Na wai ka mana?
'Ōiwi Agency and European Imperialism in the Hawaiian Kingdom

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We certify that we have read this dissertation and that, in our opinion, it is satisfactory in scope and quality as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Geography.

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Abstract

The Hawaiian Kingdom has often been seen as a colonial institution. This dissertation challenges a colonial analysis of the Hawaiian Kingdom and its ali'i, while illustrating the agency of ali'i in grappling within and against Euro-American Imperialism. Special attention is given to the complex negotiations taking place in the Hawaiian Kingdom between ali'i and haole and the ways in which ali'i were modernizing through the modification of existing indigenous structure and through Hawaiianizing Euro-American structures to suit their own needs. This dissertation uses archival materials such as maps, laws, and letters to demonstrate that the Hawaiian Kingdom was not a colonial institution but rather a hybrid structure to resist colonialism and offers insight into how an indigenous society appropriated the tools of *the other* for their own means.

Keywords: Colonialism, Agency, Indigenous, Modernization, Hawai'i

Glossary

Agency– I think of agency in the terms offered by Giddens who refers to agency as the *ability to act*, where people have the *possibility of doing otherwise*. Agency refers to individuals, or culturally affiliated groups ability to exercise their will against or within the structures which surround them. Agency should be understood in reference and opposition to structure. In the Hawaiian context I am focusing on the agency of ali'i against the structure of European Imperialism, Colonialism, and Hegemony.

'Aha Ali'i–A council of chiefs established by the ali'i Haho tens of generations prior to Kamehameha I.

'Ai kapu– Sacred eating and worship as practiced by the ali'i prior to its abolishment following the Battle of Kuamo'o in 1819

'Āina–Land or literally that which feeds, scholars such as Kame'eleihiwa have stated that the term can refer to land and sea since both the marine and terrestrial environments were cultivated as sources of food.

Ali'i– A native Hawaiian chief with no emphasis on gender.

Ali'i Nui– A high-ranking native Hawaiian chief with no emphasis on gender.

Hegemony– I am using this term to mean, a quest for cultural and material domination.

Hoa'āina– Common class, literally friends of the land.

I ka wā kahiko–In ancient times.

Kālai'āina– A redistribution of lands according to ancient place names and boundaries by a Mō'ī to the chiefs under him/her. In a Kālai'āina, maka'āinana were moved from lands and could continue to live on their lands, they would be subject to a new ali'i who had been awarded the land division in which they resided.

Kalo–Taro plant.

Ka Pae 'Āina–The Hawaiian Archipelago of islands, this was the phrase used to describe the islands prior to Kamehameha's unification. I use Ka Pae 'Āina when I am discussing time periods prior to Kamehameha's conquest.

Kihapai–a land division smaller than a Paukū 'Āina, this seem to be gardens of patches of cultivated areas.

Kuhina Nui—Similar to a Regent. This was an office that had no equivalent in European forms of government. The office was created by Ka'ahumanu and continued in existence until 1864. According to the Constitution of 1840, the Kuhina Nui was appointed by the Mō'ī. Once appointed the office was effectively like a co-ruler or special counselor the Mō'ī who had the ability to enact laws as did the Mō'ī and was required to required to be advised on all maters of government business. The English version of the Constitution of 1840 states, "The King shall not act without the knowledge of the Premier, nor shall the Premier act without the knowledge of the King, and the veto of the King on the acts of the Premier shall arrest the business. All important business of the kingdom which the King chooses to transact in person, he may do it but not without the approbation of the Premier."

Lo'i— Irrigated Taro field or pond, used to cultivate Hawaiian taro.

Mahi 'ai—To cultivate or farm, or farmer.

Maka'āinana— The eyes of the land (lit), the common class.

Mele— Poetry or song.

Mo'olelo—History especially as related to Oral accounts.

Mo'okū'auhau— Genealogy.

Mō'ī— An ali'i who consolidates rule over an entire island, who has the acquired the accepted position of "supreme chief" over an island or group of islands.

'Ohana— Family, or family structure.

'Ōiwi— Literally this translates to "of the bones." This is a word used for those who have genealogical ties to the Hawaiian Islands, specifically those of ethic aboriginal Hawaiian descent.

Palena— A terms that reflects a Hawaiian sense of boundary, particularly boundaries that regulated access to resources between differing Ahupua'a, I have termed these as a kind of *Place Boundary*.

Structure—A set of socially determining rules or power systems which enable or inhibit individuals in certain kinds of behavior. Human behavior and practice produce and maintain structures while structures enable and inhibit human behavior.

Chapter 1: An Introduction– ʻŌiwi Agency in the Hawaiian Kingdom

He Wahi Mo ʻolelo Pōkole — The Significance of 1893

On January 16th 1893 United States troops landed on Hawaiian soil and aided in events that would forever change Hawaiian history, lands, and population. Prior to these events Hawaiian aliʻi had adopted a strategy of openness with the rest of the world which allowed them to "modernize" their traditional forms of governance and institutions, while maintaining many traditional aspects of culture and politics that had been practiced for generations by those of their class. Aliʻi of the 19th century used laws, constitutional governments, and maps to as means to govern the Hawaiian Kingdom's aboriginal as well as non-aboriginal population. In doing so the Hawaiian Kingdom government was able to achieve recognition as an Independent and Sovereign State by the major colonial powers of the time, including: Britain, France and the United States. On November 28th in 1843, France and Britain, even while they actively administering colonial governments in the Pacific, Africa and the Americas, formally recognized the Hawaiian Kingdom as an Independent and Sovereign State. Thus, establishing the government of the Hawaiian Islands as a co-equal Sovereign State. How could a tiny place in the Pacific run by an aboriginal Monarch be admitted to the community of nation states by countries which had adopted concepts such as terra nullius and the Regalian Doctrine when dealing with the indigenous population in other places in the world? The answer is complex and attempts at addressing the question are vast and varied. One way to address the question, is to investigate the complex ways that Hawaiian aliʻi navigated and manipulated the geo-political structures of

their time. This dissertation asserts that the agency of ali'i must be recognized in order to have a greater understanding of the history of the Hawaiian Kingdom.

Teleological interpretations of the Hawaiian Kingdom's demise give little insight into the complex Hawaiian geo-politics of the 1800's. Asserting a causal relationship between the arrival of Cook in 1778 and the overthrow of Lili'uokalani in 1893 is fraught with incoherent causal assumptions. Furthermore, a historiography which causally links these two events may further Euro-American hegemonic hold over Hawai'i. A point of this dissertation is that the events that transpired in 1893 should not affect the way we interpret the history of the Hawaiian Kingdom in years prior. One might imagine the kinds of history Hawaiian historians would have been writing had the Hawaiian Kingdom government been able to maintain its independence. Such a history might have been authored entirely ma ka 'ōlelo Hawai'i. In this version of history there would have surely been sections on the collision of cultures that occurred during the missionizing process of Hiram Bingham, but such a history may also explain the ways in which ali'i did not accept uncritically the hegemonic discourse of the West. Through this version of history one might begin to demonstrate the ways in which ali'i negotiated, reinterpreted, and hybridized some of the concepts that arose from European origin, while maintaining traditional ties. The creation of the Hawaiian State is an example of one of these negotiations, which enabled unique hybrid institutions such as Hawaiian language newspapers that published mo'olelo about ancient akua such as Kamapua'a and Pele.[7]

This dissertation focuses on the ways that ali'i were calculated and reflective in their adaptation and modernization of the Hawaiian Kingdom government, as well as actively aware of their role in the Hawaiian culture of the time. It attempts to show that there existed complex

political structures prior to 1778 that were modified and hybridized by ali'i. Theirs was a strategy of selective adaptation, *a strategy that had worked until January 17th 1893*. This dissertation recognizes and interprets those strategies. It is an *attempt* to see, rather than through the perspective of a native Hawaiian citizen of the United States–the Hawaiian Kingdom through the perspective of an aboriginal of Hawaiian *nationality*. "Na wai ka mana?" Asks the question, "*Who has mana*" (spiritual and material power)? Within the context of the Hawaiian Kingdom, while being mindful of the powerful structures associated with European Hegemony, and paying particular attention to the Agency of those who engaged with those structures.

Mo 'olelo, Mo 'okū 'auhau and History

'Ike no ke ali'i i kona kanaka, a ua 'ike no ke kanaka i kona ali'i *The chief knows his servant; the servant knows his chief.* Outsiders do not understand our relationship to our chiefs, and we do not care to discuss it with them. Puku'i *'Ōlelo No 'eau* p 132 # 1213

My intention is to focus on the actions of a few particular ali'i of the Hawaiian Kingdom. Those ali'i include Kamehameha I through V and Kalākaua. The sources I have accessed include: personal journals, minutes of Privy Council, letters of correspondence between ali'i , and analysis of maps and laws. I hope to provide insight into the thoughts of these ali'i as they attempted to navigate their people, land, and nation forward. I examine some of the challenges these leaders faced and the solutions that they chose within the complex geo-political processes of their times. In many ways this dissertation builds on the foundations of previous 'Ōiwi scholars in the 20th century–in that it attempts to give an 'Ōiwi voice and interpretation to a history that had been for many years written by American Caucasians many of whom were

unskilled in the Hawaiian language and unable to access these rich sources for content. In other ways this dissertation's analysis departs from contemporary ʻŌiwi scholarship on events happening within the Hawaiian Kingdom. A large portion of the scholarship by recent ʻŌiwi scholars on events taking place in the Hawaiian Kingdom has been done through a colonial gaze or approach.[2] While such an approach has provided insightful results into the mindsets of some American missionaries in the Hawaiian Kingdom, this author has attempted to depart from such an analysis. I seek to view the story with the colonial optics removed.[3] I have decided on this course not because I am unaware of literature on colonialism, but because I am interested to see if another story might be told with the colonial spectacles placed on the table. I am taking a different approach because the original source documents that I have used for my interpretation voice a story outside that of colonialism. A colonial analysis attempts to focus on the ways in which the colonized became different from his ancestors. I am attempting to show the ways in which aliʻi were similar to their ancestors. Essential to a colonial analysis are relationships of power. More than any other factor, it is the unequal relationships of power that create the binaries of the colonizer and the colonized. It is the colonizer's symbolic material power that enables settlement, the economic extraction of indigenous resources, and the domination of existing indigenous structures. From within these unequal relationships of power, colonizers are able to implant the cultural bombs[4] of colonialism. The argument of this dissertation is somewhat unusual, in that it proposes that the Hawaiian monarchical form of government provided power for the native and royalist population. The government itself was a hybrid of Hawaiian and European structures that was strategy against European Hegemony. Through the creation of international alliances and the mastery of native and foreign protocols of governance,

ali'i were able to secure their national lands from foreign possession while integrating aspects of European culture into the islands. Thus creating complex symbols of royalty such as 'Iolani Palace, whose outside shell was built in Victorian style, while its interior was composed completely of native woods. European orders and gold star medallions would sit alongside 'Ōiwi symbols of royalty such as Kāhili and Ahu'ula.

It should not come as a surprise that much of the recent work by 'Ōiwi scholars has focused on interpreting the past. Ka wā ma mua (the time in front or before) is of the utmost importance in the Hawaiian mindset and thus the interpretation and lessons learned from ka wā ma mua actively shape the ways in which we attempt to construct our future. Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa writes,

> It is as if the Hawaiian stands firmly in the present, with his back to the future, and his eyes fixed upon the past, seeking historical answers for present-day dilemmas.[5]

In this context, the re-analyzing and debating of Hawaiian history is a very natural thing to do. Some might argue that it is a very Pono (proper) thing to do for it is our knowledge and interpretations of the past that inform our present and direct us toward possibilities for our future.

The *story* of European colonialism is that of the steady spread of ideals, institutions, and innovations of European origin, which *impaired* natives and *imposed* on them ways of "being" and "seeing the world" which has led to their current state of cultural and material dispossession. The *story* of this dissertation is that of the ways 'Ōiwi, appropriated some of these institutions and innovations and in the process created something new. It is a focus on the ways in which things were interpreted into an existing (Hawaiian) structure. This dissertation asserts that

ʻŌiwi were not only never colonized *de jure*,[6] but were not even "colonized" *ipso facto*, as most observers would claim, prior to the United States occupation of the Hawaiian Islands following the breach of international law (1893 Intervention).[7] This dissertation asserts that so long as the aboriginal population had a Mōʻī of aboriginal descent and a government composed of Hawaiian nationals, they had access to power. It was this relationship that was drastically altered following the events in 1893 and is the subject of the final chapter.

Defining Terms: Multiple meanings of Colonialism

Given the history of European expansion across many places of the globe, in modern context the word colonialism invokes many differing meanings. The vast majority of the countries of the world today are former colonies of the European powers that facilitated the spread of colonialism. Attempts at concisely explaining these processes as they happened in different places are difficult, precisely because they happened differently. French colonialism was different from Spanish colonialism, and British colonialism is also dissimilar. Within British colonialism, the experiences of those indigenous to the Americas in relation to those indigenous to Aotearoa would be different. Such is the nature of a term which attempts to explain the social and material experiences which operate on two scales: the nearly global expansion of European government sponsored settlement into foreign territory and the individual instantiations of that settlement in different geopolitical and cultural contexts.

The Latin root of the word colonialism is *colonia*, which refers to a country estate deliberately settled among foreigners.[8] This usage of the term seems to imply an inherently spatial aspect of colonialism which refers to the settlement and acquisition of territory.

Contemporary scholars have offered various definitions for colonialism. Colonialism is frequently used in reference to or in distinction with imperialism. Pennycook quotes Edward Said:

> "Imperialism" means the practice, the theory, and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan centre ruling a distant territory, "colonialism", which is almost always a consequence of imperialism, is the implanting of settlements on distant territory.[9]

In this usage, imperialism is associated with more of the cognitive aspects of rule and domination while colonialism refers to the material and spatial aspects of settlement. The implantation of settlements in a foreign territory requires the ordering of unfamiliar lands, the material power to displace or overwhelm the indigenous population, and the capital to accomplish these tasks. In *De-colonizing Methodologies*, Smith uses imperialism and colonialism in a similar sense, while focusing on the economic relationships between the two. Smith writes,

> Imperialism was the system of control which secured the markets and capital investments. Colonialism facilitated this expansion by ensuring that there was European control, which necessarily meant securing and subjugating the indigenous populations.[10]

While Said focuses on the mindset of imperialism and Smith focuses more its economic aspects, a commonality in these particular usages of the term is that colonialism includes a spatiality. Both the implantation of settlements and the securing of European control of markets over indigenous populations require the domination of space for the completing of such tasks. Smith identifies four differing usages of the term imperialism. She writes,

> Imperialism tends to be used in at least four different ways when describing the form of European imperialism which 'started' in the fifteenth century. (1)

> imperialism as economic expansion; (2) imperialism as the subjugation of 'others'; (3) imperialism as an idea or spirit with many forms of realization; and (4) imperialism as a discursive field of knowledge.[11]

In this passage Smith is attempting to distinguish some of the various ways that the term imperialism is used. The first usage of the term is in an economic sense. The second usage of the term moves beyond an economic analysis and looks to the effects of imperialism on those indigenous to the lands where materials were being extracted. In her third description of imperialism, Smith is speaking of imperialism as an ideology, is a result of the knowledge systems that sprouted in the era termed the "European Enlightenment period." The fourth usage of imperialism refers to how this ideology becomes dispersed on the ground and in the minds of those in different local contexts. It is this usage of the term which looks at the mental state of the colonized. Smith emphasizes the spatial aspect of colonialism when she writes, "Colonialism became imperialism's outpost, the fort and the port of imperial outreach". In this sense the ideology of imperialism is spread through colonial sites. In the modern context it has been from these sites that those in colonized societies have sought to write back from the edges of Empire back to or at their imperial centers, look introspectively at themselves in attempts to de-colonize their minds.

The infiltration of the indigenous mind has also been a critical part of the colonial process. The work of scholars such as Franz Fanon, Thiong'o Ngugi wa, and Ashis Nandy, have looked in differing ways at the psychology of colonialism, in an attempt to de-colonize minds. The goal of this process is the purging of the colonial mind and the replanting of indigenous (pre-colonial) knowledge systems. Colonialism

used in this sense loses its inherent spatial qualities, no longer concerned with the settlement of bodies, it operates in the space of the mind. A common aspect the works of Nandy, Fanon, and Ngugi, demonstrate the ways in which the minds of the indigenous became colonized. Essential to this process was the replacement of native languages, world-views, and structures, with those of the colonizers. These foundations of culture were not merely replaced like one exchanges a burn out light bulb, but were remodeled in a form which imposed cultural superiority. The critical part of this process entails the disvaluing, disassociation, and dislocation of the native from his own culture. At some critical point in the in psychology of colonialism, the native sees his own culture as inferior, without structures, backward, while in the same moment sees the culture of the colonizer as the ideal, a source true culture, progressive and enlightening. For scholars such as Nandy, Fanon, and Ngugi the colonization of the mind is what facilitates the colonization of the body and territory. Ngugi writes,

> Colonialism imposed its control of the social production of wealth through military conquest and subsequent political dictatorship. But its most important area of domination was the mental universe of the colonised, the control, through culture, of how people perceived themselves and their relationship to the world. Economic and political control can never be complete or effective without mental control.[12]

Inherent in this process is the development of an inferiority complex of the native toward the colonizer based on the alleged innate qualities of each. Where the native and the native culture is inherently *childish*, *backward*, *irrational*, while the colonizer is *adult-like*, *progressive*, and *rational*. This complex creates a situation where over time the colonizer and the colonized become somewhat equally dependent on their respective roles.[13]

What emerges from a reading of the vast literature on colonialism seems to be two kinds of definitions. The first is based on the spatial qualities of the word, which focuses on the settlement of non-sovereign territory by the nationals of sovereign states. This definition might carry the connotations as being an economic, political or legal definition. The second definition disregards the spatial aspects of the term colonial and looks into the psychological experience of those that experienced colonialism in the first usage of the term. This definition of colonialism might carry the connotations of a cultural, sociological, or psychological definition. I am attempting to show that neither of these conditions apply when conducting research into the events within the Hawaiian Kingdom pre- 1893. Colonialism is a particular form of the realization of the imperial project. No doubt one must see the Hawaiian Kingdom in terms of its interaction with imperialism, however, I am arguing that we should not continue to see the Kingdom in association with colonialism.

Mapping Colonialism

As a visual representation of reality, the map has proven to be an important tool in the colonial process. The production of maps was instrumental in the settlement and ordering of territory by colonial governments. Maps offer insight into the essence of the spatial aspects of the definition of colonialism, by providing on the ground accounts of colonial territoriality. European maps that arose out of the Enlightenment period claimed to offer an objective eyewitness account of foreign topography, territory, and resources back to the colonial center or *Main-land*. However, true to an eyewitness account, maps are neither objective nor detached

and often include the political objectives of those who created it. In *Making History, Drawing Territory: British Mapping in India*, Ian Barrow argues that while the British colonial maps claimed to offer an objective, detached *view from nowhere* of India, maps actually were used to justify British colonization. He writes,

> What is particularly interesting about this intended use for a map is that, during the British colonial period in India, maps were among the most effective resources the British could turn to when they looked for their legitimacy as a colonial power.[14]

By controlling the visual representation of reality, British map mapmakers were able to construct the land of India as a British territory while infusing it with a history of British possession. In referring to colonial cartography, Barrow mentions that,

> Colonial cartography may also be characterized as propagandistic, in that it attempted to manipulate and direct ideas and policy.[15]

Barrow argues that cartography conducted in colonies was as much, if not more, an attempt at *producing* a reality than it was an attempt at *representing* it.

Kapil Raj has challenged the one-way Eurocentric construction of maps in India and has argued that scientific activity as conducted in differing places is affected by the culture and place in which it is being conducted. Raj, attempts to show how many of the early maps produced in Early colonial India, were duly constituted, and hybrid. Raj argues for a perspective where scholars may,

> See the colonial encounter as a locus of the emergence of certain types of knowledge that would not have emerged but for the contingent circumstances... in short, all that constitutes scientific activity–had to be locally negotiated.[16]

In his work, Raj illustrates that much indigenous knowledge was included in the early maps of India, and that these early maps were much more Indian than scholars had previously thought.

Similarly to Raj, David Livingstone has argued that in the history of the spread and scope of science it has been affected by place. Like Raj argues that all of science had to be locally negotiated, In *Putting Science in its Place,* Livingstone focuses on the consequences for science of the geographical concepts of site, region, and circulation where he argues,

> Place matters in the way scientific claims come to be regarded as true, in how theories are established and justified, in the means by which science exercises the power that it does in the world.[17]

In *Boundary Markers: Land Survey and the Colonization of New Zealand,* Giselle Byrnes examined the colonization of Aotearoa through the eyes of the British surveyor. Byrnes book is an examination of how the scientific tool of mapping was negotiated for the creation of New Zealand. She writes how her book

> Is intended as an exercise in 'spatial history': a study of how land has been transformed and of how colonization is and has been expressed through language, drawing on the work of land surveyors as a particular example.[18]

In her work she shows how British colonial land surveys did not simply colonize in a spatial sense, but that they colonized through the use of certain conceptual, visual, and textual strategies.[19] Throughout her book she notes how colonial surveyors erased Maori place names by not including them on maps while at the same time British colonial surveyors relied on Maori as guides to traverse vast distances, cross rivers, and mediate

between other Maori. Byrnes notes that the Maori were not passive in this story and often times protested the colonial surveys through peaceful and at times violent means.

What seems to be essential to colonial mapping enterprises is that pre-existing indigenous boundaries, resource relationships, and place names are drastically altered if not erased. Quite often in settler colonies such as New Zealand, Australia, and America land is seen as wild and without order, because of this perspective, it is brought under European rational order through the process of cadastral mapping. It is the colonial surveyor who brings the foreign territory into the European rational order, like the missionary "civilized" the savage, the surveyor tamed the wilderness by *ordering* what was *order-less* with the gaze of the theodolite, the compass, and the laying of chains. In these situations the land is seen a being *terra nullius,* where the indigenous people have no claim to the land. Land seen as a blank slate is often carved up in a Cartesian grid fashion and as a means of providing for settlers.[20]

The Boundary Commission surveys as well as the Book of Crown Surveys will be discussed in later chapters. These mapping initiatives could be distinguished from colonial mapping projects because there is an attempt to preserve pre-existing boundaries, resource relationships, and place names in these mapping initiatives.

The Importance of a Non-Colonial Approach for the Hawaiian Kingdom

We record once more our reverent and thankful acknowledgement of the success with which God, in his providence and by his spirit, has crowned with the work of our missionaries in that field, and by which a race of barbarians--without letters, without arts, without industry, and with no humanizing institutions--has been transformed into a Christian nation, civilized, and free, under a government of laws, with free schools for all the children, and with the Bible in the homes of the people. (American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Quoted in *Historical sketch of the Hawaiian Mission* Prof. S.C. Bartlett, 1871)

When Captain James Cook stumbled upon this interdependent and wise society in 1778, he brought an entirely foreign system into the lives of my ancestors, a system based on a view of the world that could not coexist with that of Hawaiians. He brought capitalism, Western political ideas (such as predatory individualism), and Christianity. (Haunani-Kay Trask *From a Native Daughter Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i* 1999)

The quotations presented above seem at first to be in opposition to one another. The first is a section of a resolution passed in the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions at its annual meeting in 1871. Its perspective is one which gives reverence to the "civilizing process," paying particular attention to the works of the missionaries who "civilized" those who were "savage" and "humanized" what was "beast." It is a story that attempts to demonstrate the great moral accomplishments of missionaries, but tells us little about what the expenses may have been to the culture, people, and political systems of the place that was previously "un-civilized," nor is it open to the fact that "uncivilized" peoples have culture, or structures. Its focus is clearly on the missionary. The quote by Trask might represent the antithesis to this kind of argument or story. It attempts to show the other side of the "civilizing" process, or how natives and their cultures were made to suffer as a result of their coming into civilization. In many cases, it is an important story to tell. It challenges the assertion that the West brought "civilization," and replaces it with a view that what the West really brought was *pillage-ization*. Yet, what is surprisingly similar about these two opposing viewpoints is that the

exclusive agent is the missionary or European and the effect is an erasure or non-representation of the native agent. In the first quotation, everything "good" is result of the "West's"[21] contact with the native, and in the latter, everything "bad" is a result of the "West's" contact with the native. The first quote says, "look what I have done for you", the second says, "look what you did to me". I am attempting to see this story from neither perspective. My interest is not what missionaries did for, or to 'Ōiwi, but rather what 'Ōiwi attempted and accomplished through their own accord, in the midst of depopulation and constant threats of colonialism. In seeking this course I want readers to be clear that I am in no way justifying the missionizing process and any of the racial assumptions that were clearly a part of the "civilizing" process. A reading of the diary of Hiram Bingham leaves no doubt that he saw his role in the Hawaiian islands as being the savior of souls. Racism might not be a strong enough word to explain how Bingham writes about his first sighting of Hawaiians, where he saw,

> The multitudinous, shouting, and almost naked natives, of every age, sex, and rank swimming, floating on surf-boards, sailing in canoes, sitting, lounging, standing, running like sheep, dancing, or laboring on shore, attracted the earnest attention, and exhibited the appalling darkness of the land which we had come to enlighten...living like beasts, like beasts descending to the grave, untaught of life to come, unsanctified, unsaved.[22]

In a sense, the writings of missionaries such as Bingham and Bartlett as well the quotation of Trask are viewing this history through opposing sides of the colonial optic. With each opposing perspective attempting to gaze and order the other through forms which are most intelligible for their perspective and whose fixation is on deeds of the missionary.

The significance of seeing the events which occurred in the Hawaiian Islands from the times of Kamehameha to Lili'uokalani without the colonial optic is important for a greater

understanding of the actions of the ali'i in these time periods. What might be lost when the actions of Mō 'ī such as Alexander Liholiho or Lot Kapuāiwa are interpreted through a presentist perspective which rests on American colonialism? Actions of agency may be misinterpreted as resistance. Forgotten or misinterpreted are the tactics and strategies of these ali'i and the ways in which they made use of them in their particular time under specific instances. Ali'i of the 1800-1890s were agents on the international scale. It is for this reason that I frame their actions within the structure of European Imperialism and not American Colonialism. America was one of many countries that were exerting some influence in the Hawaiian Kingdom. But it would be too strong a statement to say that the Hawaiian Kingdom was under the sole influence of America in the 1800s – 1890s.

Ideas themselves are not agents of colonialism, colonization of the mind rests around how the particular people involved *use* or *become used* by the ideas introduced to them by Europeans. Extremely important to this process is *how* these ideas were introduced as well. Admittedly, there is a narrow path between negotiating and adopting a new technology or ideal, and addressing the ways in which that technology, concept, or tool may have changed the individual. Yet, there must also be a place for researching and addressing both these issues.

An analogy could be drawn with my writing this chapter. As I type each additional word into my MacBook Pro computer, I am making use of a technology that arises out of foreign origin, and this technology limits me in certain ways. I am using some sources and theories which arise outside of the Hawaiian context. My voice inflection and the body posture that I might use to accent certain phrases cannot be captured through this medium. However, I am able to construct thoughts, arguments, and address issues that I deem important and significant

for myself, my kūpuna (ancestors) and others who have yet to be exposed to our story. Truly it is a give and take, however, by the act of writing (I would argue) I am not limiting nor rejecting my abilities as a storyteller, I am simply placing them on the side for a later use.

Structuration Theory and a Middle Ground in Contact Zones

I have been informed by writings of Anthony Giddens and his theory of Structuration. Giddens' Structuration theory was developed as a critique of the overly deterministic structural approaches taken by some Marxist scholars, and the idealism of some humanistic approaches which overemphasized individual agency. At the core of Structuration theory is the *dualism* of structure and agency, Giddens writes,

> Crucial to the idea of structuration is the theorem of the duality of structure... The constitution of agents and structures are not two independently given sets of phenomena, a dualism but represent a duality.[23]

The important insights of Structuration theory rest around the concept of multiple dualities. The first duality is that of structure, which explains that structures inhibit and also enable agency. The second is that agency or behavior can reconstitute structure. The metaphor of speech and language is used by Cloke, Philo and Sadler to explain the duality of Structure,

> A system of interaction in society is like speech, in that it occurs in and through the activities of individual agents, while structure (by contrast) is like language, being constituted beyond specific times and places and not restricted to the interaction of specific individuals.

In this sense, when children learn language this both enables and inhibits certain behaviors, (as a child learns language they become subjected to the expectations of adults to speak rather than

cry in order to attain their desires, thus, by the act of acquiring language their ability to cry for their desires slowly becomes limited) yet when the child is able to speak this child is also enabled by language and can eventually express complex feeling and desires through its usage. The agency of individual speakers over time can also affect the structure of language.[24] Speech is the way people make use of language in their daily lives. Very often, people in daily speech will sidestep the formal structures of language by shortening phrases or leaving out predicates or subjects. In many situations people might create meanings for a word that are comprehended only by those of a specific social group. Over time these meanings may become comprehendible to multiple social groups and eventually re-structure the language by adding an additional or alternate meaning or usages of a word, such as "bad." Prior Michael Jackson's famous song in the 1980s "*Bad*," most people had used the word to describe immoral, undesirable, or unethical behavior, however, following his song the word took on a meaning which reflected someone who is uncompromising, tough, and who inspires awe. The oxford dictionary illustrates this usage as originating in American slang, one quotation offered that expresses this usage is,

> 'Work out soul brother.' I was shouting to myself. 'You're the baddest motherfucker I've ever seen.'[25]

Within the Hawaiian context one might recognize the existence of multiple structures. There was the structure of the traditional ali'i system which allowed ali'i to rule and maka'āinana to provide for the ali'i. Within this context one might study the ways in which maka'āinana manipulated and engaged with the ali'i structures in the Hawaiian kingdom, through petitions, through newspapers, and through voting. Another structure open for analysis exists within the 'ohana such as the punahele (favorite) or hiapo (first-born) child which allowed for this favored sibling to have privileges to certain knowledge and practices. While these are areas open for

research and many more could be theorized, these are *not* the topic of this dissertation. This dissertation attempts to focus on the agency of the ali'i, within the structure of European Hegemony (the attempt for the cultural and material domination of the globe by European powers) in the context of the Hawaiian Kingdom. There is no doubt that the Hawaiian Kingdom was militarily inferior to countries such as Britain, France and the United States in the mid 1800's. Gunboat diplomacy was a reality that ali'i had faced on more than one occasion. While recognizing there were certain structures which were imposed on ali'i in this period, this dissertation attempts to understand the ways in which particular ali'i understood, navigated, and manipulated these structures, and the ways in which these structures not only inhibited behavior but also enabled behavior in other circumstances.

Mary Louise Pratt has coined the term "contact zone" to refer to the "space of colonial encounters"[26] where two previously geographically separated cultures come into contact. While Pratt uses this term to describe colonial encounters, I am using this term within the context of attempts at European Hegemony in the Hawaiian Kingdom. Pratt's construction of the term "contact zone" was an attempt to show how subjects are duly constituted and to give credence to the improvisational dimensions of colonial encounters.[27] Within the Hawaiian Kingdom context I am attempting to further this line of logic through the use of Structuration theory.

The Sickle, KeAkua—Hybridity and Complex Identity

A pre-requisite for being able to agree with or digest my argument centers on the concept of hybridity and change. While I do value and trust traditional sources of knowledge such as oli, mele, and mo'olelo, and find them to be valuable sources of knowledge, I do not

consider myself or my analysis to be "traditionalist." My view on the interpretation of cultures is that they are dynamic and always in a state of change. I feel that the dichotomies of the "traditional" and "modern" and their connotations are false. They compose the conceptual shackles which preserve European Hegemony and often re-inscribe links between the colonizer and the colonized. In the practice of living most people do not have the luxury for maintaining these conceptual distinctions. I will use the metaphor of the sickle to expose this.

According to tradition 'Ōiwi have been farming lo'i (irrigated pond fields) which itself was a Hawaiian invention for scores of generations. At some fairly recent point in 'Ōiwi history, sickles became introduced into the practice of mahi'ai kalo, these turned out to be great tools and enabled work to be accomplished with greater ease. In the present day I imagine that it would be difficult to find a lo'i farmer who does not have a sickle. Most farmers I have met prefer the Japanese sickle. The idea that people incorporate and adapt new tools or technologies should not represent a paradigm shift, on certain levels it should be fairly common sensical. Yet, attempting to incorporate the sickle into the binaries of the "traditional" and the "modern" mahi'ai practices might be problematic. In fact, there is nothing traditional about the sickle, yet to tell a mahi'ai today that he is not farming kalo traditionally because he is using a sickle is also unjustifiable. In fact this entire discussion is somewhat irrelevant for the maha'ai, who continues to act, with or without scholarly interpretations. Of course there are more problematic examples of adaptation of tools such as the introduction of poisoning or chemically based fertilizers to kalo farming that have had unanticipated and sometimes harmful effects. Along with the adoption of new tools and technologies lingers the possibility of unanticipated effects—given that the future is unknown it is difficult for those in the midst of negotiation and adaptation to know precisely what the outcomes

of their decisions might be. As a scholar who writes about those decisions with the benefit of hindsight, I am concerned with illustrating the negotiations and with deconstructing the binaries of the Traditional and Modern.

"I ka wā kahiko" is translated into English as, *in ancient times*. The Lorrin Andrews dictionary was first published in 1865 when the Hawaiian language was thriving, contains no Hawaiian counterpart for the word "traditional". The phrase "mai nā kūpuna mai"[28] is used to describe the word "traditional" in the more recent Pūku'i and Elbert dictionary. "Mai nā kūpuna mai" means "from the ancestors", when I interpret the phrase "mai nā kūpuna" mai it means literally, *what comes from the ancestors into this time*. In its conception, it does not have an antithesis as "modern" is to "traditional." Conceptually, mai nā kūpuna mai, could be interpreted that as generations pass, more knowledge can be passed down mai nā kupuna mai. I would argue that its conception is more open than its English translation offers.

I use the term hybridity not because it is a fairly new term within the walls of the ivory tower of academia, I use the term because I find it to accurately explain the ways that people in their everyday lives engage and incorporate new tools and technologies. I think the benefit of a term like hybridity is that it focuses on the movement and motion between the traditional and the modern, the dominant and the dominated. An analogy which Bhabha makes use of to illustrate what he means by the term is that of a stairwell. Bhabha writes,

> The stairwell as liminal space, in-between the designations of identity, becomes the process of symbolic interaction, the connective tissue that constructs the difference between upper and lower, black and white. The hither and thither of the stairwell, the temporal movement and passage that it allows, prevents identities at either end of it from settling into primordial polarities. This interstitial passage between fixed identifications opens up the possibility of a cultural hybridity that entertains difference without an assumed or imposed hierarchy.[29]

For Bhabha, the importance of the term hybridity rests around its function. Hybridity "unsettles the mimetic or narcissistic demands of colonial power but reimplicates its identifications in strategies of subversion that turn the gaze of the discriminated back on the eye of power."[30] While Bhabha is using hybridty in reference to "colonial" power, I am making use of it in the situation of the Hawaiian Kingdom, which was never formally colonized. I am attempting use the term hybridity, in the Hawaiian Kingdom situation where there is no colonial power to subvert, but rather a European Hegemonic force. I do have concerns about referring to people as hybrids. In my usage of hybridity I am using it to refer to material items such as maps, symbols, and newspapers. When I am speaking of people I have chosen to use the term *complex-identity*. I make use of this term to illustrate the complex collage of Hawaiian and European knowledge systems that were available to ali'i that were Hawaiian and European educated. While their identities were still Hawaiian they were also involved in the negotiation of European morals and etiquette. Like the modern native Hawaiian Ph.D. the ali'i were engaging in multiple discourses. I also use the terms *complex-identity*, to illustrate the possibility of cases where Europeans who became subjects of the Hawaiian Kingdom took on Hawaiian ways of being. While their identity was still European they may have become influenced or Hawaiian-ized through their interaction with Hawai'i and the ali'i.

One criticism of my argument might focus around ali'i acceptance of Christianity. It is true that many Hawaiian ali'i willingly converted to Christianity following the battle of Kuamo'o in Kailua, Kona and the end of the 'Ai kapu (sacred eating).[31] While this is not my focus in this dissertation I think it is important to provide my perspective in regards to Hawaiian Christian converts. I see it very much in the terms of hybridity and within a process of negotiation.

A complete understanding of how ali'i viewed Christianity is likely impossible. What can be known is the differing ways that each ali'i accepted or rejected parts or all of Christianity. Following Ka'ahumanu's conversion, it seems that she became strongly attached to Christian morals and ideology. Other Ali'i such as Boki and Liliha adamantly oppose these perspectives.[32] Later ali'i such as Alexander Liholiho and Lot become Christians, but only the kind of Christians who were willing to have hula performed for them.[33] Lili'uokalani who composed such Christian influenced mele (song) as *Ka Pule a ka Haku* (the Lord's Prayer), is also the type of Christian who translates the Kumulipo with a complete understanding of the kaona (layered meanings)of the chant.[34] While many of the ali'i were Christians, they were a *particular* type of Christian, vastly different from the kind of Christian as was Hiram Bingham or the kind of Christian Bingham wanted to produce. The ali'i seemed to open a space for a *Hawaiian*-Christianity, a negotiated hybrid space, where there was no contradiction in having an individual soul while looking to genealogy for mana. Within these negotiations they created something new. This might be a similarity to some notions of religious syncretism where multiple traditions become merged reflecting a complex belief system.[35]

Nationalism and the Loss of a National Consciousness

Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it *invents* nations where they do not exist. (Earnest Gellner, quotes in Benedict Anderson *Imagined Communities p.6.*)

Thailand is a nation, though not the only one, which concerns itself with the preservation and promotion of the national culture as if it might suddenly disappear. (Thongchai Winichakul, *Siam Mapped p .4.*)

This dissertation is also about nationalism. It attempts to illustrate the ways in which Hawaiian rulers used traditional structures and systems of knowledge in an attempt to construct a modern nation-state. I have been informed by the works of Ben Anderson and Thongchai Winichakul and their analysis of the origins of nationalism. Like Anderson and Thongchai I am an author that studies nationalism in a location outside of the geography of Europe.

In *Imagined Communities,* Ben Anderson sought to uncover the origins of nationalism. His title refers to the way in which he believes the concept of a nation is imagined. According to Anderson the nation is imagined in three ways: 1. *As limited* 2. *As sovereign* 3. *As a Community* . A nation is imagined as *limited* because every nation imagines itself as having finite boarders and a finite population. A nation is imagined as *sovereign.* The concept of a nation state originated within the Enlightenment period of Europe. During this era, concepts of a universal omnipotent God were being challenged by philosophy and science. A result of these developments Anderson argues that the omnipotence of God was substituted for the exclusive sovereign authority over territory. The nation had replaced any void left by the challenges against Gods omnipotence. Lastly, Anderson argues that a nation is imagined as a *community.* The nation is *imagined* as a community because places within the nation are thought of as being part of the same community, despite vastly differing socio-economic realities in different places within the territory of the

nation.

