Wai-hi

A black man asked
Where you all travel from
Kakina replied
We Hawaii came from
Wish speak Kalivilana
Annex that land of ours
With the United States of America
The black man disappeared
And returned with the answer
That Kalivilana spoke I
Great the rudeness of you all
He commanded I say
What right have you
Expel that Sacred, Royal Queen

It is unclear whether this conversation actually took place, which is perhaps the reason that these words were not heard directly from the mouth of Cleveland, but rather through an intermediary. It is also interesting that the quotes spoken by Kakina and the messenger are obviously and intentionally awkward and grammatically crude, which I have attempted to reflect in the English translation as well. Perhaps the composer's intention is

to show the crudity of the English language and American culture. Whatever the motivation, the relating of this conversation in this mele and in this manner are definite evidence of the thoughts and desires of the composer, not only that Kakina be unsuccessful in his endeavors to achieve annexation, but also to express that the U.S. understands and recognizes the great wrongs conducted by Kakina against the Hawaiian Kingdom and its Queen.

At the end of the mele, the thoughts of the composer return to the *Kelaudina* and the wrongs perpetrated by the ship in its assisting the Provisional Government. According to the composer:

> Haina ia mai ana ka puana
> Hopuia Kelaudina me ka opiuma
>
> The refrain, the story is told
> The Kelaudina has been captured with opium

As reported in the newspapers, on the 11th of February, the *Kelaudina* docked in Honolulu Harbor on its return from taking the commissioners to San Francisco. According to the newspapers reports:

> Ua hopuia e na kiai o ka Hale Dute, he 300 kini opiuma iloko o na Paiki Huluhulu 4. Ua hookuuia keia mau paiki opiuma iloko o ke kai me kekahi kaula i hoopaaia mai ka paiki opiuma a iluna o hope o ka moku.
> I ka manawa i hoao ia ai e huki i ke kaula me ka manao ole ia he mau paiki opiuma ko lalo, ua puiwa ka mea nana i huki i ua kaula nei no ke kaumaha, aole e hiki iaia ke huki.[6]
>
> Impounded by the agents, guards of the Duty House, were 300 cans of opium found inside of 4 Burlap Bags. The opium bags were lowered inside of the ocean on a rope which was secured to the opium bags and the stern of the ship.
> At the time that it was attempted to pull the rope without any thought that there might be opium below, the person who pulled the rope was surprised at its weight, because he was unable to pull it up.

When they pulled the rope up, they found the opium. For the composer of the mele, and the lāhui as well, this became a symbol of the corrupt nature of the ship, because of the assistance given to the poʻe pākaha ʻāina on their journey seeking annexation. The composer further showed his lack of respect for the ship by signing the mele with the name, "Ekamokulawe-opiuma" ("The opium

transporting ship"). This pseudonym allows another chance for the composer to assert the corruptness of the enemy. According to newspaper reports, "O keia auanei ka anoano mua o ka huakai Hoohui Aina!" ("This is the first seed of the Annexation journey!") In this mele, the mana'o kū'ē (thoughts opinions of protest, resistance, and rebellion) of the composer is indeed the most important aspect—it is a kū'ē of the abuse against his nation, as well as a kū'ē against those who supported and assisted in the abuse, whether man or ship.

No Nā Kānaka Maoli: Nā Nūpepa a me Nā Mele (The Native People: Their Newspapers and Their Mele)

In a variety of ways and places, the Kānaka Maoli did resist against the overthrow of their government. They were also very kūpa'a in the belief in what was pono for their government and their people. They did not sit idly by without giving action and voice to their kū'ē and kūpa'a. This is readily apparent, if one only looks to their accounts of their history, which they related in the newspapers of the time.

When newspapers were created and led by Kanaka Maoli, they began to write stories demonstrating their aloha—aloha for the 'āina, aloha for the lāhui, aloha for the aupuni, and aloha for the Mō'ī. Since 1887, and the reduction of the Mō'ī's power and control of the government, Kānaka Maoli had established quite a few newspapers supporting the Kānaka Maoli, their history, culture, religion and form of government. This support was evident in the content, as well as the names of the newspapers, such as *Ka Makaainana* (1887), *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui* (1889), *Ka Nupepa Oiaio* (1889), *Ka Ahailono a ka Lahui* (1890), *Ke Kiai o ka Lahui* (1890), *Hawaii Holomua* (1891), *Ka Leialii o Hawaii* (1892), *Ka Liberale* (1892), and *Ka Malamalama* (1892).

Though some of the above papers were printed only briefly, there were still a total of nine newspapers being printed in the Hawaiian language in

1893. *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* was one of the papers, still under the leadership of Henry Whitney as both the Luna Nui (Chief Supervisor) and the Luna Hoʻoponopono (Editor). Both *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* and *Ka Liberale* were known as "nupepa hoohui aina" ("annexationist newspapers") because of their support of the overthrow and annexation. There was also one Christian newspaper being published in 1893, known as *Ka Hoʻolaha Oiaio.* The six remaining newspapers (*Ka Leo o Ka Lahui, Ka Makaainana, Nupepa Ka Oiaio, Ka Lei Momi,* and *Nupepa Puka La Aloha Aina*) were considered to be Hawaiian in their perspective and content.

Three of these newspapers are available on microfilm at the University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa's Hamilton Library. They are *Hawaii Holomua, Ka Leo O Ka Lahui,* and *Ka Lei Momi.* In searching through these newspapers for the year 1893, a total of 120 mele lāhui were gathered. These mele were composed about the overthrow for the purpose of expressing ideas of both kūʻē and kūpaʻa—kūʻē against the actions of those who overthrew the government, and kūpaʻa in their aloha for the kingdom, the nation, and the Queen. Some of these mele were published two or three times on different days and in different newspapers, and sometimes with a different name.

The very first mele lāhui of this genre were published in *Hawaii Holomua.* Kahikina Kelekona, also known as John Sheldon, was the editor. Kelekona, a part-Hawaiian, was from Kona, Hawaiʻi, and was the child of Henry Sheldon, also a newspaper editor. Kelekona's younger brother, Laurence Sheldon, was also in the newspaper business as a printer. Kelekona was an aloha ʻāina and a strong and forceful supporter of his people, which he affirmed through his newspaper.

Since 1851, freedom of speech had been guaranteed in the constitution of the Hawaiian Kingdom; however, the actions of the Provisional Government no longer supported this freedom. In the February 15, 1893 issue, Kelekona

labeled Thurston a liar, because of Thurston's statement that if the Mōʻī were returned to the throne, she would deport all of the haole in the kingdom. The next day, Kelekona was arrested and charged for libelous and seditious speech. In the days and months to follow, the editors had to be somewhat careful of the content found in their newspapers, as the Provisional Government demonstrated that the freedom of speech had become severely limited. When the Republic was proclaimed in 1894, this limitation on the freedom of speech was formalized in the new Republic Constitution, with the following condition:

> All men may freely speak, write, and publish their sentiments on all subjects...but all persons shall be responsible for the abuse of such right; and no person shall advocate, by writing, printing, or speaking, the restoration or establishment of a monarchical form of government in the Hawaiian Islands; nor advocate the use of force for the accomplishment of any change in the system or form of government hereby established; nor seek or advocate the action of any foreign power for such purpose.[7]

Regardless of such limitations placed on the freedom of speech, the editors of the Hawaiian newspapers continued their work. On a daily basis, they published articles and mele lāhui, affirming a perspective that was somewhat dangerous at the time—public support of not only Hawaiian ways of life, but a Hawaiian form of government; these articles and mele called for not only the return of the Mōʻī, but also the return of her full monarchical powers. For these reasons, in the hearts and minds of the Hawaiian people, the editors of the newspapers were true heroes of the nation.

KAHIKINA KELEKONA
SONG[8]

Kaulana mai nei oe e Kahikina
O ke koa wiwo ole o ka makakila
Nau i ki-pu iho e ka hoeuli
O ka nupepa HAWAII HOLOMUA
Kilakila na hana au e ke hoa
No ka pono kaulike o ka Lahui
Mamuli o ke aloha aina
Ua paa oe i ka hopuia
Aole loa oe a i hopo iho
I na auna manu misionari
No ka makee a no ke aloha

I ko kakou Aliiaimoku
E lilo i mea ole na hoopii
A na enemi imua o ka aha
A puka KAHIKINA me ka lanakila
A ola KELEKONA me ka HOLOMUA
He leo pule ka Kahikina
No na mamo misionari
E uwalo ana i na Kahikolu
E aloha iho ia lakou
No ko lakou ike ole ana
I ka lakou mea e hana nei
E auamo ana me na pu ki kanaka
A poina i ke a'o a ka Buke Nui
E ola o Kelekona a mau loa
A puka Kahikina a hemo loa
Haina ia mai ana ka puana
He aloha aina ko Kahikina.

Hakuia e
MISS KEONAONAOKALANI.

In this mele, the composer describes Kelekona as "kaulana" ("famous"), as a "koa wiwo ole" ("fearless warrior"), and a "hoeuli" ("steersman") for the newspaper *Hawaii Holomua* (l. 1-4). The composer also relates the story of Kelekona's imprisonment, stating, "Ua paa oe i ka hopuia" ("You have been secured by arrest"), because of "ke aloha aina" ("love for the land") (l. 5-8). Miss Keonaonaokalani, the composer, goes on to say "Aole loa oe a i hopo iho" ("You have nothing to worry about") in regards to the enemy, whom she calls an "auna manu misionari" ("flock of missionary birds") (l. 10). According to the composer, Kelekona requests with his "leo pule" ("voice of prayer") that "na Kahikolu" ("the Christian Trinity") as well as the public at large will come to recognize the wrongdoings perpetrated by the "mamo misionari" ("missionary descendants") in their abuse of the Hawaiian people and their turning away from the teachings of the Bible ("poina i ke a'o a ka Buke Nui") (l. 17-24). Towards the end of the mele, the composer reveals her hope for Kelekona, that he "ola...a mau loa" ("live...forever") and "puka" ("emerge") and "hemo loa" ("be released") from his prison (l. 25-26). Then, in the very last lines, Kelekona's status as "He aloha aina" (A royalist, lover of the land) is revealed (l. 27-28). It would appear that in the hearts and minds of this

composer and other Kānaka Maoli of the time, this characteristic of aloha ʻāina was the one by which people were judged to be pono; aloha ʻāina was a characteristic to be admired and honored

In June of 1893, a new newspaper was established by W. H. Kapu, who would also serve as editor. The name of the paper was *Ka Lei Momi*, and it was also known as an aloha ʻāina newspaper. It seems that there was great admiration by the community for this new newspaper, as well as the workers of the newspaper, as evidenced by the mele written in its honor.

HE MELE NO KA ONO A
KA LEI MOMI[9]

Hooheno na lede o ke kaona
I na lima hei o ka hua metala
E kala ko eha i Ka Lei Momi
I ke kuu pau i ka ono a loko
Ua like me ka wai o ka piula
E pipii nei i ka puuwai
He waiwai nui naʻu ko leo
A ke Telepona e honehone nei
Hana mau ka leo o ke Kahuli
E koi mai ana ia Makalapua
He pua makou no KA LEI MOMI
A he waha olelo no ka Lahui
Eia makou la ua lai
I ka lawe poahi i ka hua metala
O ka nanea ana iho ua lai
Hone ana ka pele o ke Telepona
Ua pono kau hana he palu ono
He kono na ka leo i anoi ia
Pela iho oe e kakali ai
A uwila aku maka uwea
O ka mau no ia o Kauluwela
O ka mikimiki no me ka eleu
Haina ia mai ana ka puana
Na lima hei no o KA LEI MOMI

Hakuia e——
A hoohenoia e na luina leo senora
o KA LEI MOMI

Ka Lei Momi is admired for its position as a "waha olelo no ka Lahui" ("spokesman for the Nation, People") at the time of the overthrow (l. 12). But, the main intent of the composers is to praise the printers and their "lima hei o ka hua metala" ("adept hands at the metal letters") (l. 2).

For the lāhui, the aloha 'āina newspapers and the editors were greatly beloved and respected. At the time of the overthrow, John E. Bush, also known as Ailuene Buki, was the editor for *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*. However, in February, Joseph Nāwahī became the new editor.

Nāwahī was from Kaimū, Puna, on the island of Hawai'i, and he was a Luna Maka'āinana in the legislature of 1892. He was also a member of the Hui Aloha 'Āina and had been a strong supporter of the Queen's attempt to establish a new constitution.[10]

HE LEI NO NAWAHI[11]

He lei keia no Nawahi
Nelekona oe o ka Pakipika
Ka uila anapa ma ka Hikina
Malamalama ai Hawaii Loa
Hoike ana hoi me ka noeau
I ka lama ku no Hawaii nei
Huai pau ke aloha Aina
E imi ana hoi me ka noeau
Hoike ana hoi me ka hopo ole
Na hana uahoa a ka lokoino
Pahola ke aloha o Nawahi
Kaukau mai ana i ka Lahui
E noho kakou me ka hoomalu
Malama kakou i ka maluhia
Hiki mai ka Elele a Ailuene
O ka lau Oliva a ke aloha
Papahi Rose ia no Nawahi
He waha olelo no ka lehulehu
Hoike e KA LEO O KA LAHUI
Na hana lima nui a ka lokoino
A i Amerika na Komite
Me ke kuikahi hoohui aina
Hea ka leo o Nawahi
E pule kakou me ka lokahi
Ua ae mai hoi na Mana Lani
Ka uwalo a ka leo o ka Lahui
Puuwai hamama oi kelakela
Hawaii Ponoi oia ka oi
Hea aku makou o mai oe
Nawahi o Kalaniopuu

MRS. KALA

Honuakaha, March 17, 1893

In the mele that Mrs. Kala composed, the righteousness of Nāwahī is the main theme. He is compared to "ka uila anapa ma ka Hikina /

Malamalama ai Hawaii Loa" ("lightning flashing in the East / Enlightening all of Hawaii" (l. 3-4). He and his actions are described as "noeau" ("wise, gifted"), "aloha aina," ("royalist, one who loves the land) and a "lamaku" ("torch, light") for the nation (l. 5-8). The composer also praises Nāwahī for revealing the "hana uahoa" (harsh, indifferent actions") of the "lokoino" ("evil-hearted") people (l. 9-10). The composer records the fact that Nāwahī acted as a substitute for Buki thereby becoming a "waha olelo no ka lehulehu" ("spokesman for the people") (l. 15-18). Then, the newspaper *Ka Leo o Ka Lahui* becomes the object of the composer's admiration, because of the newspaper's revelations about the "hana lima nui a ka lokoino" ("heavy handed actions of the evil-hearted ones") (l. 19-20). These evil-hearted ones are the commissioners of the Provisional Government, who were in America, trying to complete the "kuikahi hoohui aina" ("annexation treaty") (l. 21-22). In the lower lines of the mele, Mrs. Kala expresses her aloha for the lāhui, for their "puuwai hamama oi kelakela" ("open hearted, outstanding excellence") and the absolute superiority of Hawai'i's own, "Hawaii Ponoi oia ka oi" ("Hawai'i's own, it is the best") (l. 27-28). She ends the mele by calling out and honoring Bush's name (l. 29-30).

Mrs. Kala composed the above mele on the 17th of March. She composed another mele on the 21st of March, this one in honor of another of Hawai'i's newspaper heroes.

No Nā 'Elele Hawai'i
(The Hawaiian Messengers, Delegates)

Since the 1880's, Le'akahele, also known as Ailuene Buki, John E. Bush, was a Kanaka Maoli who was involved in government and newspapers. For a short time, he served as the Kuhina Kālai'āina in the Gibson cabinet under Kalākaua. He had also served in the legislature as Luna Maka'āinana.

In 1889, Bush established his own newspaper, called *Nupepa Ka Oiaio*, and in 1891, he also became the editor of *Ka Leo o Ka Lahui*.

In his work on behalf of the kingdom of Hawai'i as well as his newspapers, Bush did not support the Mō'ī and the Hawaiian kingdom without discretion. At times, if he felt the situation warranted it, Bush had opposed the actions of Kalākaua and Lili'uokalani as well, when she became Mōī.[12] Bush was nevertheless an aloha 'āina, as were his newspapers, and no matter what his disagreements might have been with the Mō'ī, he strongly supported the independence of Hawai'i's government and people. For this reason, Bush was greatly loved and admired by the people.

HE WEHI NO LE'AKAHELE[13]

He wehi keia no Le'akahele
Kahia'paiole o ka Makakila
He elele hopo ole na ka Lahui
He imi kaulike no Hawaii
Na Le'akahele i hue pau aku
Ma ke Telegarapa lawe olelo
Hoike ana hoi me ka wiwo ole
No Hawaii moku kele i ke kai
Aia Hawaii ua manuheu
Ua kailiku ia ka Leialii
O Liliuololokulaniikekapu
Me ke Kalaunu hoi o ke Aupuni
Aia i ka nuku o ka Aeko
I ka mana o na koa Amerika
Pehea oukou a i nei hana
I manao ai hoi a e limanui
Ua nui ke aloha o Le'akahele
O Ailuene Buki no ka Lahui
Haalele ke aloha kakia iwi
Imi ia i ka pono o ka aina
I loaa hou ai e ka hanohano
O ka Ihikapu a o Hawaii nei
Ua nui ke aho o Le'akahele
Ua hiki hou i ke one hanau
Ua hui hou hoi me ka Lahui
Na ewe hanau o ka aina
Lohea ka leo o Le'akahele
Ma na kapakai a o Hawaii
Hoike mai ana i ka nuhou
Ua ola Hawaii a mau loa
Hoole mai nei Amerika
Hoohui Aina me Hawaii
Ua kue loa na Senate
Na hana lima nui i manao ia
Ua ola hou o Liliuokalani

Ua kau hou i ka hano haweo
Ke poo Kalaunu a o Hawaii
Hoomalu ana hoi i ka Lahui
Eia e ka leo o Kalivilana
Ua oki Hawaii me ka maluhia
Haina ka puana a o ko wehi
O Le'akahele i ka ehuehu
Hea aku makou o mai oe
O Ailuene Buki kou inoa

Hakuia e

MRS. KALA

Honuakaha, Mar 21, 1893

In 1893, Bush was the President of the Hui Aloha 'Āina, and also a strong supporter of the establishment of a new constitution by the Mō'īwahine. Following the overthrow, Bush left his position as newspaper editor and became a messenger and a representative for the nation and the Mō'īwahine on a journey to San Francisco.