Thongchai Winichakul built upon the work of Anderson but was also critical of Anderson's focus on the cognitive or *imaginative* aspects of nationalism. Thongchai writes,

> Anderson is too concerned with the imagination, the conceivability of a nation. It sounds as if a nation is produced out of one's head and is sustained only as long as the reproduction remains in one's head--hence an imagined community.[36]

Thongchai suggests that the origin of nationalism was more concrete than explained by Anderson. Thongchai's work looks into some of the material constructions of nationhood and develops the concept of the geo-body. For Thongchai, the term geo-body "describes the operations of the technology of territoriality which created nationhood spatially."[37] Thongchai notes that the Thai elite selectively included some of the ways of the west into the consciousness of "Thainess,"[38] while also attempting to maintain a distinct identity from the "*West*" as well as neighboring countries through the process of "othering." Thongchai is nevertheless critical of the idea that the Thai elite had managed to transform a "traditional" society into a "modern" nation-state that resisted European colonization and instead sees the construction of the Thailand as duly constituted through indirect colonialism. He writes,

> What distinguishes Siam from the Others (those colonized by the Europeans) was not language, culture, or religion, since Siam took over many formerly "foreign" tributaries as parts of its realm. It was simply the space that was left over from direct colonialism. Siam was the space in-between. This was a negative identification of the geo-body of Siam. Whether Siam lost its territories to the imperialists or simply was the loser in the expansionist contest depends on one's perspective. But the indisputable fact remains: the colonial powers helped constitute the present geo-body of Siam.[39]

Thongchai provides a thoughtful analysis of the creation of a non-European independent

State in order to resist colonization, where indigenous elites adapted to and used some of the processes of European colonization for their own means.[40] Similarities can be seen in Hawai'i, where ali'i of the Hawaiian Kingdom had to engage with foreigners and foreign ideas and concepts. Scholars have seen many, if not most, of these engagements as displacements of Hawaiian traditions rather than situations of hybridity or syncretion—which might reflect the complex-identities of the ali'i and haole involved in these engagements.[41] An important aspect of Thongchai's work demonstrates that the map of the boundaries of modern Thailand actually preceded its control by the Thai-elite. In fact, Thongchai argues that the creation of the "Geo-body" of Thailand was a critical strategy for the composition of the material aspects of the "imagined Community" of Thailand.

The Hawaiian case differs on several levels. First, it should be noted that the territory of the Hawaiian Kingdom is not geographically similar to Siam or Thailand. Hawai'i being surrounded by sea,[42] rather then competing groups of indigenous peoples, did not have resort to the "Geo-body" to the exclusion of other native people, as Thongchai theorizes was the case in Thailand. The Hawaiian Kingdom's territory had been solidified by 1810 through either warfare or treaty prior to the territory being mapped (onto paper) by agents of the Kingdom. Secondly, Ka Pae 'Āina (The Hawaiian Islands) were fairly homogeneous prior to even Kamehameha's conquest which began in 1793. A study of the genealogies of Hawaiian ali'i will show the intimate connections of ruling families on differing islands, as well as the fact that very closely related languages, political systems of governance, and religious systems were in practice throughout the islands prior to unification by Kamehameha.[43] While places were still places, unique and particular, there were also many similarities from one place to the next. Finally, islands had been

bounded and ordered traditionally according to a complex system of palena long before they were mapped onto paper.

This study adds to the work done on nationalism in interesting ways. While Thongchai has pointed out the importance and power of the geo-body toward the construction of nationalism, the case of the Hawaiian islands may offer interesting insights in this respect do to the loss of the Hawaiian Kingdom nationalism. While the geo-body of the Hawaiian Kingdom remained relatively the same, since the intervention of 1893, the governance of these islands has been controlled to differing extents by self-proclaimed "revolutionaries" and by the United States. Somewhere in this process there was a near extinction of a Hawaiian national consciousness. While there clearly existed a Hawaiian nationalism throughout the 1800s,[44] where nearly an entire population of aboriginal Hawaiians delivered written protests against ever becoming a part of the United States of America in 1897.[45] By the time of World War II, some aboriginal Hawaiians were actively enlisting in the United States military and Hawaiian nationalism had been nearly completely forgotten or existed almost entirely underground. While in effect the Hawaiian geo-body remained identical, its signification had now changed: maps would now display the islands as connected to the United States, children would be taught in schools about the "*Main-Land*" when referring to the Continental United States, and a massive shift in population demographics would import Americanism on Hawaiian soil.

Critique on Colonial Analysis of the Hawaiian Kingdom

The Hawaiian Kingdom is an anomaly in colonial discourse. While nearly all other places in the Pacific were formally colonized by European states, only the Hawaiian Kingdom was recognized as an independent State in the 19th century.[46] To further complicate the issue, following Hawai'i's recognition as an independent state in 1843, the United States of America claimed to annex Hawai'i in 1898 through joint resolution and from that point has treated Hawai'i and its native inhabitants in ways that independent states have treated colonies. For this reason much scholarship has seen Hawai'i as being both politically and culturally colonized by the United States of America, thus the natives of Hawai'i as being "colonized" people. A common theme in this scholarship is that the structure of American colonialism subsumed the agency of ali'i to change or fragment this structure. In much of this scholarship there exists a kind of determinism, which pays little attention to the agency of individuals to manipulate and change the structures around them. My critique of the ways in which colonial analysis has been applied to the Hawaiian Kingdom rests around four interrelated themes: (1) lack of definitional clarity of colonialism (2) research conducted in this manner has been overly deterministic (3) research fails to account for duality of agency and structure (4) that the application of such an analysis requires the scholar to temporally fix "Hawaiianness" to pre-contact Hawai'i. Interpreting the data through these lenses makes it difficult to see the ways in which "Hawaiianness" existed in new structures and institutions in the Hawaiian Kingdom.

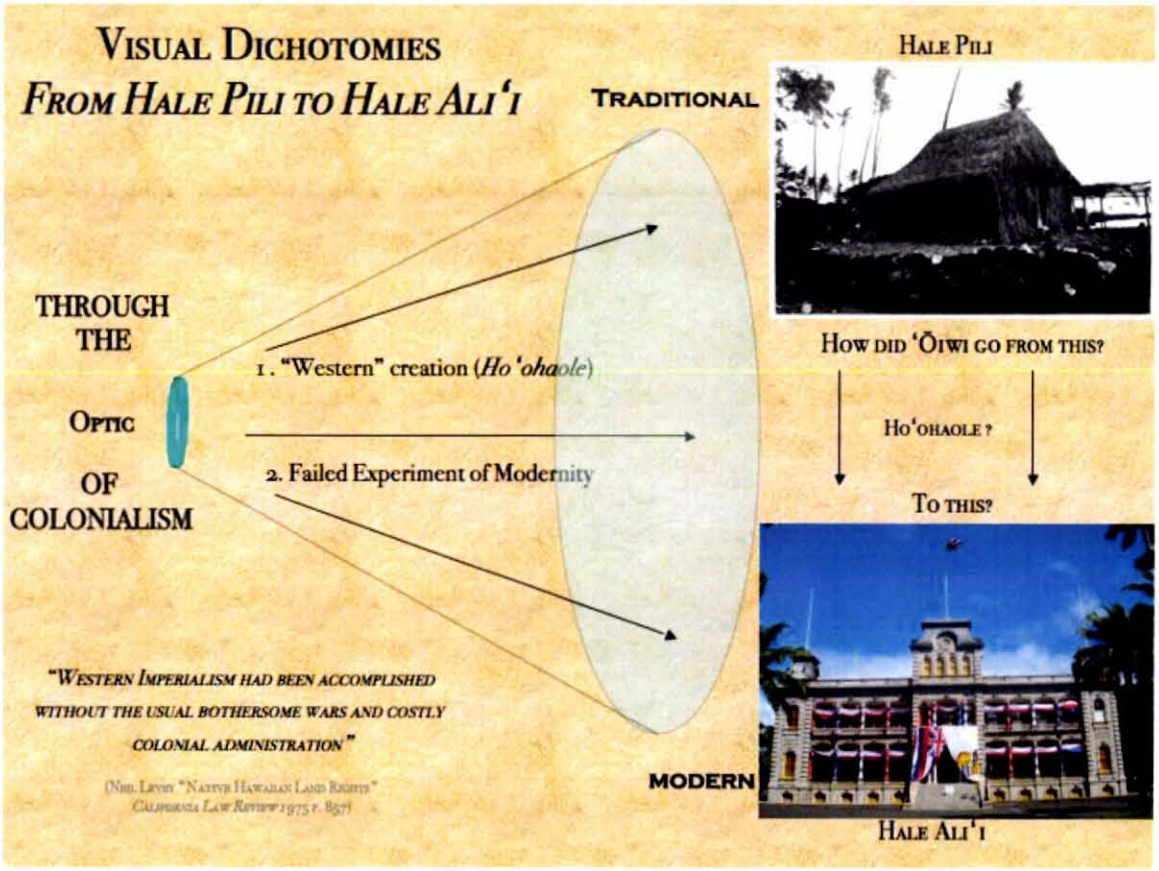


Figure 1. The Establishment of the Hawaiian Kingdom seen through the Optic of Colonialism as an imposed transition from Traditional to Modern.

Through the optic of colonialism the Hawaiian Kingdom has been seen in largely two ways: 1. As a "European creation" 2. As a doomed experiment of modernity. Essential to both these lines of analysis is the assumption that ali'i were confused and manipulated by "Western" ideals of governance and as a result were not in control of the government. An example of the argument that the Hawaiian Kingdom is a European creation is illustrated in the sentiments of Trask when she quotes Levey and writes, "western imperialism had been accomplished without the usual bothersome wars and costly colonial administration."[47]

Levey's argument is that while the European creation of independent states and international law served European purposes, Hawaiian ali'i could not use these same processes for their own purposes. This has been a common assumption carried throughout much scholarship pertaining to the Hawaiian Kingdom. Other scholars see even the unification of Ka Pae 'Āina under the rule of one ali'i as being done under the influence of Europeans. Herman writes,

> With the aid of Englishmen John Young, Kamehameha succeeding in conquering all the islands except Kaua'i, which he gained by treaty in 1807, thus uniting all the islands, for the first time, into what was now the Kingdom of Hawai'i.[48]

Herman lists the name of a foreign advisor before the name of the founder of the Hawaiian Kingdom and by placing the European at the center of the narrative, Herman offers the readers the suggestion of European influence and control. Herman makes no mention of native advisors to Kamehameha, such as Kame'eiamoku, Kamanawa, Kekūhapi'o, or Ke'eaumoku which further excludes the native from the narrative. A reading of Herman's passage without the proper geo-historical context might lead the reader to assume that the Hawaiian Kingdom was unified under Young and Kamehameha, a proposition that would be false. Both Young and another foreign advisor Isaac Davis were, for a time, visitors to Hawai'i on the ships captained by the Metcalfs. Young was actually captured on shore by Kamehameha and his men after a disagreement broke out which caused Capt. Metcalf (the senior) to fire cannons upon and kill a group of aboriginal Hawaiians (Olowalu Massacre). Young was taken hostage and given the option to teach about what he knew, or he would face death.[49] Young chose to live and was taken captive.[50] Young assimilates into Hawaiian society of the time and years later would become a trusted advisor to

Kamehameha. He marries an ali'i wahine and becomes the grandfather of Queen Emma, wife of Kamehameha IV. Young was an important figure in Kamehameha's circle and he provided Kamehameha with knowledge of many aspects of the haole world. While this was valuable information for Kamehameha, there is little evidence to suggest that he was more important than Kamehameha's other advisors and no evidence to suggest he was a co-founder of the Hawaiian Kingdom.

By de-centering the native in the narrative, Ōiwi agency is put into question. Readers of Herman's passage might also assume that the idea of unification was also a result of foreign influence. A reading of the mo'olelo (history) of the chief Kalaunuiohua would show that 'Ōiwi had sought to unify the islands scores of years prior to European contact. Kalauniuohua ruled Hawai'i island and made an attempt at unifying Ka Pae 'Āina (the Hawaiian islands) under his rule at least 12 generations prior to the arrival of Cook.[51] He was a Hawai'i island chief (as was Kamehameha) who consolidated rule on the islands of Hawai'i, Maui, Moloka'i, and O'ahu, only to be defeated on Kaua'i.[52] The deeds of Kalaunuiohua (as well as other chiefs such as, Alapa'inui, Kahekili, Kalani'ōpu'u) would indicate that 'Ōiwi were making attempts at unification generations prior to, and throughout the period when Young becomes an advisor to Kamehameha who unified the Hawaiian Kingdom in 1810.

Other evidence has shown that some foreigners rather than influencing ali'i toward unification, actively opposed it. The British captain Vancouver, rather than supporting Kamehameha's quest for unification, actually attempted to stop the wars between Kamehameha and Kahekili through attempting to have the two chiefs sign a treaty.[53]

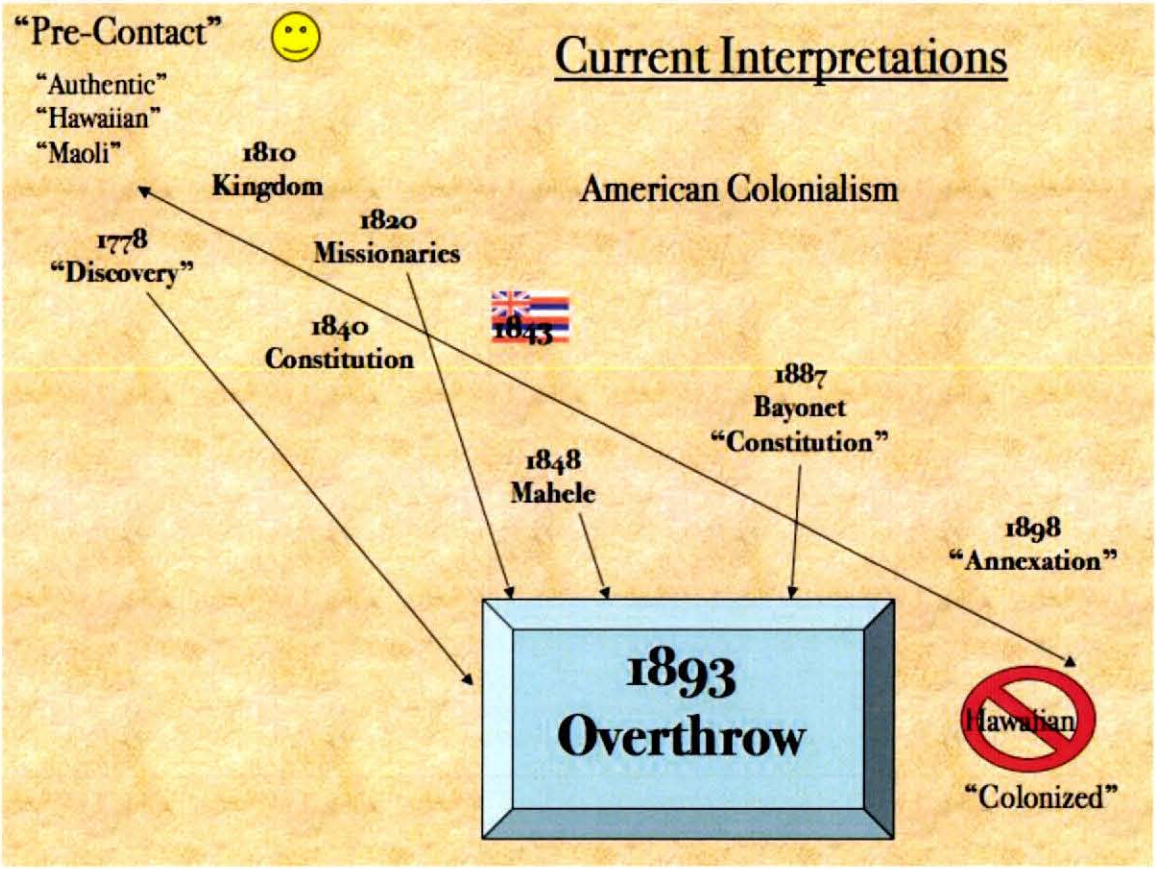


Figure 2. Current Interpretation of events which lead to the Overthrow.

The Colonial Machine –And the Kīpuka of ʻŌiwi Agency

Scholarship that has focused on the later years of the Hawaiian Kingdom has also been done through the use of a colonial type analysis. Much of this research carries a deterministic view that Hawaiians could not save themselves from the power and greed of the foreigner. There is a common overly structural approach in much of this work, at times seems to document the "rolling of the Colonial Machine" and particularly the American Colonial Machine. The following passage from Trask illustrates some of these sentiments, where she writes,

> In less than 100 years after Cook's arrival my people had been dispossessed of our religion, our moral order, our chiefly form of government, many of our cultural practices, and our lands and waters.[54]

Trask asserts a causal relationship between the arrival of Cook and a dispossession which takes place somewhere prior to 1878, when Hawai'i was still an independent Kingdom. For Trask 'Ōiwi had been disposed even prior to the overthrow in 1893. Trask's analysis of events happening within the Kingdom often illustrate the ali'i as being weak and subservient to haole advisors. Trask writes,

> A weary and frightened King Kamehameha III gave in to haole advisors for a division of the lands, called the Māhele.[55]

Trask offers little discussion of the agency of 'Ōiwi such as Kauikeaouli in his interaction with foreigners as well as the possibility of foreigners who had true allegiance to the Mō'ī. While I agree with Trask that some foreigners had ill intentions and sought to influence ali'i, I do not agree that ali'i were easily fooled by devious intentions. Focusing the narrative on the *greedy* foreigner who *duped* the *weary* native, provides little space for the agency of the ali'i. While Trask gives a great deal of agency to Hawaiian initiatives like *Ka Lāhui Hawai'i* which sought to (and did) empower many Hawaiians politically, she offers little toward the ali'i of the Kingdom.

Other 'Ōiwi scholars like Kame'eleihiwa, while not displaying the determinism of Trask when examining events within the Hawaiian Kingdom, have also carried threads of it. Kame'eleihiwa writes,

> In the sweep of history, it is but a short step from the 1848 adoption of private ownership of 'Āina to the 1893 overthrow of the Hawaiian government.[56]

In this statement Kame'eleihiwa asserts a causal connection between the Māhele and the Overthrow. By asserting such a relationship the significance of the Overthrow is undermined. Instead of the Overthrow being seen as a breach of international law and treaties between two independent states, it is seen as a consequence of private property. In doing so, this misses an opportunity to hold the United States completely liable for their actions in 1893.[57] In today's world there are many non-European countries with systems of private property ownership, who have managed to maintain independence,[58] so clearly there must be another reason for the present political situation of 'Ōiwi.

While being dominated by deterministic analysis, Kame'eleihiwa also offers many examples of 'Ōiwi agency, which include Kauikeaouli's dismissal of Christian morality,[59] as well as the fact that parts of the Māhele were very Hawaiian. She writes, "In the Buke Māhele, the 'Āina were enumerated in the Hawaiian way--by individual place names."[60] This passage is significant because it shows that names were preserved. Being mnemonic devices, place names carry with them the connections, history, and attachment to places. By preserving place names the Hawaiian landscape retained its Hawaiian-ness in the process of the Māhele, which could be greatly distinguished from places formally colonized. There are many pockets of agency in Kame'eleihiwa's work and they increase in the recent scholarship of Jon Osorio.

In *Dismembering Lāhui* Osorio writes how his book is a story,

> Of how colonialism worked in Hawai'i not through the naked seizure of lands and governments but through a slow, insinuating invasion of people, ideas, and institutions. It is also a story of how people fought this colonial insinuation with perplexity and courage...Death came not only through infection and disease, but through racial and legal discourses that crippled the will, confidence, and trust of the Kānaka Maoli as surely as leprosy and smallpox claimed their limbs and lives.[61]

Glancing through the colonial optic, Osorio documents the ways the Hawaiian Kingdom's independence was slowly eroded. Osorio acknowledges the Hawaiian Kingdom as an independent state, but does not explain how such an institution can be colonized (politically). Osorio does however, discuss the ways in which ali'i attempted to use haole advisors and secure their trusted allegiance,[62] and also notes that constitutional government "served to promote some very traditional ideas about service to the Ali'i."[63] One must agree with Osorio when he writes, "without a doubt...the most important change was the collapse of the Native population."[64]

David Stannard has argued that the native population might have decreased by as much as 90% by the end of the 19th century.[65] The depopulation of the native race was the subject of great importance to Kamehameha IV and is the subject of his opening address to the Hawaiian legislature on April 7 1855,

> A subject of deeper importance, in my opinion, than any I have hitherto mentioned, is that of the decrease of our population. It is a subject, in comparison with which all others sink into insignificance; for, our first and great duty is that of self-preservation. Our acts are in vain unless we can stay the wasting hand that is destroying our people. I feel a heavy, and special responsibility resting upon me in this matter; but it is one in which you all must share; nor shall we be acquitted by man, or our Maker, of neglect of duty, if we fail to act speedily and effectually in the cause of those who are every day dying before our eyes.[66]

Later in this speech Alexander Liholiho requests laws be enacted to build a public hospital, to create tighter ports to help confine possible epidemics from abroad, and suggests the immigration of Polynesians who might quickly assimilate into the population linguistically and culturally. While depopulation was a horrible reality for 'Ōiwi of the time, ali'i such as Alexander Liholiho actively sought out ways to stop it.

Throughout Osorio's book there are numerous discussions of agency: he points out ways that 'Ōiwi attempted to use western tools such as domestic and international law for their own means, and includes an interesting discussion on the Hawaiian Kingdom's attempt at protecting Sāmoa from colonization.[67] Yet, through the colonial gaze one finds streaks of determinism throughout his book. In one passage Osorio writes,

> Looking back from the beginning of the twenty-first century, one can see a steady progression of viewpoints and analysis of Hawai'i's modern history that gradually placed the seizure of Hawai'i in its more proper colonial context.[68]

As with previous 'Ōiwi scholars Osorio sees the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom as the final crescendo in a colonial symphony, which was a result of an invasion of the indigenous mind by foreign perspectives, technologies, and institutions.

In *Aloha Betrayed,* Noenoe Silva seeks to document native Hawaiian resistance to U.S. colonialism. Her work is filled with examples of what she documents as resistance to the structure of American Colonialism. I am reframing the structure to be that of Imperialism and what she terms resistance I am calling agency. Silva documents how in many cases Hawaiians took ideas or institutions which originated in Europe and were Hawaiian-ized. One example of this is her discussion about constitutional governments. She writes,

> The constitution and laws in Hawai'i, while European in form, also reflected Kanaka Maoli ideas of what was pono in government. This is seen especially in the inclusion of women in government in the early years. Ali'i wahine (female ali'i) had always been a part of government, and for some years they continued to be.[69]

Examples of 'Ōiwi adaptations are abundant throughout her work. One might begin to ask that if institutions, ideas, and technologies are being adapted while identity is being maintained, then what about the process is colonial? Silva does not go so far as this and throughout her work she

is at times critical of the overall goals which 'Ōiwi are seeking to attain. A large part of Silva's work is devoted to the *Hui* (political groups) which were formed to openly oppose the annexation of Hawai'i into the United States. In one segment Silva writes that even these are a kind of colonial creation:

> They (the Hui) developed when U.S. hegemony had taken hold; the Kanaka Maoli, at least the politically active leadership; were persuaded of the workability (or the inescapability) of the Western political systems to the extent that they organized themselves to strive for their goals within it, adopting its structural forms. One could even say that their primary goal—national sovereignty—was structured by the West, for the "nation-state" was not an indigenous governmental form but rather was created out of the necessity of surviving as a people against the threats of the armed nations of the West. The leadership of the three hui consisted primarily of the ali'i class, as well, who would have benefited more than maka'āinana from adapting to the Western system.[70]

This type of analysis temporally fixes Hawai'i's native population to forms of government that were in practice prior to the arrival of Cook, yet governance changed even in the pre-contact indigenous system (Pa'ao, Pili). It gives power to the "structure" of European political systems and in doing so fails to articulate how native agency could have changed those structures. There exists a circular element to this type of argument in that it states that Hawaiians adapted to "Western" forms of government to avoid being colonized, but that this adaptation also results in colonization. The most ironic is her final sentence which attempts to insert a Marxist-like class struggle into the analysis (something that is not articulated in traditional forms of knowledge) where the ali'i class who were in leadership of the Hui may have benefited more than that of the maka'āinana by adapting to "Western" forms of governance. In this form of analysis, even the ali'i assuming "traditional" roles of leadership might be a sign of colonialism. Throughout Silva's work the definition of colonialism that she is using is unclear. She often cites scholars such as Ngugi, Nandy, and Spivak, and in one passage she states that,

> Colonialism in Hawai'i, as elsewhere, is complex. It affected ali'i, kahuna (experts, healers), and maka'āinana, women and men, and residents of different islands differently.[71]

It is not clear which definition of colonialism she is applying in her analysis. Her book cites numerous examples of native agency which range from the printing of Hawaiian language newspapers, to the establishment of a board of genealogies, to the coronation of Kalākaua where hula is performed for twenty-four straight hours.[72] If she is using an argument similar to those of Fanon, Nandy, and Ngugi that colonialism takes place in the mind, I would argue that the data which she interprets as "resistance to colonialism" is clear evidence that those actors were not colonized in the mind. She openly states how ali'i at this time were openly asserting traditional epistemologies. She writes,

> They were no doubt acutely aware that traditional epistemologies were dismissed by the Europeans and Euro-Americans, and they hoped to use the scientific tools available to contest that dismissal by showing that science proved what they had always known.[73]

Her research is the least deterministic of the recent wave of Native Hawaiian scholars, yet near the end of her book she too falls victim to an inherent fatalism. Silva writes,

> The act of deposing Queen Lili'uokalani was the culmination of seventy years of U.S. missionary presence in Hawai'i. Step by step, the religion, the land, the language, and finally the government were overtaken.[74]

Her passage suggests a kind of colonial architecture which was assembled piece by piece until the final culminating event. The establishment of Hawai'i as an independent and sovereign state does not seem to fit into this architecture, and is an illustration of the inconsistencies of her argument. In *colonizing Hawai'i*, Sally Engle Mary makes a similar argument when she speaks of the ali'i strategy for being recognized as an independent state. Mary writes,

> Constructing a society that appeared "civilized" to the Europeans in nineteenth-century terms clearly helped to win acceptance from those European powers whose recognition conferred sovereignty. Under the Westphalia system of international relations, European powers had a particular capacity to confer sovereign status. Elites engaging in "civilizing" their nations did so because they saw this as a form of resistance to imperialism. In Hawai'i, they were rewarded by a temporary postponement of colonial annexation by the United States...[75]

Mary recognizes the strategy adopted by ali'i who pursued the Hawaiian Kingdom's status as an independent state. She recognizes as does Silva, and Osorio, that ali'i were creating a country as a strategy to maintain independence. While Silva and Osorio see the Kingdom in a colonial context, she sees it in its more proper imperial setting. However she does see the Kingdom with a deal of fatalism. She fashions the Kingdom's history to the seams of the United States, and stitches them together through colonial annexation. Possibly, glossing over the significance of independence and the events that remove it from Hawaiian control. It's unclear to me the casual relationship between recognition of independence and what Mary terms a colonial annexation. The proposition of a colonial annexation is misleading, and might be more accurately stated by saying that the United States had to use its troops to invade and overthrow a foreign government. Asserting a causal relationship between the ali'i engaging in the "civilization" process and the United States breaking international law to acquire Hawai'i seems logically problematic.

An example of how a colonial analysis might be inconsistent, or at least incomplete can be seen by multiple interpretations of a passage by Kamehameha IV.

> His Majesty Kamehameha III, now no more, was permanently the friend of the foreigner, and I am happy in knowing that he enjoyed your confidence and affection. He opened his heart and hand with a royal liberty, and gave till he had little to bestow and you little to ask. In this respect I cannot hope to equal him....I therefore say to the foreigner that he is welcome....Welcome so long as he comes with the laudable motive of promoting his own interests and at the same time respecting those of his neighbor. But if he comes with no more

> exalted motive than that of building up his own interests at the expense of the Native—to seek our confidence only to betray it—with no higher ambition than that of overthrowing our Government, and introducing anarchy, confusion and bloodshed—then he is most unwelcome.
>
> *Kamehameha IV, Alexander Liholiho*[76]

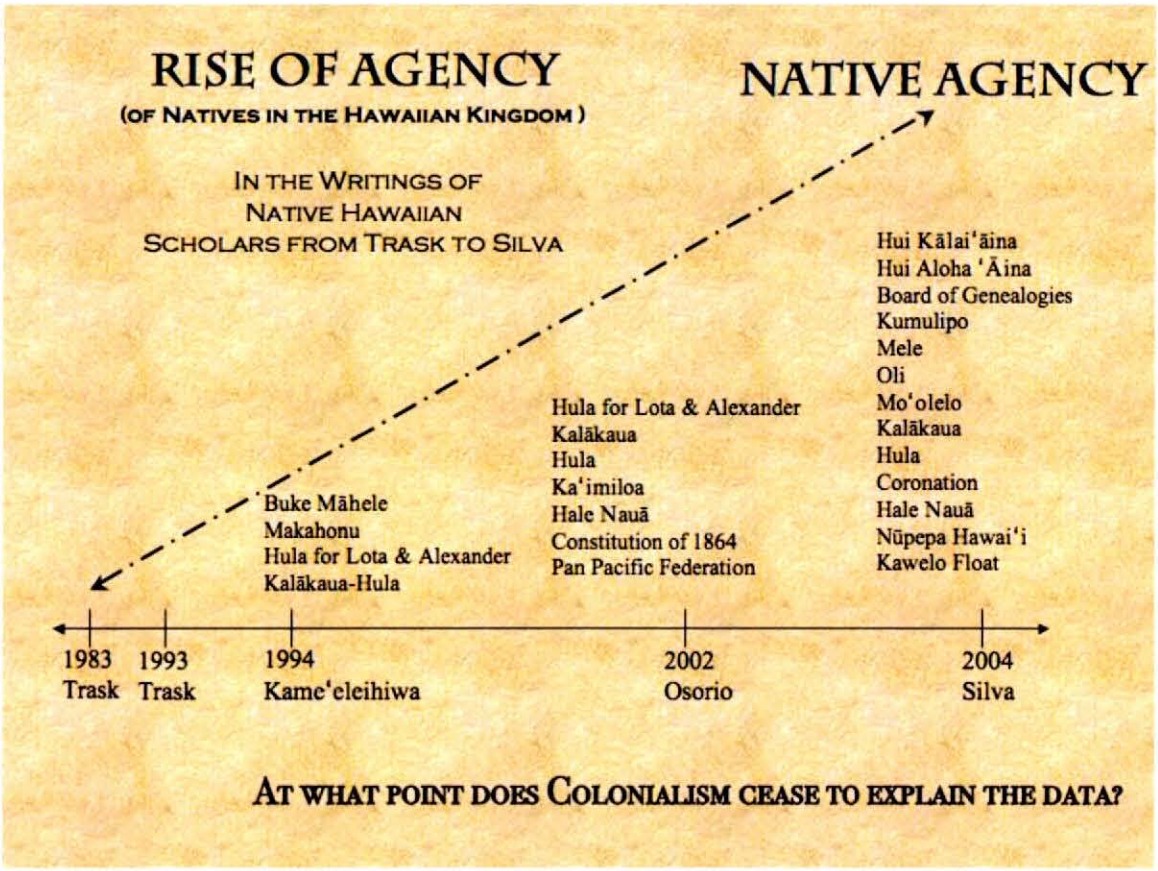
The words of Alexander Liholiho can be interpreted in many ways. When viewed under the hermeneutics of a scholar trained in the discourses of colonialism it might read as a prophetic statement about the demise of the Hawaiian Kingdom. From a contemporary perspective much has come to pass to support such an interpretation (Overthrow, Annexation, and the 50th state), however these events have little relationship to the issues that Alexander was faced with.

Another approach might look into the hermeneutics of this particular passage and find an active agent[77] engaged in the governance of a country that was in constant threat of foreign manipulation but not destined for foreign rule. As Alexander Liholiho, Kamehameha IV, addressed the Hawaiian legislature for the first time at the age of 21, though young in years, he had already traveled to Europe, visited the governments of France, Britain, and the United States of America. Having these experiences surely would have added to his knowledge of governance, the relationship of Independent states, and how foreigners were governed in other countries. In his passage he welcomes certain foreigners but also clearly articulates a warning for foreigners who have no loyalty to the crown. He seems to be a man actively engaged in securing his future. Alexander Liholiho had also been a member of the Privy Council of the Hawaiian Kingdom during Kamehameha III's reign. Kuykendall writes,

> The prince was in his twentieth year. In the early part of 1852 he had been made a member of the privy council and immediately began to take an active and influential part in the deliberations of the council. On April 7, 1853, he was formally proclaimed heir to the crown. His ability was unquestioned. He had a brilliant mind, was ambitious, and did not wish to see his country's

> independence sacrificed. It is well known that the king deferred to Liholiho's desires and judgment as much as possible.[78]

Kamehameha IV had a formal education, experience in government, and confidence in his authority and agency to attempt to make that future a reality. Previous scholarship on the Hawaiian Kingdom has failed to examine the actions of ali'i without a tone of fatalism. Possibly because of this tone and the undeniable fact that the United States currently occupies the Hawaiian Islands and claims it to be the 50th state of the union, 'Ōiwi scholarship from Trask to Silva has not accurately accounted for Native agency. A reading of the works from Trask through Silva nevertheless documents a steady progression of 'Ōiwi. I have designed a figure to help illustrate the rise of Native agency in the works of recent 'Ōiwi scholars.



Chapter 1. Figure 3. A rise of 'Ōiwi agency in the works of native Hawaiian scholars from Trask to Silva.

It is possible that as a larger number of scholars become proficient in the Hawaiian language more examples of Native agency will be documented. Given the work done by previous ʻŌiwi scholars and their documentation of Native agency I am suggesting that there may be another theory or mode of analysis for events in the Hawaiian Kingdom prior to U.S. intervention in 1893.

Like every researcher and scholar I am biased, why I chose this topic, who I am, my family background, all affect my research topic and my analysis. My tūtū Winnona Kapuailohiamanonokalani Beamer has been a tremendous influence in every aspect of my life and has always taught to ask questions and to have the courage to speak up. Please know that I am not being critical of other scholars out of disrespect. My ability to argue and establish my positions is *ONLY* possible because of their pioneering work and in many cases their lectures, mentoring, and aloha. As an undergraduate student I have had courses with Doctors Trask, Silva, Kameʻeleihiwa and Osorio, who were all excellent Kumu and even better Hawaiians. Dr. Jon Osorio has been not only a committee member but a resource to me through much of my graduate education. I also know that it is always easier to criticize than it is to create. I chose this topic because after completing my masters' thesis and looking into early Hawaiian Kingdom documents and maps, I thought that colonialism could not explain the creation of the materials that I had been viewing. I had become intrigued in attempting to view the Hawaiian Kingdom through the eyes of the aliʻi who were making decisions in these difficult times. Surely they made some decisions that may have led to unintended consequences, but neither European rulers,

American Presidents, nor any other human can claim exemption from decisions that led to unintended consequences.

This being said, in the coming chapters I have attempted to do a large majority of my research and analysis through the use of original source material and to let these documents "speak for themselves." I am a firm believer that original source material is a must for conducting research on Hawai'i. R.S. Kuykendall has written a three volume history spanning from 1788-1893. His work has become to be in many cases the nearly definitive English language source on these periods. He conducted a vast amount of research through the use of archival material. One might not always agree with his interpretations, but he does cite his sources. A visual representation of the presentist perspective often applied to the history of the Hawaiian Kingdom can be seen on the versions of these books published from 1978 on. While all the dates covered in this anthology are prior to the establishment of the Republic (Military State), the cover of each of the volumes contains the seal of the Republic of Hawaii, placing visual representation on the mind of the *doom* that is infused in each volume.

Figure 4. R.S. Kuykendall vols. 1 & 2 1978 Printing. Note Dates Covered Vol 1. 1778-1854 Vol 2. 1854-1874, While the

The Hawaiian Kingdom—The Journey Ahead

The following chapters will examine the extent to which the Hawaiian State was a *Hawaiian* creation. I have attempted to show the perspectives of some of the prominent ali'i through their engagement with foreigners and their adaptations of European protocols and political strategies. Throughout this dissertation I argue that ali'i were strategic in their adaptations, while in many cases, active agents in appropriating laws, protocols, and technologies. I will show that they exhibited a great deal of agency in their relations with foreigners. One key argument is that the material effects of colonialism on the Hawaiian Islands only occur following the overthrow of Lili'uokalani in 1893. This is consistent with the loss of power by severing traditional ties to the Mō'ī, the loss of language through an official ban from schools in 1896 by the "Republic," and the loss of access to land through the 1895 Land Act. That these critical events do not occur with an aboriginal monarch at the head of government demonstrates that the Hawaiian Kingdom was an effective device against Imperialism and provided as a means to protect the interests of ali'i, native, and foreign-born subjects loyal to the crown, prior to 1893.

In Chapter 2 I am arguing that even prior to contact with Europeans in 1778, 'Ōiwi had developed a society that was highly stratified, ordered, and expressed territoriality which developed internally to take on forms similar to modern states. Chapter 2 will illustrate how the concepts of Mō'ī, Palena, and Kālai'āina form the makings of a pre-state society that– possessed

a nearly sovereign ruler, had ordered the land, near shore fisheries, and resources by a complex system of boundaries, and how those lands were distributed amongst chiefs in accordance to rank, genealogy, and fealty to the Mōʻī.

Chapter 3 is an investigation into the early aliʻi and haole engagements and negotiations. The lives of Kamehameha I and Liholiho are the central figures of this chapter although I also discuss some of their prominent foreign advisors to these Mōʻī. This chapter seeks to document the openness of aliʻi to the world and their early attempts at creating alliances with other countries.

Chapter 4 is an analysis of the modernization of the structures of Mōʻī, Palena, and Kālaiʻāina that were discussed earlier in Chapter 2. I cover different significant events in the reigns of Kamehameha III, IV, V, and also Kalākaua. In this chapter I illustrate the was a transfer of many aspects of earlier ʻŌiwi society into modern forms, and that there was a progression of an open acceptance and admiration for many of the "anciently" practiced arts and knowledge systems. I will also demonstrate how the position of an aboriginal Mōʻī protected the interests of native subjects and provided them with access to power against foreign intrusion.

Chapter 5 will be a summary and analysis of the previous chapters and an argument for seeing the overthrow as a critical severing event that broke the link of native Hawaiians with traditional structures and accesses to power. In this chapter, I will show how the adoption of law by aliʻi in the Kingdom had much less to do with the demise of Hawaiian nationality than did the actions of a small group of haole, resentful of Hawaiian authority and backed by representatives of the United States. In this chapter I point to critical new areas of study that might lead to a better understanding of the present state of Hawaiian dispossession in terms of land, culture, and

power while demonstrating that a colonial analysis of the Hawaiian Kingdom has overlooked these very significant arenas of research.

Chapter 2: Mō'ī, Palena, and Kālai'āina; A Glance Into Early 'Ōiwi Political Geography

At the Hawaii State archives in the Kalaniana'ole collection contains a folder that includes a handwritten account of very early 'Ōiwi mo'olelo (history). It is *possible* that sometime between 1903 and 1905, *Jonah Kūhiō Kalaniana'ole,* the great-grandson of Kaumuali'i, heir to the throne of the Kingdom, hānai of Queen Kapi'olani, former political prisoner of the "Republic," and newly elected Congressman of the "Territory," picked up a draft bill of what became the Organic Act, and on the backside of the paper began to write in the Hawaiian language a detailed mo'olelo about the beginnings of government and the ali'i structure through the examples of some very early ali'i of Ka Pae 'Āina Hawai'i.[79] From the perspective of a contemporary 'Ōiwi scholar there is great *irony* of this mo'olelo being written on the back of a bill attempting to create a territorial government in Hawaii for the United States.

Kūhiō's writing discusses the early origins of government and the actions of different ali'i as they assume control of their respective islands. Kūhiō often includes mele (poem, song) to accompany the mo'olelo of the chiefs along with genealogical information and knowledge of where the particular ali'i was born, where the piko (navel cord) and ewe (afterbirth) were placed and the final resting place of the ali'i. He provides historical details of ali'i such as Haloa, Ulu, Hema, Mā'ilikūkahi and others with a detail that I have not found in other sources. It is possible that some of this knowledge was truly ali'i knowledge and was being shared for the first time. Kūhiō was a member of the Hale Nauā [80] society and his aunty Po'omaikelani was at times the Iku wā or orator of the society which may have made Kūhiō privy to much of the information gathered by that society as well. When he writes of Ulu he notes that "O Ka Ulu, he alii oia, he 18

hanauna mai a Welawahilani mai. ua hanauia oia ma Kailua Koolaupoko, Oahu."[81] A translation of this passage is, *Ulu was a chief, there are 18 generations from Welawahilani to Ulu. He was born in Kailua, Ko'olaupoko, O'ahu.* He goes on to list a mele about the travels of Ulu (a.k.a. Kaulu[82]) who was known to be a great navigator. Following the poem Kūhiō writes,

Ua ike ae la kakou i ko Kaulu wahi i hanau ai ame kona wahi i hele aku ai a hoi mai. Ua pau loa iaia na Aina o Asia, Euopa, a me na Mokupuni o ka Moana. I ka nana ana, ua pololei, keia, oiai, o ko kakou alii kekahi i ike maka aku nei i keia mau aina.[83]	*Now we know the place where **Kaulu** was born and also the places he visited prior to his return to Hawai'i. He visited the lands of **Asia, Europe, and the islands of the Pacific.** One can see that this is true, since our ali'i were ones who saw with their own eyes these lands.*

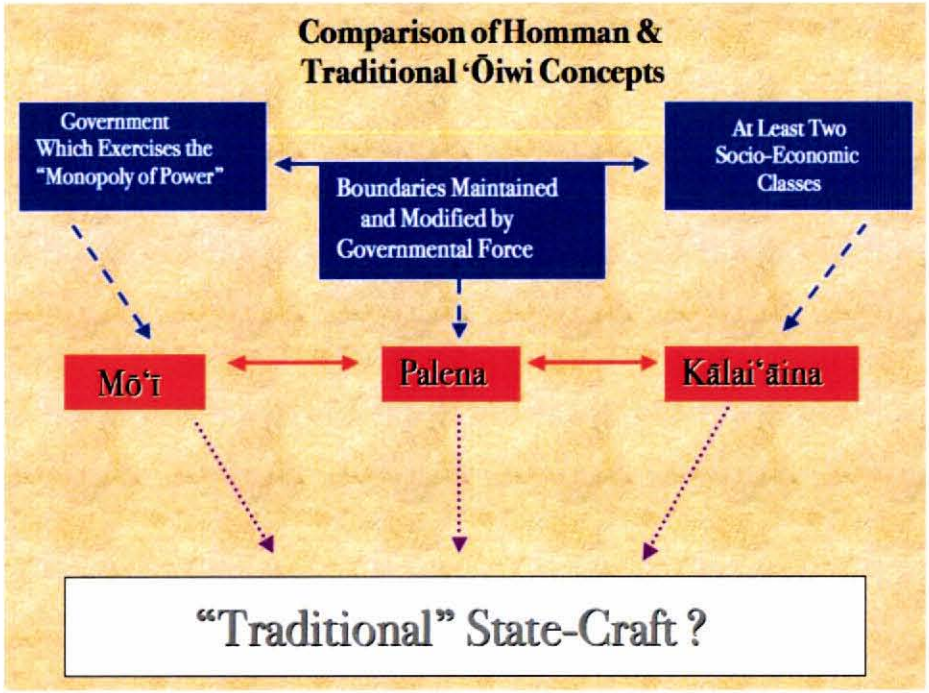
While it is likely that many European or American scholars of his time would have dismissed these claims, Kūhiō had no reservations about validity nor the content of this particular portion of traditional knowledge. For the contemporary reader, the information presented by Kūhiō is worldview-altering, for it forces the reader to consider that it may have been 'Ōiwi who discovered the haole (foreigner), many generations prior to Cook's arrival in ka Pae 'Āina in stark contrast to contemporary understandings.[84] I had not learned of these travels of Ulu prior to a reading of Kūhiō's mo'olelo it is of great significance. It demonstrates that 'Ōiwi were navigating and exploring vast seas engaging with and negotiating other cultures prior 1778. Kūhiō's mo'olelo is an attempt to illustrate the ancient heritage of 'Ōiwi while demonstrating significant developments in the early ali'i system. It weaves the ancient system with the modern by illustrating the antiquity of the ali'i system which existed prior to Europeans and had continued to exist in the Kingdom.

Similarly to Kūhiō's mo'olelo, this chapter will be illustrating some of the major structures of the 'Ōiwi system i ka wā kahiko (in ancient times). It will trace the development of

the ʻaha aliʻi (council of chiefs)—the rise of the Mōʻī—the establishment of Palena—and the redistribution of lands through a Kālaiʻāina. The structures of Mōʻī, Palena, and Kālaiʻāina express territoriality and are of significance from a political-geographical perspective. The analysis of these structures, will provide the reader with a background of "traditional" ʻŌiwi structures. It is essential to have a basic understanding of these "traditional" structures to understand later chapters of this dissertation which focus on ʻŌiwi-Haole negotiations and the hybridizations of these structures in the Hawaiian Kingdom. When the reader has completed this chapter they will have an understanding of these important structures and be prepared to assess how these structures were modified in later chapters. The importance of this chapter for the overall argument of my dissertation is that this chapter illustrates that there existed in Ka Pae ʻĀina complex structures which resemble a kind of "pre-state craft," which made the modernization of the Hawaiian Kingdom much more a process of modifying existing structures than replacing or erasing the ancient forms of governance, chiefly rule, and land management. The structures of Mōʻī, Palena, and Kālaiʻāina organized rule, society, and land in ways that are similar to those of states. They established a centralized authority, created a social-hierarchy, and regulated access to resources in ways that were modified when the Hawaiian Kingdom began to codify its government and legal system. The structures of the Mōʻī, Palena, and Kālaiʻāina created a pre-state like order over the society. Hommon argues that a "primitive,"

> State must include the following features: (1) a government that exercises the "monopoly of power;" (2) at least two socio-economic classes, and (3) boundaries that are maintained and modified by governmental force.[85]

When the three separate but intimately related structures of Mōʻī, Palena, and Kālaiʻāina are seen as a whole, I believe they offer a glimpse into pre-European ʻŌiwi *state-craft*: and resemble some of the qualifications that Hommon lists in the quotation above.



Chapter 2. Figure 1. A comparison of Hommon and Ancient ʻŌiwi concepts.

If Kūhiō wrote the moʻolelo that this chapter began with in 1905, then I would be writing some 108 years after him. I do not claim to know this history in such detail as he had written it. I am also not suggesting that my analysis is definitive. It is my hope that my analysis might lead to future research and speculation into these structures.[86]

In this chapter I will be discussing the structures of Mōʻī, Palena, and Kālaiʻāina through the moʻolelo of aliʻi such as Haho, Kalaunuiohua, Māilikūkahi and others. I will also demonstrate the complexities of land redistribution to chiefs, and examine the diverse range of land terms and relationships to land i ka wā kahiko. This chapter compares genealogies, moʻolelo and previous description and analysis in order to understand and illustrate the

relationships between Mō'ī, Palena and Kālai'āina. I have made an attempt to summarize the structures of Mō'ī, Palena, and Kalāi'āina, in doing so I will be making some generalizations. I am aware that these concepts may vary by time as well as by place. My analysis arises from the sources I have examined and therefore is not inclusive off all the intricacies of these concepts. An important perspective to keep in mind when attempting to understand these portions of 'Ōiwi history, is that it was a weaving of the material, metaphysical, and genealogical that created these structures. While it may be difficult to treat equally these seemingly separate bodies of knowledge, an explanation that attempts to separate the material, metaphysical, and the genealogical strands, or to the un-weave the lei, would likely fall short of the totality of these structures.

A central concept that incorporates the material, metaphysical and genealogical is *mana*. *Mana* is translated as *supernatural power*, as well as, *official power or authority*.[87] Mana was infused in nearly every aspect of 'Ōiwi society i ka wā kahiko. The primary way that one received mana was through one's genealogy. The mana of one's ancestors is inherited by living descendants. Kame'eleihiwa writes,

> Genealogies are perceived by Hawaiians as an unbroken chain that links those who are alive today to the primeval life forces–to *mana* (spiritual power) that first emerged with the beginning of the world. Genealogies anchor Hawaiians to our place in the universe and give us the comforting illusions of continued existence.[88]

Mana could also be acquired through metaphysical means–the acquiring of particular gods or pule (prayer) as was the god Kūka'ilimoku passed to Kamehameha upon the death of his uncle Kalani'ōpu'u, giving greater access to mana for Kamehameha.[89] Kame'eleihiwa writes that there

was also the path of Kū to mana, which is the path to mana through politics and war.[90] Kēhau Abad writes that mana is,

> The power that emanates from the spiritual realm and imbues all things animate and inanimate. From the human perspective it is power that is physically felt, intellectually realized, and intuitively sensed. Those most closely connected to the gods and the spiritual realm possess a greater degree of *mana* and hence the authoritative position of being ali'i.[91]

The concept of mana both in physical and metaphysical terms played a central role in the society in ancient times. It was mana what would establish one's rank as an ali'i (chief) rather than a maka'āinana (commoner), as well as gradations of rank within ali'i. Mana also played a critical role in the establishment of the Mō'ī.

E Kūlia i ka pali Mō'ī; The evolution of the position of Mō'ī

The evolution of 'Ōiwi society from rule by a council or chiefs or chief of one particular district to the consolidation of power by one particular chief over and entire island is an important transition to analyze in order understand what an ancient political geography may have looked like. The position of Mō'ī has often been translated as King, in this section I show that it had origins that stemmed from 'Ōiwi rather than European history.

The word Mō'ī seems to be a merger of two words, the first being *mo'o*, which in this case is meant to refer to a *linage, line, series, succession*,[92] and the word 'ī which in this usage refers *supreme, great, best.*[93] A possible literal translation of Mō'ī is *a succession of the supreme.* The word Mō'ī is translated as, a *sovereign, one who is in supreme authority.*[94] In some usages it is difficult to distinguish the distinctions between the term Ali'i nui (high ranking chief) and Mō'ī. In nearly all cases it would be true that a Mō'ī was an Ali'i nui (high ranking chief), but it is not

necessarily true that an Ali'i nui was also a Mō'ī. Fornander writes that prior to the development of the concept of Mō'ī in ancient times,

> When the legends referring to that time speak of an *Alii-nui* of Kauai or an *Alii-nui* of Hawaii, it simply means that he was the most powerful chief on that island for the time being, and by inheritance, conquest, or marriage had obtained a larger territory than any other chief there.[95]

The Mō'ī represents the highest class in a society that was highly stratified both between ali'i maka'āinana, and among the ali'i structure itself. There seems to have been a kind of linear progression from the concept of an Ali'i nui to that of a Mō'ī. However, the origin of the term Mō'ī is somewhat ambiguous. When discussing the use of the terms Ali'i nui and Mō'ī, Kēhau Abad writes that the term Mō'ī may have been a part of the secret language of the 'aha ali'i. She writes,

> It is possible that the term was part of the secret language of the 'aha ali'i which was not understood by the common people, and which was changed when ever it became known to the makaainana.[96]

Abad's suggestion might provide insight into the difficulties of identifying the origin of the term Mō'ī. In the Puku'i and Elbert dictionary it states that, "According to J.F. Stokes, the word mō'ī, king, is of recent origin and was first in print in 1832...the term mō'ī was apparently not used in the Fornander legends collected in the 1860s."[97] However, Fornander clearly states that,

> "the word *Moi* **appears in the legends and the Meles,** indicating that the chief who bore that title was, by some constitutional or prescriptive right, acknowledged as the suzerain lord of his/her island."[98]

It is possible that Stokes was not able to review all of Fornander's work or happened to miss the discussion of Mō'ī, but Fornander clearly states that Mō'ī appears in the mele of ancient times . However, Fornander theorizes that the position of Mō'ī was a product of the changes that were

taking place following the "migratory" periods.[99] He argues that the position of Mō'ī developed in Hawai'i as a result of the changes that were taking place in the migratory or voyaging periods when the mele show that there was much interaction between the Hawaii and other islands in the Pacific.[100] His analysis is that prior to the "migratory" period the word Mō'ī did not appear in the mo'olelo and genealogy of the ali'i. Kalākaua makes a similar argument when he writes that the position of Mō'ī was instituted by the "newcomers from the south."[101] Fornander, as well as Kalākaua state that there were Ali'i 'ai moku (independent chiefs in charge of districts) prior to the migration periods and that the position of Mō'ī evolves after the migration periods. Fornander speculates that the highest rank of ali'i was that of Hau[102] prior to the institution of Mō'ī. However when the position of Mō'ī evolved in Ka Pae 'Āina, he notes that it had many advantages,

> It tended to make a political unit of each island, and in a measure to check the condition of anarchy into which the people apparently had fallen, consequent upon this period of invasion, disruption, and commingling of elements of varying culture and conflicting pretensions. It enabled each island to combine its forces for purposes of defense, and it required a Moi of more than common ability and force of character to induce his chiefs to join him in an aggressive war upon another island. [103]

The writing of Prince Kūhiō might shed some light on what was taking place on the ground in Hawai'i during the voyaging periods. He writes that the migrations of people from Borbora were taking place from the time of Paumakuakalani to Keliikalola, which would be roughly 40 generations, Kūhiō estimates the dates to be between 600 and 1200 A.D.[104] He also discusses a period where the genealogies of the koa (warriors) and ali'i become mixed,

Ua lilo ka aina a me ke Aupuni i kekahi poe pakaha wale i ka aina ma ke ano hooikaika. Ua loaa ka inoa alii o ke kahi poe ma ke koa, a ua hoopiliia ma ka mookuauhau alii, a lilo aku la i alii io.[105]

Lands and government were lost to those who raided and took control of land because of their strength. Some of these warriors took on the names of chiefs and entwined themselves into chiefly genealogies, and they became recognized to be true chiefs.

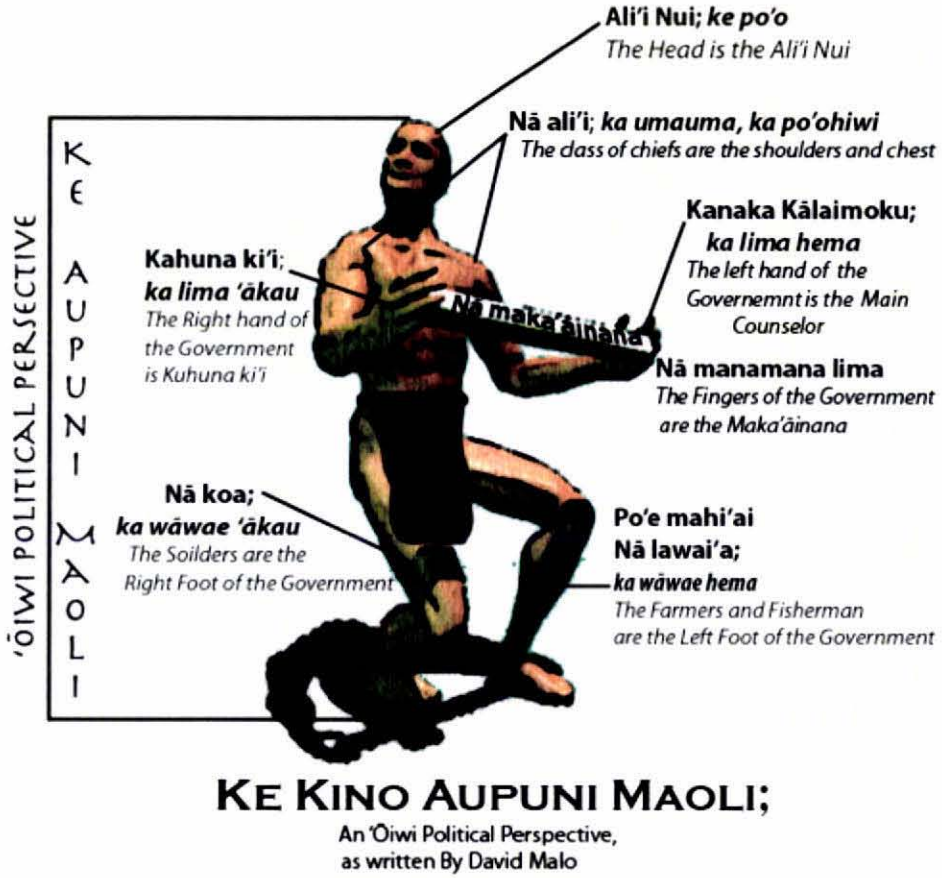
Throughout Kūhiō's work there is an emphasis on O'ahu and Maui being the birthplace of the ali'i system and the ali'i of these islands being superior to those of other islands. Kūhiō writes that the son of Kapawa, Heleipawa created the ali'i system of governance on Maui.[106] Kapawa was also the first ali'i to be buried in Iao valley, the famous resting place of the O'ahu and Maui chiefs. Below is a portion of the Kumuhonua genealogy that shows the 13 generations from the chief Ulu (the navigator) to Heleipawa, the father of Kapawa.[107] This genealogy is listed to provide a glimpse into the ali'i of this time period. It must be kept in mind that it is widely accepted that ali'i, would manipulate genealogies (ho'opili mea 'ai) in various ways. One of which was to have their ancestors appear as the first born (which would give them more mana).[108]

Kāne (*Man*)	**Wahine** *(Woman)*	**Keiki** *(Child)*
33. Kii	Hinakaula	Ulu Nanaulu
36. *Ulu*	Kapunuu	Nana Kapulani Nanaie
37. Nanaie	Kahaumokuleia	Nanailani
38. Nanailani	Hinakinau	Waikulani
39. Waikulani	Kekauilani	Kuheleimoana
40. Kuheleimoana	Mapunaiaala	Konohiki
41. Konohiki	Hikaululena	Wawana

42. Wawana	Hinamahuia	Akalana
43. Akalana	Hinakawea	Mauimua Mauihope Mauikiiki Mauiakalana
44. Mauiakalana	Hinakealohaia	Nanamaoa
45. Nanamaoa	Hinakapaikua	Nanakulei
46. Nanakulei	Kahaukuhonua	Nanakoko
47. Nanakoko	Kahikiolani	Heleipawa
48. *Heleipawa*[109]	Kookookumailani	Hulumanailani

Chapter 2. Figure 1. Portion of the Kumuhonua Genealogy from Ulu to Heleipawa. The chiefs Ulu and Nanaulu needed to be traced to for entrance into the ʻaha aliʻi.

The Hawaiian scholar David Malo used the metaphor of the body to describe the "traditional" Hawaiian governmental structure. It is likely that his description describes the structure following the system emplaced by Kapawa, but with the sources available at this time it is very difficult to be completely certain. It is interesting to note that Malo uses the term Aliʻi nui rather than Mōʻī which might be because he is giving a general description.[110] Below is an image which I created of Malo's description of the ancient structure of the government.



Chapter 2. Figure 2. Ke Kino Aupuni Maoli; An 'Ōiwi Political Perspective as written by Daivda Malo. Illustrated by Kamana Beamer.

The 'Ōiwi body politic as described by Malo illustrates the union of the structures of governance and well as the stratification of the differing pieces of that structure within the *Body*. The Ali'i nui represents the head of governance, but a head that does not rest above a secure base is sure to fall. The fact that governance was abstractly thought of in these terms is of great significance toward the understanding of the modernization of this system. If the structures of governance were understood in both intimate and abstract terms it is more likely that they could be open to change and adjustments. Having an abstract understanding of governance would enable parts of

the body to be represented by different political positions, while still maintaining the metaphor of the body. This I think it is important to recognize that the positions represented by parts of the body as explained by Malo likely changed even prior to the arrival of Europeans in the Hawaiian Islands.

Haho A Me Ka 'Aha Ali'i : Haho And The Council of Chiefs

An important creation that legitimized the ali'i structure was the development of the *'aha ali'i*. According to Fornander the *'aha ali'i* was developed by Haho, the son of Paumakua of Maui.[111] The *'aha ali'i* created a kind of chiefly pedigree among chiefs. It established a common ancestral line that one needed to trace their genealogy to in order to enter into this circle. Only those who could trace their lineage back to the chiefs Ulu or Nanaulu (see fig 1) and demonstrate the authenticity of their lineage to others in the court, could enter into the circle of the *'aha ali'i*. Ulu and Nanaulu were brothers and according to the Kumuhonua genealogy they were born about 84 generations prior to Kamehameha.[112] [The parents of Ulu and Nanaulu were Ki'i (k) and Hinakoula (w).] Within the *'aha ali'i* each chief had a somewhat equal seat at the table although there were well understood gradations of rank and kapu between members. While there were varying degrees of rank within the *'aha ali'i*, the separation between ali'i and maka'āinana was clear both in visual and cognitive terms, where ali'i were allowed to wear symbols of their stature and had access to a language designed to be known only by chiefs. Kalākaua notes that,

> The *Aha-alii* had a language which was not understood by the common people, and which was changed whenever it became know to the *makaainana,* and it was their right on all occasions to wear the insignia of their rank, the feather wreath

> (*lei-hulu*), the feather cape (aha-ula), and the ivory clasp (palaoa) ; and their canoes might be painted red and bear a pennon.[113]

Fornander theorizes that the development of the *'aha ali'i* allowed those with lengthy generational ties to Ka Pae 'Āina (the Hawaiian islands) to distinguish themselves from others in the Pacific who were migrating to these islands and may have been of ali'i class in their previous homeland. Fornander writes,

> It arose, probably, as a necessity of the existing condition of things during this migratory period, as a protection of the native aristocracy against foreign pretenders, and as a broader line of demarcation between the nobility and the commonality.[114]

The famed Hawaiian historian Samuel Kamakau also discusses the *'aha ali'i*. The following is a portion of an article written in the Hawaiian language newspaper, *Ke Au 'Oko'a* by Kamakau. He describes the *'aha ali'i* slightly differently than that of Kalākaua and Fornander and notes that previous to Haho, Hawai'i island was in a state of disrepair. Kamakau writes,

O ke alii o Hawaii i hookumu ia mai ai ka aha

I ke au o ka noho alii ana o Haho i alii aupuni no Hawaii, o ia ka hoomaka ana o ke aupuni o Hawaii he aupuni aha alii. Eia ke kumu o ka hookumu ana o keia mea he aha. O ka mokupuni o Hawaii ma mua aku o ko Haho noho alii ana, he noho ana makaainana, ua huikau na alii me na makaainana, ua iho aku na alii i lalo, ua pii mai na makaainana i luna, a ua hui aku, hui mai, aole maopopo na alii he makaainana wale no. I ka wa loihi loa, ua haunaele pinepine na makaainana no ke alii ole, ua hookiekie wale kekahi ma luna o kekahi, a ua hao wale aku kekahi i ka kekahi, no laila, pilikia ka noho ana o ke aupuni makaainana.[115]

The condition of chiefs on Hawai'i island was the reason that the 'aha ali'i was established. It was the time when Haho was ruling as a chief on Hawai'i island, that the government of Hawai'i island began to be a government composed of the 'aha ali'i. Here is the reason that the 'aha was established. The island of Hawai'i prior to Haho's reign, was being governed by maka'āinana (commoners), the lines between chiefs and commoners were confused, the chiefs had sunk low and the commoners had risen above, the two classes had been mixed and it was difficult to tell who was an chief and who was a commoner. For a very long time, there was often commotion by the maka'āinana (commoners) who had no chief, one (commoner) would rise himself above the next, and some would rob and pillage others. Therefore, living under a government of commoners was problematic.

Kamakau credits Haho with bringing the ʻaha aliʻi to Hawaiʻi island, but differs slightly from that of Kalākaua and Fornander, because he states that it was the makaʻāinana themselves that sought Haho to rule as an aliʻi over their island.

No laila, huli maila na makaainana o Hawaii i alii no lakou a loaa ke alii i Oahu, e hoonoho ma luna o ko lakou aupuni, o ia o Haholani ke keiki a Paumakua, ka moopuna a Huanuikalalailai, a o ia hoi keia o Haholaniahuamakua, ua komo ka makua kane a me ke kupuna kane i loko o ka inoa hookahi. Ma loko o ka aha kapu alii, ua akaka na alii a me na makaainana, a o ka aha kapu alii ka hoailona nana e hoike akaka ke kuleana oiaio o ke alii a me ka makaainana.[116]

Therefore, the makaʻāinana (commoners) of Hawaiʻi island sought out a chief for themselves and they received an chief on Oʻahu, to be established over their government. This was Haholani, the son of Paumakua, and the grandchild of Huanuikalalailai. He was called Haholani-a-Hua-Makua because his name was a combination of his fathers and grandfathers. Within the ʻaha kapu aliʻi (the sacred cords of the aliʻi), it was easily recognizable who was a chief and who was a makaʻāinana (commoner), the sacred cord of the chiefs' would symbolize the responsibility between chiefs and makaʻāinana (commoners).

Below is a portion of the Kumuhonua genealogy which shows the 18 generations from the previously discussed Heleipawa (see fig. 1) to Haho the chief that establishes the *ʻaha aliʻi.*

Kāne (*Man*)	**Wahine** *(Woman)*	**Keiki** *(Child)*
48. Heleipawa	Kookookumailani	Hulumanailani
49. Hulumanailani	Hinamaikalani	Aikanaka
50. Aikanaka	Hinahanaiakamalama	Puna Hema
51. Puna	Hainalau	Ua
52. Ua	Kahilinai	Auanini

53. Hema	Ulumakehoa	Kahai
54. Kahai	Hinaululohia	Wahieloa
55. Wahieloa	Hoolaukahili	Laka
56. Laka	Hikawaelena	Luanuu I
57. Luanuu I	Kapokuleiula	Kamea
58. Kamea	Popomaiili	Pohukaina
59. Pohukaina	Huahuakapalei	Hua
60 Hua	Hikimoluloloea	Pau
61. Pau	Kapohaakia	Huanuiikalalailai
62. Huanuiikalalailai	Kapoea Molehai	Paumakua Kuhelani
63. Kuhelani	Lanileo	Hakalanileo
64. Hakalanileo	Hoohookalani	Paumakua
65. Paumakua	Monokalililani	Haho
66. Haho	Kauilaianapu	Palena

Chapter 2. Figure 3. Portion of the Kumuhonua Genealogy from Heleipawa to Haho. Haho (of Maui) establishes the 'aha ali'i. See the chiefs Ulu and Nanaulu who needed to be traced to for entrance into the 'aha ali'i in Fig. 1.

In all of the reviewed sources it is stated that Haho, the son of Paumakua of Maui island lineage is the founder of the *'aha ali'i*. Of primary importance for this discussion on the *'aha ali'i*, is that it is highly probable that once the *'aha ali'i* was established there would be a progression toward the development of a Mō'ī (paramount chief). While it is difficult to pinpoint the exact moment or generation that this development occurred, an examination into the Kumuhonua genealogy and the mo'olelo surrounding the chief Kalaunuiohua might provide insight into this discussion.

'O Kalaunuiohua Ka Mō'ī; Kalaunuiohua the Supreme Chief in the Council of Chiefs

The Kumuhonua genealogy shows that Haho is listed in the 66th generation. Given that the *'aha ali'i* was established by Haho, it is likely that the concept of Mō'ī evolved sometime in the 19 generations between Haho (66th gen.) and Kalaunuiohua (85th gen.)[117] The arrival of Pili (73rd

gen.) from the southern islands and the establishment of his family's rule over Hawai'i island is another significant event in this mo'olelo.[118] It is difficult to determine the exact chief that is referred to as the first Mō'ī. It does seem highly probable that the term would have been applied by the time of Kalaunuiohua in the 85th generation of the Kumuhonua genealogy (see figure 4).[119] Kalaunuiohua is the referred to by Fornander as a Mō'ī. In some ways Kalaunuiohua represents a genealogical linkage of the southern and northern islands of Ka Pae 'Āina, for he is a descendant of the Hawaii island Ulu-Pili line as well as the Kaua'i/O'ahu island Nanaulu-Maweke line.[120] While it is not clear if Kalaunuiohua was the first ali'i to consolidate rule over all of Hawai'i island, it its clear that he is famed (or infamous) for being the first ali'i to attempt to bring the entire chain under his control. When Kalākaua writes of Kalaunuiohua he notes that,

> Having brought all the districts of Hawaii under his control, Kalaunui entertained the ambitious design of uniting the several islands of the archipelago under one government.[121]

There are differing accounts of Kalaunuiohua's actions toward other chiefs while on his conquest. Fornander notes that he took the Mō'ī of other islands as captives following their defeat.[122] However, almost as a precursor to Kamehameha I establishing Kia'āina (Governors) over the islands he defeated, Malo mentions that upon Kalaunuiohua conquering Maui, Kalaunuiohua established the previous Mō'ī as a Kia'āina (Governor) under his rule.

Aole nae i pepehi ia o Kamaluohua, a hoola ia no i Kiaaina no Maui malalo mai o Kalaunuiohua.	*Kamaluohua (the Mō'ī of Maui) was not killed, he was allowed to survive so that he could be a governor for Maui under (the sovereignty, authority) of Kalaunuiohua.*[123]

Below is a portion of the Kumuhonua genealogy which shows the 19 generations from the previously discussed Haho (see fig. 3&4) to Kalaunuiohua.

Kane	Wahine	Keiki
66. Haho	Kauilaianapu	Palena
67. Palena	Hikawai	Hanalaanui Hanalaaiki
68. Hanalaaiki	Kapukapu	Mauiloa
69. Mauiloa	Kauhua	Alau
70. Hanalaanui	Mahuie	Lanakawai
71. Lanakawai	Kalohialiiokawai	Laau
72. Laau	Kukamolimolialoha	Pili
73. Pili	Hinaaaukau	Koa
74. Koa	Huinaaaumai	Ole
75. Ole	Hinamailelii	Kukohou
76. Kukohou	Hinakeuiki	Kaniuhi
77. Kaniuhi	Hiliamakani	Kanipahu
78. Kanipahu	Hualani Alaikauakoko	Kalaloa Kumuokalani Laaikiahualani Kalahumoku Huanuimakanalenale
79. Kanaloa	Makoani	Kalapanakuioiomoa
80. Huanuimakanalenale	Kumuokalani	Keliiokapolohaina
81. Kalahumoku	Laamea	Iikialaamea
82. Iikialaamea	Kalamea	Hauakalama Kamanawakalamea
83. Kalapanakuioiomoa	Makeamakamaihani	Kahaimoeleaikaaikapukupou
84. Kahaimoeleaikaaikaukupou	Kapoakaulukailaa	Kalaunuiohua
85. Kalaunuiohua	Kaheka	Kuaiwa

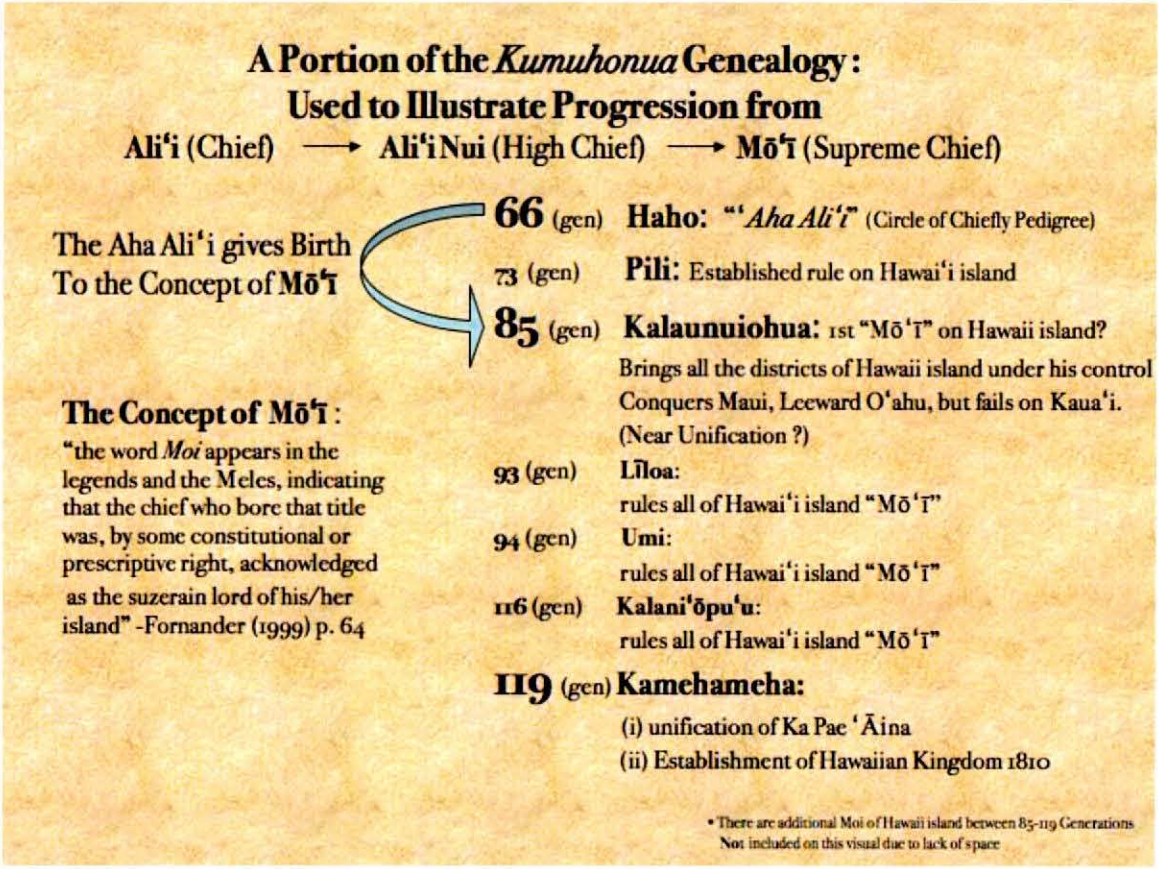
Chapter 2. Figure 4. Portion of Kumuhonua Genealogy from Haho, the founder of the ʻAha Aliʻi to Kalaunuiohua. Kalaunuiohua is the first Mōʻī to nearly consolidate all of Ka Pae ʻĀina.

According to tradition, Kalaunuiohua is the first ali'i that nearly consolidates rule over the entire archipelago of the Hawaiian Islands. He defeats Kamaluohua on Maui, Kahokuohua on Moloka'i, and Huapouleilei on O'ahu island.[124] While Kalaunuiohua is ultimately unsuccessful in his attempts at unification of Ka Pae 'Āina and defeated by the Kaua'i Mō'ī, Kukona, his actions are very important to put into perspective the changes that were occurring within the 'Ōiwi structure of old. From an examination of the previous mo'olelo it is clear that the concept of a Mō'ī (a chief who consolidates rule over an entire island) definitely applies to Kalaunuiohua. Both Kalākaua and Fornander refer to him as Mō'ī. Kēhau Abad argues that the actions of Kalaunuiohua may have played a critical role in the development of governance and rule in the generations following him. Abad writes,

> Kalaunuiohua's raids on the other major islands was a rude awakening for each of the ruling families of those islands... The possibility of an assault from abroad that could destroy the sovereignty of an island was now a reality, whereas in the past, the raids (now merely a memory from generations long past) were simply intended to exact harm upon an unwanted "newcomer."
> ...**Significantly**, the generations of *ali'i nui* following Kalunuiohua's attack undertook major economic and political changes across the islands.[125]

It is highly probable that Abad is correct when she argues that Kalaunuiohua's attempt at unification had significant political and governmental consequences for the ruling Mō'ī across the entire archipelago. I am agreeing with her analysis and also suggesting that not only was Kalaunuiohua's conquest significant, but that the concept of Mō'ī may have also led to significant changes. Unlike the structure of the *'aha ali'i*, where one could neither rise higher than the genealogical source from which one sprang, nor could one fall from their accepted rank in spite of loss of lands or political failure,[126] the concept of Mō'ī, while still being intimately tied to the *'aha ali'i*, was to a certain extend freed from some of its limitations. It is as if the *'aha ali'i*

which began as a means to legitimize ali'i from maka'āinana, over time, developed into a structure which also created a pool of chiefs, of whom could be recognized as legitimate rulers should they rise to power. In other words, for one to become Mō'ī, it would be a requirement to be recognized by the *aha ali'i* however, it is also clear that the highest ranking chief (genealogically), was not necessarily the Mō'ī. While there were clear gradations of ranks such as pi'o, nī'aupi'o, naha, wohi, (these were gradations of rank, which be determined by the genealogy and birth of the particular ali'i) and others within the *'aha ali'i*, the office of Mō'ī could have potentially been held by one from either of these ranks.[127] The office of the Mō'ī consolidates power under one of the members of the *'aha ali'i* the, but it is also true that no chief could rise to the office of Mō'ī without the aid of the *'aha ali'i* or at least members of the it.