Bush left Hawai'i on the ship named the *Australia*, which was known in Hawaiian as the *Auseteralia*, on February 1, 1893 and arrived in San Francisco on February 8. In San Francisco, Bush met with various journalists in order to relate the story, from the Hawaiian perspective, of the recent events and state of affairs in Hawai'i. From his location in San Francisco, Bush received initial reports from Washington, quickly forwarding to his people in Hawai'i via telegraph any pertinent and reliable information.[14]

In her mele composed in honor of Buki, Mrs. Kala tells the story of his journey to San Francisco. She expresses admiration for Buki's status as a "hia'paiole o ka Makakila" ("expert of the steel point, swordsman") and an "elele hopo ole na ka Lahui" ("trustworthy messenger for the Nation, People") who is seeking justice for Hawaii ("kaulike no Hawaii") (l. 1-4). The composer also describes Buki's "hue pau" ("complete revealing") of all the details regarding this issue, as well as his relating and describing these issues to his people "ma ke Telegarapa" ("on the Telegraph") (l. 5-8). In the next lines of the mele, Mrs. Kala describes the status of the kingdom and the Mō'ī.

According to her, the Mōʻīwahine has been "kailiku ia" ("snatched away") from her throne (l. 10). The executive powers of her throne are described as captured in "ka nuku o ka Aeko" ("the beak of the Eagle"), that symbolic bird of American freedom (l. 12-13). The Queen's power is also described as seized by the power of the American military ("ka mana o na koa Amerika") (l. 14). The composer also questions the validity of the "lima nui" ("big handed") tactics of those who overthrew the government (l. 16).

In March, following the inauguration of Cleveland as the President of the United States and his removal of the Treaty of Annexation from the Senate, Bush returned home ("hiki hou i ke one hanau") (l. 24), arriving on March 27. On the 30th of March, another Hālāwai Makaʻāinana was held. "Hui hou hoi me ka Lahui / Na ewe hanau o ka aina" ("[Buki] was reunited with the People / The natives of the land") (l. 25-26). Buki spoke at this meeting, and in the next lines, the composer relates this, referring to Buki as Leʻakahele. Mrs. Kala writes, "lohea ka leo o Le'akahele / Ma na kapakai a o Hawaii" ("the voice of Le'akahele was heard / On the shores of Hawaii") (l. 27-28). In his speech, Buki stated that, "Ua ola Hawaii a mau loa aku" ("Hawaii lives on forever") and "Ua ola hou o Liliuokalani" (Liliuokalani lives again"). These reports of Hawaiʻi and the Mōʻī living again are a reflection of the removal of the Treaty from the U. S. Senate (l. 29-32). In the minds of the Kānaka Maoli, it was viewed as a step towards the resolution of this problem. They viewed the role of "ka leo o Kalivilana" ("the voice of Kalivilana") in removing the treaty as a solution achieved "me ka maluhia" ("with peace") (l. 39-40). In the final lines of the mele, the composer returns the focus back to Le'akahele, Ailuene Buki, praising his name and his achievements on behalf of his people and his nation (l. 41-44).

On his journey to San Francisco aboard the *Australia*, Bush did not travel alone. Two others, Paul Neumann and David Kawananakoa, traveled

with him in the capacity of commissioners of the Mōʻīwahine and the Hawaiian Kingdom. Their destination was Washington, D. C., and their purpose was to represent the Mōʻī and the Hawaiian Kingdom to the U. S. government, hoping to ensure that the Queen's and the Kingdom's version of events were related, as well as their protest against both the overthrow and annexation. Paul Neumann, also known as Paulo Numana, was one of the commissioners.

HE HOOHENO NO PAULO NUMANA[15]

He inoa kaulana no Numana
Pukuniahi o ka Pakipika
I ne-i nakolokolo aku nei
Ko leo maluna o ka Aiko
Lohaloha na hulu i ka ekekeu
Ua pipili paa ia i ke Kepau
Aohe manu koe i ke kuahiwi
Aia ka palena i Nupepeki
Aina lawaia i ke Kohola
Ua ku pono aku i ka Aiana
Ma ka opi mahamaha o ka Laikuela
Kaanini kela i ke alo makani
I ka noke a ka hau o Alika
I laila ike pono iho ke Kuhina
I ka hana a ka Honu o Polihua
Nana i pauma pii Haupu
Ike ia na hua nee i ke kai
Ua kei aku nei na Kolea
Eono o'u ulakolako
Hoolai ana i ka liko Ohai
I ke kula lehua o Kanoenoe
I ka lohe ana aku o Numana
Ua pii ka mamae i ka iwihilo
I ka ike ana iho i ka epa nui
Na manu Kinihene hulu like ole
Eia mai no ka oiaio
O ka leo kaulana o ka lahui
Lalau mai nei ke Kuhina Nui
I ka Elele waha ole a ke Kuini
I ka alawa ana iho naka haalulu
Ua holo e ka lia i ka puuwai
Me ka manao iho a e pee poli
I ka hua momi nani a o Hawaii
Mai komo i ka eke o ka Pokapia
Ka uwepa hoohee nuku omole
Hoohana e ia mai ka Uavila
Ma ka leo kauoha a Kilivalana
Ekolu Nunu lawe olelo
Nana i ahai puni ka honua
He anapu ana aku ma ka Hikina

Malamalama ana ma ke Komohana
Hoopuni aku nei i ka Akau
Ike i ka poai anu o ka Hema
Haina mai e ka Iwakiani
O Kalani Kawika pua laha ole
O ka hana ana ia a ke Topido
Poka ahi wela a o Hawaii
Noii nowelo imi akamai
Na mea kamahao a o Nu Ioka
O ke kolopa ia nana e une
Na mano wai a o Niakala
Naueue ai na pali paa
I ka eueu a o Kakuhihewa
Aohe mea koe ma ke kuono
Ahuwale i ka ohe hoonui-ike
Ike ia na kukulu o Kahiki
Na kaei olu o ka honua
I ka ipu piha i ka naauao
Olali o na kai ewalu
Ua ola Hawaii ua lanakila
Ua puka i ke ao malamalama
Haina ka puana o kou inoa
Numana i ka waha o ka lahui

Hakuia e
MISS KEKOAOHIWAIKALANI,
Puahaulani Hale, Mar 13, 1893.

Neumann was a lawyer and advisor to Kalākaua during his reign. He was a haole from America, who had lived in Hawai'i for only nine years at the time of the overthrow. In 1893, he was invited to attend some of the meetings held by Thurston and the Committee of Safety. While he did attend the meetings, he did not give his support to their efforts to overthrow the government, and instead was a supporter of the Mō'īwahine and the continued independence of her Kingdom. According to Neumann's affidavit to Blount:

> The pretext that the troops were landed to protect American lives and property was spurious and false; both lives and property were as safe here and as unlikely to be threatened or disturbed as in Kennebec, Maine, and the sole object of Mr. Stevens and Captain Wiltse was to abet and assist, not alone by intimidation, but by actual violence the revolutionary movement headed by Mr. L. A. Thurston and other persons belonging to his party.[16]

After the overthrow, the Mō'īwahine asked Neumann to travel to Washington in the capacity of commissioner and lawyer representing the interests of both herself and the Hawaiian Kingdom. Because of his efforts on

behalf of the lāhui, he was viewed as an aloha 'āina, and becomes a hero for the people and the subject of mele written in his honor.

Miss Kekoaohiwaikalani is the composer of this mele for Neumann. Her full name is Ellen Kekoaohiwaikalani Prendergast, and she is the woman who wrote that famous mele discussed in the Introduction of this paper, "He Inoa No Na Keiki O Ka Bana Lahui."

In her song for Neumann, Miss Kekoaohiwaikalani relates the accomplishments of Neumann as a commissioner for the Hawaiian Kingdom. According to the composer, Neumann has become famous as a "pukuniahi o ka Pakipika" ("cannon of the Pacific") (l. 1-2). This cannon is perhaps Neumann's voice which is described as rumbling and thundering ("ne-i nakolokolo aku nei") (l. 3). As a result of this rumbling and thundering of his voice "maluna o ka Aiko" ("over the Eagle") of America, "lohaloha na hulu i ka ekekeu" ("the feathers on the wings are drooping") and "ua pipili paa ia i ke Kepau" ("it is firmly stuck in the Kepau glue") (l. 4-6). The Eagle is a metaphor for the U. S., and in using disparaging language to describe the bird, its feathers, and its capture, the composer's intention is to insult and question the integrity of the U. S. Ultimately, "aohe manu koe i ke kuahiwi" ("no bird remains in the mountains") (l. 7), hoping that if the Eagle ceased to exist, so would the power of the U. S.

In several lines of the mele, the composer includes quite a few place names of America, specifically, Nupepeki (New Bedford), 'Ālika (Alaska), and Niakala (Niagara) (l. 8, 13, 51). In her mele, Kekoaohiwaikalani expresses admiration for Neumann, comparing him to the lightning flashing in the East ("anapu...ma ka Hikina") who is lighting, as well as enlightening, the West ("Malamalama ana ma ke Komohana"), and encompassing the North and the South of the earth as well ("Hoopuni aku nei i ka Akau / Ike i ka poai anu o ka Hema") (l. 40-43). The composer continues to express admiration for

Neumann at the end of the mele, specifically for his "hoonui-ike" ("increasing knowledge, educating, teaching") as well as for being "piha i ka naauao" ("full of knowledge, knowledgeable"), so that Hawaii lives ("ola Hawaii"), is victorious ("lanakila"), and able to "puka i ke ao malamalama" ("emerge into the enlightened era, day") (l. 55-61).

In the middle section of this mele, the composer honors the actions of the other Hawaiian commissioner, Neumann's companion, David Kawananakoa. Kawananakoa is called a "Topido" ("Torpedo"), a "poka ahi wela" ("fire hot bullet") who is "noii nowelo imi akamai" ("seeking its target intelligently") (l. 45-47). He is a "kolopa ia nana e une" ("a crowbar who will loosen") "na mano wai a o Niakala" ("the dams of Niagara") and who will cause the solid cliffs to move aside ("Naueue ai na pali paa") (l. 48-52). According to the composer, the strengths and attributes of Neumann and Kawananakoa are amazing in their efforts on behalf of the kingdom. The final lines of the mele are again in honor of Neumann, for his accomplishments as a "waha o ka lahui" (spokesman of the nation) (l. 62-63).

The composer and other Kānaka Maoli knew that Neumann was haole. Perhaps that is why so many American place names are included in this mele—to show Neumann's connection to his birthplace. Regardless of such connections, the people had aloha for Neumann, because they realized that not all haole were the same, not all of them supported the end of Hawai'i's independence. Some haole were indeed classified and recognized as aloha 'āina, as proven by the mele written for Neumann.

In other mele, the central focus was on David Kawananakoa in appreciation of his efforts on behalf of his lāhui and his Mō'ī. Just as the mele written for Neumann reflected who Neumann was, so did the mele for Kawananakoa reflect who he was as an ali'i and leader for his people.

HE OHU NO KAWANANAKOA[17]

He ohu keia nou e Kalani
O Kawananakoa o ka wekiu
O ka Opuu liko o ke Kalaunu
Haaheo ae ai o Hawaii Loa
He loa ka helena ou e Kalani
I ka huikau a o Amerika
E imi ana hoi me ka hopo ole
I ka Ea aloha o kou Aina
Kulia i ka Nuu oia ke kapu
O ka noho Kalaunu o Hawaii
Hea'ku makou o mai oe
O Kawananakoa i Kawekiu
E ola o Kalani a mau loa
I milimili hoi na ka Lahui

He ohu keia no Kawika
O Kawananakoa i ka uluwehi
Kahiko mau oe no ka Lahui
He milimili hoi na Liliulani
He lani ke aloha no ka lahui
He hiapo hoi oe na makou
Aole poina kou Lahui
Kau hana pookela i alo aku nei
Kou kino opio puuwai kila
He aloha Lahui i ka umauma
Haina ka puana ao ko wehi
O Kawananakoa i Kawekiu
Hea aku makou o mai oe
O Kalani uluwehi kou inoa

He inoa nou e Kalani Kawika
Ka manu Nunu lawe olelo
Pahola e ka lono i Amerika
O Kawananakoa ua hiki mai
Eia i ka lai Kapalakiko
I kaulu wehi o ka Ipuka Gula
Makaleho ia hoi e ka nui manu
Nene holohau o ke Kuahiwi
Aohe no lua e loaa mai
Hawaii oi kela oia ka oi
Hea aku makou o mai oe
O Kalani Kawika i ka uluwehi
E ola o Kalani a mau loa
A kau i ka olu a o Hawaii

Hakuia e
MRS. KEPEOHOOKALANI,
Honuakaha, Mar. 24th, 1893

Kawananakoa was a Prince of the Royal family. His grandmother, Kekahili, was the sister of Kapa'akea, Lili'uokalani's father. He was therefore a nephew of Lili'uokalani, as shown in the first lines of this mele. His status

is referred to as of a high rank ("wekiu") and he is called "ka Opuu liko o ke Kalaunu" ("the chiefly bud, child of the Crown") (l. 1-3).

The composer, Mrs. Kepeohookalani, also describes Kawananakoa's journey to Washington. According to her, "He loa ka helena" ("Long was the journey") of Kawananakoa "i ka huikau a o Amerika" ("into the haphazard confusion of America") (l. 5-6). It was, however, a necessary and righteous journey, because "E imi ana hoi me ka hopo ole / I ka Ea aloha o kou Aina" ("[You, Kawananakoa] are searching without worry / For the beloved Sovereignty of your Land") and striving for "ka nuu" ("the summit") and "ke kapu / O ka noho Kalaunu o Hawaii" ("the sanctity / Of the Throne of Hawai'i") (l. 7-10).

In the second verse of this mele, the composer expresses her aloha and her mahalo to Kawananakoa, describing him as a "kahiko mau" ("eternal adornment") for the lāhui, a "milimili" ("favorite, beloved"), a "lani" ("royal, chiefly one"), and a "hiapo" ("elder sibling held in respect") (l. 17-20). His "hana pookela i alo aku nei" ("superior deeds he has endured") will not be forgotten by his people, and neither will his "kino opio puuwaikila" ("steel-hearted youthful body") and his "aloha Lahui i ka umauma" ("love for his Nation, People in his heart") (l. 21-24).

Kawananakoa's actions as commissioner are the subject of the third verse. Mrs. Kepeohookalani describes the Prince's status as a "manu Nunu lawe olelo" ("Dove, bird of peace bearing the story") to America (l. 30-31). Then the composer tells of Kawananakoa's return to Hawai'i. According to the mele, it was at San Francisco that he arrived in "kaulu wehi o ka Ipuka Gula" ("the lush beauty of the Golden Gate") (l. 33-34). He continued on his journey until arriving back home in Hawai'i at the end of March. Prior to his leaving Washington, Kawananakoa's cousin, Princess Ka'iulani, arrived to provide whatever support and assistance possible.

No Ke Kamali'iwahine Ka'iulani
(The Princess Ka'iulani)

Her name was Victoria Kawēkiu Lunalilo Kalaninuiahilapalapa Ka'iulani. She was the daughter of Miriam Likelike, the younger sister of Lili'uokalani, and Archibald Cleghorn. At the time of Ka'iulani's birth, her family as well as the nation rejoiced, as she was the only legitimate descendant of their line.

In 1891, when Lili'uokalani became Mō'ī, she chose Ka'iulani as her heir apparent and successor to the throne. Ka'iulani was truly a favorite of her family and the future hope of her people.

HE OHU NO KAIULANI[18]

He ohu keia no Kaiulani
Ka wehi Kalunu [*pn*] a o Hawaii
Ka pua i poni ia e ke onaona
I ka puuwai hoi o ka Lahui
Eia Hawaii Moku o Keawe
Ua keehi kulana aina ike
Ua ike na Lani i ka Hiwahiwa
I ka wohi ku kahi a o Hawaii
Nau i alo mai na kai anu
O ka moana nui kai hohonu
A hiki i ka lai Wakinekona
I ka Hale Keokeo a o Nu Ioka
Okaoka na hana a ka pakaha
Lilo i mea ole na enemi
Ua haule na hana a ka lokoino
Ua ola Hawaii kau i ka Hano
Ua kokua mai na mana Lani
I ka leo walohia o ka Ihikapu
E noi ana hoi me ka nahenahe
No ke Kalaunu hoi a o Hawaii
Umia e ka hanu e ka Ihikapu
I ola ai hoi kou Lahui
Eia ka lono i Hawaii nei
Ua nele na hana a ke Kolea
Ua hoi luuluu na Komike
Ua nele i ka pono a i upu ai
I manao a hoi a e pakaha
I ka lepo aloha a o Hawaii
Ke hea mai nei ka Pae Opua
Ua ola Hawaii a mau loa
E welo hou kou Hae Hawaii
Ma na kapakai o kou Aina
Aina o ka nani me ka maikai
Makaleho ia ai e ka Hihikolo

Aole e loaa Hawaii nei
Aina no Kane me Kanaloa
Uoi kumu ia ua mole' lalo
Aohe eu e naue ai
He oia mau ia a mau loa
A kau hou i ka hano hawea
Haina ka puana o Kaohulani
E ola o Kalaninuiahilapalapa

Hakuia e
MRS. KALA
Honuakaha, Mar. 10, 1893.

In this mele composed in honor of Ka'iulani, the composer describes Ka'iulani's status as a "pua" ("flower, descendant") in the "puuwai hoi o ka Lahui" ("hearts of the Nation, People") (l. 1-4). According to the mele, "Ua ike na Lani i ka hiwahiwa / I ka wohi kukahi a o Hawaii" (The Heavens have seen, recognized the sanctity / Of the supreme one of sacred rank of Hawaii") (l. 7-9). When Ka'iulani was chosen as the heir to the Hawaiian throne, she had been sent to England for her education, where she was still residing at the time of the overthrow in 1893.

When Ka'iulani heard about the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom, she immediately attempted to assist in whatever manner possible. In a letter written to the U. S. government, the Princess wrote:

> He 4 makahiki mamua ae nei, ma ke noi a Kakina a me ka Aha Kuhina o Hawaii, ua hoounaia Au i Enelani no ke a'o ana i kupono no ke kulana Hooilina Kalaunu o Hawaii.
> Ua hoike ia mai nei ia'u; aia o Kakina ma Wasinetona, no ke noi ana aku ia oukou, e lawe aku i ka hae aloha o kuu aina a me kuu Kalaunu.[19]
>
> Four years ago, at the request of Thurston and the cabinet of Hawai'i, I was sent to England for an education appropriate for the status of the Heir to the Throne of Hawai'i.
> It has recently been made known to me that Thurston and others are currently in Washington, requesting of you all, to remove the beloved flag of my land and my Crown.