Chapter 2. Figure 5. Aha Ali'i Gives Birth to Mō'ī on Hawai'i Island

If the concept of Mōʻī developed between the generations of Haho and Kalaunuiohua, it would show that traditional structures such as the ʻaha aliʻi were in a gradual state of movement and change. This is logically plausible because an effective structure is one in a state of flux.[128] The development of the concept of Mōʻī might have led to other significant changes over the territoriality of their rule on the land. By establishing a Mōʻī, a chief amongst chiefs or sovereign lord, early structures of governance would have likely been affected. An Aupuni (Government) that was centralized under the authority of a Mōʻī within the council of chiefs, would have differing geo-political assertions of territoriality (power over space) than would an Aupuni governed by an semi-independent group of chiefs within the ʻaha aliʻi. Two concepts that are intimately related to the office of Mōʻī are Palena and Kālaiʻāina. The following sections will describe the nature of Palena and Kālaiʻāina the their relationship with the concept of a Mōʻī.

Palena: Ahupuaʻa and "Place Boundaries"

The word Palena is translated by Andrews as, "*Pale* and *ana*, a dividing off, A border or boundary, A dividing line between two parts or places."[129] Palena might be also translated as a "protected place."[130] In this section I will be describing some of the Palena on the land, also termed Palena ʻĀina. When I have translated Palena I have used the phrase "place-boundaries." The tension between the words *Place* and *Boundary* creates a unique framework toward the understanding of the Hawaiian concept of Palena. I have made use of this tension as a means to indicate to the reader that it is a particular type of boundary, a boundary created in a specific context which defines a place and has specific functions. Boundaries in the ʻŌiwi system of old

created places – they defined spaces of attachment and access to both the metaphysical and physical worlds. They delineated the resource access of maka'āinana and ali'i on the ground while also intimately connecting people to the material and spiritual resources of these places.[131] They were catalogued and maintained through visual and cognitive means while being orally passed from generation to generations by inhabitants who were knowledgeable about the place. Palena of Ahupua'a were boundaries that could be crossed by travelers from one place to the next. There was no concept of trespassing associated with Palena and the ala loa (a road which circumvented an entire island near the shoreline section of most islands) would intersect the Palena of Ahupua'a. Palena did not govern access but rather resources while delineating place.

In the Hawaiian context, there are multiple kinds of "place-boundaries," each with differing functions and relationships. Boundaries could be made by Ālia or Pūlo'ulo'u sticks which would define a place that was kapu or restricted access for most people. These boundaries would have different functions depending on the context and those who failed to acknowledge these boundaries would be reprimanded accordingly. For example, for breaking the kapu, by being on the wrong side of the boundary made by Ālia sticks during the makahiki procession one would be taxed an extra pig but not be killed.[132] However, if one crossed the Pūlo'ulo'u sticks and entered into the residence of an ali'i it would likely result in death.[133] The Palena of Ahupua'a (land division smaller than a moku) differed from the boundary created by the Pūlo'ulo'u and Ālia sticks, but it was similar in that it had functions for both the Maka'āinana and the Ali'i. Palena produced greater productivity over the land, greater control of the Mō'ī over his/her territoriality, and maintained placial relationships to land for Maka'āinana.

The Evolution of Palena; Em-Placing the 'Āina

The *Ahupua'a system* is the contemporary phrase used to describe the 'Ōiwi resource management systems in ancient times. Ahupua'a are one important division of land among other important divisions such as Moku, and 'Ili which were emplaced by 'Ōiwi people of old. Very early in this history, land seems to have been without Palena. Kamakau writes that in very ancient times the 'āina was <u>*not*</u> divided.

I ka wa kahiko loa, aole i mahele ia na aina, ua waiho wale iho no ka mokupuni me ka mahele ole ia e na mokuaina, e na kalana, e na okana, e na ahupuaa, a me na ili aina, aka, i ka wa i paapu ai ka aina i kanaka ua mahele pono ia ka mokupuni a ua hookaawale pono ia ka aina, me ke kapa pono ia o ka inoa o kela mea o keia mea e maopopo ai.[134]	*In very ancient times, the lands were not divided and an island was left without divisions such as kalana, okana, ahupua'a, and 'ili, but in the time when the lands became filled with people, the lands were divided, with the proper names for this place and that place so that they could be known.*

One could imagine that prior to the development of the aha ali'i, lands would have likely been bound by the immediate territoriality of a particular chief, or in other cases 'ohana (family). In these situations it is likely that boundaries would have been fairly dynamic and subject to the agreements of neighboring ali'i or families. However, as Kamakau states, as a result of the lands becoming filled with people proper divisions were emplaced. It must be stated that there is a fairly widely accepted notion that Ka Pae 'Āina (prior to the diseases introduced as a result of Cook's contact with Hawai'i) had a large population. The Hawaiian Kingdom surveyor C.J.

Lyons is one who agreed that there must have been an exorbitant population throughout Ka Pae ʻĀina. Lyons writes,

> The islands were, if the phrase may be allowed. Tremendously peopled in many portions thereof. I can think of no word to express the swarming state of population that must have existed in localities. Even had Captain Cook made no estimate the evidence of such population are unmistakable[135]

Population estimates near the time of Cook's arrival in Ka Pae ʻĀina range from 400,000 (King[136]) to 800,000 by David Stannard.[137] The entire acreage of the Hawaiian Islands is nearly 4 million acres of land. This would give roughly 5-10 acres of land per person, which is not much in a society that was noted for its agricultural prowess. Given that the primary mode of production was agriculture and aquaculture, it is clear that the system needed to be well defined and structured in order provide for such large populations. While there was not the land scarcity that is experienced by the residents of Hawaiʻi today, it is likely that Hawaiʻi's population (pre-Cook) was so substantial that it required a high degree of order placed over the ʻĀina (land & sea) to support the population and maintain civility among its inhabitants. As the population reached a critical mass it is likely that the political structures of the time created and defined land use and resources access. One aliʻi noted for ordering the land was the son of Kukahialiilani (k) and Kokalola (w) of the Maweke and Paumakua families, Māʻilikūkahi.[138]

Māʻilikūkahi

Māʻilikūkahi is possibly the most famed Mōʻī associated with the precise implementation of Palena. He was a Mōī of Oʻahu island and tradition credits his reign as being one of peace and abundance. Māilikukahi's reign was full of prosperity. He became Mōʻī following the removal of

the O'ahu Mō'ī, Haka who was killed. Following Haka's death Māilikūkahi was chosen by the aha ali'i to rule.[139] Māilikūkahi's reign over Oahu island was shortly after Kalaunuiohua's conquest and defeat of Oahu island Mō'ī Huapoleilei. The succession of rule on O'ahu went from Huapoleilei to Haka to Māilikūkahi. [140] Kūhiō discusses Mā'ilikūkahi in length and writes,

I ka noho Aupuni ana o Mailikukahi, ua noho huikau ka aina ma mua aku. Aole maopopo o ke Ahupuaa a me ke Ku Aina. Ua mahele iho la o Mailikukahi i eono Moku o Oahu. Nolaila, Kauoha ae la o Mailikukahi i na (A)Lii, i na puali Alii, i na Luna a me na Makaainana, e mahi i ka Aina a puni o Oahu nei, i ka loko i'a a me na ahupuaa a (me) ka Ili Aina ame ka Moo Aina. Hoonoho aku la ia i na (A)Lii Nui ma na Moku Eono. Ua hoonohonoho aku la ia i na Alii Aimoku ame na Alii Ai-ahupuaa...Haawi aku la o Mailikukahi i ka aina i na Makaainana a pau loa a puni o Oahu.[141]	*Prior to the reign of Māilikūkahi the land was in a state of confusion. It was not clearly understood what was an Ahupuaa and what was an 'Ili (Kū) 'āina. Māilikūkahi divided Oahu into six Moku. Therefore, Mā'ilikūkahi ordered the chiefs, the servicemen, the overseers, and the maka'āinana (commoners) to cultivate all the lands of O'ahu, the fishponds, the Ahupuaa, the 'Ili 'Āina, and the Mo'o 'Āina. He established (each of) the high chiefs in the (one of) the six Moku. Then he established the Ali'i over the moku and those over the ahupua'a... Mā'ilikūkahi also gave lands to the each of the Maka'āinana throughout all of O'ahu*

Kūhiō's mo'olelo credits Mā'ilikūkahi with the establishment of Palena on Oahu island and is consistent with the explanation given by scholars such as Fornander and Kamakau,[142] although Kamakau states that Mā'ilikūkahi made clear and precise previously existing land boundaries that were "in a state of confusion."[143] Whether Mā'ilikūkahi created the complex system of Palena for O'ahu island or streamlined the existing system, it is clear that the system he emplaced was productive as well as welcomed by the aha ali'i and the Maka'āinana alike, for he has been

memorialized through oral history for his great works and peaceful reign. Ali'i on other islands are noted for imposing similar systems over their islands. Kāka'analeo is said to have implemented a derivative system with the aid of his Kāhuna Kālaika'ōhi'a.[144] The Mō'ī 'Umi on Hawai'i island is thought to have organized a similar system as well.[145] Manokalanipō was the son of Kūkona the Kaua'i island Mō'ī who defeated Kalauniohua. He (Manōkalanipō) is noted for conducting great works of agriculture and irrigation.[146]

It is likely that the development of the concept of Mō'ī may have played a significant role in the precise implementation of systems of Palena over the land. Having a Mō'ī who consolidated rule and won the support of the aha ali'i, would create centralized governance which would enable Palena to be established through that central authority. In situations where the governance was not centralized, the establishment of boundaries would require the agreement of neighboring chiefs and would be subject to changes based on their mutual agreement. The establishment of a Mō'ī centralized governance and likely played a role in the territoriality of Palena. Given that Mō'ī such as Māilikūkahi and others are famed for re-organizing or refining labor and land divisions which resulted in making lands more bountiful, it is clear that these adaptations were accepted as well as appreciated by the aha ali'i as well as the maka'āinana because they have been preserved in tradition. Whether is was the invasion of Kalaunuiohua which was the catalyst for these administrative changes as is discussed by Abad,[147] or if it can be credited to the sheer brilliance of the Mō'ī such as Mā'ilikūkahi (possibly a combination of both) amazingly many of the divisions instituted in this time period continue to exist in land titles, maps, and mo'olelo through into today.

A Brief Discussion of Land Terms

In the following section I will discuss some basic ʻŌiwi land terms. I am illustrating these terms so that the reader will have an intermediate knowledge of the range of land divisions and some of their functions in society. I also will use maps that were produced in the Hawaiian Kingdom to illustrate to the reader some examples of these divisions and also to demonstrate that many of the ancient divisions emplaced by Mōʻī such as Māʻilikūkahi were modernized and mapped in the Kingdom, rather than being erased or dissolved.

There exist a wide range of land terms which were codified in the aforementioned period. It is difficult to tell if all the lands on each island in Ka Pae ʻĀina were given the same names for the same divisions. For the scope of this chapter it is sufficient to say that there exists some slight variation from island to island. For instance, the long time Hawaiian Kingdom surveyor C.J. Lyons writes that a specific type of division, the ʻĪli lele were "most common on the island of Oʻahu" and that he knew of none on Hawaiʻi island.[148] In this section I will briefly describe Ōiwi land divisions and list some of the appropriate sources. It is likely that these divisions originated from Mōʻī such as Māʻilikūkahi. In my discussion of these divisions I will use existing scholarship on the material and illustrate some of these divisions through the aid of maps. It should be kept in mind that Palena were not mapped on paper during the time of Māʻilikūkahi but were maintained on the ground and in the minds of makaʻāinana and aliʻi. The basic divisions of land are Moku, Kalana, ʻOkana, Ahupuaʻa, and ʻIli. There are also a number of smaller divisions which will not the subject of this section. It is important to have knowledge of these divisions to understand that the ancient system was highly centralized and ordered. I believe these divisions

and ancient structures ordered the land to a degree that enabled the later Hawaiian Kingdom to modernize through these existing structures. For instance in the 1848 Mahele (see Chapter 4), lands were awarded in accordance to their ancient place names and divisions.

Arguably the two most important written sources for understanding Hawaiian land terms are the ʻŌiwi scholars David Malo and Samuel Kamakau. The writings of these scholars are cited as reference in nearly every modern discussion of Hawaiian land tenure. The work of Malo and Kamakau are particularly important because they were writing in a time when many of the land terms were still in use and information about them was widely known. Malo in particular not only wrote about these land terms, but he also experienced them prior to the fall of the ʻAikapu (Hawaiian chiefly religion), when the worship of Lono and Kū was in practice. Therefore he would have experienced the metaphysical relationships and material practices that corresponded with these land divisions in event like the Makahiki procession. Below is a listing of Malo and Kamakau's description of Hawaiian land terms. I have included long segments of their writings on land terms in order to demonstrate the context in which they discuss these terms and because they are two of the most important sources on these divisions.

Hawaiian Land Divisions According to Davida Malo.

Ke Kapa ana i ko loko mau inoa o ka moku.

Ua kapa aku ka poe kahiko inoa no ko ka mokupuni mau mea ma ko lakou nana ana a kupono ko lakou manao ana, elua inoa i kapa ia ma ka mokupuni, he moku ka inoa, he aina kahi inoa, ma ka moku ana ia ke kai ua kapa ia he moku, a ma ka noho ana a kanaka, ua kapa ia he aina ka inoa. O ka mokupuni, oia ka mea nui e like me Hawaii, Maui a me keia pae moku apau.
Ua Mahele ia i mau apana maloko o ka mokupuni o kela mau apana i mahele ia, ua kapa ia he moku oloko e like me Kona ma Hawaii a me Hana ma Maui, a me na mea like ae ma keia mau moku. A ua mahele hou ia mau apana hou ua kapa ia aku ia he okana kahi inoa he kalana kahi inoa, he poko maloko ia o ka okana.
A ua mahele hou ia mau apana hou malalo iho o keia mau apana, ua kapa ia aku ia he Ahupuaa, aka malalo o ke Ahupuaa, ua kapa ia he Ili aina. A ua mahele ia malalo o ka Ili aina na moo aina a malalo o ka moo aina na pauku aina a malalo o na pauku aina na kihapai malaila i mahele ia na Koele, na hakuone, na kuakua[149]

The naming of the interior of a land

The kupuna of old gave names for the island's different parts through their observing until their ideas became clear and precise, there are two names used on an island, moku is a name, aina is another name, lands that were separated by the sea were called moku, lands where people resided were called ʻāina. The island (moku that is surrounded by water) is the main division, like, Hawaiʻi, Maui and the rest of the island chain. (Islands) were divided up into sections inside of the island, called moku o loko, like such places as Kona on Hawaiʻi island, and Hana on Maui island, and such divisions on these islands. There sections were further divided into subdivision called ʻokana, or kalana; a poko is a subdivision of a ʻokana. These sections were further divided into smaller divisions called Ahupuaʻa, and sections smaller than an Ahupuaʻa were called ʻili ʻāina. Divisions smaller than ʻili ʻāina were moʻo ʻāina and paukū ʻāina, and smaller than a paukū ʻāina was a kīhāpai, at this section the smaller divisions would be multiple Kōʻele, Hakuone, and Kuakua

Hawaiian Land Divisions According to Samuel Kamakau

Elua inoa i kapa ia ma ka aina, he moku kekahi inoa, a he aina kekahi. Ma ka moku ana i ke kai, ua kapa ia he mokupuni.....O ka mokupuni, o ia ka mea nui, a i ke ku kaawale ana o kela mokupuni, o keia mokupuni, ua kapa ia aku he aina. Ua mahele ia ka mokupuni i mau mahele aina i mea e maopopo ai na mahele aina nui i loko o ka mokupuni, o ka mahele mua, he mokuaina, e like me Kona, Waikiki, a o na palena o ka mokuaina, mai Kanau a Kapukakê a ua kukulu ia na kukulu ehoeho, a he mau oeoe pohaku keia i kukulu ia i maopopo na palena. O ke kalana, ua like ke kalana me ka mokuaina, he mahele nui no ia i loko o ka mokupuni. O ka okana, he mau mahele ia i loko o ka mokuaina a me ke kalana o ke ahupuaa, o ia na mahelehele i loko o ka mokuaina, o ke kalana, o ka okana, he nui kekahi ahupuaa a he liilii kekahi o na iliaina, o ia na mahele i loko o ke ahupuaa. O Honolulu ke ahupuaa, o Kaakopua ka iliaina, a o Kehehuna Kahehuna ka iliaina, he nui kekahi iliaina a he liilii kekahi iliaina. Ua mahele ia ka iliaina i na mooaina, i na pauku aina, a ma lalo iho o na mooaina me na pauku aina, na one koele, na kihapai, na kuakua, na hakupaa, na malua, na nanae, na kipoho, na puluwai, na paeli.

There are two names for land. Moku is one name and 'āina is another. Because of being cut off by the sea islands were called mokupuni. Mokupuni is the main division, and since one mokupuni is separated from another, it is called 'āina. Islands were divided so that each portion could be identified. The first division is the moku 'āina, like Kona, O'ahu. The palena of moku 'āina were like from Kanau to Kapukakī. Boundary stones (kukulu 'eho'eho) and (oeoe pohaku) were placed so that palena could be identified. The Kalana is a similar division to a moku 'āina, a large division within an island. The okana are divisions within moku 'āina and kalana; ahupua'a are the numerous divisions within moku'āina, kalana, and 'okana. Some ahupua'a are large some ahupua'a are small. 'Ili 'āina are the subdivisions of the ahupua'a. Honolulu is the ahupua'a, Ka'akopua is an 'ili 'āina (in Honolulu), Kehehuna is an 'ili 'āina (in Honolulu). Some 'ili 'āina were large some were small. 'Ili 'āina were divided into mo'o'āina, pauku 'āina, smaller than mo'o'āina and pauku 'āina were the kōele, kihapai, kuakua, hakupa'a, malua, nanae, kipoho, puluwai, and paeli.

The following is a table which illustrates some of the authors who have written on Hawaiian land terms describing some the terms that they use and the sources that they reference.

Author	Source	Moku	Okana	Kalana	Ahupuaa	'Ili	Smaller than 'Ili	Sources	Hawaiian Language Proficient
Malo	Mo'olelo Hawai'i	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Self	Y
Kamakau	Mo'olelo Hawai'i	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Self	Y
Kepelino	Kepelino's Traditions of Hawaii		Only in the context of ali'i 'ai 'okana	N	Only in the context of ali'i 'ai ahupua'a	N	N	Self	Y
Kame'eleihiwa	Peha la e Pono ai	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Malo, Kamakau, Kepelino, I'i,	Y
Chinen	Land Titles in Hawaii	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Malo, Kamakau, Kepelino	?
Lyons	Land Matters in Hawaii	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Self, Malo? Kamakau?	Y
Kirch & Sahlins	Anahulu	Y	N	N	Y	Briefly	Y	Malo, Kamakau, Kepelino,I'i, Lyons	?
Cordy	Exlated Sits the Chief	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Malo, Kamakau, Kepelino, Kirch,	N
Fitzpatrick	Surveying the Mahele	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Malo, Kamakau, Kepelino, Kame'eleihiwa Lyons	?
Ziegler	Hawaiian Natural History, Ecology and Evolution	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Malo, Kamakau, Kepelino, Kirch,	?

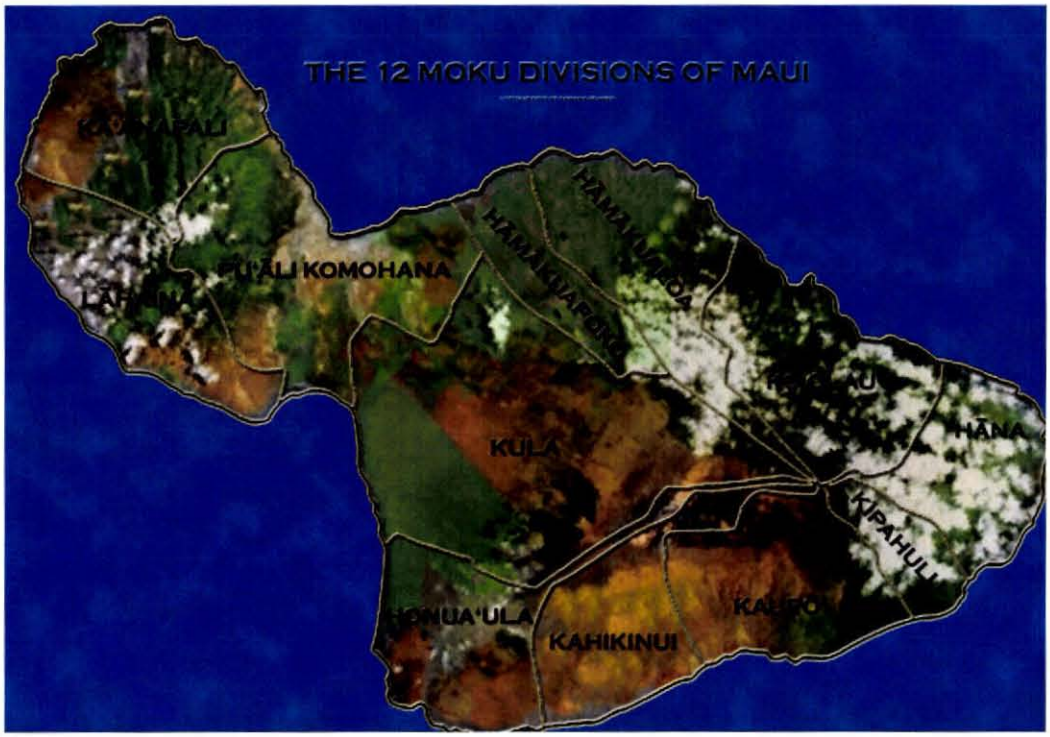
Chapter 2. Figure 6. Survey of the Sourcing of Scholarship on Hawaiian Land Divisions

Possibly the most important points expressed by both Malo and Kamakau is that they describe Hawaiian land divisions in relationship to each other. The implications of this can be easily overlooked. What Malo and Kamakau are describing is an entire functioning land system in

doing so they are giving insight into the system as a whole. Within this system it only make sense to discuss Ahupua'a within the context of other complex divisions of the time. This differs slightly from the work of contemporary scholars who have emphasized the Ahupua'a division above others. While Ahupua'a divisions would have been very important during the Makahiki and the collection of tribute, Ahupua'a divisions did not function independently of the other divisions.

Moku Divisions

The larger islands or the "*Moku-Puni*" like Kaua'i, O'ahu, Maui, Moloka'i, and Hawai'i island were first subdivided into *Moku-o-loko* or *Moku*.[150] Moku are the base divisions, the Islands of O'ahu and Hawai'i island have a total of six Moku districts, while Kaua'i has five. Maui has the most Moku divisions at a total of twelve.

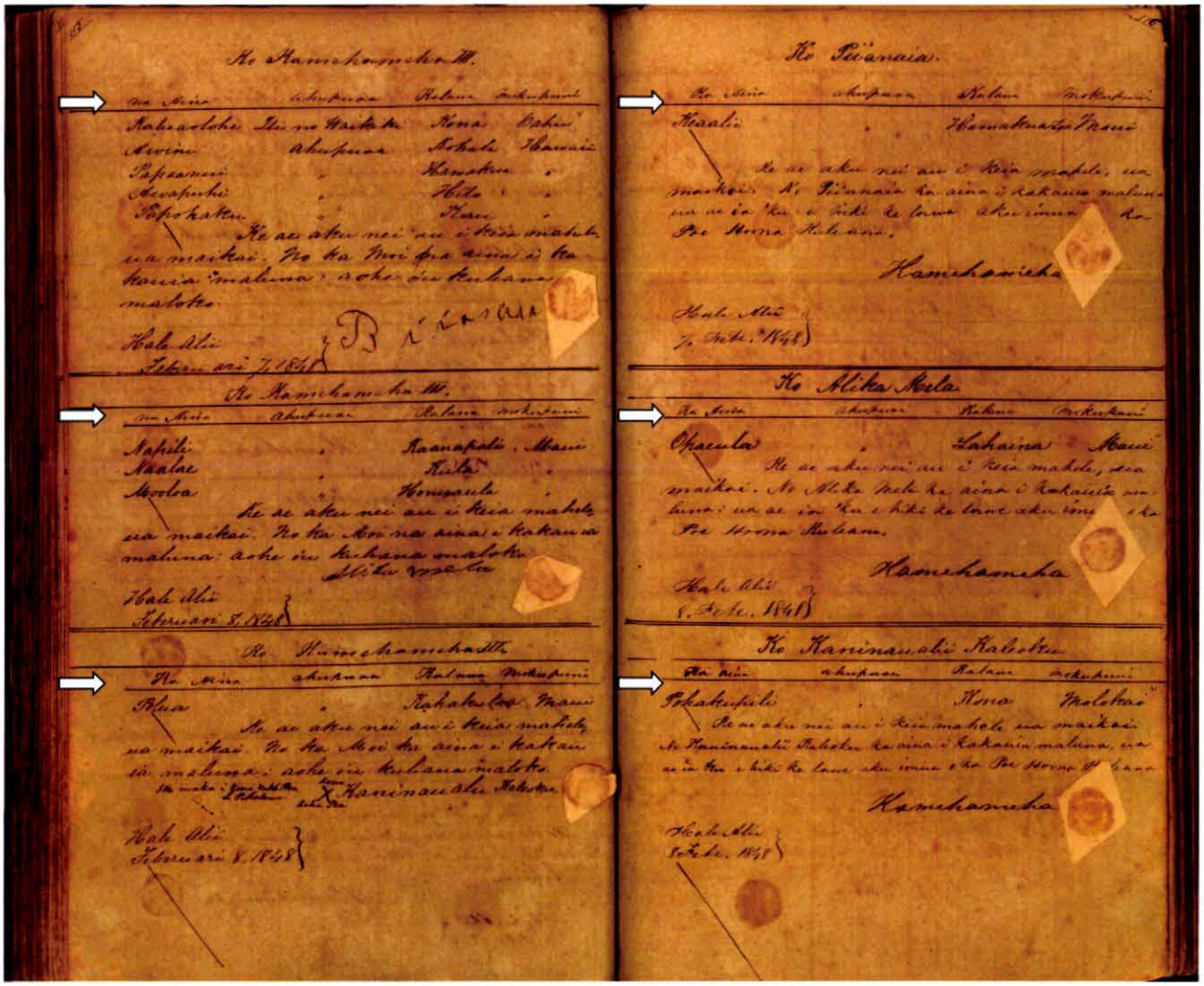


Chapter 2. Figure 7: The 12 Moku Divisions on Maui. Pū'ali Komohana is also known as Wailuku.

Moku divisions are the base division of an island and are composed of multiple ahupua'a. As the reader can see in figure 7, Moku divisions can very greatly in size and shape as well as from island to island. Sometimes Moku can cross the ocean to include smaller islands as a part of the division as does the Maui island Moku of Kahikinui include the island of Kaho'olawe (not represented in figure 7).

Kalana and 'Okana

There is some deal of confusion when it comes to the Kalana and 'Okana divisions. Some scholars write that Kalana and 'Okana are used interchangeably with Moku divisions and represent the same kind of division.[151] The Buke Mahele is consistent with this interpretation and lists Kalana as being the same as Moku divisions. In the Buke Māhele, the divisions are listed from Mokupuni-- Kalana – Ahupuaa–to specific 'Āina. See Figure 8.



Chapter 2. Figure 8. 1848 Buke Māhele. pp. 115-116. Note Kalana Divisions.

In the Buke Māhele, Kalana divisions are synonymous what many call Moku divisions today. It is not clear if Kalana divisions are the same as Okana divisions. However, I have found sources that list ʻOkana as being divisions *separate* from Moku divisions. Mary Kawena Pukuʻi compiled an archive called the *Hen index* at the Bishop Museum Archives. In this index she translated a

Hawaiian language newspaper article pertaining to Hawai'i island and 'Okana divisions. The article states that,

> Okana. In olden times Kona was divided into tweleve Okanas, some of which are the following: 1. Ahu a Lono 2. Pohakuloa 3. Papaokahinu 4. Lekeleke 5. Puu Ohau 6. Pa Ohia 7. Kakalaioa 8 Puu Ohulehule 9 Kalualapauila 10 Kaheawai (Makani says Puu Noni instead of Puu Ohau) ...
> These points are situated as follows 3 between Holualoa and Kaumalumalu 6 between Kaawaloa and Kealakekua 7 between Keei 1 and 2; 8 between Waiea and Honokua: 9 between Waikakulu and Kolo; 10. between Kona and Kau Popokahinu extends from Pohakuloa by Keahuolu to Lekeleke which is the iwi between Keauhou and Honalo.[152]

It appears that according to this article there existed on Hawai'i island 'Okana divisions which were smaller than a Moku division but larger than an Ahupua'a. As further Hawaiian language sources emerge scholars may be able to piece together a clearer picture on the similarities and differences between Moku, Kalana and 'Okana.

Ahupua'a

As described by Malo and Kamakau ahupua'a are a scale smaller than a Moku, Kalana, and 'Okana, but a scale larger than an 'Ili. While a few of the largest 'Ili many have had a greater acreage that the smallest Ahupua'a, as a unit of land 'Ili were always a scale smaller than Ahupua'a. Ahupuaa were of critical importance to the Makahiki procession. Makahiki was the annual procession of the god Lono where tribute was collected and spiritual rejuvenation was given to the Ahupua'a and its inhabitants. The akua (god) Lonomakua would stop at the seaward Palena of the Ahupua'a where an ahu (site of worship, signified by stone cairns) was situated. The ahu would be adorned with the carved image of a pua'a (hog) which was made from kukui wood (a physical manifestation of Lono) and ho'okupu (tribute) would be made and collected at

this site. C.J. Lyons is the first source I have found which gives a primary importance to the ahupua'a division. Lyons writes that,

> The Land unit so to speak seems to have been the Ahupuaa. (Its name is derived from the Ahu or altar; literally pile, kuahu being the specific term for altar) which was erected at the point where the boundary of the land was intersected by the main road, alaloa, which circumferented each of the islands[153]

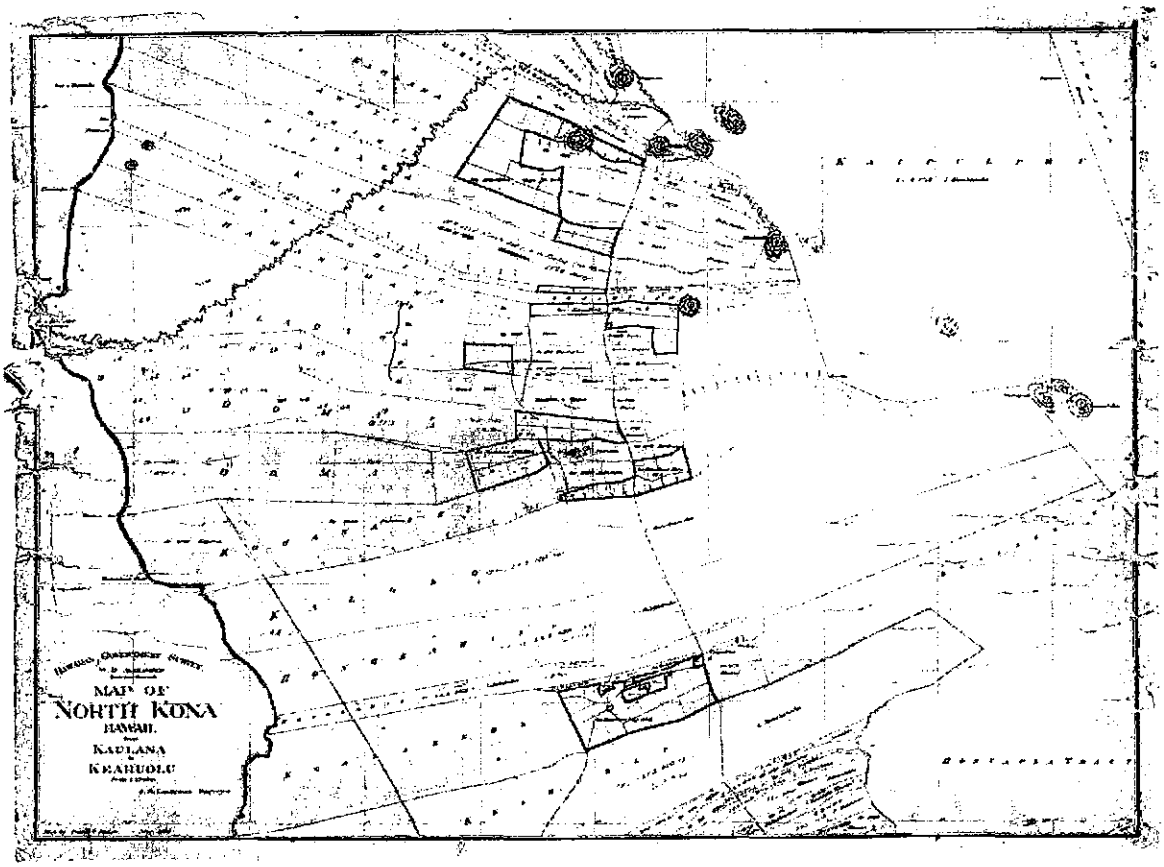
While in other sections of Lyons writings he is clear to distinguish the variations between Ahupua'a and discusses the interrelationships between Ahupua'a and other divisions, the same cannot be true of modern explanations of the system. It is possible that later interpretations of his work have focused more exclusively on Ahupua'a and not attempted to understand the system as a whole. Some contemporary usages of the word "Ahupua'a" have distorted its meaning by equating Ahupua'a to "watershed."[154] Taking an 'Ōiwi land division and simplifying it by making it synonymous with a contemporary scientific concept not only misrepresents the diversity of Ahupua'a (many of which are not watersheds) it also creates an effect that *de-culturizes* Ahupua'a. By equating Ahupua'a to watersheds the *Hawaiian-ness* can be removed from the equation, experts become scientists and planners who are experienced and trained in managing the scientific variables of watersheds. Bruce Braun has critiqued modern usages of the term *nature* which have often been used to conceptually empty *places* that are known and intimately connected to native people. Braun has pointed out this usage of *nature* creates a space "emptied of human inhabitants who might lay claim to the land,"[155] with nature empty of native culture and attachment its voice becomes that of the detached scientist and the citizen-of-the-world environmentalist.

Ahupua'a are diverse and complex divisions. They range in size, shape, and geography. Some Ahupua'a are similar to the watershed model and are bound by mountain ridges and peaks such as many of the Ahupua'a within the Ko'olaupoko moku of O'ahu island (See Figure 9) Other Ahupua'a on O'ahu island do not follow the watershed model and are extremely broad and consume multiple ridgelines such as the Ahupua'a of Waikīkī and Honouliuli (over 43,000 acres). Lyons writes

> On Oahu, the ahupuaa seems to have been often times quite extended. Waikiki, for instance, stretches from the west side of Makiki valley away to the east side of Wailupe, or nearly to the east point of the island. Honouliuli covers some fourty thousand acres on the east slope of the Waianae mountains.[156]

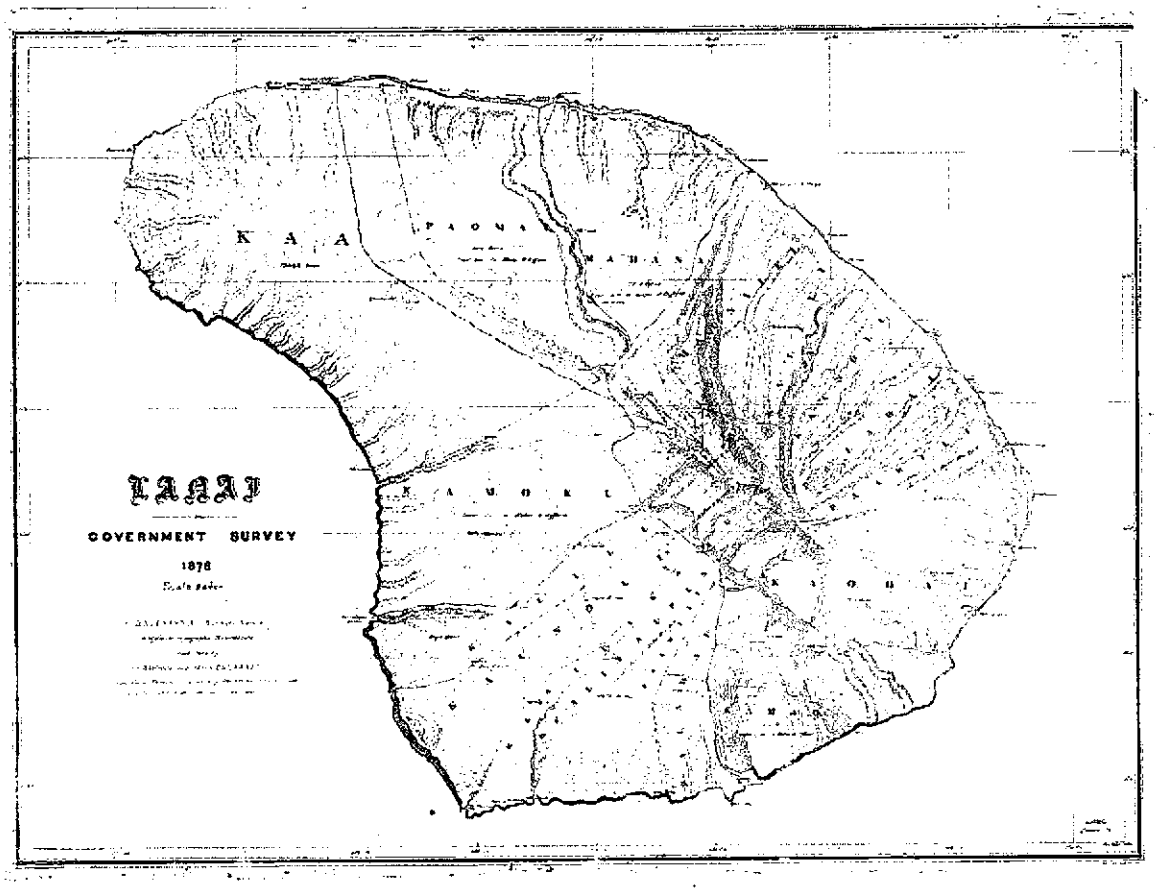
Chapter 2. Figure 9. Portion of Koolaupoko From Hawaiian Government Survey Map done under the direction of Surveyor General W.D. Alexander, completed in 1876 by C.J. Lyons. Hawaii State Survey Office Registered Map # 1380. Showing many of the Ahupua'a in Koolaupoko that follow the ridge lines which often correspond to watersheds. This map is in very bad condition and is now retired from use.