Ka'iulani also expresses some confusion as to the situation as she has not been informed in any manner by Thurston or the new government about any problems arising within the Hawaiian Kingdom. Immediately after she forwarded the above document to the U. S. government, and,

Ma muli o ka nui o kona aloha ua haalele aku la Oia ia Enelani, ma ka la 22 o Feberuari, a holo mai la no Amerika Huipuia.[20]

Because of the intensity of her aloha, She [Ka'iulani] left England, on the 22nd of February, and sailed for the United States of America.

In the mele "He Ohu No Kaiulani, " the composer describes Ka'iulani's journey from England. Ka'iulani traveled across "na kai anu / O ka moana nui kai hohonu / A hiki i ka lai o Wakinekona / I ka Hale Keokeo a o Nu Ioka" ("the cold sea / Of the deep, large ocean / Until arriving in the calm of Washington / At the White House and New York") (l. 9-12).

The Princess arrived in New York on March 1, 1893, only three days before Cleveland was inaugurated and removed the Annexation Treaty from the Senate. Because of Cleveland's assigning of a commissioner to investigate the events of the overthrow, the commissioners of the Provisional Government had decided to return immediately to Hawai'i.

In the mele composed for Ka'iulani, there are quite a few lines dedicated to disparaging and insulting language directed at these commissioners, their actions, and their goals of annexation. According to Mrs. Kala, the composer, these commissioners are absolutely without redeeming qualities. "Okaoka na hana a ka pakaha" ("The actions of the thieves, robbers are pulverized"), "Lilo i mea ole na enemi" ("The enemies will become as nothing"), and "Haule na hana a ka lokoino" ("The actions of the evil-hearted ones will fall, be defeated") (l. 13-15). Below, the composer describes the "hoi luuluu" ("Sad, sorrowful return") of the commissioners, as well as the "nele" ("lack") of accomplishment of "ke Kolea" ("the Kōlea bird") because of their "pakaha / I ka lepo a o Hawaii" (robbing, stealing / The dirt, land of Hawaii") (l. 24-28).

In the next lines of the mele, the actions of the people on behalf of the Provisional Government are labeled as "makaleho" ("covetous, desirous") and they are described as "hihikolo" (l. 34). The hihikolo is a vine, whose growth is

described as "kolo" ("crawling"). The hihikolo has no root and is therefore not connected to the ʻāina. This is a term of insult, just as "kōlea" is, referring to the haole and their capacity to create great complications and entanglements for other people without any foundation or connection to the land.

On March 13, 1893, Princess Kaʻiulani met with President Cleveland and his wife. The Princess was welcomed and hosted at the White House in a manner befitting someone of her rank, as a dignitary of another country. In the mele for Kaʻiulani, Mrs. Kala also details this meeting. She gives praises to the "leo walohia o ka Ihikapu" ("sympathetic voice of the Sacred one"), Kaʻiulani. "E noi ana hoi me ka nahenahe / no ke Kalaunu hoi a o Hawaii" ("[Kaʻiulani] was requesting calmly, with a gentle voice / for the Crown of Hawaiʻi") (l. 18-20). According to reports, Kaʻiulani did not speak with the President about any specifics pertaining to the situation in Hawaiʻi, since a commissioner had been assigned to investigate the situation. Therefore, the Princess was unable to directly request any further assistance from Cleveland as he had already taken steps to investigate the problem. Perhaps for this reason, the composer had some advice for the Princess, stating, "Umia e ka hanu e ka Ihikapu / I ola ai hoi kou Lahui" ("Hold your breath, be patient, Sacred One / So that your Nation, People may live"), meaning that the Princess would need to be patient until the problems of the kingdom could be resolved (l. 21-22).

In the remaining lines of the mele, the composer showed her aloha for Kaʻiulani, the lāhui, and the ʻāina of Hawaiʻi. She also expressed her happiness and joy at the news of the removal of the Treaty of Annexation. According to the composer, "Ua ola Hawaiʻi a mau loa," ("Hawaii lives forever") and "E welo hou kou hae Hawaii / Ma na kapakai o kou Aina / Aina o ka nani me ka maikai" ("Your Hawaiian flag will wave again / On the shores of your Land / Land of beauty and goodness") (l. 30-33). At the time that this

mele was composed, the American flag was still flying at Ali'iolani Hale. In the hearts of the Kānaka Maoli, the Hawaiian flag remained as a symbol of Hawai'i's independence and sovereignty, and was therefore a common characteristic seen in the mele lāhui of the time.

At the end of the mele, the composer shows the lack of success as well as the lack of righteousness of the Provisional Government in their attempt to achieve annexation with the statement that, "Aole e loaa Hawaii nei" ("Beloved Hawai'i cannot be taken") (l. 35). Then, the composer continues by describing the secure foundation of the "mole" ("taproot") of Hawai'i (l. 37). According to the mele, "Aohe eu e naue ai" ("There is no upstart who can sway, make insecure") the foundations of the Kingdom, because, "He oia mau ia a mau loa / A kau hou i ka hano hawea" ("It continues on forever and ever / Until it is placed again in a position of honor") (l. 38-40). Ka'iulani is definitely a symbol of this "mau" ("continuation"). In the last lines of the mele, the name of Ka'iulani is again honored, with the hope that she will "ola" ("live"), thereby assuring the life of the lāhui (l. 41-42).

No Komisina Balauna
(Commissioner Blount)

Several days prior to Ka'iulani's meeting with Cleveland, the President had assigned a commissioner to investigate the events leading up to the overthrow. On the 11th of March, 1893, President Cleveland signed the commission naming the Honorable James H. Blount as the commissioner to Hawai'i.

Previously, Blount had been a Representative for the State of Georgia serving in the U. S. legislature for 18 years, and acting as the Chair of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. Due to his familiarity with diplomatic situations and his reputation as fair and just, Blount was asked to:

> ...investigate and fully report to the President all the facts...respecting the conditions of affairs in the Hawaiian Islands, the causes of the

> revolution by which the Queen's Government was overthrown, the sentiment of the people toward existing authority, and, in general, all that can fully enlighten the President touching the subjects of your mission.[21]

On March 29, Blount arrived in Hawai'i aboard the ship *Rush*. Before Blount could disembark from the ship, U. S. Minister Stevens boarded the ship to introduce himself to Blount and to inform him that the Provisional Government had both a carriage and a hotel reserved for his use, which Blount refused.

> He elua hale i hoomakaukau ia no ke Komisina e ka Poai Hoohui Aina, ka hale o Waila, a me ko Kauka Megaru. Aia nae ke Komisina ma ka Hotele Hawaii kahi i noho ai.[22]
>
> There were two houses prepared for the Commissioner by the Annexation Club, the house of Wilder, and that of Doctor Megaru (MacGrew?/McGraw?). The Commissioner is however residing at the Hawai'i Hotel.

From the moment of his arrival, Blount conducted himself in a very unbiased manner, showing absolutely no favoritism towards either side, and appearing to truly seek out the truth in every aspect. Within a few days of his arrival, he gave audiences to and conducted interviews with both Kānaka Maoli and officials of the Provisional Government. The Kānaka Maoli were very cognizant and appreciative of Blount's insistence on impartiality, honoring his search for justice in their mele lāhui.

HE INOA NO KOMISINA
BLOUNT (BALAUNA)[23]

He Inoa keia no Balauna
Komisina ahaiolelo
Na ke Aupuni o Amerika
I hoouna mai a e nowelo
E imi ana i ka oiaio
O na olelo hakuepa wale
A na kolea kauahua
I kolopeka e nui aku nei
No Liliuokalanionamoku
Me na Oiwi o ka Aina
Hoike Balauna i kona mana
Papahi Hawaii i ka lanakila
Adimarala Kamaki ko Enelani
Konela Balauna ko Amerika
Ahai Balauna i ka haaheo
I ka la Ekahi o Aperila

Ma kona kauoha ana aku
E huki hou i ka Hae Hawaii
E mau e ka welo haaheo ana
O ka hae nani o ke Aupuni
Lilo a i mea ole na kuko
O ua auna pakaha nei
Hea aku makou o mai oe
Balauna ka Elele Ola Hawaii
Haina ia mai ana ka puana
Hoi hou o Liliu i ke Kalaunu

Hakuia e MISS MARY ROSE.
Honolulu, April 10, 1893.

Only one day after his arrival in Hawai'i, on March 30, Blount began meeting with the various interested and concerned parties—such as Sanford B. Dole, the President of the Provisional Government. He also met with Ministers Parker and Peterson of the Hawaiian Kingdom, and with the President and leaders of the Hui Aloha 'Āina, a Hawaiian political organization.[24]

On that same day, a Hālāwai Maka'āinana was held, at which Bush and Nāwahī spoke to the po'e aloha 'āina. At this meeting, a resolution was passed expressing their admiration for President Cleveland and Commissioner Blount in their pursuit of justice. They also asserted their desire to correct "na hewa nui i hana ia, e kue ana i ke kino o ko makou Aliiaimoku, a me ke Kuokoa hoi o ko makou Aina" ("the wrongs that have been done, which are in opposition to the body of our Ruler, and the Independence of our Land").[25]

There had been only one day's notice in announcing the Hālāwai Maka'āinana, however, "he aneane e 7,000 ka Nui o na Makaainana Aloha Aina Oiaio i Komo ma keia Huakai" ("nearly 7,000 was the quantity of the True Land Loving Common People who joined this journey") and who also signed the resolution passed that day.[26] These great numbers were truly a sign of the trust that the po'e aloha 'āina had in Commissioner Blount, as described in the mele written in honor of Balauna. According to the composer,

Miss Mary Rose, Blount was the "Komisina ahaiolelo / No ke Aupuni o Amerika / E imi ana i ka oiaio" ("Messenger Commissioner / For the Government of America / Seeking, searching for the truth") (l. 1-3).

This mele also has some disparaging language for the "kolea kauahua" ("proclaiming kōlea") because of the "olelo hakuepa wale" ("merely fictitious speech" and the "kolopeka e nui aku nei" ("sneaking and tattling greatly") (l. 6-8). Blount must determine the truth and the lies of their speech, "No Liliuokalanionamoku / Me na oiwi o ka Aina" ("For Liliuokalanionamoku / And the natives of the Land") (l. 9-10).

At the time that Blount arrived in Hawai'i, the American flag was still flying at Ali'iolani Hale. Captain Wiltse of the *Boston* had ordered and replaced the Hawaiian flag soon after the overthrow. However, on March 31, Blount commanded Wiltse to remove the American flag, and the next day, April 1, this command was completed by Wiltse. The Hawaiian flag was returned and flew again in its proper place above the government building.

For the Kānaka Maoli, the flag symbolized the independence of Hawai'i, and Blount's command was perceived as a symbol of his support of that independence. In addition, his command that the American flag be lowered, as well as the lowering itself, served as a reminder of the events of 1843, when the sovereignty of the Hawaiian Kingdom had been compromised by the British government, during the reign of Kauikeaouli, Kamehameha III. At that time, it was Admiral Thomas who had come to Hawai'i to investigate the circumstances which led to the ceding of the nation to Britain. When Thomas arrived in Hawai'i, he ordered that the British flag be lowered, and that the Hawaiian flag be returned to its rightful place, and that the sovereignty of the Hawaiian Kingdom be returned to Kauikeaouli. Therefore, in 1893, when Blount made a similar order regarding the flag, he was

compared to Thomas, "Adimarala Kamaki ko Enelani / Konela Balauna ko Amerika," ("England has Thomas / America has Blount") (l. 13-14).

When Lili'uokalani's government was overthrown, she followed the example set by Kauikeaouli and conceded her power to the American government, with the hope that when a true understanding of the events was made clear, sovereignty would be returned to the rightful ruler. When Blount arrived in Hawai'i and commanded that the American flag be removed, the Kānaka Maoli were excited and happy in anticipation of the results of Blount's investigation. It was their greatest hope that Blount would soon be ordering the return of sovereign rule to Lili'uokalani as well, a desire which is clearly expressed in this mele written for Blount. Balauna's name is called and he is honored as an "Elele" ("Messenger") by which Hawai'i will live again ("ola Hawaii") (l. 23-24). While Blount is the object of admiration in this mele, the composer, Miss Mary Rose, expresses the true motivation and foundation for this admiration, to fulfill the hopes and desires that the Queen return to her position of power, "Haina ia mai ana ka puana / Hoi hou o Liliu i ke Kalaunu" ("Let the refrain be told / Lili'u returns again to the Crown") (l. 25-26).

Blount continued his investigation into the events leading up to the overthrow. He met with a variety of people—former members of the Hawaiian Kingdom, the leaders of the various aloha 'āina organizations, individuals who were witnesses and prominent actors in the actual overthrow, officials of the new Provisional Government, as well as other residents and citizens of Hawai'i. He conducted interviews and collected documents. When he requested the documents exchanged between the Committee of Safety and Minister Stevens, both President Dole and Minister Stevens tried to avoid and circumvent the requests, causing some frustration for Blount. According to his report:

> A great effort has been continuously made to suppress such information. Absolute falsehoods have in some instances been resorted to by men of whom better conduct would have been expected.[27]

After four months of investigating, Blount had learned everything that was possible and necessary for his conclusions. On July 31, he completed his work, and informed Washington of his plans to return. The compiling of his report took several more months before being forwarded to Secretary of State W. Q. Gresham. On October 18, 1893, Gresham forwarded the Blount Report to President Cleveland.

There were three main points made by Blount in his report. First, Minister Stevens had no foundation and no need to command the landing of the U. S. troops, since there was no disturbance of the peace and no threat to American lives. In addition, the location at which the military forces were located was inappropriate, in a position directly across from the government building, doing nothing to serve the stated purpose of maintaining peace and protecting American lives and property.

Second, the Mō'ī wahine did not surrender her sovereignty to the Provisional Government. The military forces of the Hawaiian Kingdom were prepared to protect itself against any internal problems, except for those which might take them into conflict with the U. S. military forces. Due to the Queen's desire to avoid armed and violent conflict between Hawai'i's military forces and those of the U. S., she "yielded her authority" to the U. S. government only temporarily, until the problems could be resolved.

Third, Stevens was too quick in his recognition of the Provisional Government, prior to their actual possession of all government facilities. In addition, after the overthrow, during Blount's investigation, Stevens, as well as Thurston and Dole, had misrepresented the timing of his recognition of the Provisional Government.

According to Gresham:

> At an early stage of the movement, if not at the beginning, Mr. Stevens promised the annexationists that as soon as they obtained possession of the Government building and there read a proclamation...he would at once recognize them as a *de facto* government, and support them by landing a force from our war ship then in the harbor, and he kept that promise.[28]

In the same document, Gresham confirmed the real reasons for the successful overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom and affirmed as well the role of the United States in the overthrow.

> The Provisional Government was established by the action of the American Minister and the presence of the troops landed from the *Boston*, and its continued existence is due to the belief of the Hawaiians that if they made an effort to overthrow it, they would encounter the armed forces of the United States.[29]

For these reasons, both Blount and Gresham recommended that the proper course of action was to return the Kingdom to the Mōʻīwahine. President Cleveland agreed with this course of conduct and such was his recommendation in the document dated the 18th of December, 1893. According to Cleveland,

> Actuated by these desires and purposes, and not unmindful of the inherent perplexities of the situation nor of the limitations upon my power, I instructed Minister Willis to advise the Queen and her supporters of my desire to aid in the restoration of the status existing before the lawless landing of the United States forces at Honolulu.[30]

The hearts and minds of the poʻe aloha ʻāina were truly filled with joy and relief at this news. Their desires had been fulfilled, their voices had been heard, and through their patience and peacefulness, they were rewarded with their greatest hope, the continued life of their kingdom, and the return of their Mōʻī to her proper place on the throne of Hawaiʻi.

Unfortunately, their joy was rather short lived, due to the reply of Dole and the Provisional Government to Cleveland's order. The Provisional Government refused to agree or comply with Cleveland's conclusions, because, according to Dole:

> We do not recognize the right of the President of the United States to interfere in our domestic affairs.[31]

In the same document, Dole states that,

> The Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands respectfully and unhesitatingly declines to entertain the proposition of the President of the United States that it should surrender its authority to the ex-Queen.[32]

Dole also informed President Cleveland that the Provisional Government would not be giving up on the Treaty of Annexation either, assuring the President that they would be requesting its resubmission in the following legislative session.

So, although the lāhui was victorious in theory and on paper, because of the greedy and deceitful nature of Dole and the Provisional Government, their victory would not be realized.

Dole's reply was written on December 23, 1893, ending for all intents and purposes any discussion or action in relation to this uncertainty and dilemma for 1893. The characteristics of "pākaha 'āina" were perpetuated by those who were instrumental in the overthrow and the establishment of the Provisional Government and who continued to seek annexation with the U.S. But the Kānaka Maoli continued to kū'ē against the wrongs committed against their sovereign nation and they were also very kūpa'a in their unwavering belief and faith in a righteous outcome.

Notes

Chapter 4 - 'Imi 'Ia Ka Pono A Me Ka Pākaha (Righteousness and Greed Are Pursued)

[1] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 19 Ianuali 1893.

[2] *Hawaii Holomua*, 18 Ianuali 1893.

[3] *Hawaii Holomua*, 18 Pepeluali 1893.

[4] U.S. Congress, 197-205.

[5] *Hawaii Holomua*, 10 Malaki 1893.

[6] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 13 Pepeluali 1893.

[7] *Ke Kumukanawai o ke Aupuni Repubalika*, Section 3.

[8] *Hawaii Holomua*, 25 Pepeluali 1893.

[9] *Ka Lei Momi*, 18 'Aukake 1893.

[10] Mo'okini, xii.

[11] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 20 Malaki 1893.

[12] Mo'okini, x.

[13] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 22 Malaki 1893.

[14] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 2, 10, 16 Pepeluali 1893.

[15] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 16 Malaki 1893.

[16] U.S. Congress, 639.

[17] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 28 Malaki 1893.

[18] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 15 Malaki 1893.

[19] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 6 Malaki 1893.

[20] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 6 Malaki 1893.

[21] U.S. Congress, 467-469.

[22] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 31 Malaki 1893.