If sections of O'ahu are noted for extended Ahupua'a, parts of Hawai'i island would differ greatly in this respect. Places on Hawai'i island that are noted for having long and narrow Ahupua'a inlcude Makanikahio and Waiapuka in North Kohala and sections in North Kona also have a number of the long narrow Ahupua'a such as the Ahupua'a of Makaula (see figure 10). Hawai'i island also has a few Ahupua'a that have a narrow coastal section while extending over large acreages of land and cutting off other Ahupua'a on their inland mauka (mountain) portion, as does the Ahupua'a of Kaohe in Hāmākua.



Chapter 2. Figure 10. Hawaiian Kingdom Government Survey 1891 by Alexander, Emmerson and Dodge. The Map Illustrates many of the Ahupua'a in North Kona, Notice the Narrow Width of Many Ahupua'a in this Area.

While on Lāna'i and Moloka'i there are rare cases of Ahupua'a extending from across the island from a fishery up into the mountains and down to the adjacent fishery[157] (see figure 11).



Chapter 2. Figure 11. Lāna'i Ahupua'a. Hawaiian Kingdom Government Survey Map 1878 by Alexander, Monsarrat, Brown. Note the middle section of the map includes Ahupua'a such as Kaunolu and Kalulu and Palawai that run from cost to coast.

The Palena of Ahupua'a defined resource access and usually extended into the ocean. There are testimonies in the Boundary Commission as well as Hawaiian Kingdom Supreme Court cases which state that if a person had extended over the Palena of their Ahupua'a for gathering a resource, they would have to give that resource to the Konohiki (manager) or common people of that Ahupua'a.[158] On the other hand people had access to nearly all the resources within the

Palena of their Ahupua'a, which was a major reason for Palena being known by the inhabitants of the Ahupua'a.

For the people that inhabited Ahupua'a, they were clearly places – people held attachments to their Ahupua'a and often times there were 'ōlelo no'eau (Hawaiian wise sayings) that corresponded to the identity of the inhabitants of particular places, whether it be by island, Moku, Ahupua'a, or 'Ili. Sometimes people of a particular Ahupua'a were noted for certain characteristics or famed for certain practices. As told by the saying *Kalaoa 'ai pō 'ele'ele* which was said in reference to the eating practices of the inhabitants of the Ahupua'a of Kalaoa in Hilo of Hawai'i island.[159] The Palena of Ahupua'a were also sites that were attached to the spiritual realm and was an integral part of the Mahakiki procession. The Hawaiian Scholar Daivda Malo writes,

Ma ka wa e hele mai ai ke akua a ku mai i ke ahu ma ka palena oia ahupuaa[160]	*At the time that the god comes, the god stops at the ahu on the boundary of that particular ahupua'a*

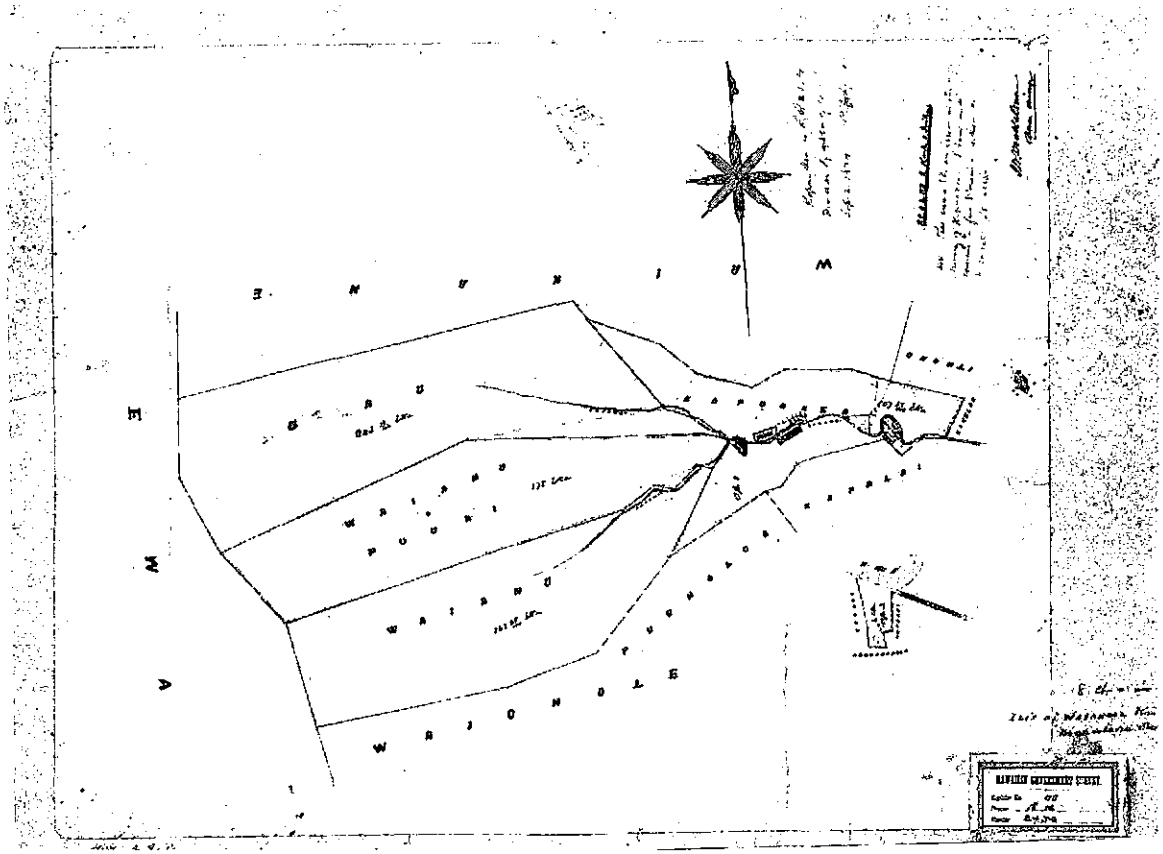
Ahupua'a were important divisions as they were the sites of Ho'okupu (tribute) collection each year. They were a unit which organized resources that inhabitants had kuleana or rights to, however, there were divisions such as 'ili which defined resource use and access that may have at times crossed Ahupua'a Palena to extend into multiple places.

'Ili — Kūpono and Lele

'Ili are possibly the most complex land division because they ranged in size, function, and composition. 'Ili were subdivisions of Ahupua'a but not all Ahupua'a included 'Ili. Some smaller Ahupua'a had no 'Ili while some of the larger Ahupua'a had thirty to forty 'Ili which were independently named and marked by 'iwi or the Palena of 'Ili.[161] There were three types of 'Ili: the 'Ili of the Ahupua'a, the 'Ili lele, and the 'Ili Kūpono. The 'Ili of the Ahupua'a were inhabited by maka'āinana of the particular Ahupua'a and according to Lyons were

> For the convenience of the chief, holding the Ahupuaa; *alii ai ahupuaa.* The *konohiki* of these divisions were only the agents of the said chief, all the revenues of the land included going to him, and the said land, in Hawaiian parlance, "belonging to the ahupuaa."[162]

The 'Ili of the Ahupua'a were held under the tribute of the ali'i 'ai ahupua'a (the ali'i who was in legitimate control of the Ahupua'a), in these cases the aforementioned ali'i who have kuleana or rights to a portion of the resources in the entire Ahupua'a. 'Ili were also places to those that inhabited them, often times named for a particular mo'olelo associated with them. I have spoken with Hawaiian kūpuna who have referred to their place of origin by 'Ili name rather than by Ahupua'a. Although their description differs from that of Lyons, Handy and Handy speculate that 'Ili rights and cultivate use stayed with the family.[163]

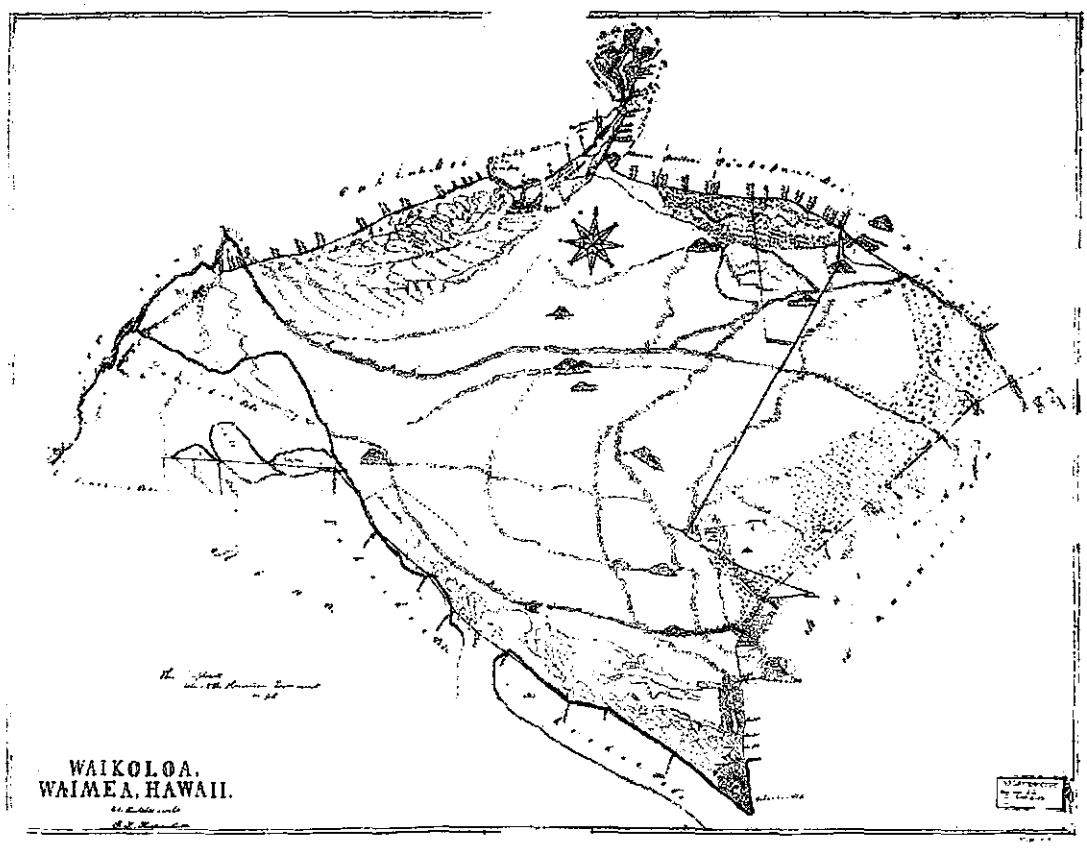


Chapter 2. Figure 12. Map of the 'Ili of Waiāhole Ahupua'a by J.M. Makalena 1860-1870. Register Map # 116. Hawai'i State Survey Office

'Ili Kūpono were divisions that were nearly independent of the ali'i who was in control of the Ahupua'a. They did require a slight labor tax to the ali'i of the Ahupua'a but aside from that they existed outside of the jurisdiction of the ali'i of the Ahupua'a and would not be redistributed upon his/her death. Lyons writes,

> *ili kupono,* on the contrary, was nearly independent. The transfer of the ahupuaa to a new chief did not carry with it the transfer of the *ili kupono* contained within its limits. The chiefs previously holding the ili kupono continued to hold them, whatever the change in the ahupuaa chief.[164]

The Ahupua'a of Waimea on Hawai'i Island included the large 'Ili Kūpono of Waikoloa. Figure 13 is an 1859 map of the 'Ili Kūpono of Waikoloa done by S.M. Kaelemakule.



Chapter 2. Figure 13. 1859 Map of the 'Ili Kūpono of Waikoloa by S.M. Kaelemakule.

'Ili Lele are the most complicated land division. Lyons notes that they are most prominent on O'ahu island. The Hawaiian word *lele* translates as to jump or to fly. 'Ili lele are given this term because they jump or fly across other boundaries to make up their entire composition. 'Ili lele would be composed of several distinct sections of lands and fisheries which would be grouped together to form one unit. Often times 'Ili lele would include a mountain section, a wetland section, and a fishery. Lyons writes of a few examples of these when he discusses the 'Ili Lele of Punahou.

> Punahou had anciently a lot on the beach near the Kakaako Salt Works; then the large lot with the spring and kalo patches where is now the school, and again a forest patch on the steep sides of Manoa Valley.[165]

Mōʻī, Palena, and Land Divisions

A brief discussion of ʻŌiwi land divisions was provided to illustrate to the reader some of the complexities of the geo-political structures and territoriality emplaced over the land in ancient times. Chiefs such as Māʻilikūkahi were famed with having created these divisions. It is likely that these divisions may not have occurred had rule not been consolidated under one Mōʻī, though it is difficult to be certain. There would have likely been difficulties in establishing agreeable boundaries amongst groups of competing chiefs. However, if all chiefs yield to one supreme chief for land holdings, than lands can be apportioned by that the supreme chief thus simplifying the process of creating legitimate boundaries. In the following section I will cover briefly the process of land redistribution by a Mōʻī to the chiefs of the ʻaha aliʻi. Through this discussion it should become evident that Palena and Mōʻī are a critical part of this process.

Kālaiʻāina Complex Land Redistribution

A Kālaiʻāina was the process of a Mōʻī redistributing all the lands of an island amongst the aliʻi of the ʻaha aliʻi. With the information previously provided about the range and complexity of land divisions one can see that this would be no small task. A Kālaiʻāina was an extremely critical event that would principally define the reign of a Mōʻī. A Kālaiʻāina would be conducted at the beginning of the reign of a new Mōʻī. This was a relatively uncertain portion of a Mōʻī's reign where they could be subject to rebellion and in this process the Mōʻī was in a somewhat fragile position where they were forced to care for their supporters as well as possible rivals in the process. Tradition has shown a poorly executed Kālaiʻāina was one that resulted in war because it did not satisfy all the chiefs of the

ʻaha aliʻi. For example, it was the poorly executed Kālaiʻāina of the Mōʻī Kīwalaʻo under the direction of Keawemauhili which resulted in a situation that allowed for Kamehameha's rise to power on Hawaiʻi island.[166] Kameʻeleihiwa discusses the workings of a Kālaiʻāina,

> The mechanics of the Kālaiʻāina were such that upon the death of an Mōʻī, all ʻĀina would automatically revert to the new Mōʻī. He or she then would redistribute these ʻĀina according to the advice of his Kālaimoku (divider of the island), keeping in mind the aid certain Aliʻi Nui had proffered to the Mōʻī on his rise to power[167]

Having known and established Palena must have played a critical role toward making a Kālaiʻāina a possibility, let alone a success. It is my interpretation that there must have been established Palena prior to each Kālaiʻāina and that the divisions that were accomplished by Mōʻī such as Māʻilikūkahi were respected and maintained by the ʻaha aliʻi and makaʻāinana in the generations following him and the other previously mentioned aliʻi who accomplished similar feats.[168] All of the previously mentioned divisions (Moku, Kalana, ʻOkana, Ahupuaʻa and possibly ʻIli) would have been redistributed in a Kālaiʻāina. Figures 13 and 14 are provided to offer the reader with an illustration of the vast divisions of an entire island. This 1885 map of Maui includes Ahupuaʻa and Moku divisions.

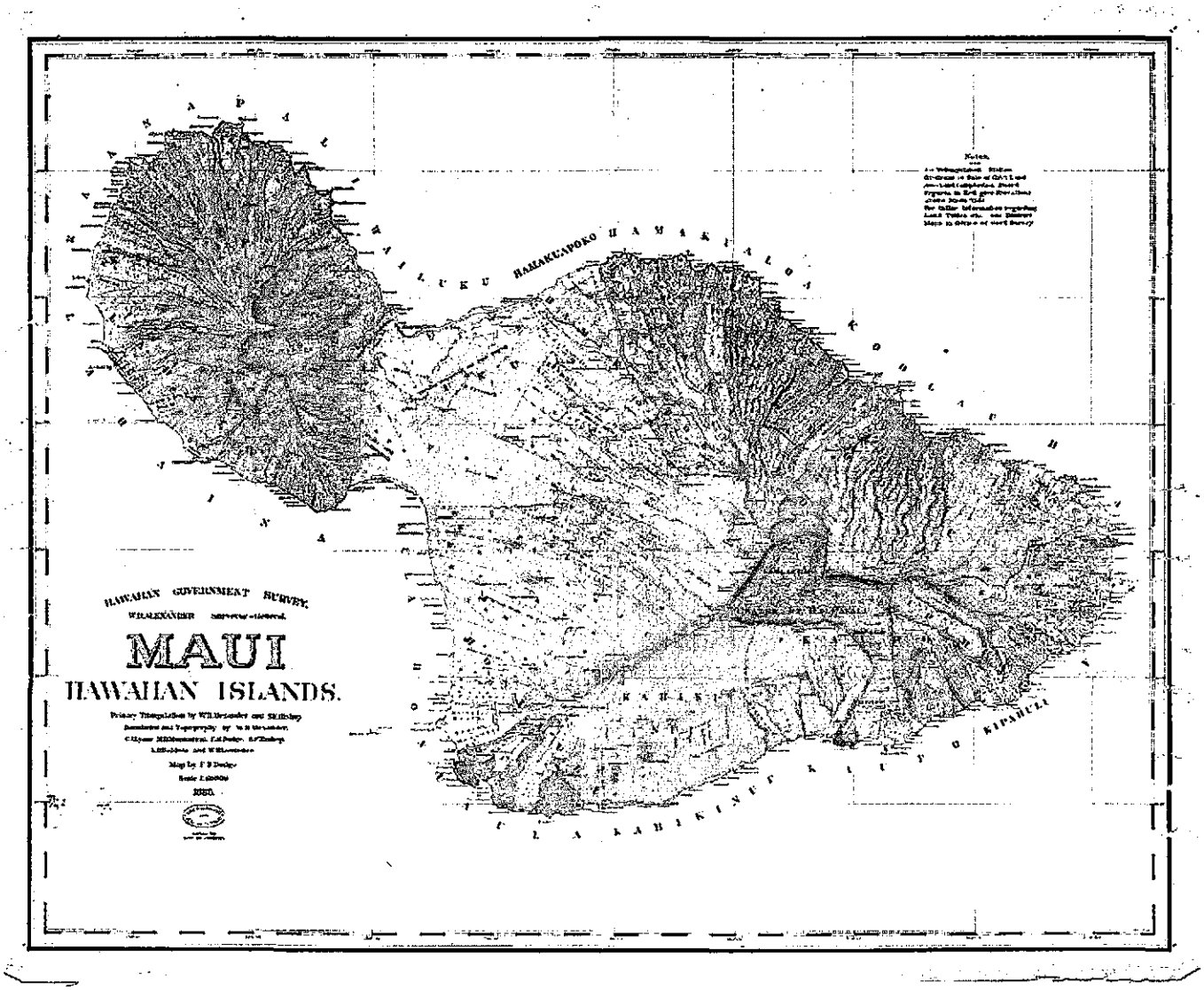


Figure 13. 1885 Map of Maui island. Hawaiian Kingdom Government Boundaries by Lyons et.al. Registered # 1408. Illustrating Moku and Ahupua'a divisions.

Chapter 2. Figure 14. 1885 Close up of Registered # 1408. Illustrating the Moku of Hana and some of its Ahupua'a divisions.

Malo writes that a Mōʻī would establish a Kālaimoku (see figure 2) to aid the Mōʻī in conducting the Kālaiʻāina. The Kālaimoku was one of the most important advisors to the Mōʻī and was the person who would meet secretly to collect the genealogies of every chief who might be awarded lands in the Kālaiʻāina.[169] It was after the genealogies had been gathered that a *Hale Nauā* would be built.[170] When the house had been constructed a wall was built around it and the Mōʻī would be inside of the *Hale Nauā* with his/her close relatives and those who were skilled in genealogies. Outside of the wall around the *Hale Nauā* stood two guards. In order for one to receive entrance in the *Hale Nauā* and pass the two guards one would need to convince those inside of the house the pedigree of their lineage. Malo writes,

Ma ka wa e komo ai ke kanaka iloko o ko ke alii hale, alaila, kahea mai na kanaka mawaho. Eia mai o mea ke komo aku la, alaila kahea mai ko loko poe, na wai oe e mea naua, o wai kou makua naua, o wai kou makua naua, a laila, hai mai ua kanaka la, na mea wau o mea ko'u makua.	*At the time that one would enter into the house of the ali'i, those outside would kāhea (call out). "Here I am entering", and then those inside would call out, "Who do you belong to ? Who are your parents," and then that that person would call out, I belong to so and so, and my parents are...*
Alaila, ninau hou ia, ua kanaka la, o wai ka makua o kou makua naua, a laila hai mai oia, o mea ka makua, o ko'u makua, o ko'u kupuna ia, o wai ka makua o kou kupuna ia, o wai ka makua o kou kupuna naua, hai mai io ia o mea ka makua o ko'u kupuna, pela no e ninau ai, a hiki ka umi o ke kupuna. Aka ina i ike ka poe kuauhau e noho pu ana me ke alii nui, i ka pili o ua kanaka la i ko ke alii nui hanauna, ua pono ia kanaka.[171]	*And then the person entering was further questioned, "who are the parents of your parents," and the person would answer, "So and so" is the parent of my parent, these are my grandparents." Then the person was asked, "who is the parents of your grandparents." The person would honestly respond, so and so is the parent of my grandparent, and it was carried out like this until reaching the tenth generation of ancestors. But if the genealogists that were in the hale nauā with the ali'i could see the connection between the person trying to enter and the ali'i, that person was allowed to enter*

When all eligible persons had entered into the *Hale Naua* lands were awarded in accordance to the relationship with the Mōʻī and the will of the Kālaimoku. It was in this house amongst a group of friendly and competing chiefs that the process of a Kālaiʻāina played out. I believe there exists a relationship between the act of a Kalāiāina and the ʻaha aliʻi. Malo writes that a Kālaiʻāina would take place in a *Hale Nauā*, *Nauā* is also the term that Fornander uses to describe how one entered into the ʻaha aliʻi. Fornander writes that in order for one to be received into the ʻaha aliʻi and to enter into its privileges, a chief's genealogy must first be validated by the aha aliʻi. A chief desiring to be recognized by the aha aliʻi would have to,

> Recite his *Naua,* his pedigree and connections, and whom no pretensions could dazzle, no imposture deceive.[172]

Fornander's description of this process is very similar to Malo's description of the process of how one enters into the *Hale Nauā* where a Kālaiāina was being conducted. The similarities in description might be because they are explaining a process that is closely associated. The only difference being that the ʻaha aliʻi allowed one to be considered a chief, but in order for one to receive land in a Kālaiʻāina one would not only have to be a part of the ʻaha aliʻi but more importantly connected to the particular Mōʻī through some genealogical strand.

It is highly likely that the establishment of Palena would have aided in the process of a Kālaiʻāina because if there were not pre-established boundaries over the lands that were being redistributed in the Kālaiʻāina, it would be nearly impossible to appease all the aliʻi and each Kālaiʻāina would result in war. The chiefs who entered into the *Hale Nauā* must have understood and accepted that the lands which were being awarded were bounded according to tradition – lest one chief could argue that Puna extended into Hāmākua which would destroy the entire Moku of Hilo. At present it is unclear if there were different subtitles that took place on

the differing islands. I am also unaware of what would happen if a Kālai'āina was conducted on Maui island at a period in history when Moloka'i and Lāna'i were under its control. Would the ahupua'a of Molokai and Lāna'i be a part of the Kālai'āina? I would assume the answer is yes, but I have not found information that could lead me to a definite answer. What is certain is that there was a great deal of protocol, structure, and order in the process of a Kālai'āina and that it is very likely that the Palena that were emplaced on the land by Mō'ī like Mā'ilikūkahi enabled or at least aided in making a Kālai'āina possible. Later chapters will show the hybridity of these structures – how parts of them were changed while other portions were modified in the modernization of the Hawaiian Kingdom.

Mō'ī, Palena, Kālai'āina — 'Ōiwi Political Geography

This chapter was an introduction to the concepts that I find to constitute an 'Ōiwi political geography which ordered the land in accordance to the structure of society. It illustrated the connections between the concepts of Mō'ī, Palena and Kālai'āina. The office of the Mō'ī likely aided in the clear and precise establishment of Palena, while having clear and precise Palena on the ground would enable a Kālai'āina to be possible. When the structures of Mō'ī, Palena, and Kālai'āina are taken together and seen in an entirety, I am arguing that that they constitute a part of "traditional" state-craft as proposed by Hommon. One can see the rigidity and structural stratification of the 'Ōiwi society of old. It is important to have an understanding of these structures as they existed prior to the introductions of European ideas of governance and politics in order to have a fuller conception about how these structures were modified or replaced. For a fuller understanding of the effects that the modernization of the

Hawaiian Kingdom had, it is imperative that scholars have accurate knowledge of ali'i structures in the ancient times. Otherwise the scholarship that will be produced simply trace the spread of European ideals without taking into consideration the intricacies of place and how knowledge becomes situated in places.[173]

This chapter has provided the reader with knowledge of Pre-European influenced structures in the 'Ōiwi society of old. The importance of this chapter for the dissertation is that it demonstrates that there existed prior to Europeans a complex system of governance which had many of the makings of a pre-state and Monarchy. Mō'ī such as Kalaunui'ōhua were attempting to consolidate rule over multiple islands, society was stratified by the aha ali'i and Kālai'āina, and a complex territoriality existed over the land in the form of Palena. Later chapters focus on the structures that were emplaced in the Hawaiian Kingdom when Hawaiians became exposed to many non-'Ōiwi originated ideas and concepts. What will become evident is that the structures covered in the chapter were hybridized to represent the complex identity of the ali'i in the period of the Hawaiian Kingdom. Chapter 4 illustrates how the concepts of Mō'ī ,Palena, and Kālai'āina were modernized and modified in the reign of Kamehameha III through the creation of a constitutional monarchy, a codified body of law, and 1848 the Mahele. The next chapter will focus on early 'Ōiwi and European interactions, the rule and foreign policy of Kamehameha, and the reign and travel of Liholiho. Beginning with Kamehameha the following chapters will illustrate how ali'i constructed a strategy that pursued diplomatic engagement with the world, while preserving their own Hawaiian-ness. Both Chapters three and four illustrate the complex negotiations that take place in Hawai'i from the period of Kamehameha I forward and

demonstrate how the ali'i were selectively appropriating the technologies, concepts, and tools of foreigners throughout the Hawaiian Kingdom period.

Chapter 3: Kamehameha & Liholiho– Ali'i Openness and Diplomacy with the World

The name TAMAAHMAAH appears in capital letters across the back page of a letter written to King George III on March 3, 1810.[174] The letter is written in English and it appears as if Kamehameha had commissioned someone who was trained in addressing British sovereigns to write it. There is a distinguishable difference in penmanship from the text of the letter and the signature of TAMAAHMAAH. Creases appear on the letter as if it had been folded from its roughly 7X5 inch frame into a square of about 2 ½ inches one could imagine that it was folded so that it could easily fit into the coat pocket or within the pages of an unknown captain's logbook or envelope. Tucked away and protected it would make its way some seven-thousand miles from the shores of O'ahu to Windsor castle, the Royal residence of the British Sovereign for the past 900 years where the letter remains in the care of the Royal Archives.

I had seen reference to the letter in the Hawaii State Archives, and in a journal article, but I was quite anxious to see the original for myself to analyze its authenticity and to touch what was once in the hands of Kamehameha I. As I made my way up the hundred plus steps of the Round tower to the researchers desk to see for myself the first direct correspondence between a Hawaiian Mō'ī and a British sovereign, I thought to myself about a strategy of Kamehameha and the Mō'ī who followed him in dealing with the outside world. The thoughts that came to my mind centered around Hawaiian diplomacy. Although Kamehameha had never been an eyewitness to the rulers and governments of other countries, he had witnessed the representations of other countries: their flags, their sea captains, and their cannons. These impressions and his

knowledge of the complex politics as practiced by ali'i, likely led him to attempt to create alliances, even with those he had never seen.

In this chapter I will discuss ali'i and haole engagements. Some of the engagements covered in this chapter take place in Hawai'i, while others occur in countries outside of Hawai'i with the rulers and through the protocol of foreign countries. This chapter is important for the overall argument of the dissertation because it provides insights into the engagements between ali'i and haole (prior to Kamehameha III) while demonstrating the complex identities that each of these groups take on through their interactions. I argue that it is a merging of Hawaiian and European traditions—complexly negotiated through ali'i tactics against European Hegemony that is the catalyst for the creation of the independent Hawaiian State.

The chapter will cover, Paumakua and early haole engagements, the experiences and policies of Kamehameha I, the religious reformation of Liholiho, his early experiences with the palapala (writing) and his trip to London. This chapter will document what I have found to be diplomatic policy first adopted by Kamehameha I and largely followed by his successors. If diplomacy is the art of dealing with the sovereign other, or the other sovereign, Mō'ī since Kamehameha I began to master this art and emplace it as policy. Their policy sought to ally Hawai'i with the powerful nations of the world, to master native and foreign protocols of rule and governance while maintaining Hawaiian control over the Hawaiian Islands. Through the use of diplomacy, diplomats, and displays of royalty, Hawaiian Ali'i met with political elites in other countries to implant knowledge of the Hawaiian Kingdom's existence in the minds of the world's elite class, while positioning Hawaiian sovereignty over the islands as an accepted global policy. While there were a number of Ali'i who visited foreign countries and went to colleges abroad,

this chapter focuses on early ʻŌiwi and haole engagements. The importance of this chapter for the overall argument of this dissertation, is that it demonstrates, that the aliʻi were not overwhelmed by a wave of foreigners, but rather that the aliʻi were engaging with foreigners at every step along the early modernization of the Hawaiian Kingdom. This chapter demonstrates that aliʻi were using diplomacy with strategic intent to gain international allies and ward off outside threats against their sovereignty over the islands. Aliʻi made use and subjects of foreigners to forward and aid in their own agenda while attempting to integrate Hawaiian protocol with international protocol dealing with the rulers and officials of other nations. Aliʻi and the British Sovereign exchanged gifts which were signs of legitimating the others' rule and culture. Kamehameha offered to the British sovereign ancient symbols of royalty such as ʻahuʻula (feather cloak) while King Kamehameha's gifts were repaid with a British Red coat laced in gold and adorned with gold buttons and stars. Though the cultures of the two nations were undoubtedly different, their highly stratified societies, protocol, and class system were recognized and accepted by the rulers of both nations.

Paumakua and Early Engagements With Haole

There were numerous ʻŌiwi and haole engagements prior to 1778. According to the Hawaiian scholar Samuel Kamakau, the first white foreigners that were seen in *Ka Pae ʻĀina* arrived in Kailua and Kāneʻohe in the time of Auanini some 25-30 generations prior to the arrival of Cook.[175] The ship was named Ulupana and Mololani was the captain who was accompanied by his wife Mālaea. There were other men on board the ships whose names were Olomana, Aniani, and Holokamakani.[176] Kamakau also discusses the famed ʻŌiwi navigator Paumakua who is the grandson of Auanini. Paumakua is noted for visiting foreign lands and for bringing back with him to Oʻahu island three haole priests named Kaʻekaʻe. Maliu, and Malela.[177] It might come as a surprise to many contemporary scholars that according to Hawaiian tradition, Cook was not the first white foreigner to arrive on Hawaiian shores. In fact a reading of Kamakau's writing implies that Cook did not necessarily astonish the native population by his god like arrival on the scene but rather was one in a series of foreigners to arrive in Ka Pae ʻĀina. Noenoe Silva writes that Kamakau illuminates the story of Cook in this way:

> Purposefully disrupting the story told by haole that Cook appeared magically and suddenly as a unique phenomenon, to the shock and amazement of the Kanaka ʻŌiwi...The fact that Kamakau deliberately contested haole historiographic methods is literally lost in translation.[178]

It should not be overlooked that the story of the arrival of all of the aforementioned foreigners is told within the moʻolelo of Kamehameha. Kamakau is encompassing the engagements and arrivals of foreigners within a distinctly Hawaiian narrative. It is of significance to note that for Kamakau, history clearly did not begin with Cook, and in fact Cook is never the center of the narrative as offered by Kamakau. For Kamakau, Kamehameha is the center of the Moʻolelo, while

Cook and the arrival of foreigners is an event of significance within this story. Furthermore, Kamakau challenges the assumption that Cook appears magical and godlike to those Hawaiians who he came into contact with. This reframing of the narrative challenges the unequal power relationships that are invested in the idea that Cook was the first European appear in the Hawaiian islands and was seen as a god. Obeyesekere has argued that image of Cook as a god was created by Europeans as an iconic figure which symbolized and foretold the European conquest of the Pacific,

> This "European god" is a myth of conquest, imperialism, and civilization–a triad that cannot be easily separated.[179]

Obeyesekere argues that the icon of Cook is important part of European heritage and an ancestor to anthropologists. The story of Cook being seen as a god by Hawaiians has been surrounded by a "myth model" which infused irrational and childlike behavior to natives, while illustrating the rational and adult behaviors to Europeans. Similarly to Obeyesekere, I do not think Cook was believed to be the god Lono, Cook was rather seen and treated diplomatically, as a representative of someone of great mana. Diplomatic negotiations went well on both sides at first, however, when the diplomatic negotiations went sour 'Ōiwi resorted to force, as they would have done with any other person whether foreign or native who represented someone of mana. According to Kamakau's narrative Cook is one of a series of foreigners who had enter the Hawaiian Islands, not the first. I am arguing that he was encountered diplomatically, which in those days would be infused with certain metaphysical assumptions. Surely there was diplomatic protocol that Cook was afforded but this was not completely unlike they anyone who represented or possessed great mana would be treated. Kamehameha and his companion Kekūhaupi'o clearly did not see Cook and his men as gods. They spent a night and sailed on Cook's vessel without

fear. Through this particular encounter they learned about foreign vessels and weapons, Desha writes that this interaction on the ship gave Kamehameha valuable knowledge about the tools and technologies of outside world. He writes,

Ua lilo kēlā huaka'i a lāua i luna o kēlā moku i kēlā manawa i mea ho'ona'auao pū mai iā lāua i kēlā manawa a e lilo ho'i i mea kōkua nui mai ma hope mai i ka manawa e alaka'i ana 'o Kamehameha i kona pū'ali koa no ka na'i aupuni kaulana ma ia hope mai, a ua lilo pū nō ho'i i mea na Kekūhaupi'o e ho'omaopopo pū ai i nā 'ano o nā mea kaua o nā haole.[180]	*That particular voyage on the ship became a means for them to gain knowledge which would become of critical importance when Kamehameha was leading his warriors in his famed conquest [of the islands]. This journey also became a means for Kekūhaupi'o to come to recognize the differing weapons of the foreigners.*

The encounters of Kamehameha and Kekuhaupi'o with Cook illustrate that they did not see him as a god, but rather as a person who possessed knowledge that they might gain and manipulate for their own purposes. Kamehameha's experiences on Cook's ship and his early recognition of the tools of the haole are illustrations the relationships he has with haole and the haole world throughout his lifetime.

Kamehameha I

It was in Kokoiki in the Kohala district on Hawai'i island where many of the high ranking Ali'i had gathered. They were there awaiting the arrival by canoe of the chiefess Keku'iapoiwa who was preparing to give birth to a child that would later be named Kamehameha.[181] The child had been prophesied to cause the existing chiefs to fall and to ascend to heights previously unattained. It was a this gathering prior to Kamehameha's birth that one prominent Ali'i at that time uttered,

E 'ō'ū i ka maka o ka wauke 'oi 'ōpiopio[182]	*Pinch of the tip of the young mullberry shoot*

The meaning behind this phrase is to do away with the young chief before he can become strong. Kamehameha was born into tumultuous times and because of the threats surrounding the his life it was decided that he be raised in hiding in an attempt for him to be free of those that were conspiring against him. After being carried away in the middle of the night by his kahu (guardian), Kamehameha was raised in the back country of North Kohala in an Ahupua'a named Awini. When he grew into adolescence, Kamehameha returned from the backcountry and would become a part of the courts of the Mō'ī Alapa'i Nui and later Kalani'ōpu'u. Kamehameha became a trusted and important member of his uncle Kalani'ōpu'u's court and fought alongside the Mō'ī in the invasions of Maui.

In April of 1782 the Mō'ī Kalani'ōpu'u passed away[183] leaving to his son, Kīwala'ō, the right to rule and to his nephew, Kamehameha, the akua (god) Kūka'ilimoku. While the right to rule was clearly vested in Kīwala'o, Kamehameha had been provided with a special position by being given the right to the god Kūka'ilimoku. Generations earlier in the history of Hawai'i island, a similar honor had been given to the chief 'Umi who eventually acquired rule of the island in spite of that right being granted to his half-brother Hākau. Being that there was a history of a lesser ranking chief acquiring the god Kūka'ilimoku and later usurping the right to rule, it is not clear if Kalani'ōpu'u had in some way intended for his nephew Kamehameha to rise against his son Kīwala'ō. What is certain is that shortly after the death of Kalani'ōpu'u, Kīwala'ō is killed. The island of Hawai'i is then broken up into separate chiefdoms ruled by three adversarial chiefs, Kamehameha, Keawemauhili and Keōua Kū'ahu'ula. During this period of instability on Hawai'i island numerous foreign ships are arriving and departing from the Hawaiian islands. The arrival

of the fierce sea captain Simon Metcalf into Hawaiian waters is one encounter of considerable significance.

A Hawaiian Contact Zone—Captives, Advisors, and Allegiance

In this section I will discuss some of the ways that Kamehameha attained foreigners under his allegiance while demonstrating some of the complex negotiations that were taking place in this time period. I argue that Kamehameha actively acquired and manipulated haole under his allegiance in order to gain knowledge of the outside world.

Captain Metcalf's ship the *Eleanora* had been anchored off the shores of Olowalu Maui in the year 1790.[184] Captain Metcalf would forever have his name associated with Olowalu for possibly the most heinous event to ever occur in Hawai'i. He was the perpetrator of a terrible massacre. Metcalf had ordered his men to fire on a group of over a hundred unsuspecting 'Ōiwi. The massacre was called Kalolopahū (Bursted brains) because when the bodies were drug ashore their heads had been split open by the cannon fire.[185] It is suspected that Metcalf's rationale for firing on a group of innocent people was because a skiff had been stolen in the late hours of the previous night, by a chief, Ka'ōpūiki.[186] It was shortly after the massacre at Olowalu that the *Eleanora* makes its way to Ka'awaloa on Hawai'i Island. Captain Metcalf orders a group of his men to land (possibly to collect water for the ship). One of the men who wandered inland was seized by Kamehameha and not allowed to return to the ship and it was through these contested series of events that Kamehameha acquires the Boatswain of Captain Metcalf, John Young. However, Young was not the only foreigner who began as a captive of Kamehameha and later became a trusted advisor. Kamehameha also acquired Isaac Davis through a very similar set of

events, Isaac Davis had been taken captive and offered to Kamehameha by Kame'eiamoku.[187] Hawai'i was clearly a "Contact Zone" in this period.[188] Engagements between European ship captains and ali'i often escalated into physical violence. However, it is difficult to determine which group was dominant or marginalized in these engagements because the balances of power would shift from the haole to 'Ōiwi in differing situations. It is of interest to note that Kamehameha may have been on the winning side of these early engagements. When Kuykendall writes of Kamehameha's relationships with foreigners he writes,

> He had foreigners in his service, some of them being trusted confidential advisors, but they were always his servants, never his masters; his was the better mind and the stronger will.[189]

The captures of Young and Davis provided a means for Kamehameha to acquire foreigners under his allegiance enabling him to gain valuable access to knowledge about the outside world. One can imagine that the progression from captive to advisor was not an easy one. It likely required Kamehameha to take great care of these foreigners so that he might gain their true allegiance. Over time, Kamehameha grants lands to both Davis and Young for their trusted service, but an immediate strategy that Kamehameha used was to ho'owahine (marry) these foreigners with ali'i wahine who were of fairly high ranking lineage.[190] A possible reason for this strategy was so these unions would produce hapa-haole children, thus creating a familial link between the foreigners and the existing ali'i system of which Kamehameha was the head. It can also be considered that by these foreigners producing hapa-haole ali'i children, they themselves would have experienced a change from that of the outsider to a clearly different position. While they likely still saw themselves as British, their identities became complicated with their ties to Hawai'i and later in their lives also became tied to the accomplishments of Kamehameha.

By 1819 John Young is estimated to have been seventy years of age.[191] No longer known as solely John Young, he was known as John Young 'Olohana, or simply 'Olohana. He had fought under Kamehameha in many battles on Hawaii and Maui island, and had fathered six hapa-haole children through the chiefesses Kaoanaeha (the niece of Kamehameha) and Namokuelua. One account of an 1819 interview with Young 'Olohana expresses a shift in his political identity from solely a British subject to feeling as if he was a part of Hawai'i. When speaking about the uncertain reign of Kamehameha's heir Liholiho, John Young 'Olohana explained to the French captain Freycinet,

> If I desire that peace should be established upon a solid basis, it is not because of myself that I hold such a hope. I am old and infirm and shall not much further extend my career, but in my last days it would be pleasing to me that I might see the son of my benefactor, the great Tamehameha, in peaceful possession of the heritage of his father. As for myself, henceforth useless in this world, I would look only upon approaching death without regrets, if one may die without regrets far from one's homeland.[192]

The above passage offers a glimpse into the rather difficult emotional state that John Young 'Olohana may have been in at the time. While he clearly acknowledges the sovereign authority of Kamehameha and his line, he also recalls the land of his birth. There must have been numerous opportunities that Young could have acted on in order to return home. Strangely John Young 'Olohana never leaves Hawai'i and after forty six years of residence in Hawai'i, he passes away at the age of ninety-three in Honolulu where his body was placed outside the Royal Mausoleum.[193] It is quite likely that the John Young 'Olohana of seventy years of age developed an affinity or connection to Hawai'i, and that he had been changed by his experiences in the islands. At some point between his capture, his loyal service to Kamehameha, and the fathering of Hawaiian children, he begins to see himself as a part of Kamehameha's Kingdom. He was no

longer a British subject who had been captured by Kamehameha. He was the husband of a chiefess, the father of hapa-haole ali'i and openly refers to Kamehameha as "the King" (see figure 2). John Young 'Olohana became so committed to the government of Kamehameha that he openly expresses his anger at the lack of British communication with the islands to captain Freycinet. Freycinet notes that,

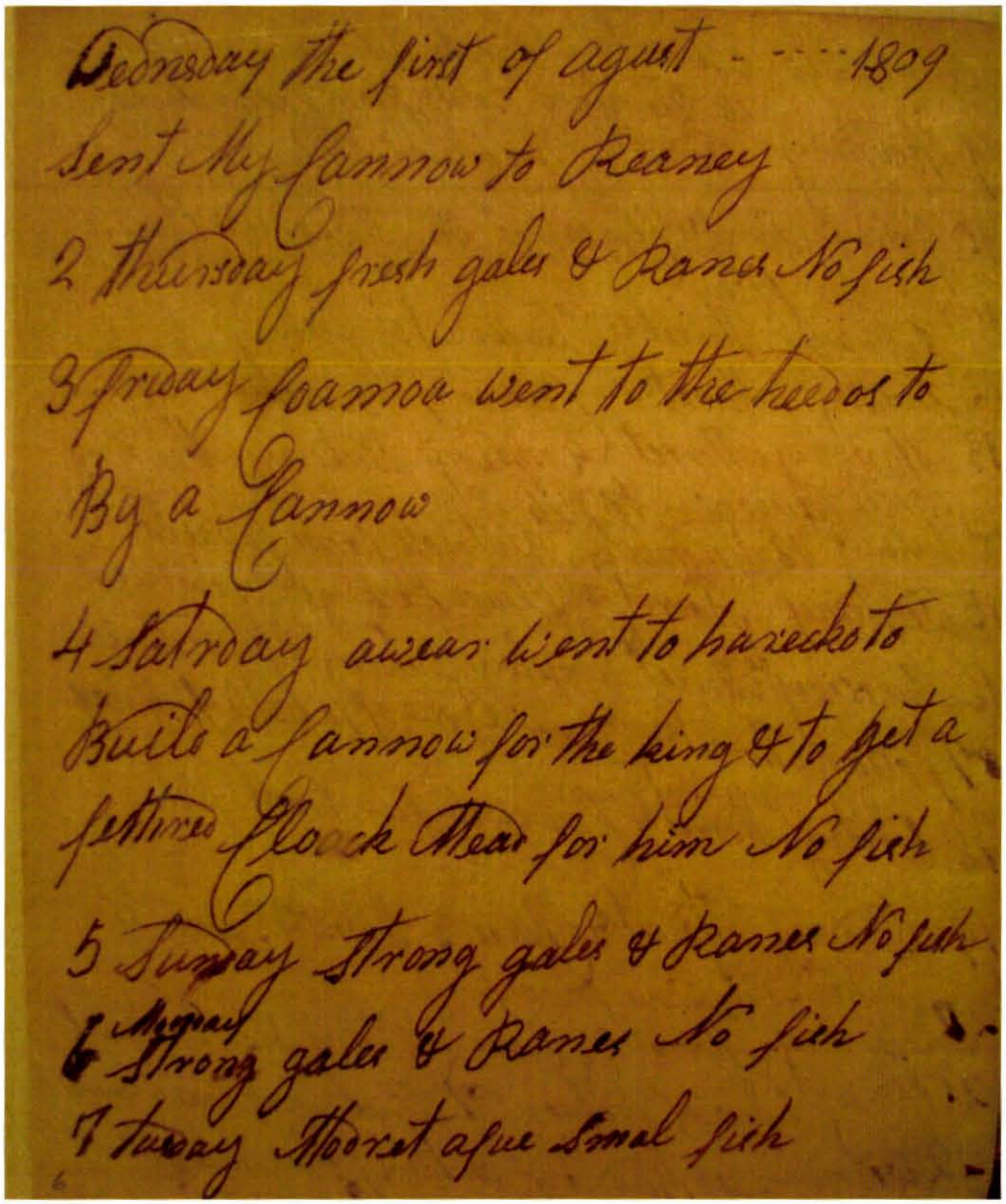
> Young deplored bitterly that the British, who had formerly done so much for the civilization of the Sandwich Islands, should have entirely abandoned them for so long. In 1816 Tamehameha had received a letter from Governor Macquarie, of Port Jackson, in which had been enclosed a letter from the Earl of Liverpool addressed to Tamehameha under the instructions of the Prince Regent of England. This letter, under the date of 1812, was accompanied by two boxes, one of which contained a three-cornered hat decorated with feathers and a red uniform outfit with gold braid; the second box was fitted with tools and other objects of ironmongery...The Governor advised Tamehameha that the King of Great Britain had given orders for the construction of a small ship at Port Jackson, that was to be offered to him. This vessel should have been laid down four months after the date of the Earl of Liverpool's letter and should have been dispatched to the Sandwich Islands upon its completion. Nevertheless, in August 1819, or approximately seven years later, nothing had as yet arrived. [194]

Freycinet is referring to the response to Kamehameha's letter in 1810 to King George III, which was mentioned in the beginning of this chapter. The response received by Kamehameha in 1816 promised Kamehameha a ship from Britain. John Young 'Olohana's anger stems from the lengthy amount of time that had passed without the receipt of the aforementioned vessel. From a closer reading of this passage one can gain insight into the complex position of John Young 'Olohana and the *betweeness* of his British–Hawaiian subject identity. A ship built by the British navy for King Kamehameha would offer a powerful symbol to other imperial countries of a relationship or alliance between Britain and Hawai'i.

Given the geo-political events that were taking place across the globe in the late 18th–early 19th centuries, Kamehameha's policy of creating alliances with the rulers of other countries

required that he acquire foreigners under his allegiance. Kamehameha was intimately aware of ʻŌiwi political structures such as the ʻaha aliʻi, what he was un-familiar with were the political structures and protocols of other countries. There were two ways of attaining this knowledge. The first would have been to send a Hawaiian abroad, the second is to bring a haole within. For Kamehameha, the latter option could provide him with immediate results. Loyal foreigners like John Young ʻOlohana could provide valuable insight into foreign politics and governance while helping to further Kamehameha's position as the sovereign ruler of Hawaiʻi. A similar situation occurred in Siam, where the Siamese elite had to negotiate with, and incorporate foreigners into inner circles while creating the modern independent state of Thailand.[195]

It is significant to note that in Young's journal he refers to Kamehameha as "the King" in several instances, demonstrating his loyalty to Kamehameha. In a journal Young describes (Figure 2) an attempt to have traditional an ʻahuʻula or feather cloak made for Kamehameha on the August 41809, thus offering a token of his allegiance not through his own native European protocol but through a symbol of mana anciently established, the ʻaha aliʻi.



Wednsday the first of aguist - - - - 1809
Sent My Cannow to Reaney
2 thursday fresh gales & Rains No fish
3 friday Coamoa went to the heados to
By a Cannow
4 Satroay awear went to barecko to
Build a Cannow for the king & to get a
fethers Cloack Mear for him No fish
5 Sunday Strong gales & Rains No fish
6 Monday Strong gales & Rains No fish
7 tuesday Moorset afue Smal fish

Chapter 3. Figure 2. August 1 1809 Extract from the Journals of John Young. "*4 Satoray (?) went to barecko to Build a Cannow for the king & to get a feather Cloack made for him.*"

International Negotiations: The Hawaiian-British Alliance

In this section I document Kamehameha's attempts at securing international alliances with foreign countries. Kamehameha's attempts at securing a political relationship with Britain are important because they demonstrate his usage of diplomacy in an attempt to secure his country against foreign invasion. The alliance established between Kamehameha and the British added international credentials to the Hawaiian Kingdom and was maintained throughout the successive reigns of Hawaiian ali'i.

By all accounts Kamehameha was an impressive man and courageous leader. He was known for accomplishing great deeds and organizing impressive works while caring for those of high and low stature.[196] Even the American historian Kuykendall who is often critical of Hawaiian ali'i writes,

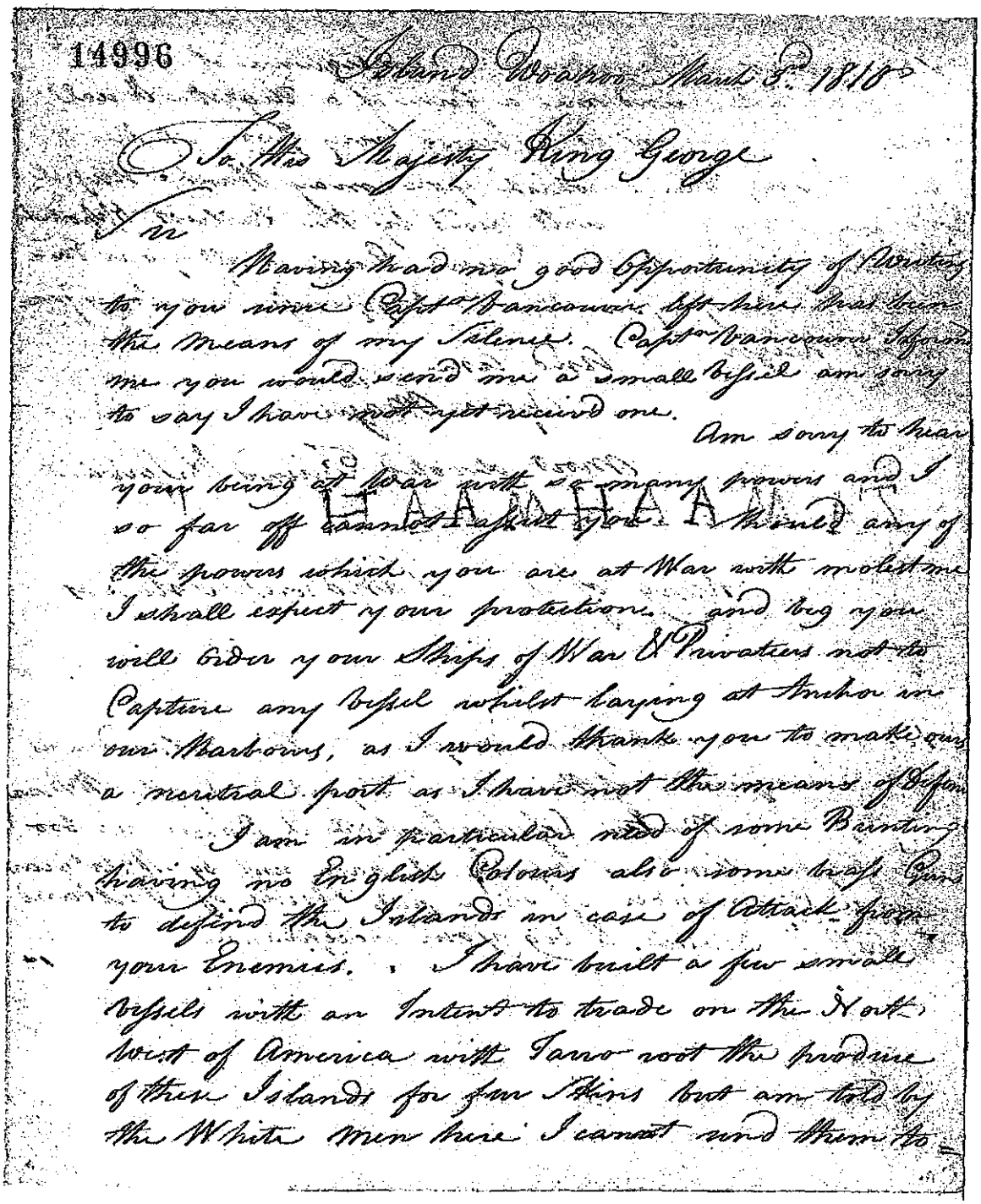
> Kamehameha is universally recognized as the most outstanding of all the Hawaiian chiefs of his own and of all other epochs. We can, perhaps, go even farther and say that he was one of the great men of the world.[197]

Because of his charisma and character Kamehameha was able to win the support of his elder chiefs such as Keaweāheulu, Kamānawa, Kame'eiamoku, Kekūhaupi'o and others. He was also able to win the confidence and support of foreigners such as Young, Davis, and Captain Vancouver. There is a widely accepted position among Hawaiian historians that Kamehameha and Captain Vancouver had developed a workable and friendly relationship.[198] One meeting between Kamehameha and Vancouver has been the source of much speculation around the political relationship between Hawai'i and Britain. On February 25 1794, Vancouver documents in his journal a meeting between himself and Kamehameha where two parties enter into what he calls a voluntary "cession" of Hawai'i Island to Britain. With the lack of other existing sources it

is difficult to determine the exact intentions of Kamehameha in this meeting, although Kuykendall documents that there are conflicting accounts.[199] Kamakau's account seems to be focused around Kamehameha requesting that Britain be an ally in case of attack from another European power.[200] Similarly a recent scholar has called it an alliance and not a cession.[201] Fornander writes that,

> While *Kamehameha* and his chiefs became willing to acknowledge King George as their suzerain, in expectation of his defending them against foreign and outside foes, they expressly reserved to themselves the autonomous government of their island in their own way and according to such laws as they themselves might impose...That *Kamehameha* and his chiefs did not understand the full meaning of the word cession is plain from the reservations which they made.[202]

While I do not want to engage in the debate about the intentions of Kamehameha in attempting to enter into this agreement with Britain, history has shown that no British-Hawaiian cession took place. My reason for discussing the correspondence between King Kamehameha and British authorities is to demonstrate that Kamehameha was actively involved in diplomatic negotiations which sought to protect his dominions from European imperial powers. By attempting to align Hawai'i with Britain (the most powerful country of the time), Kamehameha was attempting to preserve his own rule over Hawai'i while also deterring other European powers from taking possession of any part of the archipelago. In his letter to King George III, King Kamehameha requests items such as a vessel, bunting[203], brass guns, and to make the ports of Hawai'i neutral in British wars. Kamehameha also writes, "should any of the powers you are at war with molest me I shall expect your protection"[204] which may demonstrate his intentions for entering into an alliance with Britain. (See figures 3&4).



14996

Island Woahoo March 5th 1810

To His Majesty King George

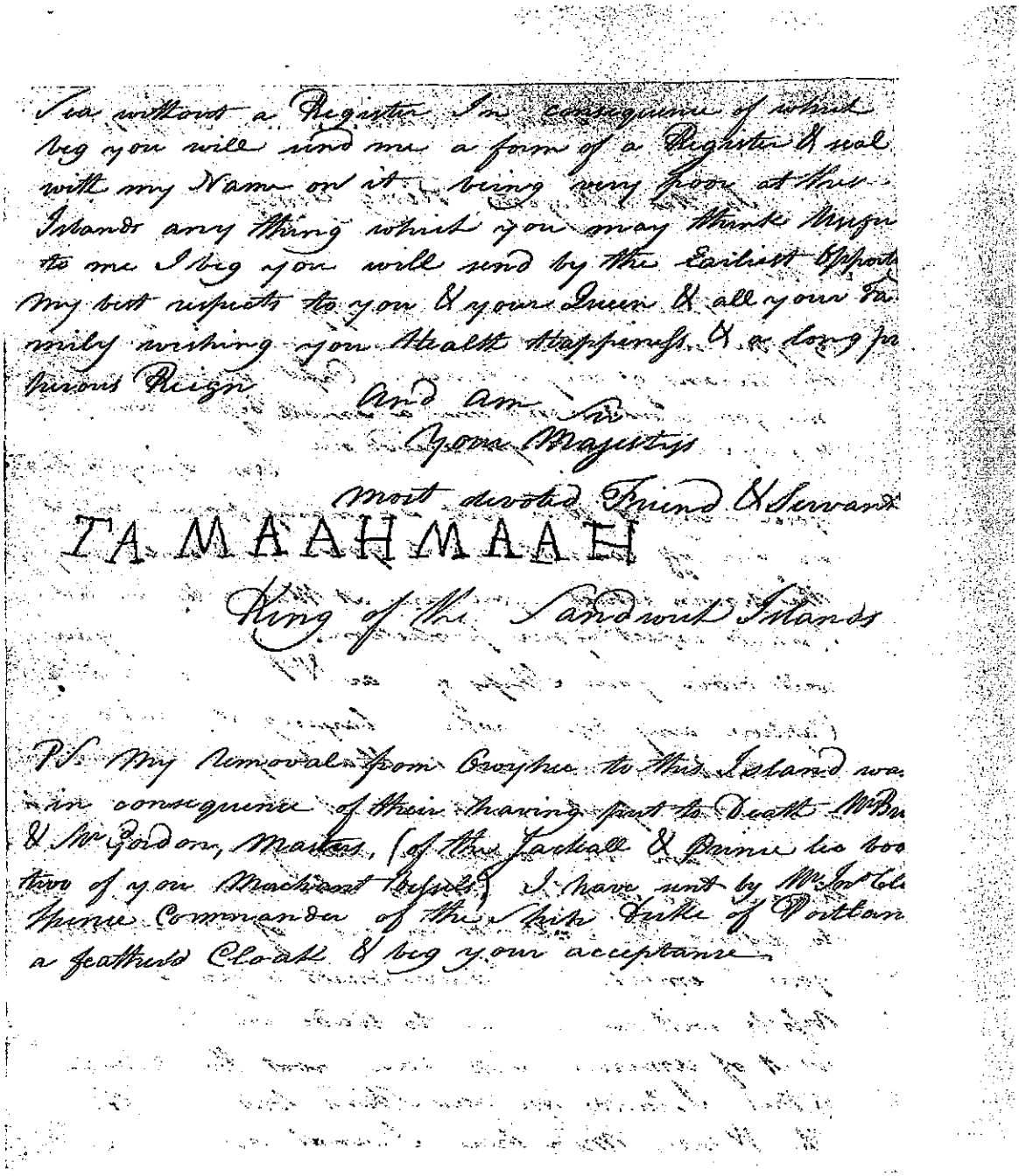
Sir

Having had no good Opportunity of writing to you since Capt. Vancouver left here that I can the Means of my Silence. Capt. Vancouver Informed me you would send me a small Vessel am sorry to say I have not yet received one.

Am sorry to hear your being at War with so many Powers and I so far off cannot assist you. Should any of the Powers which you are at War with molest me I shall expect your protection. and beg you will order your Ships of War & Privateers not to Capture any Vessel whilst laying at Anchor in our Harbours, as I would thank you to make our a neutral port as I have not the means of Defence.

I am in particular need of some Painting having no English Colours also some Red Coats to defend the Islands in case of Attack from your Enemies. I have built a few small Vessels with an Intent to trade on the North West of America with Sandal wood the produce of these Islands for fur Skins but am told by the White Men here I cannot send them to

Chapter 3. Figure 3. March 10 1810 Letter from King Kamehameha to King George III page 1. RA/GEO/MAIN/14966 Illustrated by the Permission of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.



Sea without a Register In consequence of which
beg you will send me a form of a Register & seal
with my Name on it being very poor at this
Islands any thing which you may think Meet
to send I beg you will send by the Earliest Opport
My best respects to you & your Queen & all your Fa
mily wishing you Health Happiness & a long pa
triotic Reign

And am Sir
Your Majesties
most devoted Friend & Servant
TA MAAHMAAH
King of the Sandwich Islands

P.S. My Removal from Owyhee to this Island was
in consequence of their having put to Death Mr Br
& Mr Gordon, Masters, (of the Jackall & Prince Lee boo
two of your Machines Respectd) I have sent by Mr Jno Cl
Prince Commander of the Ship Duke of Portlan
a feathered Cloak & beg your acceptance

Chapter 3. Figure 4. March 10 1810 Letter from King Kamehameha to King George III page 2. RA/GEO/MAIN/14966 Illustrated by the Permission of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.

It is not clear who wrote the aforementioned letter for Kamehameha and it does not appear to be in the handwriting of John Young. Kamehameha's letter did not actually reach George III. Due his illness, the letter was received by the Prince of Wales who accepted the feather cloak and ordered that a correspondence be written. On the 30th of April in 1812, the Earl of Liverpool addresses a letter to Kamehameha. In his reply the Earl thanks Kamehameha for his gift of the feather cloak and writes that,

> His Royal Highness Commands me to assure you that he shall feel at all times desirous to promote the Welfare of the Sandwich Islands, and that he will give positive orders to the Commanders of His ships to treat with proper respect, all trading vessels belonging to you or Your Subjects.
>
> His Royal Highness is confident that the Complete Success which he had gained over his enemies in every Quarter of the Globe will have the Effect of securing Your Dominions from any Attack or molestation on their part.
>
> You cannot give better Proof in return of Your Friendship and good-will towards Great Britain, then by reliving the wants of such British Subjects as may arrive at the Islands over which You Govern and may stand in need of you assistance.[205]

Kamehameha's alignment with Britain could only be successful if it was providing something for both parties. While Kamehameha had sought a guarantee of protection from other colonial powers, the benefit for the British lay in having a port in the middle of the Pacific where their subjects could be provisioned and assured safety. One might also note that Kamehameha's willingness to engage in trade and commerce may have been seen in a positive light by the British and have aided in the creation of an alliance between the two countries. The alliance between Britain and the "Sandwich Islands," must have been fairly widely known. In 1819 captain Freycient writes of a discussion that he had with King Liholiho. He writes,

> I am not ignorant, I told him (Liholiho) of the alliance that is in effect between the King of the Sandwich islands and the King of Great Britain[206]

Unification and Progeny

In this section I briefly discuss the unification of the islands under Kamehameha and the ali'i usage of foreign weapons and tools of warfare. This section is also a transitional section into the reign of Liholiho, Kamehameha II.

By 1795, Kamehameha was able to consolidate rule over the islands through a series of conquests from Hawai'i to O'ahu. Warfare during these times had changed as a result of the introduction of gunpowder, all of the Mō'ī and other powerful chiefs had acquired some of these new weapons which included cannons, muskets, and foreign vessels. Kalanikūpule who had inherited Kahekili's Kingdom which included all of the islands except Hawai'i and Kaua'i, had acquired foreign vessels, and weapons as well foreign sailors.[207] While all the ali'i at this time had adapted the use of firearms, Kamehameha seemed to be the most effective in their use. Using traditional war canoes and weaponry, as well as foreign ships, cannons, and muskets Kamehameha was able to defeat Kalanikūpule on Maui and O'ahu while consolidating rule over all of Hawai'i Island. In 1796, Kamehameha stationed his warriors on the west-coast of O'ahu island where he prepared to invade Kaua'i.[208] He tried unsuccessfully to take Kaua'i by force. After two unsuccessful attempts at invasions, Kaua'i was acquired through a treaty between Kamehameha and Kaumuali'i who was the Mō'ī of Kaua'i. In 1810, an agreement was reached that allowed Kaumuali'i to rule on Kaua'i under the sovereign authority of Kamehameha.[209] By consolidating rule over the entire archipelago Kamehameha had succeeded where many ali'i before him had failed. He would spend the next nine years of his life establishing trade with other countries, fending off foreign attempts at acquiring parts of Hawai'i, and actively preparing his son Liholiho and nephew Kekuaokalani to rule when he was gone.

Liholiho

In this section I discuss some important biographical information about Liholiho so that the reader may know some of the important details about how Liholiho had been raised and the protocol that he had lived under as a child. It is important to have some biographical information about Liholiho so that the reader can better understand the depth of changes that take place during his reign. The discussion will steadily move from Kamehameha I and focus on the reign and politics of Liholiho. The reign of Liholiho included significant changes in Hawaiian society such as the removal of the ancient kapu on eating, the introduction of foreign missionaries into the Hawaiian Islands, and his travel to England. Throughout my discussion of Liholiho I illustrate how he is portraying himself as ruler on multiple scales through the use of combinations of native and foreign displays of royalty.

According to the Hawaiian scholar Stephen Desha, in 1811 while Kamehameha and his retinue were on a canoe returning from O'ahu to Hawai'i island, he turned to his son of 14 years and told Liholiho that he would be his heir and that Kamehameha's nephew Kekuaokalani would have the god Kūkailimoku. Kamehameha followed the precedent of his uncle and that of the great ali'i Līloa by separating the right to rule from the right possess the God Kūka'ilimoku. As was the earlier case of Kalani'ōpu'u, it is not clear if Kamehameha had hoped for the previous tradition of the possessor of Kūka'ilimoku to eventually become Mō'ī. Kamehameha had kept Liholiho close to him since Liholiho was of very young age in order to prepare him for rule. This would make one assume that he had wanted Liholiho to reign.[210]

At the age of seventeen Keōpūolani gave birth to Liholiho. Liholiho was the first born child of Keōpūolani and Kamehameha, his piko was cut at Kaipalaoa in Hilo.[211] He was said to have been a child who listened to the words of his teachers and was taught to observe the gods at

the age of five.[212] Since he was raised in the presence of Kamehameha and traveled with Kamehameha wherever he went it is safe to assume that he had intimate knowledge of governance and protocol of the time. Since Liholiho was of nīʻaupiʻo rank he was treated as if he was an akua (God) on earth.[213] As life was surrounded by protocol and kapu he had trouble finding playmates. A story is told by Kamakau about how the life of ʻĪʻī was spared after he broke kapu because Liholiho desired him as a playmate.[214] As a man ʻĪʻī became a member of Privy Council and kahu to Alexander Liholiho (Kamehameha IV) in his younger years.[215]

Nā Hoahānau—Cousins and the ʻAi Kapu

In this section I discuss the very early portions of Liholiho's reign and the removal of the ʻAi kapu from Hawaiian custom. My discussion focuses on the relationships of Liholiho, his cousin Kekuaokalani, and the Kuhina Nui Kaʻahumanu and their respective roles in removing the ancient kapu. This section is important because I demonstrate that aliʻi such as Kaʻahumanu were using Christianity against potential rival chiefs. This section is also important because it shows that even prior to the American Protestant mission in the Hawaiian Islands, some aliʻi were willing to attempt to acquire and make use of the mana of foreign gods. Placed in this perspective one begins to understand the way the Mōʻī and the aliʻi were making use of Christianity for their own means and using it in ways that they had anciently used gods.

Liholiho's reign began in 1819 in the midst of turbulent seas. There had never been a Mōʻī prior to his father who had consolidated rule over all of Ka Pae ʻĀina. This gave Liholiho the privilege and the responsibility of managing an entire Kingdom composed of competing aliʻi, makaʻāinana, and foreign interests. What Kamehameha had conquered through industriousness,

determination, and unquestioned authority, Liholiho had to attempt to maintain through alliances, relationships, and negotiations. In some sense, Liholiho had a task comparable to his father's conquest of the entire archipelago. Kamehameha's rise to power included roughly twenty-five years. His gradual consolidation of rule was aided by the benefit of learning from mistakes and refining techniques along the way. While Liholiho did not have to conquer competing chiefs into submission, he did have to force them to concede to his authority. He did not have a period of twenty-five years to gain their loyalty but rather a period of weeks.

One of the most distinguishable events in the reign of Liholiho was the ʻAi noa, which takes place prior to the arrival of American missionaries in the Hawaiian islands. The event of the ʻAi noa was a refusal by Kaʻahumanu (the wife of Kamehameha, hānai mother of Liholiho) and a select group of aliʻi to live under the ancient kapu which divided men and women in eating, worship, and in certain labor functions–known as the ʻAi kapu. The story that surrounds the ʻAi noa illustrates the complex negotiations happening in Hawaiʻi prior to the arrival of the Protestant mission, between aliʻi and also between aliʻi and foreigners. The following sections provide analysis into these events. I have used quotations from the work of Kamakau when he discusses the meetings that took place between Liholiho and Kekuaokalani in order to piece together the complex religious and political negotiations that were taking place in this time period.

It was customary the heir would depart from the district where the previous Mōʻī had passed. Upon the death of Kamehameha in 1819 in Kailua, Kona, Liholiho left the district of Kona for Kawaihae in the district of Kohala.[216] It was at Kawaihae that he met with his cousin Kekuaokalani and the two of them awaited the bones of Kamehameha which were to be cared for

by Hoapili and Hoolulu.[217] Both Kekuaokalani and Liholiho had received word that some of the ali'i in Kailua were wishing to continue to live without the kapu on eating.[218] This situation created a tension among the ali'i of this time because it called into question the practice which had been established for generations that required men and women to eat and worship in separate places. Following the burial of Kamehameha a messenger was sent by Ka'ahumanu[219] to request that Liholiho return to Kailua and meet those ali'i that were residing there. Liholiho initially refuses to return to Kailua, heeding the advice of Kekuaokalani, who warned him against taking part in the breaking of the Kapu that was occurring by Ka'ahumanu and her circle of chiefs in Kailua and reminded him of the kauoha (orders) of Kamehameha. Kamakau writes that Kekuaokalani says to Liholiho,

'Elua wale nō kāua i kauoha 'ia, o ke aupuni ka iā 'oe, 'o ke akua ko'u kauoha. E nānā aku ho'i au iā 'oe, a e nana mai hoi oe ia'u [220]	*We have been given only two commands (of Kamehameha), the government is what you have been commanded to care for, while the God is what I have been commanded to care for. I will care for you and you in turn care for me.*

When the messenger returns to Ka'ahumanu and the other ali'i residing in Kailua with Liholiho's answer, she sends another messenger to go and bring Liholiho back from Kawaihae, this time with the message that the ali'i who are residing in Kailua are planning to have a meeting discussing the wealth of Kamehameha, and that his attendance is requested by Ka'ahumanu. Liholiho again consults Kekuaokalani who answers Liholiho by saying,

E noho nō kāua; he 'ai nō ko uka, he 'ia nō ko kai; a i ki'i hou mai ou kahu, he alo nō he alo, maka'u wale ka make i ka nahelehele[221]	*Let us remain here; there is food to provide for us in the mountains, there is fish in the sea, and if you are requested to return again by a messenger of Ka'ahumanu, let us stand side by side, and they shall fear death in the brush.*

This time Liholiho refuses to adhere to the request of his cousin and agrees to return to Kailua to meet with Ka'ahumanu and the other ali'i. However, Liholiho does promise to Kekuaokalani that he will refuse to eat freely with the ali'i wahine while he is in Kailua. Upon his arrival in Kailua on the 21st of May 1819, in front of the 'aha ali'i, Ka'ahumanu proclaims the 21 year old Liholiho to be King and herself to be the Kuhina Nui to rule along side him.[222] Liholiho agrees to share the rule of the land with Ka'ahumanu, prayers are offered and he is formally established as Mō'ī. Liholiho's dress on this occasion is of interest because it reflects the ways in which Liholiho was appropriating both British and Hawaiian symbols of royalty and power. Kamakau describes Liholiho's dress in the ceremony by the following,

Puka maila ho'i ka Mō'ī Liholiho Kamehameha II me ka hanohano nui. Ua 'a'ahu 'ula'ula 'o ia i ke kapa ali'i mai Beritania mai, he 'a'ahu 'ula'ula, ua ho'onani 'ia me nā mea gula, a he mau hōkū gula nō ho'i ma luna, a he pāpale mahiole ma kona po'o i uhi 'ia ho'i e ka noe o ka 'a'ahu hulu mamo i hana no'iau 'ia e ka po'e loea 'uo kahu 'ahu'ula[223]	*King Liholiho, Kamehameha II entered with great distinction. He was adorned in a formal red coat of royalty from Britain, this was a red coat that was trimmed in gold, with a gold stars covering the breast. He wore a feather helmet on his head, and a feather cloak over his shoulders that was made by experts in feather-working.*

The complex symbols of royalty and distinction that are described by Kamakau reflect the hybrid Hawaiian-Euro dress that some ali'i were using at the time. Although it is difficult to determine the exact intentions of Liholiho in choosing his attire for the occasion, it is likely that he is attempting to illustrate himself as a ruler in both Hawaiian and European terms, asserting himself into leadership on a global scale. The English red-coat had been given to Kamehameha and accompanied the letter from the Earl of Liverpool sent in 1812. Liholiho's usage of the coat may be an attempt to illustrate his rule on an international scale while showing his connection with

foreign powers and also demonstrating that he is the heir to his father's powers. It is also interesting to note that the red coat symbolized power and authority in the British society and functioned as symbol of rank, which allured the gaze of British commoners in ways similar to those entranced by Liholiho in this ceremony. Ironically, the British coat being red may have also been of significance to Liholiho because the color red was used for many generations by 'Ōiwi as symbol high ranking ali'i lineage.

Following the formal ceremony, Liholiho is enticed to break the eating Kapu by his mother Keōpūolani. He refuses to eat with her and decides to return to meet with his cousin Kekuaokalani at Kawaihae. When Liholiho reaches Kawaihae he observes Kekuaokalani in worship and seeing this, he and his men join Kekuaokalani presumably on the heiau of Pu'ukoholā, where they are able to re-establish the 'Ai Kapu and in celebration take to drinking rum.[224] The fact that Liholiho and Kekuaokalani worshiped together to re-secure the kapu illustrates that Liholiho had initially intended for the Kapu to remain. However soon Liholiho's mind would be changed and he would given formally remove the kapu from Hawai'i.

Hawaiian-Anglo Exchanges

Sometime following Liholiho's reuniting with Kekuaokalani, on the 12th of August 1819 a French ship the *Uranie* arrives off of the coast of Kawaihae.[225] The ship was led by Captain Freycinet, who was in the midst of a voyage around the world and wanted to provision in Hawai'i. Liholiho must have received word of the ships' arrival a few days earlier in Kealakekua, and so he was prepared for the vessels arrival in Kawaihae. Freycinet was met outside of Kawaihae by a

large double-hulled canoe that carried Kalaimoku who was sent by Liholiho to greet the captain.[226] On board the canoe was also a man by the name of Rives who was the French interpreter for Liholiho, which demonstrates that the Mō'ī was able to acquire interpreters in languages other than English. The two parties travel together with the intention of meeting with the Mō'ī, who is awaiting their arrival on the beach. Upon meeting Liholiho Freycinet notes that,

> He was dressed in the full uniform of a captain in the British Navy, surrounded by his entire court. Notwithstanding the frightful aridity of this part of the island, the spectacle that this strange gathering of men and women offered appeared to us majestic and truly picturesque. The King, a little in advance, had his principle officers a little behind him; some of them wore magnificent red and yellow feather cloaks, others wore scarlet cloth. Others again wore shorter capes of the same style but in which the two outstanding colors sometimes had touches of black. Some wore helmets. A fairly large number of soldiers, scattered here and there.[227]

Freycient's vivid description the dress of Liholiho's court together with Kamakau's description of Liholiho's proclamation ceremony offers an illustration of the various symbols of status that were being used by the ali'i in Liholiho's court. Liholiho's usage of the red coat would easily illustrate to the French captain that he was the Mō'ī with symbolization that a European could recognize, suggesting to the French captain that his country is protected on multiple levels.