[23] *Hawaii Holomua*, 10 Apelila 1893.

[24] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 31 Malaki 1893.

[25] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 31 Malaki 1893.

[26] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 18 Ianuali 1893.

[27] U.S. Congress, 605-606.

[28] U.S. Congress, 462.

[29] U.S. Congress, 462.

[30] U.S. Congress, 458.

[31] U.S. Congress, 1275.

[32] U.S. Congress, 1276.

CHAPTER 5
NO NĀ MELE LĀHUI O KA MAKAHIKI 1893
(THE MELE LĀHUI OF 1893)

The mele lāhui of 1893 are not limited to descriptions of the events and people involved in the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom. In addition, the composers of the mele lāhui also used them as a venue to express their deepest thoughts and feelings in regards to the events, the people, as well as their beliefs in the rights and wrongs perpetrated, and their hopes for the resolution of the problem. In gathering mele lāhui from the newspapers, I found a total of 120 mele lāhui written and published in 1893 which relate to the events leading up to and following the overthrow. The mele lāhui, in addition to the mo'olelo they tell, have other common themes, such as 'ōlelo kūamuamu, language of insult and disparagement; religious references to Hawaiian and Christian Gods; and the expression of love and admiration.

Nā Mele Kūamuamu
(Songs Of Criticism And Disparagement)

In some of the songs described in the previous chapter, the composers included their thoughts and opinions on those they viewed as the enemy of the lāhui, those who were instrumental in creating problems for the Mō'īwahine as well as the nation. The Kānaka Maoli had no admiration for these enemy, and they showed their anger through the use of criticism and disparagement within their mele. In the mele, these enemies of the nation, such as Thurston and Stevens, were plainly labeled as "enemi" ("enemy") and "poe pakaha aina" ("land greedy, stealing people"). Kaona is also used in the mele by describing these enemy as "kōlea" ("greedy, food-seeking bird from a foreign land") and "hihikolo" ("tangling vine without roots"). While we saw evidence of this 'ōlelo kūamuamu in the mele of the last chapter, it was only a small portion of the mele.

In other mele, however, this 'ōlelo kūamuamu is the main focus of the composer's thoughts and expressions, as seen in this mele written about *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*. Since its inception, the *Kuokoa* was very pro-American in its perspective, as described previously. In 1893, it was a newspaper which supported the Reform Party, the Committee of Safety, the overthrow, and annexation to America.

KAHI MANU PIHEETERO[1]

He inoa keia nou—bundalaade,
E ka Manu Piheetero—bundalaade,
Manu kiko lio kuapuka—bundalaade,
Ai waihona o ka ino—bundalaade.

Hui—Menemene wale hoi au—talalaehu,
I kahi Kuokoa—talalaehu,
I ka hoohui aina—talalaehu,
Lokoino i ka Lahui—talalaehu,

A o Mea no ia—bundalaade,
Mea niho maalea—bundalaade,
Hui ae me Kawainui—bundalaade,
Eha niho i ka Mole—bundalaade,

Hui— Menemene wale hoi au—talalaehu, &c.

Nupepa wahahee oe—talalaehu,
Hoopunipuni wahakole—talalaehu,
Hoolilo aina—talalaehu,
I ka Ea o ke Aupuni—talalaehu.

Pau makou—talalaehu,
I ka lawe ana—talalaehu,
Ina nupepa—talalaehu,
Hoohui aupuni—talalaehu.

A e o mai oe—talalaehu,
I kou inoa pono—talalaehu,
Hookahi nuhou—talalaehu,
Ua make ia pepa—talalaehu.

On each and every line of this mele, the composer shows his opinion of *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* by labeling it as a "waihona o ka ino" ("storage space of evil") (l. 4), a "mea niho maalea" ("cunning, deceitful toothed entity") (l. 10), a "wahahee" ("slippery-mouthed, liar") (l. 14), and a "hoopunipuni wahakole" ("ranting liar") (l. 15). The fourth verse of the mele speaks of the people's

canceling of their subscriptions of the newspaper, due to its support of annexation ("hoohui aupuni") (l. 17-20). In the last verse, the mele relates that there is a "nuhou hookahi" ("single news") which will make the composer happy, specifically that, "Ua make ia pepa" ("The paper has died") (l. 23-24). This hope that the *Kuokoa* will cease ("make") is a sign of the desire of the po'e aloha 'āina that not only the paper, but also the power of the enemy will cease, thereby bringing an end to its ability to create any more problems for the Hawaiian Kingdom

Mele lāhui containing language of criticism were also composed for the po'e pākaha 'āina, those who contributed to or simply supported the overthrow, as well as certain of their characteristics.

MELE NO KA PUNI LILELILE[2]

Eia e ka lono ua hiki mai,
I lawea mai e ka makani Kona,
Ike ia ai na hana poholalo,
A na muhee o ka Aina,
Puni wale i ka mali leo panai,
Kuai i ke Ola me ka Uhane
Ua paa na maka i ke Kala,
I ka mea lilelile a ka haole,
Ua like me Iuda kumakaia,
Hoomaewaewa i kona Haku,
Aloha ole i kona onehanau;
A i puka mai ai i keia Ao,
Ike ai i ka la he mea mehana;
Hanu ai i ke Ea o ka Aina
Haina ia mai ana ka puana,
No ka poe puni wale i ka lilelile.

MALUIHIKOLOHEIKAHUANENEAKAPOEOWAOLANI.

This mele is also related to Thurston's initial journey to Washington, D. C. just after the overthrow, for the purpose of asking for annexation. According to the composer, a "lono . . . / I lawea mai e ka makani Kona" ("news... / Which was brought by the Kona wind") had recently arrived (l. 1-2). This news related the fact that the actions of the enemy were "ike ia" ("known") to be the "hana poholalo / A na muhee o ka Aina" ("underhanded tactics / Of the unsteady, fickle ones of the Land") (l. 3-4). They have a "mali

leo panai" ("vengeful voice of deceitful flattery"), which has sold the life and the spirit, the soul ("Kuai i ke Ola me ka Uhane") (l. 5-6). In the mind of the composer, the overthrow and annexation were abusive to the 'āina. Because of the familial relationship of the Kānaka Maoli and the 'āina, this sale or exchange of land did not only involve the 'āina itself, but the "Ola me ka Uhane" ("Life and the Spirit, Soul") of the land and the people as well. The Kānaka Maoli recognized the true motivations behind the overthrow—as shown by the composer of this mele in the title—specifically, the enemy's "Puni Lilelile" ("Absorption, Devotion to Brightness, Shininess").

The composer further clarifies exactly what this bright shiny thing is, by stating in the body of the mele, "Ua paa na maka i ke Kala / I ka mea lilelile a ka haole" ("The eyes are secure, fastened on the Money / The bright, shiny thing of the foreigner") (l. 7-8). As such, the devotion to some bright, shiny thing is a reference to a devotion to money. Money was a relatively new concept in Hawai'i, introduced by the haole upon their arrival, along with the concepts of stockpiling for profit, consumerism, credit, and debt. For the Kānaka Maoli, these were, and still are, concepts and devotions which were directly opposed to their cultural practices and customs. In the beliefs of the composer, this "puni lilelile" is not an admirable trait, and so the composer calls the enemy "Iuda" ("Judas"), the most famous of Christian traitors who betrayed his Master ("Hoomaewaewa i kona Haku") and had no love for his birthplace ("Aloha ole i kona onehanau") (l. 9-11). In terms of Hawaiian history, the Mō'īwahine was the Master, and the one who was scorned by traitors. The traitors were Thurston, Dole, and the others of the Committee of Safety, because of their pursuit of their own wealth and their lack of caring for their place of birth.

However, in the next lines of the mele, the composer also shows his hope for a good conclusion to the government's problem with the desire for the

"puka mai" ("emerging") of "ka la he mea mehana / Hanu ai i ke Ea o ka Aina" (the sun, a warm thing / By which the Life of the Land will Breathe, Live") (l. 12-14). This word "ea" ("life, breath") is the life of the land and the people. The life of the land was jeopardized, and according to this composer and others, the source of this problem was "ka poe puni wale i ka lilelile" ("the people devoted to the shiny thing") (l. 15-16).

While the sole purpose of some mele lāhui was to criticize the enemy and its actions, many others were composed seeking and asking for assistance from Hawaiian Gods as well as the Christian God in solving the problems of their nation.

Nā Mele Pule A Hoʻomana Akua
(Mele Of Prayer And Worship)

In many mele, prayer and religious language were used by the composers to request solutions to the problems being faced by them. Many mele lāhui of 1893 contain aspects of mele pule (prayer songs) or mele noi (song of request), seeking the help of the Akua (Gods). In the same manner found in the mele kūamuamu described above, sometimes this pule or religious aspect comprised only a portion of the mele.

In the mele "Hooheno No Liliu," in Chapter 3, the composer describes the relationship between Liliʻuokalani and Uli. "E Uli eia ko pulapula / O ka Wohi kukahi ku i ka moku" ("O Uli here is your beloved descendant / The solitary Sacred one who rules the islands") (l. 19-20). Uli is an Akua wahine (Goddess) of ʻanāʻanā (sorcery, prayer causing death or bringing dead back to life), and also a kupuna of the Mōʻīwahine. Uli's genealogy is of a high rank, as she is a sister of Manua and Wākea.[3] By showing this connection between Uli and Liliʻuokalani, the composer calls on the power and assistance of Uli both as an Akua and as a kupuna for the Mōʻīwahine. Because of her association with sorcery and prayers which cause death, reference to Uli is a

threat and evidence of hope for the death of the new government. In the third verse of this same mele, the composer again requests the assistance of the Akua, specifically Kāne and Kanaloa, requesting that they "kii" ("fetch") and "hoihoi" ("return") the Mōʻī to Hawaiʻi (l. 39-40).

In other mele, the entire theme centers around pule. Thirteen of the mele gathered from 1893 have the word "pule" or "mele noi" or a Christian reference either in the name of the mele or in the first line. The very first mele lāhui to appear after the overthrow was published on January 20, 1893, in the newspaper *Hawaii Holomua*.

KA PULE A KA LAHUI HAWAII.[4]

E—Iehova Sabaota
O—na kaua,—ke Kahikolu
L—aahia Hemolele
A—lana ia no ko ke ao nei.
O—ka makou pule e maliu mai
K—a puuhonua o makou nei,
A—lakai, hoopakele, nana mai,
L—awe aku i na popilikia
A—hoolilo i mea ole.
N—inini mai i Kou Hemolele,
I—ola ai makou ma Ou ʻla.
L—alau mai Kou aloha
I—*hilinai* manawalea,
L—aahia makamae
I—*ko* makou Lei Ali'aimoku.
U—hi Iaia me Kou mana.
O—ka palekana a lanakila;
N—a Kou nani e hoomohala,
A—mao ae na pilihua.
M—a Ou la—e ka Haku,
O—ko ke ao nei a pau,
K—a makou e pule nei,
U—hane Hemolele Kahikolu.

E—Iehova Sabaota,
M—akua o Aberahama me Davida.
A—lakai o ko ka Isaraela,
U—a ikea a hoonani ia.
K—e haliu aku nei makou,
E—waiho aku ma Kou mau wawae,
E—maliu mai i ka makou pule,
A—e hoopakele ia Hawaii.
O—Oe hookahi e ka Haku,

K—o makou palekana,
A—lakai a Alihikaua,
A—ia no ma Ou la,
I—Kinohi a Hoikeana,
N—a lahui me na aina,
A—puni ko ke ao nei,
I—paulele ai no ka malu,
K—a maalahi a me ke ola,
A—Kou Mana Lani i haawi mai ai
P—ule makou e ka Makua,
O—Hawaii e mau aku,
N—o na kupa na oiwi,
O—ka aina—ma Ou la.

In this mele, the unnamed composer addresses the "Pule" to the Christian God. As previously discussed, Christian missionaries had arrived in Hawai'i in 1820. They were Americans, from the East Coast of the United States, and members of the denomination of Christianity known as Calvinist. In Hawai'i, they took Kānaka Maoli as students, teaching them religion, as well as reading and writing, until these students became teachers to other Kānaka Maoli. Both the religion as well as the reading and writing became beloved things of the Kānaka Maoli, both Ali'i and maka'āinana.[5]

By 1893, Reverend C. M. Hyde of the North Pacific Missionary Institute was the only remaining resident missionary of the ABCFM (American Board of Commissions for Foreign Missions), the governing body of the American Protestant missionaries in Hawai'i. According to Hyde, there was only one haole minister remaining in Hawai'i, as the other 34 pastors were Native. In essence, Hawaiians had taken over the leadership roles of the church, with Hyde serving as a trainer and supervisor.[6] Many Hawaiians had become devout Christians, having faith in the positive teachings and lessons of God and the Bible, which they then expressed in their mele lāhui.

In the above mele, the composer has included the various names and ways of referring to the Christian God, as well as the righteous characteristics of the Christian religion. The name of "Iehova" ("Jehovah") is called, as is his status as a "Kahikolu" ("Trinity") and his "Laahia Hemolele / Alana ia no ko

ke ao nei" (Perfect Sacredness / Which was sacrificed for the world") (l. 1-4). Iehova is called a "puuhonua" ("place of refuge, sanctuary") because of his "Alakai, hoopakele, nana mai / Lawe i ka popilikia / A hoolilo i mea Ole" ("Leading, protecting, watching over / Taking the tragedy / And making it become as Nothing") (l. 6-9). The composer requests that God "Ninini mai i Kou Hemolele / I Ola ai" ("Pour down Your Perfection / For the Life") of the lāhui (l. 10-11). The composer also requests God to protect the Mōʻīwahine, calling her the "Lei Ali'aimoku" ("Ruling Chief") with the "mana" ("power") of the Akua to cover the Mōʻīwahine ("Uhi Iaia") until she is "palekana a lanakila" ("protected and victorious") and until the problems are alleviated ("mao ae na pilihua") (l. 13-18).

At the end of the first verse, the composer prays again to the "Haku / O ko ke ao nei a pau" ("Master / Of the modern world") by showing his status as an "Uhane Hemolele Kahikolu" ("Trinity Holy Spirit") (l. 21-24). This type of language continues into the second verse, showing the relationship between Iehova (Jehovah) and "Aberahama me Davida" ("Abraham and David") as well as "Isaraela" ("Israel") (l. 25-27). Iehova is asked again to "hoopakele" ("save"), "palekana" ("protect"), and "alakai" ("lead"), "I paulele ai no ka malu" ("So that the protection can be relied upon") (l. 32-40). At the end of the mele, the composer reveals the real reason for his prayer, the thing for which he is praying—the "mau aku" ("continuation, continued life") of Hawaiʻi "No na kupa na oiwi / O ka aina" ("For the citizens, the natives / Of the land") (l. 45-46).

The thoughts of the composer do not end there however, because the story told here is twofold. The lines of the mele have meaning when read from left to right. In addition, the initial letters of each line also have meaning when read from top to bottom. When read in this manner, the first verse states, "E OLA O KA LANI LILIU O NA MOKU" ("LET THE RULING

CHIEF LILIU OF THE ISLANDS LIVE") and then in the second verse, "E MAU KE EA O KA AINA I KA PONO" ("LET THE LIFE BREATH OF THE LAND BE PERPETUATED IN RIGHTEOUSNESS"). In these first letters of each line, the composer makes it very clear that while he has used prayer and asked for the assistance of Iehova in the main text of the mele, his main desire is for the return of his nation to its proper place of life and independence under the guidance of the Mōʻīwahine.

Although the above mele was entirely directed to the Christian God, not all Kānaka Maoli had turned their backs on the traditional Hawaiian religion. Not all Kānaka Maoli had forgotten the names of the Hawaiian Gods. In some of the mele lāhui composed during this time, the composers looked to and requested help from these Gods of the ancient religion.

HE PULE NO KE
ALIIAIMOKU[7]

Haku ia no ka Hawaii Holomua

He pule keia nou e Liliu
O Liliulani poai moku
Pehea makou ko Lahui
Aole kapa e mehana ai
Hea ia ae ou kupuna
O Pele Honuamea Hiiakaikapoli
O Papanuihanaumoku laua me Awakea
O Kapoulakinau Kihawahine
Namakaokahai me Haumea
Kanehekili Kamohoalii
Kalaipahoa laua me Uli
E Uli—e, e Uli hoi
No'u ke aloha no ka pulapula
Ka oukou pono hoihoi mai
I ke kuikahi panailike
Hea mai nei o Iiwikau
Hoi mai e noho i ko Kalaunu
Uu ia ko hae i kiekie
I ike Hawaii me Pelekane
Pogutala me Iapana
Ke ola o ka Lahui kou olioli
I onipaa ai Hawaii nei
Ua paa ua mole ko makia
I ka leo aloha o na Mana Lani
I na Kahikolu kiekie loa
Ua hoi nele mai Amerika
Ma ka moana Pakipika
Kiina o Ewa me Adamu

Na kupuna mua o ke ao nei
E pule i ola nou e Liliulani
I mau ko noho i ka Ihikapu
I ka nani o Iolani Hale
Ua sila paa ia oe ma ia noho
E ke aupuni Kelekiala
E pule makou Amene oe.

E pule makou e malu ka aha
No ke Aupuni Moi o Liliupoaimoku
E hoihoi mai i kou Hae Kalaunu
A kau ae me ka lanakila
E kini o ke akua ka mano o ke akua
Ka lehu o ke akua ka pukui akua
Ka lalani akua o na akua o ka po
O na akua o ke ao mai ka hikina a ka la
A ka napoo ana a ka la mai ka akau
A ka hema mai ka hookui a ka halawai
Mai ka paa iluna a ka paa ilalo
E halawai olelo kuka olelo pu
E hoihoi mai i ka ea o ka aina
I ke kuokoa o ka aina i ka Hae Kalaunu
I ka Moiwahine o ka aina
A kau aku i kana pua a mau loa
Ia oukou e Hulihonua ma e Awakea ma
O ka poe akua o lalo no a pau
E hoohuli aku, e owala aku, e kiola aku
I ke aupuni kaili wale pakaha wale
Ilalo, ilalo, ilalo loa i o Milu la o lalo aku
Ia oe e ke Akua nui o ka lani
Me Kou Mana Kahikolu me na anela
E kokua mai i ko makou aupuni nei
E hoomau aku i ko makou Moiwahine
Ma ka Paeaina o Hawaii nei
Oia ka'u pule a me ke kalokalo
A e pule makou Amene oe.