Following this initial meeting between Liholiho's court and the French captain, Liholiho invites Freycient into a hale were they enter into discussions regarding provisions through the use of the King's interpreter M. Rives.[228] Liholiho agrees to provide Freycient with the provisions he desires, and he acquires Freycient's sword through the use of suggestion while offering a spear to Freycient in exchange. An important event occurs when Freycient requests to visit the widow of Kamehameha, Ka'ahumanu, which demonstrates the complex negotiations that were taking place in this time period. This event illustrates that haole residents were also

following the 'Ai kapu custom at the time. When Freycient enters the women's house with the interpreter M. Rives, Liholiho declines to follow them inside. Freycient is not impressed with the attention Ka'ahumanu pays to him on his visit and notes that it was difficult to have a conversation because Ka'ahumanu and the other women were lying on the floor flat on their stomachs smoking on pipes and eating pieces of watermelon. When the watermelon is offered to Freycient he obliges and eats with the women, but when the food is offered to the interpreter M. Rives, Freycient notes,

> M. Rives and an Anglo-American who happened to be there didn't touch any. Being inhabitants of the country, they felt themselves obliged to observe the common rule that prohibits persons of both sexes from eating together under the same roof.[229]

M. Rives and the unnamed Anglo-American's refusal to break the tradition of the 'Ai kapu, demonstrates their acculturation into the Hawaiian society of the time, and the *betweeness* of their identity, one can never know what they practiced in the privacy of their home, but under the eye of the chiefs these haole clearly observed Hawaiian custom. Similarly to Liholiho's usage of the British red coat, these haole were attempting to portray themselves (or possible saw themselves) as a part of a society that they had not been born into, but needed to learn the customs of to advance their status.

Search for Mana—The Baptism of Kalanimoku and the Conviction of Kekuaokalani

Freycient's arrival on Hawai'i island was also the catalyst for the first known Christian baptism in the Hawaiian islands. Though Freycient's account is quite different from the account offered by Kamakau,[230] both to speak about the baptism of Kalanimoku on Freycient's ship. Freycient's account illustrates Kalanimoku as deeply desiring the baptism, while Kamakau's portrays Kalanimoku being baptized because of John Young 'Olohana's explanation that the priest on the *Uranie* was the priest of foreign countries.[231] Either description of the event suggests that Kalanimoku was seeking to acquire the mana of a foreign god. By Kalanimoku acquiring the mana of a foreign god, he would be establishing himself in a position that might enable him to challenge those that did not possess this mana.[232] Why would Kalanimoku want to do this? One possible explanation for his actions could center around Kamehameha's awarding of Kūka'ilimoku to Kekuaokalani.

Kekuaokalani adamantly refused Ka'ahumanu's request that the chiefs no longer live under the 'Ai kapu and he openly exhorted Liholiho not to allow them to continue to break the kapu. For Ka'ahumanu and her cousin Kalanimoku, Kekuaokalani was a potential threat to their interests and operated independent of their control. By Kamehameha giving the God Kuka'ilimoku to Kekuaokalani, he brought someone outside of the influence of Ka'ahumanu, Kalanimoku and their Maui cousins into an important position within the government. Kekuaokalani had no genealogical connection to Ka'ahumanu nor Liholiho's birth mother Keōpūolani. Instead Kekuaokalani descended from Kamehameha's lineage being the son of Kamehameha's brother Keli'imaika'i.

Kekuaokalani encouraged Liholiho to stand by his side and to refuse to break the kapu that they had reestablished in Kawaihae. Sometime following the departure of the *Uranie* from Hawai'i island on August 15 1819, Liholiho finally gives in to the will of Ka'ahumanu and Keōpūolani. He takes part in eating food which had been cooked by women and eventually removes the 'Ai kapu from all of the islands of the archipelago.[233] Kekuaokalani is furious at Ka'ahumanu and the other chiefs for enticing Liholiho to break the kapu.[234] When the two chiefs are sent to bring Kekuaokalani to Kailua, he refuses. Kalākaua writes that Kekuaokalani replies to the ali'i to say,

> That Kekuaokalani, the last high-priest, it may be of Hawaii, is prepared to die in defense of the gods whose service he has devoted his life. If they are omnipotent, as he believes them to be, their temples will rise again; if not, he is more willing to hide in disappointment in the grave!...We are proud of our blood, but who but the gods made kings of our ancestors?[235]

These words left no doubt that the disagreement could not be solved through peaceful means. The new Mō'ī Liholiho, did not attend the battle of Kuamo'o in the Kona district of Hawai'i Island. Instead Kalanimoku and his forces faced Kekuaokalani and his supporters. Kekuaokalani and his men were greatly outnumbered, but Kekuaokalani is noted for having fought with tremendous courage with his wahine Manono at his side in the battle.[236] The two of them are killed and Kalanimoku is able to attain victory.

It is not clear why Liholiho did not attend the battle. One could speculate it may have been because of his aloha for his cousin, or rather, his lack of true support for the abolishment of the 'Ai kapu. It might have been a strategy to protect the life of Liholiho. If he had died in battle, as had those ali'i nui before him such as Kīwala'ō and Hākau, fighting against the ali'i who had Kūka'ilimoku, the entire archipelago of islands could have fallen into political chaos.

With the abolishment of the kapu by the most prominent ali'i of the time, Hawai'i was for a time without a state religion. Somewhat curiously it can be said that the rejection of traditional worship on the state level, was instituted by the ali'i of the time. The abolishment of the kapu is a unique occurrence which has puzzled many scholars of Hawaiian history. Although there have been many possible interpretations I have to agree with Kame'eleihiwa when she writes,

> We will never know why Ka'ahumanu insisted that Liholiho, and indeed the entire Lāhui, should agree to the breaking of the 'Aikapu.[237]

I would suggest that a possible reason for Ka'ahumanu's behavior centered around marginalizing and removing Kekuaokalani from the circle of chiefs. His inheritance of Kūka'ilimoku compounded with his lack of genealogical connection to Ka'ahumanu were threats against her own political interests.

Following the battle of Kuamo'o, on March 30, 1820 a ship filled with New England missionaries and a few Hawaiians (Thomas Hopu and others as well as the ali'i George Humehume) who had earlier visited the United States is spotted off of the coast of Kawaihae.[238] Many of the Hawaiians on board this ship had been at Cornwell School with another prominent Hawaiian scholar 'Ōpūkaha'ia. They had left Hawai'i to visit the United States and each of them found their way to the Cornwell School in Connecticut. Thomas Hopu and George Humehume were somewhat instrumental in convincing the ali'i at the time to give the missionaries a chance to stay and provide their teaching.[239]

"Ke ao nei makou i ka palapala"— We are learning to read and write

In this section I will discuss the arrival of American Protestant missionaries in the Hawaiian Islands with a particular focus on the ali'i appropriation of the written language. This section will show that the ali'i were not overwhelmed by the missionaries but were selectively appropriating some of their technologies and teachings for their own means. I will also discuss the work of Henry 'Ōpūkaha'ia and his early attempts at codifying the Hawaiian language.

There was a considerable amount of thought and discussion about what to do with the American missionaries and the initial engagement between the missionaries and the ali'i was largely dictated by the ali'i of the time. Liholiho convened a council of the ali'i and his foreign advisors in Kailua, Kona, to discuss whether or not to allow the missionaries to stay in Hawai'i.[240] At one point one of Liholiho's advisors tells them, "the Mō'ī does not want you here, you can stay for a very brief time, but then you must leave for somewhere else."[241] In the next few days there would be further discussion until it was decided by the council and Liholiho to let them stay provisionally for a year. With the reservation that only if their work proved to be good would they be allowed to remain. The ali'i were carefully considering whether or not to allow the missionaries to remain in the islands, demonstrating they recognized there could be potential problems. Kamakau discusses some of the apprehensions of the ali'i at the time. He writes,

Ua no'ono'o nui nō nā ali'i me ke akahele, no ko lākou maka'u nui i ia manawa i nā haole i noho kū'oko'a mai i loko o kēia aupuni, o lilo lakou i mau mea ke'ake'a i ka pono o ka lāhui. 'A'ole i piliki'a i nā haole i noho mai i ke 'ano mahuka wale ma ka 'āina, ua lilo lākou i po'e lawelawe na nā ali'i.[242]	*The chiefs greatly considered this decision with caution, for they had much apprehension about these foreigners living independently of the government, lest they eventually become an obstruction to the good of the whole society. There was no problem with the haole who were deserters to their ships who lived on the land, they simply became servants for the chiefs.*

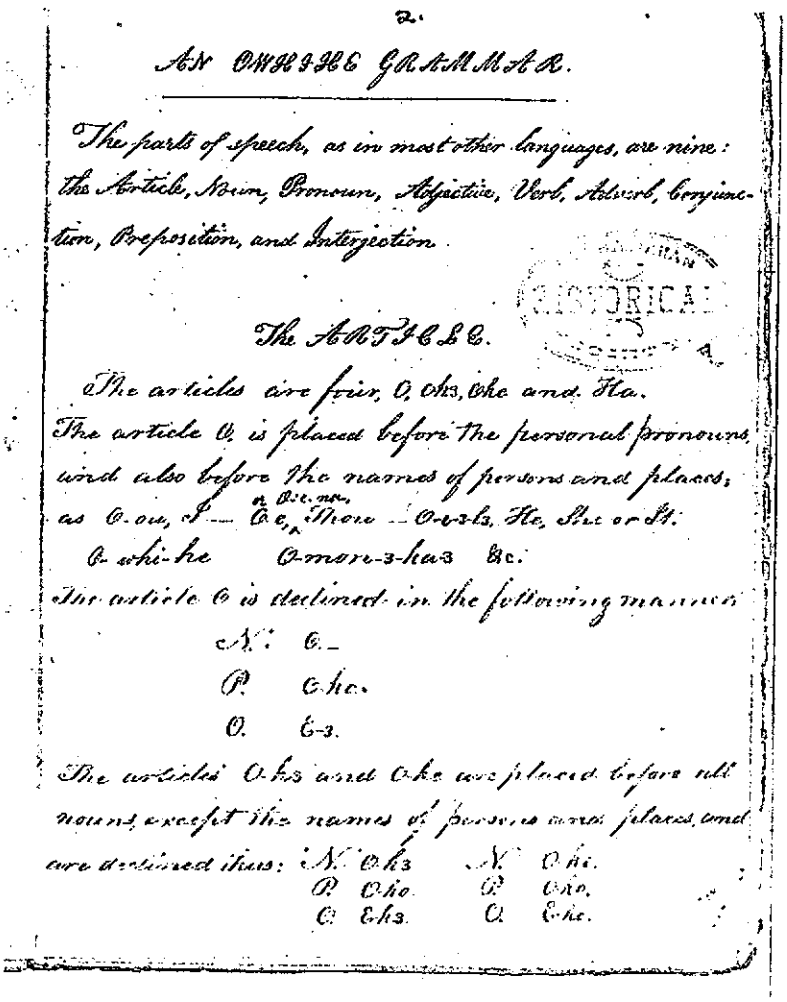
Following Liholiho's decision to allow the missionaries to stay provisionally, Hiram Bingham beings to teach a few students. Liholiho becomes impressed with the students' abilities, (presumably to read and write in English). Because of the impressions of these students, Liholiho begins to send some of his wives and the young chiefs to learn English from the missionaries,[243] including, Kahuhu, John 'Ī'ī, Ha'alilo, and the heir to the throne Kauikeaouli.[244] These chiefs quickly learn to read and write in English.

In April of 1823 a second wave of missionaries arrive, including William Richards.[245] Soon work begins on formalizing the Hawaiian language into a written form. The first formal attempt at producing a Hawaiian grammar and alphabet was done by a native Hawaiian named 'Ōpūkaha'ia while he was in Cornwall Connecticut in 1814-1815.[246] He had learned to read and write in English while attending the Yale College. Although initially rejecting Christianity 'Ōpūkaha'ia eventually converts to Christianity.[247] Over time 'Ōpūkaha'ia begins to desire to translate the Bible into his native tongue. He is credited with teaching himself to read in Hebrew and using that as a source for easier translation into the Hawaiian.[248] Letters and the Journal of 'Ōpūkaha'ia were published in a book entitled *Memoirs of Henry Obookiah*. Sections that are taken from 'Ōpūkaha'ia's own words include,

> Summer 1814
> I went to live with him and studied geography and mathematics; and a part of the time was trying to translate a few verses of the Scriptures into my own language, and in making a kind of spelling-book, taking the English alphabet and giving different names and different sounds–(for this language was not written.) I spent some time in making a kind of spelling-book, dictionary, grammar...[249]

June 4 1815

I want to see you (Rev. Eleazer T. Fitch) about our Grammar: I want to get through with it. I have been translating a few chapters of the Bible into the Hawaiian language. I found I could do it correctly.[250]



2.

AN OWHYHEE GRAMMAR.

The parts of speech, as in most other languages, are nine: the Article, Noun, Pronoun, Adjective, Verb, Adverb, Conjunction, Preposition, and Interjection.

The ARTICLE.

The articles are four, O, Oh3, Ohe and Ha.
The article O is placed before the personal pronouns and also before the names of persons and places; as O-ou, I — O-oe, Thou — O-oia, He, She or It.
O-ohi-he O-mau-3-ha3 &c.
The article O is declined in the following manner

N. O-
P. O-ho.
O. O-3.

The articles Oh3 and Ohe are placed before all nouns except the names of persons and places, and are declined thus: N. Oh3 N. Ohe.
P. Oho. P. Oho.
O. Oh3. O. Ohe.

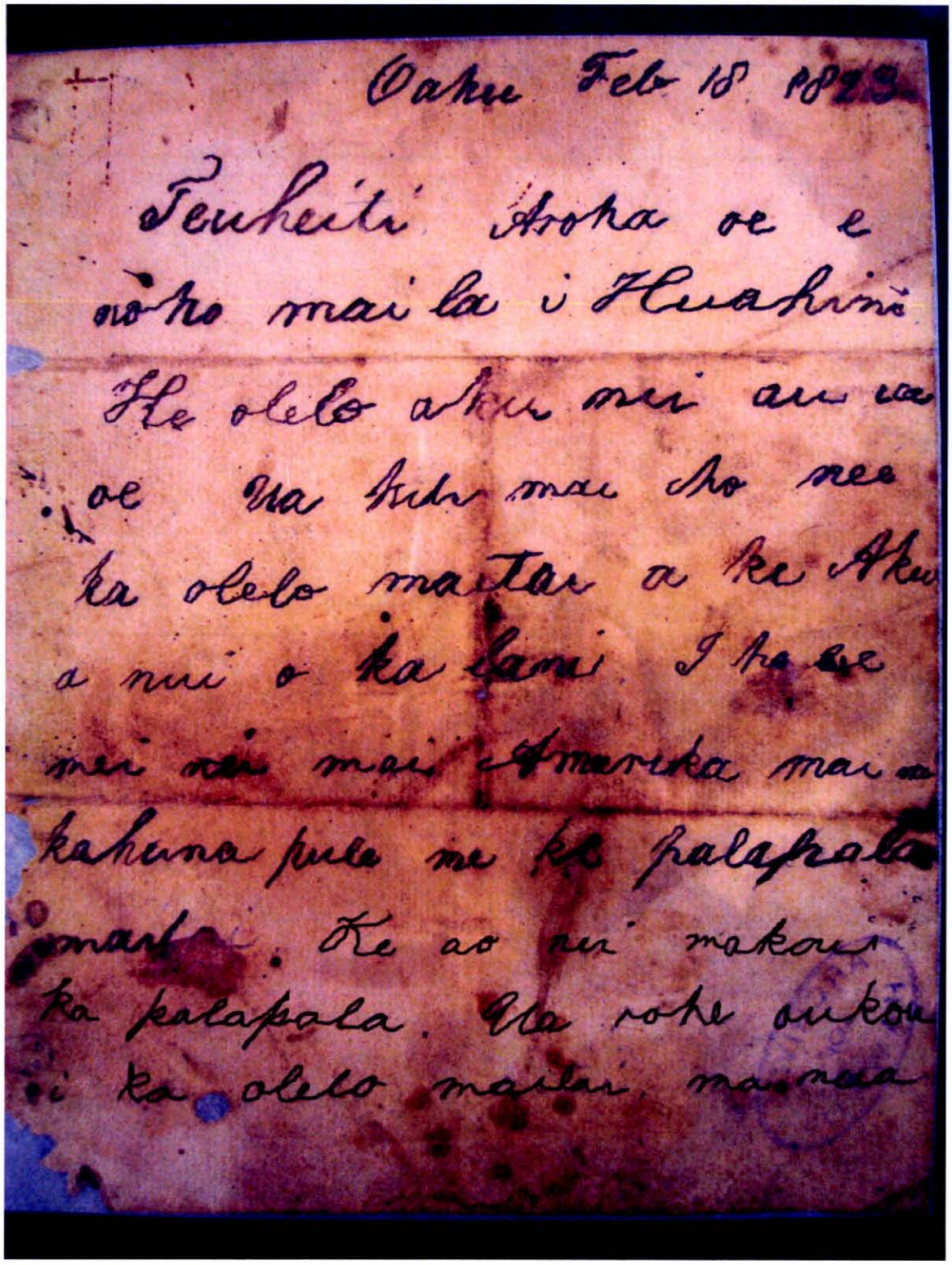
Chapter 3. Figure 5. Grammar attributed to ʻŌpūkahaʻia although recent scholarship has suggested that this is actually the work of Ruggles who was a student with ʻŌpūkahaʻia, but who borrowed from Opūhahaia's work. *Mission Houses Museum MS 499-Ob5x*

An adaptation of ʻŌpūkahaʻia's grammar had been used by the missionaries for about two years.[251] Surely its usage provided a foundation for further developments of the written language. Demonstrating that a native Hawaiian was very much involved in the creation of a written

Hawaiian language.[252] Schutz writes that Opukahaia had a "profound effect on Hawaii and the Hawaiian language."[253]

In 1823 the missionaries in Hawai'i began work on to reducing the Hawaiian language to a written form. [254] Kamakau writes that many of the ali'i begin to take tutors into their homes and they all begin to learn to read and write in Hawaiian. Literacy spreads rapidly throughout all the islands, and from moku to ahupua'a. [255] The written word must have been appeared highly seductive to a population of people who had memorized orally generations of history, genealogy, and mythology. Noenoe Silva writes that from the ali'i perspective in their acquisition of the ability to write what they had for generations done orally, "they were acquiring the technology that would allow them new ways to communicate with each other."[256] Liholiho was so impressed with his new ability to write in his native language that he sends a letter to a Tahitian. Figure 6 is a letter located in the Hawaii State Archives and is one of a very few remaining letters written by Liholiho. The translation is provided below,

> Teuheiti
> Aloha to you in Huahine. I am writing to tell you that the God of Heaven has arrived here from America through the preachers and books. We are learning to read and write. You folks have had written language there from an earlier time.....
>
> Rihioriho



Oahu Feb 18 1823

Teuheiti Aloha oe e
no ko mai la i Huahine
He olelo aku nei au ia
oe na kiki mai ko nee
ka olelo mailai a ke Aku
a nui o ka lani I ka e
nei nei mai Amerika mai na
kahuna pule me ke palapala
mai. Ke ao nei makai
ka palapala. Ola ole oukou
i ka olelo mailai, na nea

Chapter 3. Figure 6. Letter from Liholiho to Teuheiti *Hawaii State Archives FO&EX 402 Box 2 Folder 12* Modified. To include text written in pencil that I have traced in Photoshop.

While the ali'i were keen to learn to read and write, many of them were not as willing to convert to Christian beliefs and practices. Kamakau notes that Hiram Bingham was persistent in his attempts to convert Liholiho. He often followed Liholiho around attempting to convince him to convert to Christianity. At one point Liholiho is said to reply to one of Bingham's pleas for him to stop living a life of pleasure, by saying,

'Elima o'u makahiki i koe, a laila, huli au i kanaka maika'i[257]	*Just five more years and then I shall become a good (Christian) man.*

Liholiho was not the only 'Ōiwi of the time who playfully tested the missionaries and Christianity. On the death of Kahekilike'eaumoku Hiram Bingham was preparing to conduct a Christian funeral service in his honor for the chiefs of the time, but unknown to him was that the night prior to the service the body of the deceased had been taken by Kuakini to be buried in traditional fashion. Bingham conducted the service over an empty coffin which caused some of the ali'i of the time question the power of the haole akua.[258] If Bingham's god did not provide him with the knowledge that he was praying over an empty coffin, how powerful could he really be? One should note that Emmerson's English translation of Kamakau in Ruling Chiefs of Hawai'i, gives a quite different impression than Kamakau's original. Emmerson translates the following section as "How ignorant are the ungodly who say there is no God."[259] However, Kamakau's original states,

Ahu nō ho'i kupanaha o ua mea e ho'omaloka o ka 'aiā, e ho'ole ana, 'a'ohe akua.[260]	*This was quite strange that they would openly challenge and refuse that (Bingham) possessed a God.*

In the above passage, Kamakau demonstrates that some of the ʻŌiwi of this time were skeptical and cautious about the mana of the foreign akua. While the power of the written word seems to have been immediately accepted, some of the aliʻi continued to test the validity of this foreign god.

I am not suggesting that there were not those of the ʻŌiwi population who became authentic converts into the Christian religion. In this time period there were unarguably some ʻŌiwi such as ʻŌpūkahaʻia who embraced the Christian god while attempting to distance themselves from their previous moral attachments. What I am trying to illustrate is that in either of these situations, the acceptance or denial of the foreign god was negotiated by the individual, while the society as a whole embraced the technology of the written word. To say it another way while the metaphysical notions offered by the missionaries were both accepted and challenged by some ʻŌiwi at this time, the material benefits offered through the missionaries through the form of the written word was quickly accepted, what this demonstrates it that the aliʻi were selectively appropriating the written word, and to other extents, Christianity itself in ways that they saw accommodating toward their own interests.

Helena i Londana— Liholiho to England

In this section I will discuss Liholiho's trip to London. I will demonstrate that he sought to create an international alliance with Britain as a means to secure his own countries independence and protection form foreign invasion. This section is important for the chapter

because it illustrates how Liholiho was seeking to further his fathers' legacy and Hawaiian independence through diplomacy. Liholiho's voyage to London had a lasting effect toward the maintenance of Hawaiian independence, and set the stage for future ali'i conduct exchanges and visits to Europe.

Following the death of Liholiho's mother Keōpūolani in September of 1823, Liholiho called together a council of chiefs to discuss his visiting England.[261] It is likely that his decision to visit London was influenced by the arrival of a ship in 1822 that had been commissioned for Kamehameha by the Prince of Wales.[262] This ship was a gift to the Mō'ī and would be used as a warship to protect against foreign invasion. There had clearly existed some kind of relationship between Britain and England and Liholiho may have wanted to investigate the nature of that relationship. It is also possible that Liholiho had desired to visit England to learn of the civil society, governments, and industries of other countries. In some ways his trip is an extension of his father's attempts at early foreign relation negotiations. Liholiho was going to attempt to make negotiations and alliances with those who Kamehameha had never seen face to face. He was going to make personal a world he had never experienced.

Before Liholiho visiting London, he visits Kaua'i and spends time with Kaumuali'i who had agreed to join Kamehameha's kingdom voluntarily. It is therefore possible that Liholiho was in the process of investigating the state of his Kingdom and its alliances both internally and in the case of England internationally. Prior to this voyage Liholiho's only means of acquiring knowledge about other countries had been through the descriptions of his advisors and through the few representations of nationhood in vessels, emblems, and flags. By visiting England and meeting King George IV face to face, Liholiho might gain positive assurance in regards to

Hawaiian-English relationship. The American missionary Hiram Bingham speculates that the reasons for Liholiho's departure included,

> The conception that his pleasures might be increased, his political and commercial knowledge, his alliances strengthened, and some special favor from King George secured himself as a brother monarch...[263]

While Bingham never states that Liholiho had told him of his reasons for the voyage, the possibility that Liholiho saw King George as a "brother monarch," might provide insight into what Liholiho would be able to accomplish by facilitating such a meeting. Liholiho and his retinue were treated as royals while in London and therefore this "brotherhood of monarchs" was in some way recognized on the British side as well as the Hawaiian.

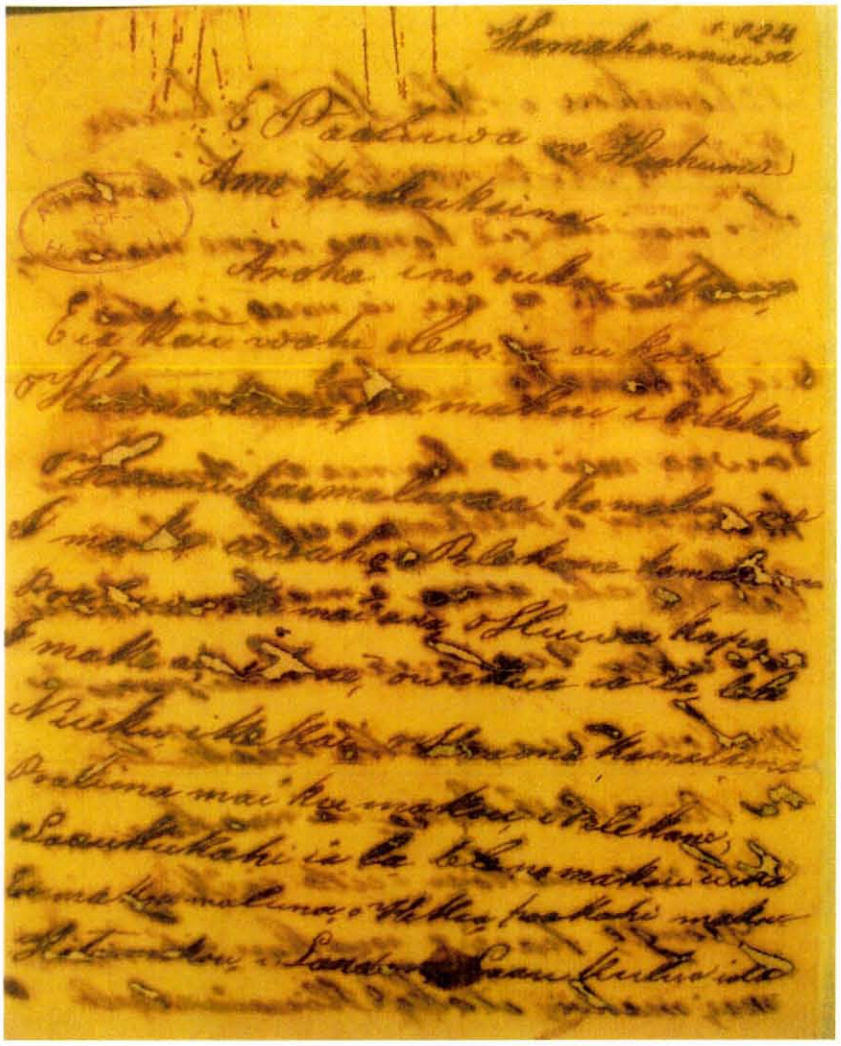
There was much that Liholiho could potentially gain from this trip. Whether the voyage was done for desire of personal gain or securing British naval protection in Hawaiian waters, all accounts note that the voyage was somewhat daring. It is difficult to fathom the confidence that it must have required for Liholiho to attempt such an undertaking, it was not something he took lightly for he assembled some of his closest advisors and chiefs, and made plans for the continuity of governance in his absence.

Prior to departing Liholiho had arranged the control of the government upon his departure. He proclaimed his younger brother Kauikeaouli regent in his absence and on the extreme event of his not returning Kauikeaouli would become Mōʻī.[264] Liholiho and his council of aliʻi depart on November 27, 1823.[265] Liholiho, Queen Kamamalu, and rest of the party depart from Honolulu where thousands had gathered to bid them farewell.[266] Hiram Bingham notes, in a rare passage of humanism, his observations upon the departure of the King and Queen with their retinue,

> They could not, of course, tell what might have probably befall their king and his company, in whom many were interested as relatives, nor whether they should be likely to see them again; not whether the government could stand unshaken without a present king, to whom all acknowledged allegiance. They, like the ancient Asiatics, lifted up there voice and wept. That parting scene was touching, even to strangers...[267]

According to Liholiho the party reached London on moon of Laaukukahi on the 18th day of Kaaona (May).[268] At the time of their arrival one of their members Kaunuhaimalama had already passed away and was buried at sea. Upon landfall they took a carriage to a hotel where they were sent a message by one of the British King's officials giving them notice that all of their expenses were to be cared for by the British crown.[269] The English translation of the letter authored by Liholiho in London to the ali'i at home in Hawai'i, is provided here. One should note that Liholiho is keeping track of time as did his ancestors by the moon calendar.

> To Paalua, Kaakua and younger brother, **Kamahoe Muwa (July 1824)**
> Much Love to you all. In the month of Kaaona (May) we reached England. One of our members Kaunuhaimalama is dead. He died just outside of England. He was ill for two days and died on the 13th night of Hua. The following day which was Akua, he was buried at sea in the same month of Kaaona. On the fifth day, the 18th which was Laaukukahi, we arrived in England and landed. We got into carriages and the next day Laaukulua, we reached London and stayed at the Hotel. On the fourth day the King's representative arrived and told us he was to see to all our needs and the King will pay all expenses. We are having everything we desire. The King of England has taken a great liking to us. We have not seen King George yet. We all got sick in the month of Hinaaieleele (June), but we have all recovered with the exception of three of us, Kamehamalu, Kapihe, and myself.
>
> Here is another word to you. If the Commander of the ship should ask for a wooden house on Oahu, you must grant his request. You are not to charge him any harbor fees, for he is taking our letter to you. Give him 5 pigs and 10 boxes of sweet potatoes.
>
> I love you all dearly. We will remain until we see the King. When we obtain that which be of great benefit to us, then we will return.
>
> Aloha
> Iolani



Chapter 3. Figure 7. Liholiho Kamehameha II from London to Paalua, Kaakumu, and Kaiukeaouli. 1824. Kamahoe Muwa. Hawaii State Archives FO&EX Series 402-2-14 This letter is kept in the safe at Hawaii State Archives and is in very poor condition. An English translation of the letter is in the text. On the previous page.

Some days prior to the 25 of May 1824 the Hon Frederick Gerald Byng had been appointed by the Secretary of Foreign Affairs George Canning[270] to care for the needs of King Liholiho, Queen Kamamalu, and their retinue.[271] The royalty of the ali'i was clearly recognized and respected by the British King and Byng was ordered to care for all of their needs. King Liholiho's letter testifies that he was being provided for by the representatives of King George IV

and that the ali'i were in want of nothing. Byng had provided the entire retinue with the fashionable dress of the day and by the time the ali'i would finally return home on the *Blonde* he had estimated the charges for all of the needs of the ali'i at 5400 Sterling (a significant amount for the time).[272] Byng waited on the ali'i by hand and foot providing for whatever they desired. He equips Kamamalu in the most fashionable attire, attended her toilette, and formed her hair in the French Style.[273] He notes that King Liholiho and Boki are inclined to be very extravagant in dress and that he provided all of the ali'i with servants and took them on a tour of London including a trip to the theater.[274] However, to some close confidants Byng reflected on his duty with sarcasm stained in resentment. The ali'i were quite demanding and he often reflected on how physically tired he was because of the constant care that they had demanded. In letters he wrote to Earl of Granville, Byng often refers to King Liholiho and his retinue as his "Black Family", or his "Black Children."[275] After Byng has been tending to the ali'i for a few days he writes to the Earl of Granville reflecting on his assignment and that,

> I cannot help thinking the general praise as decidedly satirical–thinking me so perfectly fit to take the management & be master of the ceremonies to a batch of undisciplined people of Colour... I am performing my duties to the extent of my capabilities – I am to worn out & tired that I cannot do justice in a letter to my Officer. There is the King & Queen, Boki Chief Minister and his wife, the Lord High Admiral, and the Lord High Treasurer, and the Interpreter who is ill & if he dies communication of any sort must stop.[276]

There is some amount of irony included in this passage. Clearly, the class of the ali'i had been recognized by the British King and Secretary of State. However, Byng may not share the same insights and is somewhat resentful of his duties. While Byng sees Liholiho and his retinue as an "undisciplined people of color," it is interesting to note that he remains diligent to his duties while sharing his inner feelings to those closest to him. Being bound within the existing class

structure while understanding his position within British society, Byng must position himself in accordance with the wishes of his King. Thus, by the class of the ali'i being recognized by King George IV, a tension is created for Byng. Byng is seeing the ali'i through racial characteristics while the King sees them through their class. Byng's servitude to his own class position requires him to accept (though not without internal protest) the ali'i as being of a superior class to that of himself. At least in this particular instance, class had trumped race. Though their class likely protected them from actions of openly displayed racism– unfortunately for the ali'i– their class was not a protection against foreign diseases. Of the twelve who began the journey five had died and the Frenchman Rives had returned to France. Only six Hawaiians would make the return trip home alive.[277]

On June 15 1824, Byng writes that King George IV had set up a meeting with King Liholiho and his retinue but that nearly all of the ali'i were sick with the measles and that he expects that half of them will die.[278] Liholiho and Kamamalu were provided with adequate health care and although King George IV sends his personal doctors to care for King Liholiho and the others, both Liholiho and Queen Kamamalu succumb to the measles.[279] Queen Kamamalu passes prior to her kāne (husband) on the 8th of July.[280] In a letter written sometime after the 22nd of June, Byng notes that the King (Liholiho) is out of danger.[281] However, his condition worsens after the death of Kamamalu and he passes away on the 14th of July.[282]

Following a meeting with King George IV in Windsor Castle, the remaining ali'i and the bodies of King Liholiho and Queen Kamamalu are returned to Hawai'i on the *Blonde*. The Captain of the ship Lord Byron was ordered on September 14 1824 "in pursuance of the King's pleasure as signified by Mr. Secretary Canning"[283] to return the bodies of King Liholiho and the

surviving ali'i back to Hawai'i. Lord Byron was informed in this dispatch he should take great care of the remaining ali'i on their voyage home. The dispatch states how he shall treat the remaining ali'i,

> On your passage out (according to their several ranks of which you will be informed by the Agent of the Foreign Office) with every kind of attention and regard to their personal comforts. You will provide for them such accommodation of all kinds as may be best suited to their habits and manners, and to their comforts and your own.[284]

Upon the arrival of the *Blonde* in Māmala bay on the 4th of May in 1825, Kamakau notes that the when the ali'i and maka'āinana realized that Liholiho and Kamamalu had died the lamenting could be heard through all the levels of heavens.[285] Following the mourning period, Kauikeaouli was proclaimed Mō'ī by Boki as his brother Liholiho had left the Kingdom to him in the event that he was not to return.

Rationalizing Liholiho's London Voyage

The untimely death of Liholiho in London is an unfortunate and sad event in Hawaiian history. Some have seen his voyage to London as ill-planned and even whimsical.[286] Because of the lack of available source material that might document his personal thoughts about the trip, it is likely that scholars will never understand his true intentions for the voyage. On my visit to the Royal Archives I was not able to come across material that spoke to this matter. I do however, feel that we can have a reasonable notion of why Liholiho chose to go to London based on two things. The first being those whom Liholiho chose to accompany him on the trip, the second being the meeting of Boki with King George IV.

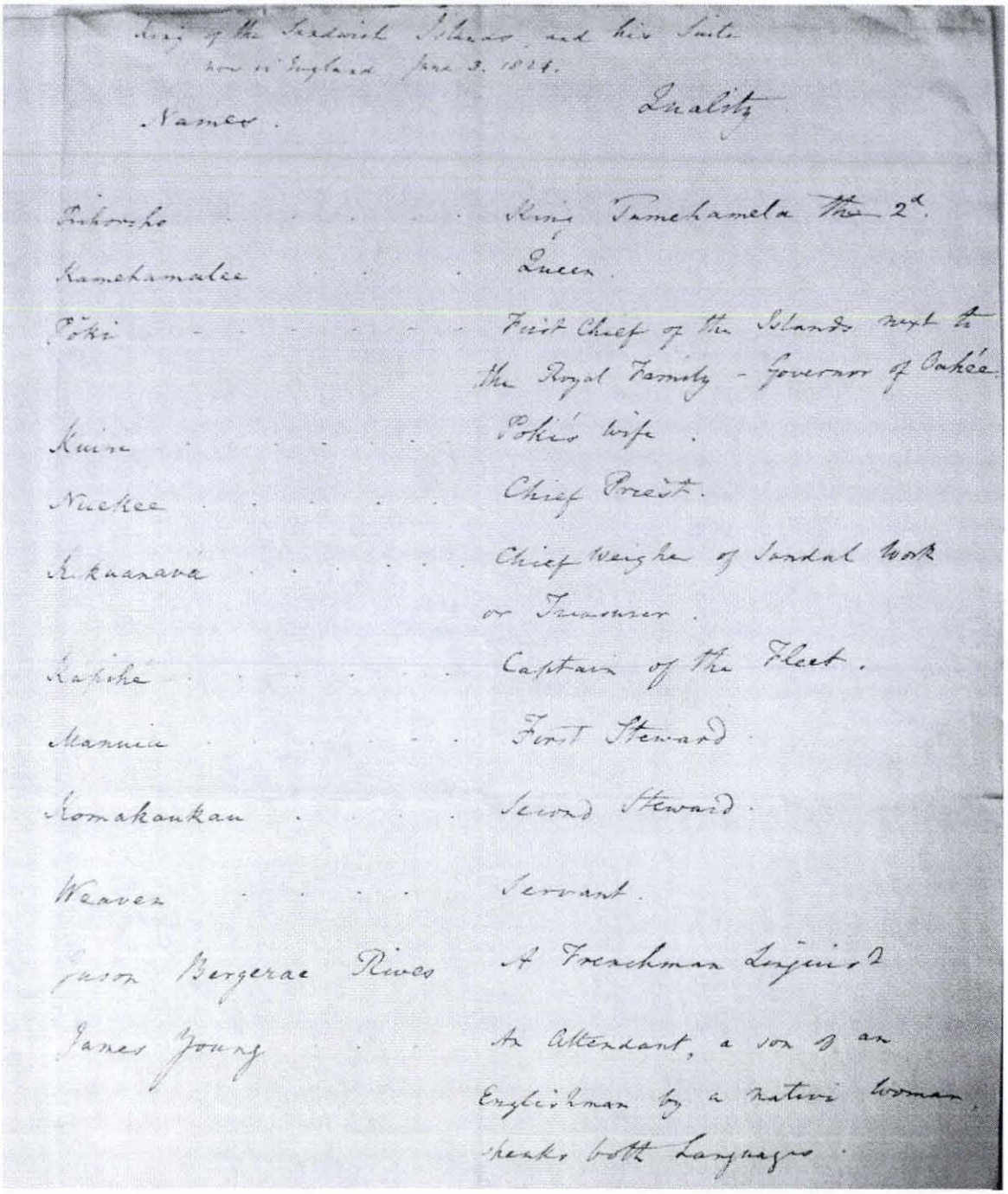
The Children of Warriors

Kamakau notes that including Liholiho, there were a total of twelve people who went to London[287] but that there was a great number of other ali'i that had wished to go whom Liholiho had refused. The eleven others that Liholiho chose accompany him were:

1. His favorite wife Kamamalu.
2. His uncle Boki who was the governor of O'ahu at the time.
3. Boki's wife Liliha who was the daughter of a confidant of Kamehameha. Hoapili,
4. Kauluhaimalama, the son of a close advisor of Kamehameha, Kekuhapi'o.
5. Manuia, the son of Kaulunae.
6. Kekuanao'a, the son of Naiholea, who fought alongside Kamehameha.
7. Naihekukui, the son of Hanakahi.
8. Noukana, the son a close advisor Kamehameha, Kamānawa.
9. Na'aiweuweu, the son of Kekumu'ino.
10. James Kanehoa Young, the son of John Young Olohana.
11. John Rives, the Frenchman who had been an advisor and acted as his translator when Captain Freycient had visited Hawaii in 1819.[288]

Liholiho brings with him on his voyage the high ranking wahine ali'i, Liliha and Kamamalu. He also brings many of the sons of his father's closest advisors, the descendants of those who had fought alongside Kamehameha I in his conquest of the islands. In this sense the voyage looks almost like a continuation of his father's policy. Liholiho is expanding his personal influence to and securing his national lands. It is likely that Liholiho chose these people because of their high rank and also because of their differing governmental functions at the time, but mostly because they could be trusted to pursue his and his fathers goals. Liholiho also brings with him James Kanehoa Young (the son of John Young 'Olohana) and the Frenchman John Rives as a French translator. The inclusion of both James Kanehoa Young and Rives would allow Liholiho to be able to converse with others in both the English and French languages.