E pule makou e malu ka aha
No ka inoa o Liliuikekapu
Ku ia nana ia ko aupuni
Ka eu, ke kalohe, ke kaili wale
Kahea ia ou kupuna i kai
O Moanaliha o Moananuikaioo
O Uhu Makaikai nana i ka pakaha
O na kupuna no ou a pau i kai
E hoihoi mai i ko aupuni
Kahea ia ou kupuna i ka wai
O Kaneikawaiola, Kanekanaloa
Kalamainuu, Kihawahine, Kapoulakinau
Ou kupunu no a pau i ka wai
E hoihoi mai i ko aupuni
Kahea ia ou kupuna i uka
O Lauawa o Ha'iha'i Lauawa
O na Wahine i ka waokele
O Kulipeenuiaiahua o Kikealaoapiikea
O ka uahi pohina i uka o ke Pookeaikanahele
E hoihoi mai i ko aupuni

Kahea ia ou kupuna i ka Lua
O Pele o Hiiakaikapoli o Kupuena
O Lonomakua o Nahoaikukane
O Nahoaikuwahine o Keahinui
O Kamohoalii o Kulanaioha
Ou kupuna no a pau o ka Lua
E hoihoi mai i ko aupuni
O keia ka'u pule ia oe
E Liliulani-i-ka-moku
Ua sila ia oe ma Hawaii
Aole e hemo kou aupuni
Makia paa ia oe e na haipule
E mau loa Kou Hae Kalaunu
E ke aupuni Kelekiala
E pule makou Amene oe.

In this mele, the again unnamed composer calls out to the Akua as the "kupuna" ("ancestors") of Lili'u (l. 1-4) and then, taking up the next eight lines of the mele, the composer calls and lists the names of many Akua, who are usually associated with the creation of the islands, such as "Pele Honuamea" and her younger sister "Hiiakaikapoliopele," "Papahanaumoku laua me Awakea" and so forth until Uli, the Akua connected to 'anā'anā previously referred to (l. 5-12). The composer did not however exclude the Christian God, the "Mana Lani / I na Kahikolu kiekie loa" (Heavenly Powers / The Holy Trinity") (l. 24-25). The names of "Ewa me Adamu / Na kupuna mua o ke ao nei" ("Eve and Adam / The ancestors of the modern age, era") are called to as well (l. 26-29), and at the end of the first verse, the composer asks for God's answer, his "Amene" ("Amen") to the prayer (l. 35).

These same characteristics are seen again in the second verse of this mele. In the first few lines, the composer calls out to the "kini . . . ka mano," ("multitudes, 40,000...4,000") (l. 40), "ka lehu of ke akua" ("400,000, multitudes of gods") (l. 41) and "ka lalani akua...o ka po" ("the ranks of gods...of the night, darkness") (l. 42) and,

ke ao mai ka hikina a ka la
A ka napoo ana a ka la mai ka akau
A ka hema mai ka hookui a ka halawai
Mai ka paa iluna a ka paa ilalo

the day, light from the arriving of the sun
To the setting of the sun from the north

To the south from the zenith to the horizon
From the heavens above to the earth below

In the middle section of this second verse, the composer requests the assistance of these Hawaiian Akua "E hoohuli aku, e owala aku, e kiola aku / I ke aupuni kaili wale pakaha wale / Ilalo, ilalo, ilalo loa i o Milu la o lalo aku" (Overturn, turn over, throw away / The government which only grabs, steals, robs / Below, below, below to the presence of Milu way below") (l. 54-56). Essentially, the composer is requesting that the Provisional Government be overturned and sent to Milu, a place of darkness where 'uhane (spirits, souls) who are not recognized by family and ancestors would go after death.[8] Clearly, the composer was very particular in calling on all forms of Hawaiian Akua and sources of spiritual power, ensuring the assistance of a pantheon of Akua.

For the Kānaka Maoli of the time, religion had become a highly contested issue, which had undergone drastic changes in a short period of time. For some, small-scale, personal, and familial religious and daily practices continued to rely solely on Hawaiian Akua and 'Aumākua, although they lacked public, formal religious practices. In other families, these old ways may have been completely abandoned, as the Christian God became the sole source of spiritual guidance and belief. In others, different forms of worship, such as Buddhism, were adopted.

In many families, however, the Kānaka Maoli adopted and maintained a blending of thought, practice, and worship. We have heard stories of kūpuna who attended Christian church service on Sunday, whether Protestant, Catholic, or perhaps Mormon. In some families, members might attend different churches in a single day. Outside of church, on another day perhaps and for other purposes, our kūpuna continued to give offerings and prayer to their Hawaiian Akua and their 'Aumākua. They danced and chanted the ancient mele, some dedicated to Hawaiian Akua.

The above mele pule, "He Pule No Ke Aliiaimoku" is an excellent example of the duality and blending of Hawaiian and Christian religion. Following the request for assistance from Akua between heaven and earth in the second verse, the composer again turns his request for help to "ke Akua nui o ka lani" ("the great God of the heaven") and his "Mana Kahikolu me na anela" ("Trinity of Power and the angels").

In the third verse, the composer continues in the same theme, first calling the names of various Hawaiian Akua—Moanaliha, Kāne, Ha'iha'i, Lonomakua, and Kamohoali'i are some (l. 69-85). The composer again calls on these Akua in their role as a "kupuna" for the Queen, showing this familial relationship a total of seven times in this verse alone (l. 68, 71, 73, 76, 78, 84, 89). Then, at the end of the mele, Lili'uokalani herself becomes the object of the prayer. The composer requests, "Sila ia oe ma Hawaii" ("You are sealed, secured at Hawaii") and "Aole e hemo kou Aupuni / Makia paa ia oe e na haipule / E mau loa Kou Hae Kalaunu" ("Your Government shall not be removed / You are securely established by the worship, prayers / Your Crown Flag will continue forever") (l. 91-96).

Throughout this prayer, this calling out to the Akua, the kūpuna, and Lili'uokalani herself, the composer has only a single request which is the same as that found in almost every mele lāhui of the time—the continuation of the life and independence of Hawai'i. In the first verse of this mele, the composer requests that the Mō'ī continue to reside "i ka Ihikapu / I ka nani o Iolani Hale" (in the Sacredness / In the beauty of Iolani Palace") (l. 31-32). In the second verse, the composer prays for the Akua to "hoomau aku i ko makou Moiwahine / Ma ka Paeaina o Hawaii nei" ("insure the continuance of our Queen / In the Archipelago of Hawaii") (l. 60-62). In the second and third verse, the composer requests a total of five times that the sovereignty of Hawai'i be returned with the words, "E hoihoi mai" (l. 48, 72, 77, 83, 90). The

"ola" ("life") of the nation is also requested, as is "kokua" ("help, assistance") for the government, and the "mau loa" ("long continuance") of the "Hae Kalaunu" ("Crown Flag") (l. 21, 59, 96).

Therefore, the Mō'īwahine, and the continued independence of her kingdom and her government were the true foundations and reasons behind these mele lāhui which took the form of prayer. Although worded in the form of a pule, these mele were inspired by, and expressions of, the same aloha found in the other mele lāhui—aloha for the 'āina, the aupuni, the lāhui, and the Mō'ī.

Nā Mele Aloha—'Āina, Aupuni, Lāhui, Mō'ī
(Songs Of Aloha—For The Land, The Kingdom, The People, The Queen)

For the Hawaiian people, aloha 'āina, or love for the land, is a concept that originated with the beginning of time. The 'āina is revered as an Akua by the Kānaka Maoli, through its genealogical connection to Papahānaumoku and other Akua wahine (Goddesses); the 'āina is a kupuna for the people, because of the genealogical connection as offspring of Papa and Wākea; and the 'āina is also a kaikua'ana (older sibling) for the kanaka, due to the relationship of older and younger sibling between Hāloanakalaukapalili, the first kalo, and Hāloa, the first kanaka. From any of these perspectives, the 'āina and the kanaka are related in a very familial sense. The 'āina is family for the people, and therefore a truly beloved thing.

E HAWAII[9]

Aina nani kamahao
Hoku o ka Pakipika
Lei momi o ka honua
Hoola kupaianaha
Ua luuluu oe a hoonani ia
Me he opua la kou kuakoko
Pehea la e nele ai ko'u aloha
O oe ko'u aina hanau
Li'a au maeele
No kuu aina hanau
Paa mau kuu manao
Iehova ke ola a pau.

Although quite short, this mele is absolutely full of expressions of aloha for the ʻāina. On the first few lines, the "nani kamahao" ("amazing beauty") of Hawai'i is the composer's main theme, due to its status as the "Hoku of ka Pakipika" ("Star of the Pacific"), and the "Lei momi o ka honua" ("Pearl Necklace of the earth"), a truly "kupaianaha" ("astounding") thing (l. 1-4). The composer's aloha for and admiration of the ʻāina is very apparent, even in his descriptions of the problems being faced by the ʻāina. According to the composer, Hawai'i had become "luuluu" ("bent over, bowed over due to pain and sadness") and "kuakoko" ("uncontrollably angry") due to the injustices done against it (l. 5-6). Then, in the following lines, the composer has a question about the "nele" ("need or lack") of his beloved one. "Pehea la e nele ai ko'u aloha / O oe ko'u aina hanau" ("How can my beloved, my love be in a state of need, lacking / You are my birth land") (l. 7-8). Basically, the composer cannot conceive that the independence of his beloved birthland could be in question, in lack of its own power. The composer goes on to express his "li'a" ("strong desire, hope") and "maeele" ("horrific grief") for Hawai'i, as well as the "paa mau" ("stubbornness, continued steadfastness") of the composer's own thoughts (l. 9-11). Then, on the last line, the composer shows his faight in Jehovah, stating, "Iehova ke ola apau" ("Jehovah is life everlasting") (l. 12). Through the composer's choice of words, the connection which exists between the ʻāina and the kanaka are clarified—a connection which manifests itself through not only emotional but physical pain as well.

This connection between the Kānaka Maoli and the ʻāina is further demonstrated in this mele composed by Kahikina Kelekona, aloha ʻāina and editor of the newspaper *Hawaii Holomua*.

KA'U MELE.[10]

Pehea la e hiki ai,
Ia'u ke uumi iho,
I ko'u aloha e ka aina hanau.
Nau wau i hoohua mai.

O kou kuakoko no'u ia,
Eha oe, no'u ia eha,
Mailani oe ia'u, he milimili,
I ola ai kakou, ma o ka Haku.

E ka Haku—e—Puuhonua,
Kalahea o ko ke ao nei,
Ina ua hewa au, ke noi nei au,
Ma Ou 'la, e ola au.

KAHIKINA KELEKONA.

Aloha 'āina is definitely the main theme of this song, as is the relationship between Kelekona and the 'āina. In the first and second verses, Kelekona speaks directly to the 'āina itself. He asks the 'āina how he can possibly "uumi" ("suppress, repress") his aloha, especially since "Nau wau i hoohua mai" ("It is you who have given birth [to me]") (l. 1-4). Kelekona shows again that in the minds of the Kānaka Maoli, Hawai'i is a living thing which has given life to the people. Unfortunately, the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai'i, its loss of sovereignty, is a source of pain for the 'āina, and therefore, the people as well. In the second verse of the above mele, the composer clearly confirms this attitude of empathy between the people and the 'āina. According to him, "O kou kuakoko no'u ia / Eha oe, no'u ia eha" ("Your unbearable pain is mine as well / [When] you hurt, that hurt is mine") (l. 5-6). Kelekona also demonstrates his perception of himself as a child of the 'āina, "Mailani oe ia'u, he milimili" ("You indulge me, treat me as a favorite child, a beloved one") (l. 7).

At the end of the second verse, Kelekona shows his belief in the Christian God, with the statement that "ma o ka Haku" ("it is through the Master") that the people will live, and then in the third verse, he demonstrates the connection between the Haku and the 'āina, by calling to him as a "Puuhonua" ("Place of refuge") (l. 8-9). At the end of the mele, Kelekona expresses his faith in "Ka Haku" ("The Lord"), calling him the "Kalahea o ko ke ao nei" ("The Proclaimer of the modern era") (l. 10).

Kelekona also requests the assistance of God, because, according to Kelekona, "Ma Ou 'la, e ola au" ("It is through You that I live") l. 11-12). It is in this last line that the composer shows his connection to the 'āina and the aupuni, because, without the life of the 'āina and the aupuni, Kelekon's own life is in jeopardy.

In some of the mele whose main themes are expressions of aloha, the composers often focused on the lāhui, the aupuni, and the continued independence of them. Of the mele published in 1893, a total of 27 of them were named for the 'āina, the lāhui, the aupuni, and its independence. If we look again at the mele lāhui found in Chapter 3, we will see quite a few examples of these types of expressions. In the mele "He Lei no Nawahi," the composer shows his aloha for his people, and for their "puuwai hamama oi kelakela" ("unsurpassed open hearts") as well as the supremacy of "Hawaii Ponoi" ("Hawaii's own"), referring to the righteousness of the independence of Hawai'i for the Hawaiian people (l. 27-28).

Other composers demonstrate their hopes for the lāhui with words like "mau" ("continuation"), the "ea" ("sovereignty, life, breath"), and the "ola" ("life") of the aupuni. Some composers have focused on a very important symbol for the aupuni, specifically, the "hae Hawaii" ("Hawaiian flag") and its continued "welo" ("waving").

KA HAE O KA LANAKILA[11]

Kupaa ia iho,
Ke one hanau o kupuna,
I kahua a i mole,
No na pua me na mamo.

HUI:—Imua e ka lahui,
E lokahi e ka puuwai,
I hano mau ai Hawaii,
I ka lei o ka lanakila.

Oni paa ia iho,
Ke Kuokoa o ka aina,
A kau hou ae o Liliu,
Ma ke Kalaunu o Hawaii.

Mahalo i ka Mana Kahikolu,
I Kona kokua ana mai,
E mau Kona kakoo ana,
I ke Aupuni Hawaii.

Hakuia e KEAKALAUOLONO.
Honolulu, Aperila 15, 1893.

The body of this mele is somewhat different from the others, as it is divided into verses, with the inclusion of a chorus—a style introduced to Hawai'i through Christian hymns. In the third verse, the composer has included some of the more common references to the Christian Akua, such as the "mana kahikolu" ("trinity") and asks for the "kokua" ("help") and "kakoo" ("support") of God (l. 13-15). These are not, however, the most important themes of the mele.

In the title of the mele, as well as the chorus of the mele, the composer, Keakalauolono, shows the main theme of the mele—specifically the aupuni and the lāhui. In the name of the mele, the Hawaiian flag is a symbol of the aupuni and its "lanakila" ("victory") is the independence of the kingdom. In the chorus of the mele, which would be repeated several times in the performance of the song, the composer speaks directly to the lāhui and their "puuwai" ("heart"), commanding them to progress and go forward ("Imua") and be unified ("E lokahi") (l. 5-6). The reasons for these desires are also given, "I hano mau ai Hawaii / I ka lei o ka lanakila" ("So that Hawai'i continue in its place of honor / In the lei of victory") (l. 7-8).

In the first verse of this mele, Keakalauolono describes a connection to the 'āina, "Kupaa ia iho / Ke one hanau o kupuna" ("Strongly Secured / Are the birth sands of the ancestors"), because it is a "kahua" ("foundation") and a "mole" ("taproot") for "Na pua a me na mamo" ("The flowers, children and the descendants") (l. 1-4). This birth sand is a foundation for the nation, and in the second verse, the composer continues with this theme. "Oni paa ia iho / Ke Kuokoa o ka aina" ("Immovable / Is the Independence of the land") (l. 9-10)

and "Kau hou ae o Liliu / Ma ke Kalaunu o Hawaii" ("Liliu will be placed again / On the Crown Throne of Hawai'i") (l. 11-12). At the end of the verse, the composer honors the name of the Queen, and the symbol of her reign, her crown. In the hearts and minds of the Kānaka Maoli, these things—the Queen, her crown, and the independence of the Hawaiian Kingdom—cannot be separated.

For the Kānaka Maoli, the aloha they had for their Ali'i and their Mō'ī was vitally important.

> He mea paa loa ia i na puuwai aloha alii o Hawaii nei, mai ka po mai; mai na kupuna mai o kakou, ka ili mau ana mai o keia momi makamae lua ole; *"ke aloha Moi."* Ua mole, a ua paa loa iloko o na kupuna o kakou i hala aku ia makana nui, he aloha i na Alii Aimoku... He mea hiki wale no ke laweia, a ke hoonohoia, a ke hoopauia na nani, a ma ka hanohano o keia ao; aka, o ke aloha pilipaa oiaio; aole loa e hiki i kekahi mea ke hoopau aku.[12]
>
> It is a very secure thing in the chief-loving hearts of Hawai'i, from the origins of time; from the ancestors of us, the inheriting of this incomparably precious pearl; *"love for the Mō'ī."* This great gift of love for the Ruling Chiefs is secured like a taproot, it is very solidly imbedded in the ancestors of ours who have passed away... The beauty, and the glorious achievements of the current age can be taken away, restructured, and terminated; but, as for the true, firmly planted love; no one can end it.

This type of thought is absolutely confirmed in the expressions and feelings about Lili'uokalani which are seen in the mele lāhui of 1893. In the mele gathered from 1893, the name of the Mō'ī appears in the title of 41 of these mele, and then in the first line of five additional mele. At times, she is referred to respectfully as "Kalani" ("The Royal, Chiefly One"); however, in the majority of the mele, she is called either Lili'u, or one of the other, longer forms of her name, such as Lili'ulani (Heavenly, Royal Lili'u), Lili'uokalani (Lili'u of the heavens, royalty), Lili'uonāmoku (Lili'u of the islands), or perhaps Lili'upō'aimoku (Lili'u who surrounds, rules the islands). In addition, she is also referred to as Lili'uolololoku (Lili'u of the great drenching rain, tears) and Lili'uolololokuikekapu (Lili'u of the great drenching rain, tears, in the sacredness).

Besides honoring her name, the composers of the mele lāhui have also referred to their Mōʻī as a "Kuini malama i ka lahui" (Queen who takes care of the people") and a "Kuini noho i ke kapu" ("Queen who dwells in sanctity"). She is called a "Kukui a mau" ("Ever-burning Light") and a "lama" ("torch") for her people, a reference which shows her connection to her kupuna, Iwikauikaua, who had the right to carry a lighted torch day and night. Liliʻuokalani is "ka makua o ka lehulehu" ("the mother of the masses") and "Ke Aliiaimoku puuwai kila" ("Steel-hearted Ruler of the islands"). She is an aliʻi "aloha lahui" ("a chief who loves her people") and an aliʻi "kaulana alo ehuehu" ("a chief famous for dodging bullets, blows"), as well as "He Onohi Momi no ka Pakipika / A he milimili hoi na ka lahui" (A Pearl Setting for the Pacific / And a beloved one also for the nation").

Almost every mele lāhui contains some expression of hope for the Mōʻīwahine. In "He Hooheno No Liliu," the composer requests, "E ola o Kalani a mau loa" ("Let the Chief live forever") (l. 39-42). The final lines of this verse are the same as the ending of the other verses. Each time, the composer calls for the return of the Mōʻīwahine. "Haina ia mai ana ka puana / A kau o Liliu i ke Kalaunu" ("The refrain is told / Until Liliu is placed on the Crown, Throne") (l. 45-46).

In the second verse of this mele, it is as if the composer is speaking directly to Hawaiʻi. Hawaiʻi is requested "e hohoi mai . . . / A pipili me Liliuokalani" ("return... / And be connected to, close to Liliuokalani") and to "Kulia i paa kou kuokoa / I mau ke ea o ka aina" ("Strive so that your independence is secure / So that the life of the land will continue") (l. 21-24). The composer also requests "Kohia i paa Ko heiau" ("Hold back, so that Your temples are secure") and "Welo haaheo ko hae Hawaii" ("your Hawaiian flag proudly waves") (l. 25-26). The temple and the flag are symbols of the Queen's sovereignty; they serve as assurances of her right to rule. At the end of the

verse, the composer once again expresses her desire for the "Lanakila kamahao o Hawaii" ("Amazing victory of Hawaii") as well as the returning of Lili'uokalani "i ke Kalaunu" ("to the Crown, Throne") (l. 27-30). In this verse of the mele, the righteousness of Lili'uokalani's rule and governance of her people is the main theme, as well as the desire that the Queen be returned to that position.

In the mele "Hooheno Kaulana No Liliupoaimoku," the hopes and desires for the return of the monarchy are again expressed. According to the song, "Hea mai Iolani Hale i ka lai / Hoi mai e noho i ke Kalaunu" ("Iolani Hale calls to the calmness / Return and sit on the Crown, Thrown") (l. 23-26). In this mele, it is 'Iolani Hale ('Iolani Palace) itself who wants and calls for the Mō'ī's return.

Even the mele honoring Commissioner James Blount, "He Inoa No Komisina Blount (Balauna)," includes expressions of hope for the Mō'īwahine. In the final lines of the mele, the composer reveals that no matter how great his admiration for Blount is, the Mō'īwahine and the independence of the Kingdom are the most important and vital things. "Haina ia mai ana ka puana / Hoi hou o Liliu i ke Kalaunu" ("The refrain is told / Liliu will return again to the Crown") (l. 25-26).

While these thoughts take up only a few lines in some mele, others are absolutely filled with these expressions of hope and aloha for the Mō'ī. In the first verse of the above mele "Ka Hae O Ka Lanakila," the composer shows his thoughts about the 'āina. According to him, "Kupaa ia iho / Ke one hanau o kupuna" ("Stood firmly upon / Is the birth sands of the ancestors"), because the 'āina is a "kahua" ("foundation") and a "mole / No na pua a me na mamo" ("taproot, source root / For the children and the descendants") (l. 1-4). In the verses as well, the composer shows the importance of the foundation of the aupuni and the lāhui. In the second verse, he states, "Oni paa ia iho / Ke

Kuokoa o ka aina" ("Resolute and immovable / Is the Independence of the land"), and "kau hou ae o Liliu / Ma ke Kalaunu o Hawaii" ("Lili'u will wear again / The Crown of Hawaii") (l. 9-12). At the end of this verse, the composer includes the name of the Mō'ī and the symbol of her right to rule, her crown. These things—the Mō'ī, her crown, and the independence of her kingdom—are things which cannot be separated.

HE INOA UWEPA PAA NO
LILIULANI I KE KAPU[13]

Eia o Liliupoaimoku
Ua wela i ka hana a ka enemi
Ei ae Ko wai e ohu ai
O ka puuwai o Malieikamalu
Ua ike ia hoi na hailona
Na akaku o ka aina
Kahiko Nuuanu i ka ua koko
O ka punohu ula i ka moana
O ke alaula ia o Kanaloa
Imi ia ka pono ia Kealohilani
Ilaila sila ia Ko aupuni
Hoi ai e ka pono i Hawaii nei
Uwepa paa ia iho Ko Kalaunu
Ua lono ia e mana ia Kalani
Nani Hawaii kukilakila
Ohaoha i ka pae Opua
Ka Pua ia a ka Na'i Aupuni
O Keaweheulu no he kupuna
Ke hea mai nei Iolani Hale
Hoi mai e noho i Ko Kalaunu
Haina ia mai ana ka puana
O Liliuokalani noho i ke Kapu

KEAHIKAAPUNI
Maraki 30, 1893

In this mele, the composer, Keahikaapuni, focuses words of praise and admiration on Lili'uokalani's royal status. According to the composer, "Ua ike ia hoi na hailona" ("The signs have been seen") (l. 5). These signs are the symbolic representations of Ali'i, such as "Na akaku o ka aina" ("The visions, reflections of the land), such as the "Kahiko . . . i ka ua koko" (Adornment...in the red-tinged rain"), "ka punohu ula i ka moana" ("the red-tinged mist, cloud over the ocean") and "ke alaula o Kanaloa" ("the flaming path of Kanaloa") (l. 6-9). In the next lines, the composer includes other important, symbolic

qualities of the Mōʻī and her reign, describing it as "sila ia" ("sealed") and "pono" ("righteous"), as well as the status of the "Kalaunu" ("Crown") as being "uwepa paa ia iho" ("firmly sealed") (l. 10-13).

The genealogy of the Mōʻī is also seen at the end of this mele, by referring to the "Na'i Aupuni" ("Nation's Conqueror"), Kamehameha Paiʻea, and Liliʻuokalani's grandfather "Keaweheulu," a descendant of the esteemed ʻĪ lineage (l. 17-18). Genealogy is very important in affirming the Mōʻī's divine right to rule. Genealogy determines one's rank as an Aliʻi as well as one's family connections to the kūpuna and the Akua. For the Mōʻī, the support and approval of the kūpuna and the Akua were a requirement for their successful reign and for the continuation of their government, especially due to the belief that the power, strength, and blessings of the kūpuna do not pass away with them. Rather, their mana continues to live on through their descendants. With the calling of Kamehameha, the "Na'i Aupuni", and Keaweaheulu, one of his greatest supporters, the composer asserts their support for the reign of Liliʻuokalani.

Here is another mele written for the purpose of honoring the Mōʻīwahine and her name.

HE INOA NO LILIUOKALANI[14]

He inoa keia nou e Liliu
Ke Queen kaulana o Hawaii
Nau i hookele me ka wiwo ole
I pono kaulike no ka lahui
Pane mai ko leo olu makou
Like me ka wai ua lana malie
O oe e Liliu ko Hawaii nei
A o Vitoria ko Enelani
He lani nui oe na ka lahui
He onohi daimana no Hawaii
Eia ke noi me ka haahaa
Ma ka inoa o ka Mana Kahikolu
E sila paa ia ko aupuni
Me ka noho kalaunu ou e Liliu
I haaheo mau ko hae Hawaii
Ma ka piko kaulana o Hale'lii
He lii nui oe e Lolokulani
A he mamo hoi na Keohokalole
Hea aku makou o mai oe

O Liliuololoku i ke Kalaunu
Haina ia mai ana ka puana
O Liliuokalani ua lanakila

Hakuia e
MRS. MAUNAKAMALA,
Hawaii, Mei 2, 1893.

In this mele for the Mōʻī, the composer refers to her as "Ke Queen kaulana o Hawaii" ("The famous Queen of Hawaii"), praising her for her ability to "hookele" ("steer, navigate") her government, in a manner described as "wiwo ole" ("fearless") and "pono kaulike" ("justly righteous") (l. 1-4). The composer also honors the "leo" ("voice") of the Mōʻīwahine in commanding and maintaining the peace. In addition, the composer praises the lāhui for its fulfillment of the Mōʻīʻs command to maintain the peace, which they did in a manner resembling calmly flowing water ("ka wai ua lana malie") (l. 5-6). In the next lines, the Mōʻī Liliʻuokalani is compared to Queen Victoria of England. "O oe e Liliu ko Hawaii nei / A o Vitoria ko Enelani" ("You Liliu are Hawaiʻiʻs / And Victoria is England's") (l. 7-8). The composer goes on to describe Liliʻu as the "lani nui...na ka lahui" ("great royal, heavenly one...for the nation") and the "onohi daimana no Hawaii" ("diamond setting for Hawaii") (l. 9-10).

In the next lines of the mele, the composer requests the assistance of the "Mana Kahikolu" ("Trinity") to make sure the kingdom is "sila paa ia" ("securely sealed"), as is the "noho kalaunu" ("crown chair, throne"), and to also ensure that "ka hae Hawaii" ("the Hawaiian flag") will fly again at the "Hale'lii" ("Palace") (l. 13-16). The genealogy of the Mōʻī becomes the focus of the next lines, referring to Liliʻuokalani as a "mamo" ("descendant") of Keohokalole, her mother. At the very end of the mele, the composer, Mrs. Maunakamala, expresses her hope for the "lanakila" ("success") of Mōʻī and the aupuni (l. 21-22).

In each and every mele lāhui, these are the overriding themes. Some of the mele relate specific details about the events and people involved in the overthrow. Other mele are focused on the newspapers and their editors, and their roles as advocates for the lāhui. In some mele, the heroes of the aloha ʻāina movement were praised, while in others, the actions and the greed of the enemy were the object of critical and disparaging language. Some mele are truly prayers, requesting help from a higher, spiritual power, whether Hawaiian or Christian, and other mele praise the name and qualities of the Mōʻīwahine. The mele lāhui composed are representative of the feelings and sentiments of most Kānaka Maoli. No matter what specific themes the composers included in their mele, each of them had a common ultimate goal and hope. They requested, "E hoi o Liliuokalani / Ma ke Kalaunu o Hawaii" ("Let Liliʻuokalani return / To the Crown of Hawaii"). They requested the return of the sovereignty, ("Hoi hou ke Ea o ka Aina"), that the flag continually fly ("Welo mau / Kou Hae Nani"). The composers of the mele had a single common goal. "E ola o Kalani," (Let the Chiefly One live") and "E ola o Hawaii" ("Let Hawaiʻi live").

Notes

Chapter 5: No Nā Mele Lāhui O Ka Makahiki 1893 (The Mele Lāhui of 1893)

[1] *Hawaii Holomua*, 24 Ianuali 1893.

[2] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 21 Pepeluali 1893.

[3] Beckwith, 1970, 114-115.

[4] *Hawaii Holomua*, 20 & 28 Ianuali 1893.

[5] Kamakau, "Ka Moolelo No Kamehameha," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 18 Ianuali 1868.

[6] U. S. Congress, 822.

[7] *Hawaii Holomua*, 7 Pepeluali 1893.

[8] Beckwith, 1970, 160-162.

[9] *Hawaii Holomua*, 16 Pepeluali 1893.

[10] *Hawaii Holomua*, 25 Ianuali 1893.

[11] *Hawaii Holomua*, 18 Apelila 1893.

[12] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 7 Pepeluali 1893.

[13] *Hawaii Holomua*, 1 Apelila 1893.

[14] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 10 Mei 1893.

CHAPTER 6
UA MAU LOA
(WE CONTINUE ON)

In the years following the overthrow, the po'e pākaha 'āina of the Provisional Government and the business community continued in their efforts to achieve annexation with the U.S., while the po'e aloha 'āina continued in their resolve to restore the independence of the Hawaiian Kingdom. In addition, Kānaka Maoli continued expressing and recording these events and their reactions and opinions on them within mele lāhui.

No Ka Makahiki 1894
(The Year 1894)

The leaders of the Provisional Government chose July 4, 1894, America's Independence Day, to proclaim the establishment of their new government, which they called the Republic of Hawai'i. For the Hawaiian people, it was not, and for many has never been, perceived as a day of independence or a cause for rejoicing.

In the constitution of this new government, there were two categories for voting in the government elections; different criteria had to be met to qualify. To vote or to be eligible to stand as a candidate for the Senate, salary qualifications were specified at a net worth of $1,500 or a minimal annual income of $600. The voting and candidacy requirements for Representatives had no salary or net worth requirement. Nevertheless, in order to qualify, one had to sign an oath of allegiance to the Republic. In the oath, one swore to uphold the laws and constitution of the Republic. One also swore not to support the re-establishment of a monarchical government.[1]

Because of these requirements, there were not many people who registered to vote that year. "He 1233 kupono...i ke koho Senetoa, a he 684 wale no kupono i ke koho lunamakaainana." ("1233 qualified...to vote for

Senators, and only 684 qualified to vote for Representatives").[2] There was a total of 1,917 registered voters, as compared to the 9,500 registered voters prior to the overthrow. Basically, 80% of the previously qualified, registered voters of the Hawaiian Kingdom were either unable or unwilling to meet the requirements for voting following the overthrow.

In regards to the 1,917 registered voters in 1894, the Republic provided no statistical information as to how many of the registered voters were Kānaka Maoli. According to one newspaper article, the statistics merely showed that:

> he 509 poe hanau ma Hawaii nei, aia iloko olaila na poe Hawaii ponoi maoli. Heaha la ka mea hoike ole ae i ka nui o na Hawaii maoli? Aole anei no ka uuku loa [o na Kanaka Maoli].[3]
>
> 509 [of the voters] were born in Hawai'i, and within this were included the native Hawaiian people. For what reason is the number of native Hawaiians not shown? Is it not indeed because of the miniscule amount [of Hawaiians who registered].

For the Hawaiian people, this was a huge dilemma, because they had no voting power within the new government. They understood that due to their lack of participation in the election, their rights and desires would not be voiced within the legislature. But more importantly, they understood that to participate in the election and pledge their allegiance to the Republic would be a compromise of their most sacred beliefs and values.

If nothing else, based on the number of people who chose not to participate in the election, it was clear to the po'e aloha 'āina that they were in the majority, "pahaohao loa ia na poe noonoo i ka lapuwale a me ke apuka o keia mau hana a na poe pakaha aina" ("it is amazing the people who realize the worthlessness and the fraud perpetrated by these land thieving, greedy people").[4] The Kānaka Maoli knew that they, the po'e aloha 'āina, comprised a majority of the population who did not support the new government, whether it was called a Provisional Government or a Republic.

This lack of aloha and mahalo for the Republic is reflected in the mele lāhui of 1894.

HE MOEWAA NO KA RIPUBALIKA.[5]

Hoehaa ka nohona aupuni la
E ka poe Repubalika la
Aole i loea noeau la
Ku ana i ka puka o ka noka la
O ka la poni Peresidena la
Pule ole ia e ke kahuna la
Kohu kii no Pakaka la
Ke kahunapule Waiamau la
Ekolu poe i ka hanohano la
O ka ha no hoi Mikila la
Na hana pakaha aina la
Na mamo a ka Misionari la
He hoku ka hae o lakou la
Aole i kau i ka la nui la
Ka hoku i pule ole ia la
Ao ae, helelei wale mai la
Hokai ua hana kumu ole la
Kohu ole i ka noho aupuni la
Mai puni aku hoi kakou la
Na hana a ka Mooalualu la
I ke koi mai e hoohiki la
Aole, aole e puni la
Papa KA LEO O KA LAHUI la
Mai kau i ka hapa pulima la
Haina ia ka puana
Na Mikanele hao aina.

The composer has only criticism and feelings of negativity for the "Ripubalika," as expressed with the word "Moewaa" in the name and "Hoehaa" in the first line. Moewa'a is the word used to describe a dream about a canoe, which is symbolic of death, in this case the death of the Republic. The "nohona" ("lifestyle") of the government is described as "hoehaa," an unstable, improper entity, which cannot be trusted or relied upon.

In a manner similar to the mele lāhui of 1893, the leaders of the government are labeled as "Na mamo a ka Misionari la" ("The descendants of the Missionaries") and their actions are labeled as "hana pakaha aina" ("land stealing, greedy actions") (l. 11-12). In the middle section of the mele, the composer refers to the "hoku" ("star") on the "hae o lakou" ("flag of theirs").

The composer expresses his opinion about the flag, criticizing the fact that it is unblessed ("pule ole ia"), and therefore, according to the composer, when it rises ("Ao ae"), it will "helelei wale mai la" ("simply fall down") (l. 13-16). This hope and assurance of failure is intended not only for the star and the flag, but for the government which they represent as well.

At the end of the mele, the composer cautions the people, "Mai puni aku / ...I ke koi mai e hoohiki" ("Don't be fooled...by the urgings to pledge allegiance") to the Republic (l. 18-20). In the next lines, the composer gives credit to *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui* for cautioning the people against signing the oath of allegiance, and the mele gives the same instructions, stating "Mai kau i ka hapa pulima la" ("Don't place even a portion of your signature") (l. 24).

Throughout 1894, the oath of allegiance was a highly contested issue debated in the newspapers. One newspaper article clearly illustrates the aloha 'āina perspective, stating, "Aohe dala ma ke ao nei nana e kuai a lilo aku ko ke kanaka Hawaii aloha aina oiaio mai iaia aku!"[6] ("There is not money in the present era by which the Hawaiian person's true feelings of aloha 'āina can be sold or lost from himself!").

On October 11, 1894, the Kānaka Maoli again showed the depth of their love for the Mō'īwahine through the dedication of a garden in her honor, which they named Uluhaimalama (Inspiring Offering of Enlightenment) at Pauoa, O'ahu. On the day of its dedication and blessing, many Kānaka Maoli were in attendance to give offerings to the Mō'īwahine and to plant "makana pua makamae" ("gifts of precious flowers").[7]

In the newspapers, precious gifts were also offered to the Mō'īwahine.

ONAONA O ULUHAIMALAMA[8]

Hookahi la nui ua hiki mai
O Uluhaimalama he mala pua
Ua ana pono ia na kapuai
Ka loa a me ka laula
Ua hoolawa ia e na hoa
E kanu a ulu liko a lau

Pua mohala i ke kakahiaka
Puia i ke ala o na pua
Onaona mapuana hanu o ka Panse
Popohe a ka lihilihi weleweka
Pehea iho oe a i ka lehua
Na lehua makanoe o Luupali
Haina mai e ka punohu
Ka pipio a ke anuenue iluna
A oe ana iho kuu makemake
Ka popohe a ka pua poni moi
Kuu pua violeta poina ole
Noho mai i ka malu hoonoenoe
Auhea la pua ohawai
A he pua milimili na ke aloha
Puia onaona ka puana ia
O Uluhaimalama o ka lanakila.

Oct. 11, 1894

For the unnamed composer of this mele and other Kānaka Maoli, Uluhaimalama was a symbol of the life and the continued growth of the lāhui. The plants and the planting itself were perceived as acts of support for the Mōʻī and her government and kūʻē against the overthrow and other problems being faced by the people. In the newspaper articles describing the blessing, the various plants given in offering that day were listed, including the kaona and the reason behind the choosing of the plants. According to the article, ʻape was planted for the intent of irritating the lying mouths of the poʻe pākaha ʻāina, while kukui was chosen for its symbolism of enlightenment and knowledge. The members of the Royal Band were also in attendance, and they played the song written by Kekoaohiwaikalani in their honor, "He Lei No Ka Poe Aloha Aina," that mele discussed in Chapter 1. The men of the band brought a pōhaku (rock) as their offering, a symbol of the pōhaku found in the mele and as a symbol of their kūpaʻa to the ʻāina.[9]

In the above mele, the composer uses words of description for the healthy growth and life of the plants—"kanu a ulu liko a lau" ("planted and growing, budding and leafing") are the plants (l. 6). The flowers are "mohala" ("blooming"), "puia" ("permeating fragrance"), "onaona mapuana" ("wafting fragrance"), and "popohe" (neat, trim, round flowers") (l. 7-10). The composer

has also included symbols which usually refer to the status of an Ali'i, such as the "punohu" ("red cloud") and the "pipio anuenue" ("arching rainbow"), to indicate the goodness and rightness of this place, and its blessings not only from the people, but the natural universe as well (l. 13-14). In the last line of the mele, the composer expresses the belief that Uluhaimalama and the plants which grow there are symbolic of "lanakila" ("victory") and life for the lāhui.

No Ka Makahiki 1895
(The Year 1895)

As the plants continued to grow and flourish at Uluhaimalama, the hopes and desires of the po'e aloha 'āina for the return of their Mō'īwahine and the Kingdom also grew. They wanted to see Lili'uokalani on her throne again, with the Hawaiian flag waving.

The Kānaka Maoli also came to understand the resolve of the po'e pākaha 'āina. The leaders of the overthrow and the Republic were not going to recognize or acknowledge any wrongs committed by them, or do anything to set them right. In addition, because of the peace being maintained by the Kānaka Maoli, and the unwillingness of the U.S. to militarily enforce the return of the government to the Mō'īwahine and the Hawaiian people, these po'e pākaha 'āina of the Republic had no fear of the Kānaka Maoli.

Many Kānaka Maoli and other po'e aloha 'āina began to realize that the peace which they had been maintaining for almost two years was not helping their cause. These po'e aloha 'āina made the decision to violently rebel against the Republic, establish a new constitution, and return the Mō'ī to the throne. Towards the end of 1894, final decisions were made and planning begun, including the smuggling and stockpiling of weapons.

These efforts were led by various po'e aloha 'āina, some Hawaiian and some not. Nāwahī and Buki were leaders in this movement, as were Samuel

Nowlein (Nolena) and Henry Bertelmann (Betelamana). Nowlein was the leader for the po'e aloha 'āina, although accounts seem to indicate that he did not do much in the way of training the soldiers under him. Although Robert W. Wilcox had been asked to participate in the rebellion, due to his military training, it was not until the early days of January 1895 that he became actively involved in the planning and execution of the military action.[10]

Initially, the rifles of these po'e aloha 'āina were hidden on Mānana island off the south coast of O'ahu. In the early days of 1895, the weapons were brought to Lē'ahi, divided, and stored in two separate locations. Some of the rifles were stored at Bertelmann's house on the west side of Lē'ahi and some were hidden at Ka'alāwai on the east side of Lē'ahi.[11]

The po'e aloha 'āina had prepared and planned their rebellion for January 7, 1895. However, rumors of their plans had already traveled through Honolulu. For this reason, on the evening of January 6, a patrol of police officers was sent to Bertelmann's house to investigate and look for any weapons.[12] When the police arrived at Lē'ahi, some of the po'e aloha 'āina were there, cleaning their weapons and completing their final preparations. Upon seeing the police, the po'e aloha 'āina tried to flee the scene; however, the police officers immediately opened fire. Gunfire was exchanged between the two forces, and a policeman was shot. Some of the po'e aloha 'āina were captured—Bertelmann and his forces—by the Republic; and some of the po'e aloha 'āina escaped—Nowlein and Wilcox and their forces—to the uplands of Lē'ahi.

KE ALA MALIHINI ALOEHUEHU[13]

(Hooheno ia mahope iho o ke kaua,
oiai e naku ana iloko o kanahele.)

Aia i ka luna Daimana Hila
Ke aloha aina e hoolulu nei
Ilaila makou i ike iho ai
Ka uwahi-noe o ka pu-raifela

O ke kani kuilua a ka pukuniahi
E nakolo i ke kai-la'i o Kahala
Ekolu poka i ka neo ia
Houhewa i ka lepo o ka aina

A ka hora 4 auwina la
Alo ana i ke kula o Waialae
Ilaila makou i ike iho ai
Ka iniki walania a ka Lanatana

Palekana kakou e na hoa
Ua hiki i ke ala a ka malihini
A hiki i ka piko o Palolo
Nana i ka nani o Kauhelemoa

Ke Kupua kaulana o ia uka
Ia uka kamahao i ko'u maka
Hookahi makamaka o na hoa
Na hoa aloehuehu i ka inea

A hiki i ka olu o Manoa
Ike i ka wai lelehune Akekua
O ka ulu-ohia e memele ana
Hamu ana i ka hua o ke kuawa

E aho ia la e na hoa
Kamau ka hele'na o ke kula loa
A Manoa ike i ka ehuehu
Aloalo poka me ka enemi

Hanohano Pauoa i ka uhiwai
Haaheo i ka uka o Kupanihi
Haina ia mai ana ka puana
Ke Aloha Aina paa mau loa

For the rest of that Sunday night, and into the next morning, Monday, January 7, the po'e aloha 'āina were able to find secure positions from which to engage the enemy's gunfire. Nowlein led one battalion, while Wilcox led another. The forces of the Republic were unable to defeat the po'e aloha 'āina or gain advantage of their positions. However, instead of strategic positioning and fighting, the government had in their possession cannons, which they brought to the area below the stronghold of the po'e aloha 'āina. Only because of this bombing were the government troops able to expel the po'e aloha 'āina from their position in the uplands of Lē'ahi, from which they fled toward Wai'alae on the afternoon of that Monday.

The government troops and the poʻe aloha ʻāina met again in Waiʻalae, and again exchanged gunfire. When the government troops were again unable to defeat or advance on the poʻe aloha ʻāina, they brought out their cannon, chasing the poʻe aloha ʻāina to the back of Pālolo valley. On Tuesday afternoon, the poʻe aloha ʻāina retreated for the ridge between Pālolo and Mānoa, staying in Mānoa until the evening of Wednesday, January 9, then moving into the uplands of Pauoa. In each location, gunfire was exchanged, and some of the poʻe aloha ʻāina were captured as well—14 at Bertelmann's house, 29 in Waiʻalae, 30 more in Mānoa. In Pauoa, on January 14, one week after the beginning of the rebellion, Wilcox and the remaining poʻe aloha ʻāina were captured.[14]

The name of the above mele commemorating this event is very fitting. It is entitled "Ke Ala Malihini Aloehuehu" ("The Bullet-dodging, Unfamiliar Path"), because this mele relates the story of the path taken by the poʻe aloha ʻāina. It was indeed an "ala malihini" ("unfamiliar, strange pathway), which was made more difficult by the necessity to "alo ehuehu" ("avoid, dodge the aiming, gunfire") of the enemy. Although he does not provide his name, the composer lets us know that he was not an outside observer of the events; rather, he was a participant, who wrote the mele while they were "naku ana iloko o kanahele" ("struggling inside of the forest").

According to the mele, it was above Diamond Head, Lēʻahi ("Aia i ka luna Daimana Hila") that the fighting began, and it was there also that was seen "ka uwahi-noe o ka pu-raifela" ("the misty smoke of the rifles") (l. 1-4). In the second verse, the composer describes "ke kani kuilua a ka pukuniahi" ("the thundering, pounding sound of the canon") which was rumbling and roaring ("nakolo") over the land, with "ekolu poka i ka neo ia / Hou hewa i ka lepo o ka aina" ("three cannon ball laying to waste / Sinfully jabbing, boring into the earth of the land") (l. 5-8). In the next verses, the composer records

the pathway taken by the poʻe aloha ʻāina, from Lēʻahi to Waiʻalae, Pālolo, and then to Mānoa and Pauoa.

It was a difficult path, due to the "iniki walania a ka Lanatana" ("painfully burning pinching of the Lantana flower"), through which they traversed to arrive in Waiʻalae (l. 9-12), as well as "ke ala a ka malihini" ("unfamiliar, strange pathway") of the "uka kamahao" ("amazing uplands") of Pālolo (l. 13-20). "A hiki i ka olu o Manoa" ("Until [they] arrived in the comfort of Mānoa (l. 21-24), again facing and dodging the bullets of the enemy ("Aloalo poka me ka enemi") (l. 25-28). The composer ends his story after eight verses in Pauoa, where the efforts of the poʻe aloha ʻāina ended. However, it is not the end of the feeling of aloha ʻāina in the hearts of the people. According to the composer, "Ke Aloha Aina paa mau loa" (Love for Land is secure forever more") (l. 29-32).

No matter what, the Kānaka Maoli and the poʻe aloha ʻāina stood firmly in their belief. Perhaps their desires and hopes for the return of the government were not realized at that time, as their attempt at restoration was not successful. Nevertheless, in their hearts and souls they did not give up, as evidenced by the mele lāhui which they composed, and in which they asserted their support of the ʻāina, as well as those who fought for the pono of the ʻāina.

Over 50 mele lāhui were gathered from the Hawaiian language newspapers of 1895; the *Buke Mele Lahui* was published that year, containing another 253 mele lāhui. Some of these were mele which had been published in the newspapers, largely dating back to 1893, with a few from an even earlier time. Many of these mele were written for Liliʻuokalani, the aupuni, and the lāhui; however, many mele were also written for this rebellion of 1895 as well as the heroes of that rebellion. In the mele written for the events of

1895, Wilcox emerges as the central heroic figure, and is repeatedly honored in the mele as the leader of the po'e aloha 'āina.

HE INOA NO WILIKOKI[15]

Eia Wilikoki ke koa nui o na moku,
Ka pukaua o ke Aupuni Hawaii,
Ka olali nana i hehiku o Italia,
Loaa ai ke kupueu o ia aina,
Noho i ka malu kapu o ia aupuni,
Hoi no Wilikoki i ke one hanau,
I ke one aloha a na kupuna,
Punihei e i ka upena a ka leo,
He leo ka na ka lokoino aloha ole.
Aloha wale na keiki a ka Na'i Aupuni,
E uhauhaia nei e na kolea kaulana;
He hilahila ole o Nupepeki e kaunu nei,
I ke kikowaena o ke Aupuni Hawaii,
Hookahi no Wilikoki e alo nei i ka ehuehu,
Huelani e ka hana a na pukuniahi,
Ku aku la ko laau i ka aama kua lenalena,
Aohe e pakele ua kukai ka ila o Pupukea,
I ka Ihe Laumeki a Kamehameha Akahi.
He niuhi mai au no ka moana kai hohonu,
He pukonakona mai au no Maui Hikina,
O ka apu kowali keia nana e hue aku polena,
Popo auhuhu keia nana e hoala ke kai aholehole,
Ke kolopa keia nana e une na aupuni,
Ka ulahiwa nana e peku na moa lawa;
Akahi oukou a ike e na malihini,
I ka apu piiku a ka Hawaii,
O ka iki au nana e kaa ke kahua loa,
He aalii ku naue ole i ka makani Kona;
E ola Hawaii o Keawe a mau loa,
A puka i ke ao malamalama.

KEAOLIPOLIPO KEAHIOENE.

The composer expresses great admiration and praise for Wilcox in this mele. He is called "ke koa nui o na moku" ("the great warrior of the islands") and "ka pukaua o ke Aupuni Hawai'i" ("the general, champion of the Hawaiian Government") (l. 1-2). The mele also tells of his military training in "Italia" ("Italy") (l. 3-5). The composer speaks critically of the people of the government, calling them "lokoino aloha ole" ("evil-hearted, compassionless"), describing them as "na kolea kaulana" ("the famous kōlea birds"), who were "uhauha" ("wasteful, wanton") and "hilahila ole" ("without shame") (l. 9-12).

In the other lines of the mele, the composer further describes and gives detail about the hero, Wilcox, "e alo nei i ka ehuehu" ("dodging the bullet spray") (l. 14). Wilcox is called a "niuhi...no ka moana kai hohonu" ("shark...of the deep, dark ocean") (l. 19), and a "kolopa nana e une na aupuni" ("crowbar who will lever, turn the government") (l. 23). According to Keaolipolipo Keahioene, the composer, at the end of the mele, Wilcox is the "aalii ku naue ole i ka makani Kona" ("aalii plant which will not be moved, swayed by the Kona wind"), by which Hawai'i will "ola" ("live") and "puka i ke ao malamalama" ("emerge in the light of day") (l. 28-30).

In a manner similar to the mele lāhui of 1893 and 1894, the "ola" of Hawai'i and its release from the darkness of its problems are the main hopes and desires expressed in the mele lāhui of 1895. After the attempted restoration of 1895, the po'e aloha 'āina who participated were imprisoned, as was the Mō'īwahine Lili'uokalani. Wilcox, Nowlein, and Bertelmann, along with other po'e aloha 'āina were tried and convicted in a military court martial by the Republic. The Mō'īwahine was also convicted, and sentenced to imprisonment within 'Iolani Palace, where she remained until September of 1895.[16]

No Ka Makahiki 1896
(The Year 1896)

At the end of 1895, following her release from imprisonment, the Mō'īwahine traveled to Washington, D.C. in order to seek out possible avenues by which her government could be restored, and it was in Washington that she was residing in early 1896.

HE KANAENAE NO LILIUOKA-LANI.[17]

O Liliu, o Loloku i ke kapu,
O ka lamaku o ka noeau,
O ka waihona o ke akamai,
O ke aniani o ka pololei,

E imi ana i ka makemake,
I ke ola nui o ka lahui,
Ola Hawaii nui o Keawe,
A kau i ka pua aneane,
E ola ka pua i poniia,
O Liliuokalani he inoa,
Aia o Loloku i Maleka,
I ka piko la i Wakinekona,
Haku ia, kui ia ka wehi,
Ko Hae Kalaunu e Kalani,
I kahiko nou e Liliu,
No ko la nui hanohano,
I ola na Makaainaina,
A kau i ka pua aneane,
E ola ka pua i poniia,
O Liliuokalani he inoa,
Ei ae o ka Lanikiekie,
Me ka pono nui o ka lahui,
Pono Hawaii nui o Keawe,
Ola Molokai nui a Hina,
Ola pu o Maui o Kama,
Oahu o Kakuhihewa,
Kauai o Mano o Kalani,
Niihau i ka mole o Lehua,
E ola ka pua i poniia,
A kau i ka pua aneane,
Ko wehi Kalaunu i ke kapu,
O Liliuokalani he inoa.

Hakuia e ke
KILO A KA LAHUI

There are not very many mele lāhui to be found in the newspapers of 1896, possibly due to the fact that the Republic had been established for nearly two years and had been able to suppress the people's attempt to forcibly restore their government. Nevertheless, the Kānaka Maoli had not given up their faith in pono and their hope for the restoration of the Kingdom. The above mele is an example of that continued hope. It relates the story of Lili'uokalani's journey "i Maleka / I ka piko la o Wakinekona" ("to America / To the central core of Washington") to seek justice and prevent further abuses against the Hawaiian people (l. 11-12). The political activities of Washington were turbulent and confusing, especially due to the presence of commissioners of the Republic in Washington. These commissioners were calling themselves "Hawaiian" and "Hawaiian commissioners," so that their desires for annexation would be perceived as coming from the Hawaiian people. The

Mō'īwahine became incensed at these "Hawaiians," referring to them as "pseudo-Hawaiians." According to her:

> They are not and never were Hawaiians. Although some have had positions under the monarchy which they solemnly swore by oath of office to uphold and sustain, they retained their American birthright. When they overthrew my government, and placed themselves under the protectorate established by John L. Stevens,...[they] designated themselves as Americans; as such they called on him to raise their flag on the building of the Hawaiian Government. When it pleased the Provisional Government to give their control another name, they called it the Republic of Hawaii. To gain the sympathy of the American people, they made the national day of the Independence of the United States their own, and made speeches claiming to be American citizens. Such has been their custom at Honolulu, although in Washington they represent themselves as Hawaiians.[18]

It was an "ala malihini" ("unfamiliar, strange path") for all involved—for Lili'uokalani in Washington, and for the true Hawaiian people of Hawai'i. Yet, their ultimate goal was the continued life of their nation and the people.

No Ka Makahiki 1897
(The Year 1897)

Between 1893 and 1897, these pseudo-Hawaiians, these Americans, the po'e pākaha 'āina of the Republic of Hawai'i continued their quest for annexation with the introduction of a Treaty of Annexation into the U.S. Senate. On each occasion, the po'e aloha 'āina were successful in their efforts to inform the members of the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives of their opposition to annexation. In 1897, the various hui aloha 'āina (aloha 'āina organizations), namely the Hui Aloha 'Āina o Nā Wāhine, the Hui Aloha 'Āina o Nā Kāne, and the Hui Kālai'āina, were unified in their efforts of opposition. According to Noenoe Silva:

> Together, these three organizations represented a majority of the Kanaka Maoli. The Kanaka Maoli strategy was to challenge the U.S. government to behave in accordance with its stated principles of justice, and of government of the people, by the people, and for the people. They hoped that once the U.S. President and members of Congress saw that the great majority of Kanaka Maoli opposed the annexation, the principles of fairness would prevail, and Lili'uokalani's government would be restored.[19]

For these reasons, the hui prepared a "Palapala Hoopii Kue Hoohui Aina" ("Petition Protesting Annexation"), which they hand-carried around the entire island chain. In the end, they gathered 38,000 signatures, which the leaders of the organizations then took to Washington.[20] While there, they met with the Mō'īwahine and submitted the petitions to the Senate.

No Ka Makahiki 1898
(The Year 1898)

These Kānaka Maoli commissioners of the po'e aloha 'āina, James Kaulia, David Kalauokalani, John Richardson, and William Auld, stayed in Washington for several months, discussing the position of the Hawaiian people, literally lobbying the senators, holding meetings, and counting votes. The Treaty of Annexation required approval from two-thirds of the senators—a total of 60 votes. As a result of their discussions, the commissioners of the po'e aloha 'āina were able to convince enough senators of their right to independence. They had won again; they were successful again in defeating the Treaty of Annexation, at least until the next legislative session. So, the Hawaiian commissioners returned home victorious, or so they thought.

However, in July, 1898, a new item was introduced to the U.S. Senate requesting the annexation of Hawai'i to America. Because the treaty had been defeated, this time the document was introduced into the Senate as a resolution, namely the Newlands Resolution, which required a simple majority of votes in order to pass. Without the Hawaiian commissioners present to continue their lobbying and education efforts, or express the thoughts and desires of the Hawaiian people, the resolution was passed, and Hawai'i became an official "Territory" of America. In the hearts and minds of the Kānaka Maoli, a great wrong had been done to their people and their government. Documents protesting these actions were sent to Washington, requesting resolution to this problem.

According to the po'e aloha 'āina:

> Ma ke ano hoi he poe elele no kekahi mahele nui a ikaika o na kanaka Hawaii oiwi maoli ke kue aku nei makou me ka manao kulipolipo kukonukonu loa i ka hoohuiia mai ma ke ano i manaoia a me ka ui ole ia mai hoi a loaa aku paha hoi ka ae ana o ka lahuikanaka o ko Hawaii Paeaina nei.[21]
>
> As messengers for a great and powerful majority of the true native Hawaiian people, we are protesting with profoundly painful and deep thoughts on the annexation in the manner which has been considered without even asking or receiving any agreement of the native people of the Hawaiian archipelago.

The annexation was completed, nevertheless, and the Territory of Hawai'i established, without ever asking the opinion or the desires of the Kānaka Maoli. On August 12, 1898, the Hawaiian flag was once again removed from 'Iolani Palace and the government building, Ali'iolani Hale. The flag could not, however, be removed from the soul of the Hawaiian people.

KUU HAE HAWAII ALOHA[22]

Kuu Hae Hawaii aloha,
Nou mau ka'u upu ana,
Kou mau kahakahana nani,
Ka'u e poina ole nei,
Nou wau i na hora o ka la,
Nou wau i na hora o ka po,
Nou wau mai luna a lalo,
Nou wau me kuu puuwai,
He oiaio e hiki io mai ana,
Kou la nani oi kelakela,
Au e hoomalu hou ai,
I na kaiaulu aloha o Hawaii,
Hoomalu no oe a malu,
Mai Hawaii a Kauai,
Aohe kupu nana e hooni,
I ka ola mai luna loa mai,
O ke ola ia pono ka nohona,
Kou lahui oiwi ponoi,
Ola ke kane, ola ka wahine,
Ola ka aina mai o a o,
Ke i mai nei ka olelo,
Ua malu ka honua i ke aloha,
Ua ike o luna ua ike o lalo,
Ua ike na welelau o ka honua,
No Liliu no Loloku i ke kapu,
No ka lahui oiwi ponoi,
No ka I, no ka Mahi, no Kapalena,
No lakou ia Hae Hawaii,
E mau loa kona welo ana,
Ma ko Hawaii Paeaina,

Nane ia mai ana ke aloha,
Kuu Hae Hawaii mau loa.

SAM. K. KAMAKAIA.
Honolulu, Aug 14, 1898.

In the name and in every line of this mele, aloha for the hae Hawai'i (Hawaiian flag) is the sole focus of Sam K. Kamakaia, the composer. In his mele, Kamakaia speaks directly to the flag, calling it "kuu hae" ("my beloved flag") and admiring "Kou mau kahakahana nani" ("Your beautiful stripes") which are "poina ole" ("unforgettable") (l. 1-4). In the next lines of the mele, the composer affirms his connection and his relationship to the flag, "i na hora o ka la...i na hora o ka po" ("in the hours of the day...in the hours of the night") and "mai luna a lalo...me kuu puuwai" ("from above to below...with my heart") (l. 5-8). It is the hae Hawai'i which will "hoomalu" ("protect") the "kaiaulu aloha o Hawaii...Mai Hawaii a Kauai" ("beloved communities of Hawai'i...From Hawai'i to Kaua'i") (l. 11-14). According to the composer, "Ua ike o luna ua ike o lalo / Ua ike na welelau o ka honua" ("Above knows below knows / The corners of the earth know") for whom is the hae Hawai'i. "No Liliu no Loloku i ke kapa / No ka lahui ponoi / No ka I, no ka Mahi, no Kapalena / No lakou ia Hae Hawaii" "([It] is for Liliu for Loloku in the sacredness / For our own people, nation / For the descendants of 'Ī, Mahi and Kapalena / For them is the Hawaiian Flag") (l. 23-28). And the great hope expressed at the end of the mele is for the continuation of the hae, "E mau loa kona welo ana / Ma ko Hawaii Paeaina" ("Let your waving continue forever / In Hawai'i's Archipelago") (l. 29-30). Then, in the very last line, the composer expressed his hope again. According to him, "Kuu Hae Hawaii mau loa" ("My Beloved Hawaiian Flag continues forever") (l. 32). And the composer was absolutely correct, because in the hearts and minds of the Kānaka Maoli, the po'e aloha 'āina, it indeed continues forever.

Ua Mau Loa
(We Continue On)

From that time until today, our aloha for our ʻāina and our lāhui have continued on. Ua mau loa. The pain in our hearts and souls from the stealing of our nation and our birthright have not healed, largely due to the continued oppression and colonization perpetrated against our ancestors and ourselves. The actions of the poʻe pākaha ʻāina have not been forgotten. The pride of the lāhui for our heroes, for the poʻe aloha ʻāina of that time, has not diminished. Ua mau loa.

In the 1960's and 1970's, the Kānaka Maoli began again to seek out, learn about, revive, and practice the culture of our people, standing firm on issues of abuse to our land, our water, and our people, sometimes with success and sometimes without. We have successfully halted the bombing of Kahoʻolawe by the U.S. military, although other sites, such as Makua on Oʻahu continue to be abused. The United States has formally apologized for their role in the overthrow. The Akaka Bill has been submitted to the U.S. Senate seeking the recognition of Native Hawaiians as Indigenous People of the U.S. While we must be constantly alert to prevent further injustices, we have also taken steps in positive directions of cultural revival and protection, such as the establishment of the Hawaiian Burials Council, the flourishing of immersion education at the preschool, primary, and secondary levels, as well as the planning and establishment of Masters and Ph.D. programs in Hawaiian Language and Hawaiian Studies at the university level. The navigating canoes *Hōkūleʻa* and *Makaliʻi* continue to make successful journeys throughout Polynesia and the Pacific. Ua mau loa ke aloha lāhui.

In the last decade, we have protested in a variety of places and manners, including Hālawa, Waʻahila, the capitol building in Honolulu, and even in Washington, D.C. At each of these locations and events, we continue to use mele through hula (dance) and oli (chant) to affirm our rights. "'Auʻa

'Ia" ("Hold fast") is one mele as is "I Kū Mau A Mau" ("Stand Forever and Ever"), and "E Iho Ana" ("Above will fall, come down"). These mele are danced and they are chanted, as a form of kū'ē against the abuse of our people and our culture, and as a symbol of our kūpa'a, our affirmation of our past, present, and our future. Ua mau loa ke aloha 'āina.

The popularity of one mele lāhui from 1893 continues until today. Then, it was called "He Mele Inoa No Ka Po'e Aloha 'Āina" or "Mele 'Ai Pōhaku," but, is famous today by the name "Kaulana Nā Pua." From that time until now, this mele has been recorded more than 40 times. People have also begun to create new mele protesting the actions of the po'e pākaha 'āina, the po'e 'enemi—whether that be the government of the United States, or the State of Hawai'i, as well as individuals who seek to limit our native rights through state and federal legislation and the judicial system. Some of these mele are "Keep Hawaiian Lands in Hawaiian Hands," addressing the problems of the Hawaiian Homelands issues, as well as land sales and development. "Hawaiian Soul" is another mele written in honor of the po'e aloha 'āina who died as a result of their efforts to protect Kaho'olawe.

Many mele have also been written honoring the revival of Hawaiian cultural practices, and encouraging the continued perpetuation of our native rights and practices, such as "Alu Like" ("Work Together"), "Hōkūle'a," and "Keiki o ka 'Āina" ("Child of the Land"). In recent years, the youth of Hawai'i have begun to compose rap and reggae songs in Hawaiian and English with these same themes of kū'ē against the colonization and subjugation of our people, and kūpa'a for the continuation and perpetuation of our cultural practices. Ua mau loa ka mele lāhui.

Since the beginning of our existence, Kānaka Maoli of Hawai'i have been recording our history within various forms of mele, whether mele ko'ihonua, mele inoa, or mele aloha. With the formation and evolution of the

Hawaiian Kingdom came the formation and evolution of a collective understanding of that Kingdom in the minds and hearts of its people. Based on these concepts of nation and nationality, mele lāhui were composed to express the Kānaka Maoli's understanding of themselves, their time, and their place. In the late 1800's, as the Kānaka Maoli began to be affected more and more by the colonial influences of foreigners on their land and in positions of leadership in government, mele lāhui became a powerful venue for Kānaka Maoli expression. These mele lāhui are evidence of Kānaka Maoli reaction and response, protest and resistance, to our colonial experience, especially our loss of our sovereign independence.

Not by any means have all the problems inherited by our people been solved; however, the composer of this last mele lāhui is absolutely correct when he wrote, "Kuu Hae Hawaii mau loa." Our Kingdom and our Mōʻīwahine may have been overthrown, and we may have been annexed to the United States. However, in the hearts, souls, and minds of the Kānaka Maoli, the waving of the Hawaiian flag continues on, the sitting of our Mōʻīwahine on her throne continues on. In the hearts and minds of the Kānaka Maoli, the independence of our nation continues on. Ua mau loa.

PĪPĪ HOLO KAʻAO
(THE TALE RUNS,
THE STORY CONTINUES)

Notes

Chapter 6 - Ua Mau Loa (We Continue On)

[1] *Ke Kumukānāwai O Ke Aupuni Repubalika*, Paukū 74, 76, 101.

[2] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 16 'Okakopa 1894.

[3] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 16 'Okakopa 1894.

[4] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 16 'Okakopa 1894.

[5] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 6 'Aukake 1894; *Nupepa Ka Oiaio*, 10 'Aukake 1894.

[6] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 6 Kepakemapa 1894.

[7] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 16 'Okakopa 1894.

[8] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 16 'Okakopa 1894; *Nupepa Ka Oiaio*, 19 'Okakopa 1894.

[9] *Ka Makaainana*, 15 'Okakopa 1894.

[10] Andrade, 152-153.

[11] Andrade, 150-152.

[12] Andrade, 155-156.

[13] Thomas B. Spencer, editor, *Ke Kaua Kuloko*, (Honolulu: Papapai Mahu Press Publishing Co., 1895), xi-xii.

[14] Spencer, 16-71.

[15] Testa, 55.

[16] Lili'uokalani, 1974, 289-295.

[17] *Ke Aloha Aina*, 26 Kēkēmapa 1896.

[18] Lili'uokalani, 1974, 325.

[19] Silva, "Ke Kū'ē Kūpa'a Loa Nei Mākou," 1999, 183.

[20] Silva, "Ke Kū'ē Kūpa'a Loa Nei Mākou," 1999, 194.

[21] U.S. State Department Files, National Archives and Records Administration, 1898, quoted by Silva, 200.

[22] *Nupepa Puka La Ke Aloha Aina*, 20 'Aukake 1898.

GLOSSARY

Ahupua'a. land division, usually wedge-shaped, running from mountains out into ocean

'Aikapu. Sacred eating; to eat under kapu (taboo).

'Āina. Land; that which feeds.

'Āina makua. Fatherland.

Akua. God, Gods.

Akua wahine. Female God, Gods.

Ali'i. Chiefs; Nobles of Hawaiian legislature.

Ali'iolani Hale. Government Building.

Aloha. Love, affection, compassion, kind.

'Anā'anā. Sorcery, to pray for death.

'Ao'ao Ho'oma'ema'e. Reform Party.

'Apelila. April.

'Aukake. August.

'Aumakua. Family or personal God.

'Aumākua. Family or personal Gods, plural of 'aumakua.

Aupuni. Government, Kingdom.

'Elele. Messenger, representative.

'Enemi. Enemy.

Hae Hawai'i. Hawaiian flag.

Haipule. Religion, religious.

Haku. Lord, master, god; to compose, create mele.

Hale ali'i. Palace.

Hale paikau. Military parade building.

Hana. Work, activity.

Hana lima no'eau. Art.

Hanauna. Generation.

Haole. Foreigner, caucasian, white person.

Hawai'i. Hawaiian.

Hawai'i pono'ī. Hawai'i's own, a phrase used to refer to the importance of Kānaka Maoli leadership in Hawai'i.

Hoa. Friend, companion.

Hoa paio. Combatant.

Honolulu Laipela. Honolulu Rifles.

Hui. Organization, group.

Hui Kīpū Raifela Kamehameha. Kamehameha Rifle Corps.

Hui Mikanele. Missionary Party.

Hula. Traditional Hawaiian dance.

Ianuali. January.

Iehova. Jehovah.

Inoa. Name.

'Iolani Hale. 'Iolani Palace.

Iubile. Jubilee.

Iulai. July.

Kahakō. Macron, indicating lengthening of vowel sound.

Kahu. Pastor, minister, reverend of church.

Kahuna. Hawaiian priest, expert in field.

Kaikua'ana. Elder sibling.

Kalo. Taro.

Kanaka. Person, human.

Kānaka. People, humans, plural of kanaka.

Kanaka Maoli. Native Person.

Kānaka Maoli. Native People, plural of Kanaka Maoli.

Kanikau. Dirge, lament, chant of mourning.

Kaona. Hidden, underlying meaning of poetic reference.

Kēkēmapa. December.

Kepakemapa. September.

Kōlea. Plover bird, residing in Hawai'i during winter season, symbolic of haole due to their hoarding of Hawai'i's resources.

Ko'ihonua. Genealogical, cosmogonic chant.

Kūamuamu. Insult, disparage, curse.

Kuhina. Minister, of government.

Kuhina Kālai'āina. Minister of Interior.

Kuhina o Nā 'Āina 'Ē. Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Kuhina Waiwai. Minister of Finance.

Kumu hula. Hula teacher.

Kumukānāwai 'Ēlau Pū. Bayonet Constitution.

Kūpa'a. To stand firm, steadfast, constant, loyal.

Kupuna. Elder, ancestor.

Kūpuna. Elders, ancestors, plural of kupuna.

Kū'ē. To stand differently, separate; to oppose, protest, resist, rebel.

Lāhui. Nation, race, people.

Leo. Voice.

Lima. Hand, arm.

Lima nui. Big handed, strong arm.

Li'i. Shortened form of Ali'i, Chief, Noble.

Loio Kuhina. Attorney General.

Lumi Uliuli. Blue Room.

Lumu Kalaunu. Crown, Throne Room.

Luna ho'oponopono. Editor.

Luna maka'āinana. Representative in legislature.

Luna nui. Chief supervisor.

Mahalo. Admire, appreciate, to thank.

Maka'āinana. Commoner, citizen, farmer.

Makua. Parent, adult.

Mākua. Parents, plural of makua.

Malaki. March.

Mālama. To care for.

Mana. Spiritual power, strength.

Mana'o. Thought, opinion.

Mana'o kū'ē. Thought, opinion of protest, resistance, rebellion.

Maoli. True, real.

Mau. To continue, steady, constant.

Mei. May.

Mele. Poetry, song, chant, poetic text.

Mele aloha. Love poetry, song, chant.

Mele haipule. Religious poetry, song, chant.

Mele inoa. Name poetry, song, chant.

Mele kanikau. Lamentation poetry, song, chant.

Mele ko'ihonua. Cosmogonic poetry, song, chant.

Mele kū'ē. Resistance, protest poetry, song, chant.

Mele ku'i. Poetry melding traditional and modern, characterized by two-line couplet format.

Mele lāhui. Poetry, song, chant for nation, people.

Mele noi. Poetry, song, chant of request.

Mele pule. Poetry, song, chant of prayer.

Mele wahi pana. Place name poetry, song, chant.

Mō'ī. King, Queen, Sovereign Ruler.

Mō'īwahine. Queen.

Mo'olelo. History, story, tale.

Mo'olelo Hawai'i. awaiian history, story, tale.

Na'au. Guts, intestines, emotional center.

Noi. To request.

No'eau. Skillful, artistic, wise.

'Okakopa. October.

ʻOkina. Glottal stop, indicating break in voice.

Ola. To live, life.

Ola mau. Continuous life.

ʻŌlelo. To speak; language.

ʻŌlelo kūamuamu. Insulting, disparaging language.

ʻŌlelo noʻeau. Wise saying, proverb.

Oli. Chant.

Paikau. Military march.

Paio. Quarrel, fight, combat.

Pākaha. Steal, rob, extort.

Palapala. Document.

Paukū. Verse of mele, paragraph, article of constitution.

Pelapela. Indecent, lewd, obscene.

Pepeluali. February.

Pilikia. Problem, trouble.

Poʻe. People.

Poʻe aloha ʻāina. People who love the land, royalists.

Poʻe haole. Foreign, Caucasian, white people.

Poʻe pākaha ʻāina. People who rob, steal, abuse land.

Pōkā. Bullet.

Poni mōʻī. Coronation.

Pono. Righteous, proper, balance, harmony.

Ponoʻī. One's own.

Pū. Gun.

Pule. To pray, prayer.

Ua mau loa. [It] continues on.

Uluhaimalama. Inspiring Offering of Enlightenment, name of garden dedicated to Liliʻuokalani.

Waha. Mouth.

Wahi pana. Place name.

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