The following image was taken at the London Metropolitan Archives. It is a list of those who were in Liholiho's retinue along with their respective positions in Liholiho's government which is dated June 3 1824. Of interest is position of "Nuekee" who is listed as Liholiho's priest. It is not clear what kind of priest, "Nuekee" was and important to note that Missionaries such a Bingham do not mention Liholiho bringing a priest (of any kind) along with him.



King of the Sandwich Islands and his Suite
now in England June 3. 1824.

Names.	Reality
Tihomho	King Tamehamela the 2d.
Kamehamalee	Queen.
Poki	First Chief of the Islands next to the Royal Family - Governor of Oahee.
Kuine	Poki's wife.
Nuekee	Chief Priest.
Kekuaanava	Chief Weighe of Sandal Wood or Treasurer.
Kapike	Captain of the Fleet.
Manuia	First Steward.
Komakaukau	Second Steward.
Weaver	Servant.
Jason Bergerac Rivers	A Frenchman Engineer
James Young	An Attendant, a son of an Englishman by a native woman, speaks both Languages.

Chapter 3. Figure 8. Letter in the writing of Sir Henry Ellis June 3 1824. Explaining the names of Liholiho, his retinue, and their positions. *London Metropolitan Archives* Q/Wil/384.

Meeting with King George IV

Clearly the meeting with the British King was something that was of primary importance to Liholiho. A meeting with the King who influenced a majority of the world at that time could have provided Liholiho with access to an international ally. It might have been the major reason for his attempt to visit England. On May 25th 1824 shortly after the ali'i arrive in London, Byng writes that Liholiho had come to England to,

> Do homage & to give presents to his Master George 4th & the real drift is Security against the Ruffians of whom they tire in continual dread.[289]

According to Byng, Liholiho's prime reason for his visit was to provide for the protection of his Kingdom by the British government against foreign invaders. Unfortunately the two monarchs are never able to meet face to face and Liholiho's mission is left to be fulfilled by what remained of his ali'i retinue.

On the 11th of September 1824, those ali'i who had survived (Boki , Liliha, Kapihe, Kekuanaoa, James Kanehoa Young, and Kapihe) met with King George IV in Windsor castle.[290] Since King Liholiho had passed, the ali'i Boki had the duties of speaking with King George IV through their interpreter and hapa (part Hawaiian-part Haole) son of John Young Olohana, James Kanehoa Young.[291] According to their guide Byng, the King spoke with them for about twenty minutes.[292] Years later, one of the ali'i who was at the meeting with King George IV, Mataio Kekuanao'a (the father of Alexander Liholiho and Lota Kapuāiawa) gave testimony in the Hawaiian Kingdom Privy Council on the 28th of February 1850 about their meeting with King George IV. In his testimony he notes that he and James Young Kanehoa are the only remaining

survivors of the meeting at that time. Kekuanaoa mentions in his testimony one very important segment about the primary reason for Liholiho going to visit London. The entire discussion was done through the interpreter James Young Kanehoa, and was conducted between King George IV and Boki. Following King George IV sending out sympathies in regards to the death of Liholiho, some important sections include:

> King George then asked Boki thus,
>
> > *What was the business on which you and your King came to our country?*
>
> Then James Young interpreted the words to Boki and we all heard the question of the King to Boki. Then Boki declared to him the reason of our sailing to Great Britain–
>
> > *We have come to confirm the words which Kamehameha I gave in charge to Vancouver this–go back and tell King George to watch over me and my whole kingdom. I acknowledge him as my landlord and myself as tenant (or him as superior and I as inferior)should the foreigner of any other nation come to take possession of my lands, then let him help me.*
>
> Then James Young told all these words to King George, the ancient words which King Kamehameha I gave in charge to Vancouver, these he told to King George. And when King George had heard he thus said to Boki,
>
> > *I have heard these words, I will attend to the evils from without the evils from within are your Kingdom, it is not for me to regard. They are with yourselves. Return and say to the King, to Ka'ahumanu and to Kalāimoku, I will watch over your country, I will not take possession of it for mine, but I will watch over it, lest evils come from others to the Kingdom. I therefore will watch over him agreeably to those ancient words.*[393]

The ali'i were able to acquire a verbal agreement between King George IV and their government that England would protect them from other countries threatening sovereignty of their lands. One can see from Kekuanao'a's testimony that Kamehameha's words to Vancouver had not been

forgotten. Kekuanao'a's account also differs from Vancouver in that it is clear that the ali'i interpretation of this agreement rested around them maintaining control over their lands while achieving protection from possible foreign invasion. In this case the ali'i were doing something that they had been doing for generations in the 'aha ali'i– they were making alliances. Unarguably the alliances were now more complex. They included rulers with different cultures, and required rulers to cross vast oceans and learn the customs of different nations. But the essence of the actions are quite similar they required one to understand the protocols and symbols of nobility, to be of a royal lineage, and to be able to create personable relationships. Fornander says that in that ancient Hawaiian system,

> Among the members of the *Aha Alii* it was not unusual that two young men adopt each other as brothers, and by that act were bound to support each other in weal or woe at all hazards, even that of life itself.[294]

From Liholiho's perspective he was conducting something that was not so unfamiliar. He was creating an alliance with a global chief, something that in form was not very different from protocols practiced in the 'aha ali'i. Ali'i were also using traditional symbols of royalty that stemmed from the 'aha ali'i as ways of demonstrating their mana and prestige while acquiring the symbols from other cultures. On one occasion Byng is shocked when he is presented with some kind of feather-work clothing and "was to appear in them."[295] The ali'i had been presenting gifts to British Royalty and diplomats since the time of Kamehameha. In fact in the 1812 letter from the then Prince of Wales to Kamehameha he thanks Kamehameha for the "feather cloak." This along with Byng's shock that the ali'i expected him to make use of his gift demonstrate that the ali'i were offering these displays of royalty not as relics, but as actual living symbols of their status and mana. While Byng is shocked by these displays, it is probable that displays such as these

were seen by elite classes as having a somewhat universal cross-cultural quality, which might have aided in the British King's acceptance of the ali'i while in his country.

In the translation of the letter that Liholiho writes back home to his younger brother and the prominent ali'i in Hawai'i days prior to his death in July of 1824 (See Figure 7). Liholiho writes,

> I love you all dearly. We will remain until we see the King. When we obtain that which will be of great benefit to us, we will return.[296]

In some respects, Liholhio's visit to London was a success. Though he lost his life and the life of his most beloved wife, the trip had managed to secure the protection of Great Britain from foreign takeover of the Kingdom. There can be no doubt that prior to departure, Liholiho considered, that he might not return home alive. Given that he conducts a council with the ali'i and proclaims that his brother Kauikeaouli is the heir, he certainly had plans which took into account this possibility. His father Kamehameha had sacrificed much as well, as countless lives were lost in the quest for unification, though luckily not his own. Liholiho's sacrifice was himself and five of his closest companions to ensure the independence of his younger brother's country and its inhabitant, taken in that context his trip was surely successful. Scholars such as Daws have failed to see the lasting effects of Liholiho's voyage to London and the ways that it contributed significantly toward protecting Hawaiian independence and paving a path for future Hawaiian ali'i to visit England and the British Monarchs. A reading of Daws gives the impression that the ali'i were seen as comical by the British and is full of quoted passages which are not footnoted which provide little opportunity to verify the source. Daws writes that,

> King George was less than willing to submit to a social meeting with Liholiho and Kamamalu, that "pair of d-d cannibals." As he was heard to call them.[297]

This chapters treatment of Liholiho's voyage has placed his voyage and memory in a more positive and accurate light. It many ways he and his companions can be illustrated as martyrs for Hawaiian independence and while also possessing a daring spirit reminiscent of early ali'i like Paumakua (See Chapter 2) who navigated vast oceans seeking good fortune and meet with foreigners of other lands.

He Keiki Ma Ke Alo—Remarks on Liholiho and Kamehameha

This chapter has analyzed ali'i and haole engagements through the mo'olelo of Kamehameha and Liholiho. I emphasized the complex identities that are produced when two cultures come into contact, and attempted to illustrate the negotiations that individuals within the differing cultures experience when they attempt to adapt to and manipulate foreign protocols. Much effort was placed on using Hawaiian language and other original source material in order to demonstrate some of the issues that the ali'i may have been resolving through their own means and for their own ends. The events that surround the lives of Kamehameha and Liholiho provide insight into early 'Ōiwi engagement with modernity, emphasis was placed on their possible perspectives because in much 20th century scholarship on both the positive and the negative sides of the colonial spectrum have overestimated the influence of American missionaries and European voyagers in this story. I have attempted to re-place the focus an intentions of the Mō'ī into this analysis while demonstrating the roles that their ali'i and haole advisors played. While attempting to illustrate the agency of each party involved I have tried to provide examples which offer glimpses into many of the negotiations that were taking place in this time period.

Liholiho was not the only ali'i that was to pass away in a foreign land, however, his story is quite heroic given the state of the Kingdom he inherited upon the death of his father. Unlike many previous ali'i before him Liholiho was a child raised in the presence of his father. Kamehameha had prepared him at an early age to guide the Kingdom into the next generation. Liholiho played a part in two of the most significant events in 'Ōiwi history, the abolishment of the 'Ai kapu in 1819, and merely four years later he would be the first Mō'ī to visit a foreign nation on a diplomatic mission. Had Liholiho not visited England in order to obtain protection for the Hawaiian Kingdom there is no way to estimate how long Hawaiian independence would have continued, but it is likely that his mission played a most significant role in this aspect. What he surely accomplished was that he enabled knowledge of the European world, seen through ali'i eyes, to be brought back to Hawai'i through the firsthand accounts of those that returned with their lives. He also may also have established a friendly relationship between the Hawaiian Kingdom and the British that would last until the formal U.S. occupation in 1898. His voyage also created a precedent for future ali'i to follow. He would be the first in a string of ali'i that would visit other countries of the world.

The next chapter is also an examination into the complex identities and negotiations between ali'i and haole. These negotiations take place when the Hawaiian Kingdom is struggling to emerge into the Modern world. Threats against the existence of the Kingdom are no less fierce while outside countries have only become more aggressive. Since the Hawaiian Kingdom borrows from European influenced political and legal systems in order to create the modern Hawaiian Kingdom, there is much negotiation that takes place in this period. The following chapter will begin with Kaukeaouli (Kamehameha III) and the cover through the lives and reigns

of Alexander Liholiho (Kamehameha IV) and Lota Kapuāiwa (Kamehameha V) and the reign of David Kalākaua and his voyage around the world in 1881. The next chapter will demonstrate how traditional knowledge and social systems were incorporated into the processes of the modernization of the Hawaiian Kingdom, while also illustrating that the ali'i were selectively appropriating concepts and the tools of foreigners while negotiating a future for their kingdom, subjects, and class.

Chapter 4: Modernizing Traditions– The Emergence of the Hawaiian State

I have to observe that the Sandwich Islands government have a perfect right, if they think it proper, to pass a law forbidding Aliens to acquire an allodial or fee simple estate in land.

On October 16, 1848, the Foreign Officer of Britain, Viscount Palmertson wrote a letter to William Miller, the British consul stationed in the Hawaiian Kingdom. The letter which includes the quotations above[298] was a response to Miller's frustrations with the land laws of the Hawaiian Kingdom at the time. The contents of Viscount Palmertson's letter illustrates the duality of the modernization of the Hawaiian Kingdom–in one sense ali'i were attempting to codify and modify existing political and social structures in forms that were borrowed from European origin for the benefit the population. While in another sense, the modernization of the Hawaiian Kingdom was done with the recognition that as it modernized it would gain respect in the international community and be able to determine its own future. As the ali'i began to learn and master law as defined by Europeans so they were able to manipulate and control Europeans within their dominions, while, to a lesser extent, limiting external foreign interference in the islands. The modernization of the Hawaiian Kingdom through the use of law has largely been seen as a gradual imposition of Euro-American values and perspectives[299] which constrained and confused ali'i. The following pages will look into the enabling aspects of law and its appropriation by ali'i for their own means and will demonstrate that ali'i modernized the Kingdom through existing structures.

This chapter will examine the ali'i led modernization of the ancient structure and governance. I will cover important sections of the reigns of Kauikeaouli, Alexander Liholiho, Lota Kapuāiwa, and Kalākaua. Throughout this chapter I will argue that the ali'i were making

laws which were to be used to protect national interests while promoting international acceptance of Hawaiian sovereignty over the islands. A central thesis of this chapter is that the ali'i were using and appropriating law for their own means and that ali'i were selectively appropriating and engaging with the values and institutions of Europe in order to forward their national and personal interests. I will offer glimpses into their lives through the use of personal journals and letters of correspondence in the cases where such sources are available. I will begin with the reign of Kauikeaouli and illustrate examples of early Hawaiian laws, discuss later laws implemented in his reign, including the Mahele of 1848 and the Kuleana Act of 1850. Following a discussion of Kauikeaouli (Kamehameha III), I will examine the education of Alexander Liholiho and Lota Kapuāiwa at the Chiefs' Children's School and their visit to foreign countries. Next I will discuss the reigns of Alexander and Lota as Kamehameha IV and V and their attempts at establishing an Episcopal Church in the islands, followed by an examination of Kalākaua's visit to Japan and Siam, his revitalization of Hawaiian traditions following his voyage, and his quest to create a Pan-Pacific Federation which would protect nations in the Pacific from being colonized. In the beginning of each section I offer some brief biographical information on the particular Mō'ī.

Enticing Hawaiian Law

In this section of the chapter I will attempt to place an emphasis on land laws and usage within his reign. The land concepts discussed in chapter two become of significance for understanding the modernization of these "traditional" structures, as I document in later sections of this chapter. In chapter two, I discussed the structures that were emplaced in 'Ōiwi society of old: Mō'ī, Palena, and Kālai'āina which make up a kind of ancient *state-craft*. Chapter

two demonstrated that prior to Europeans in the Hawaiian Islands, ʻŌiwi had formed complex political structures that governed society and were also embodied on the land through the territoriality of Palena. It is important to keep these thoughts in mind as we discuss the modernization of those structures in this chapter. One should also consider the practical aspects of law for aliʻi such as Kauikeaouli. Within the context of the islands geopolitical circumstances in his reign, law[300] offered quite an alluring proposition. Law could enable a militarily inferior nation to be looked upon as a theoretical equal in the diplomatic affairs and negotiations with a country of superior military power. Law also offered the ability to conduct semi-autonomous regulations within the defined boundaries of one's nation. While the rejection of law by that same nation could entice foreign powers to use their military strength to assume control of the nation and population. For a nation that was unequally matched in terms of infantry, naval vessels and steel, law offered an interesting appeal—it could be manipulated as a non-violent tool by a weaker nation to enable effective control over an internal population while decreasing the likelihood of external intervention.

Early laws in the Hawaiian Kingdom began roughly in the mid-late 1820s these laws were produced as proclamations. The first formal body of laws were codified in 1839. The first law ever enacted in Hawaiʻi not authorized by a Mōʻī or Kuhina nui was in 1893 following the illegal U.S. sponsored overthrow of Queen Liliʻuokalani. Thus, for roughly sixty-four years the aliʻi were intimately involved in the creation of laws. The fact that a native Mōʻī had to be forcefully removed from power with the aid of the United States by a small fraction of whites who wished to merge the islands with the U.S. suggests that aliʻi were making laws which were in their own interests. The question becomes to what extent were aliʻi making laws in their national interest

and to what extent were laws, enacted as a result of colonial influence. This chapter will grapple with these questions throughout the reigns of each Mōʻī represented. Let us begin with the Mōʻī who is most responsible for the modernization of the Hawaiian Kingdom.

Kauikeaouli—Kamehameha III

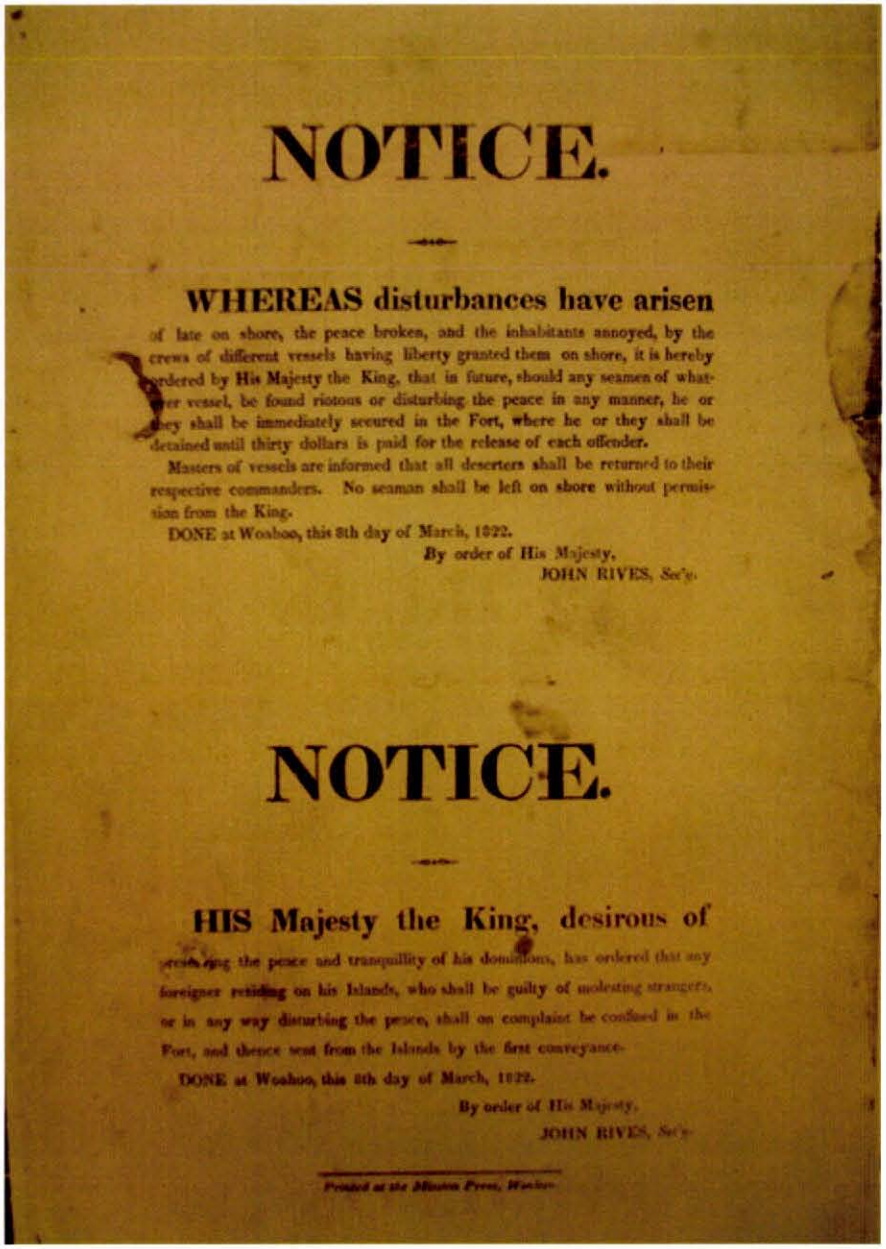
Kauikeaouli was born on the 17th of March in 1814 to his father Kamehameha and his mother Keōpūolani.[301] Kauikeouli's lineage is described by Kamakau through the high ranking lineage of Kauikeaouli's mother Keōpūolani which links her the Oʻahu and Maui island aliʻi. Kamakau states that these Maui island aliʻi were,

He poe aliʻi kapu, a ua like me ke akua[302]	*They were aliʻi of high lineage who were very sacred, they were like Gods*

Kamakau describes Kauikeaouli as a happy and respectful youth who heeded the words of his teachers and elders, and was filled with love for his friends and playmates. However, Kauikeaouli nearly did not survive his birth. He was thought to be dead upon entering into the world it was not until the kaulā (prophets) of Kaikoiʻewa attended to him that he began to move his limbs and cry—demonstrating that the child would survive. Because of these events Kaikoiʻewa became the kahu (guardian) of Kauikeaouli and took Kauikeaouli to be raised in ʻOʻoma.[303]

Kaukeaouli began his reign upon the death of his brother Liholiho in London. When he was near the age of nine years old Kauikeaouli became Mōʻī but would not rule until he had matured.[304] During his youth the Kingdom was largely controlled under the authority of Kaʻahumanu, who evolved to be a strong Christian and according to Osorio instituted, "a system of laws based on Christian morality and behavior known as prohibitionary or sumptuary laws."[305] Many of the laws proclaimed in this time period were done in the form of notices that were

written (often times) in English and Hawaiian. These notices were published in Honolulu[306] and are formatted onto large poster board paper. Figure 1 is an example of one of those early laws this particular notice was done in 1822 under the authority of Liholiho prior to his voyage to London.[307]



NOTICE.

WHEREAS disturbances have arisen of late on shore, the peace broken, and the inhabitants annoyed, by the crews of different vessels having liberty granted them on shore, it is hereby ordered by His Majesty the King, that in future, should any seamen of whatever vessel, be found riotous or disturbing the peace in any manner, he or they shall be immediately secured in the Fort, where he or they shall be detained until thirty dollars is paid for the release of each offender.

Masters of vessels are informed that all deserters shall be returned to their respective commanders. No seaman shall be left on shore without permission from the King.

DONE at Woahoo, this 8th day of March, 1822.

By order of His Majesty,

JOHN RIVES, Sec'y.

NOTICE.

HIS Majesty the King, desirous of preserving the peace and tranquillity of his dominions, has ordered that any foreigner residing on his Islands, who shall be guilty of molesting strangers, or in any way disturbing the peace, shall on complaint be confined in the Fort, and thence sent from the Islands by the first conveyance.

DONE at Woahoo, this 8th day of March, 1822.

By order of His Majesty,

JOHN RIVES, Sec'y.

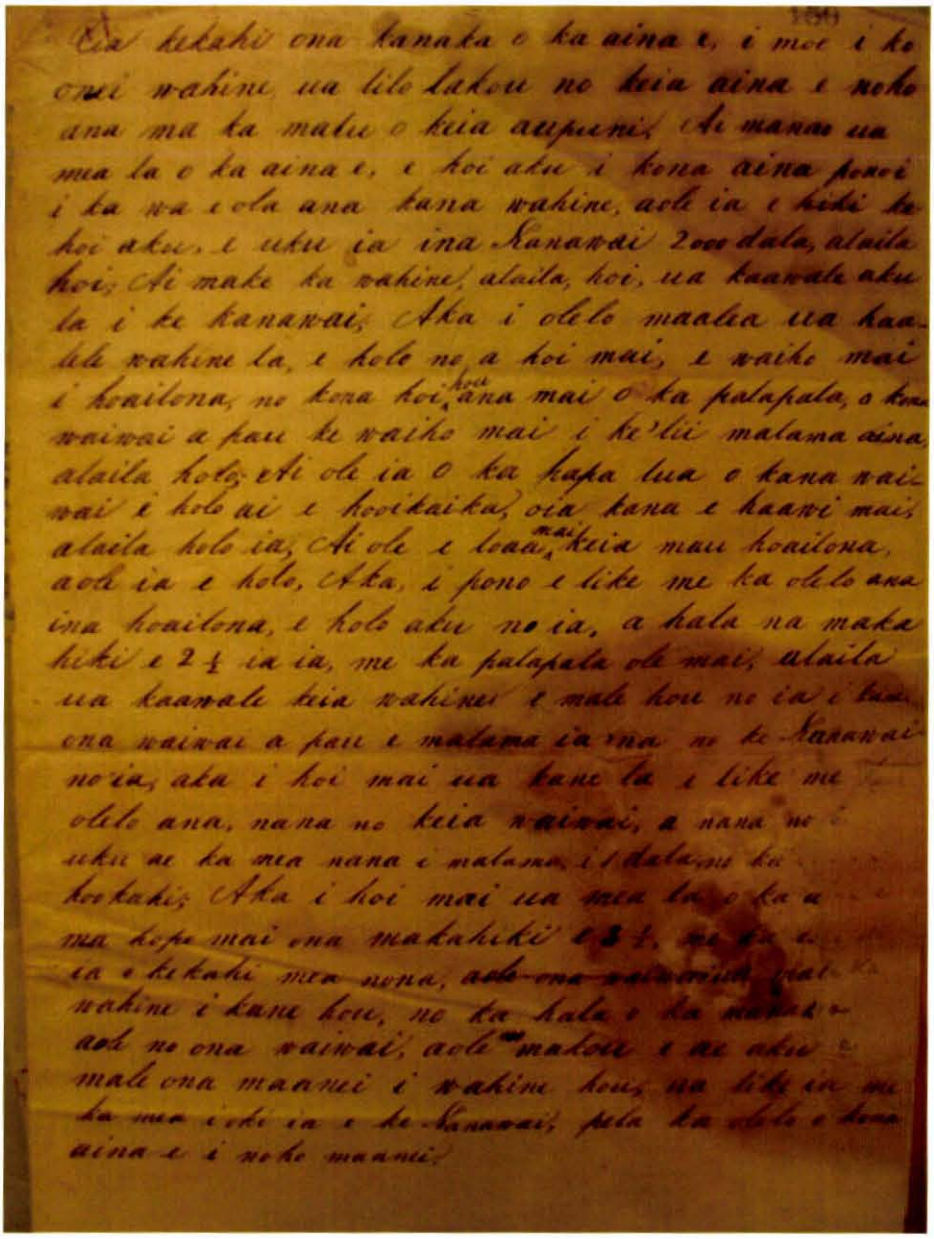
Printed at the Mission Press, Honolulu.

Chapter 4. Figure 1. Modified. Notice of Kamehameha II in regards to jailing foreigners who disrupt the peace. *Hawai'i State Archives FO&EX 418 Folder 2 1822-1825*

One can imagine what a powerfully provocative tool laws such as this (figure 1) were for Mōʻī like Liholiho. Had a foreign sailor been seized for disruptive behavior without a notice or law such as this, the captain of the ship could have grounds to fire upon or intimidate the aliʻi. However, with the publication of a notice, the authority of the aliʻi could be respected by foreign captains. There is no complete compilation of the laws initiated prior to 1839, therefore is it difficult to gather information with regard to the scope of these early laws. From the examples that I was able to find, it seems that many of these laws regulated the behavior of foreigners and possibly to a lesser extent the makaʻāinana. Some of the laws I was able to acquire focused on the prohibition of murder and theft, the abolition of rum, restricting non-monogamous sexual relations, and numerous laws in regards to foreign vessels and sailors. An early law that is of importance was one which regulated the relationship between foreigners who cohabit with Hawaiian women (Figure 2). This law prohibits a foreigner from leaving his wife without leaving a bond to the government, presumably because of the number of foreigners who were fathering children and departing from the islands. This seems to be a draft of the law and does not include a date. However, the draft of this law does demonstrate an example of how law could be a powerful tool for controlling foreigners.[308] The translation of Figure 2 reads as,

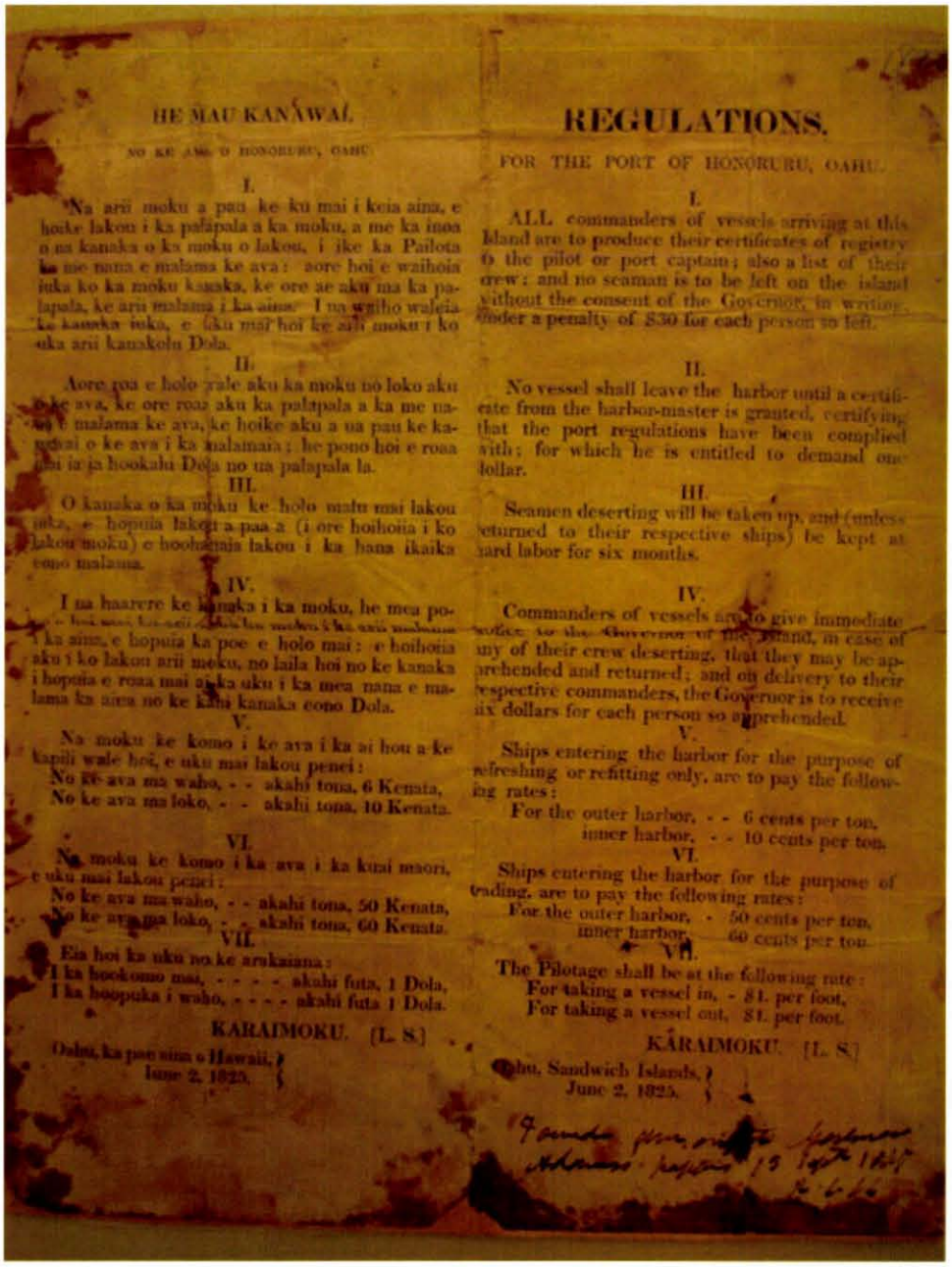
> Be it known, that men from foreign lands who cohabit with women of these lands, shall become subjects of these lands and shall live under the protection of this government. And if these foreigners should consider returning to their homelands during the lifetime of their wife, they are forbidden to do so. If they shall pay $2000 toward the law, then they may return to their homeland. If a man's wife has passed away, then he is free to return to his homeland and not bound by this law. However, if he speaks cunningly and says he will leave his wife and then return to Hawaiʻi, he must leave a bond demonstrating that he shall return. He must leave all documents pertaining to his wealth with the Konohiki (alii malama aina) and then he may leave, or he may also leave half of his earned wealth as it has been deemed to be sufficient, and he shall be free to leave. If these guarantees are not received then he shall be forbidden to leave.

However, it is right, as is agreed to by his bond, that if he should go and 2 ½ years pass without any correspondence from him, his former wife is free to marry another man and all the bond that has been held shall be the property of the law. But if he should return according to his word, the bond previously held shall belong to him, and he shall pay to the bondsman for ____ one
However, if he shall return in 3 ½ without having sent correspondence, and his former wife has remarried, he shall own no property, and the government will not allow him to marry another women in these islands, he will be like one who has been divorced from law. These are the words concerning those foreigners who reside in these islands.



Chapter 4. Figure 2. Modified. Undated Draft of a law pertaining to Foreigners with Hawaiian wives. *Hawai'i State Archives FO&EX 418 Folder 1*

These early examples of laws illustrate how ali'i in this time period were attempting to use law to control foreigners in their islands and to protect their authority within their Dominions. Another proclamation, which had a similar intention was signed into law by Kalanimoku who was *Kālaimoku,*[309] or the Hawaiian Kingdom Minister of State on June 2, 1825.[310]



HE MAU KANAWAI,

NO KE AWA O HONORURU, OAHU.

I.

Na arii moku a pau ke ku mai i keia aina, e hoike lakou i ka palapala a ka moku, a me ka inoa o na kanaka o ka moku o lakou, i ike ka Pailota ka me nana e malama ke ava: aore hoi e waihoia iuka ko ka moku kanaka, ke ore ae aku ma ka palapala, ke arii malama i ka aina. I na waiho waleia ke kanaka iuka, e uku mai hoi ke arii moku i ko uka arii kauakolu Dola.

II.

Aore poa e holo wale aku ka moku no loko aku o ke ava, ke ore roaa aku ka palapala a ka me nana e malama ke ava, ke hoike aku a ua pau ke kaohai o ke ava i ka malamara; he pono hoi e roaa ihai ia ia hookahi Dola no na palapala la.

III.

O kanaka o ka moku ke holo mahu mai lakou iuka, e hopuia lakou a paa a (i ore hoihoia i ko lakou moku) e hoohanaia lakou i ka hana ikaika eono malama.

IV.

I na haarere ke kanaka i ka moku, he mea pono [illegible] i ka aina, e hopuia ka poe e holo mai: e hoihoia aku i ko lakou arii moku, no laila hoi no ke kanaka i hopuia e roaa mai ai ka uku i ka mea nana e malama ka aina no ke kani kanaka eono Dola.

V.

Na moku ke komo i ke ava i ka ai hou a ke kapili wale hoi, e uku mai lakou penei:

No ke ava ma waho, - - akahi tona, 6 Kenata,
No ke ava ma loko, - - akahi tona, 10 Kenata.

VI.

Na moku ke komo i ka ava i ka kuai maori, e uku mai lakou penei:

No ke ava ma waho, - - akahi tona, 50 Kenata,
No ke ava ma loko, - - akahi tona, 60 Kenata.

VII.

Eia hoi ka uku no ke arukaiana:

I ka hookomo mai, - - - - akahi futa, 1 Dola,
I ka hooputa i waho, - - - - akahi futa 1 Dola.

KARAIMOKU. [L. S.]

Oahu, ka pae aina o Hawaii,
June 2, 1825.

REGULATIONS,

FOR THE PORT OF HONORURU, OAHU.

I.

ALL commanders of vessels arriving at this Island are to produce their certificates of registry to the pilot or port captain; also a list of their crew: and no seaman is to be left on the island without the consent of the Governor, in writing, under a penalty of $30 for each person so left.

II.

No vessel shall leave the harbor until a certificate from the harbor-master is granted, certifying that the port regulations have been complied with; for which he is entitled to demand one dollar.

III.

Seamen deserting will be taken up, and (unless returned to their respective ships) be kept at hard labor for six months.

IV.

Commanders of vessels are to give immediate notice to the Governor of the Island, in case of any of their crew deserting, that they may be apprehended and returned; and on delivery to their respective commanders, the Governor is to receive six dollars for each person so apprehended.

V.

Ships entering the harbor for the purpose of refreshing or refitting only, are to pay the following rates:

For the outer harbor, - - 6 cents per ton,
inner harbor, - - 10 cents per ton.

VI.

Ships entering the harbor for the purpose of trading, are to pay the following rates:

For the outer harbor, - 50 cents per ton,
inner harbor, 60 cents per ton.

VII.

The Pilotage shall be at the following rate:

For taking a vessel in, - $1. per foot,
For taking a vessel out, $1. per foot.

KARAIMOKU. [L. S.]

Oahu, Sandwich Islands,
June 2, 1825.

Chapter 4. Figure 3. Modified. June 2 1825 Law Relating to Harbor Duties
Hawai'i State Archives FO&EX 418 Folder 2 1822-1825

There were also laws which sought to limit the influx of infectious diseases that were causing a rapid decline of the aboriginal Hawaiian population. The Kingdom was in a difficult situation in regards to the influx of disease because the islands were composed of ports that were often frequented by whalers, merchants, and military vessels. If the Mōʻī chose to simply deny entry to all vessels that entered into Hawaiian waters, they could risk angering the three major commercial powers of the time Britain, France and the United States. Such a policy would likely be detrimental to the acceptance of the Hawaiian Kingdom in the eyes of these powers. Also Mōʻī like Kamehameha and Liholiho had promised to care for British subjects within their dominion and were therefore bound to accept at least British subjects, a policy that if exclusively held to would no doubt anger France and the U.S . The aliʻi were also actively involved in the promotion of trade and an absolute ban on the entry of foreign vessels would be contrary to their own economic interests. If the Mōʻī could not restrict all foreign vessels from visiting Hawaiian ports, they could place pressure on the captains, navigators, and sailors of ships visiting Hawaiʻi to carefully inspect their crew for diseases and impose severe measures on those who chose not to adhere to this policy. Figure 4 is the Hawaiian language version of a law which sought to keep small-pox out of the Hawaiian islands.[31] The first part of the law is directed toward navigators who were boarding vessels in the Hawaiian islands, the second is related to quarantining ships on their arrival. It is likely that there must have also existed a translation of this law so that is could have been known by foreign captains. The translation of Figure 4 is,

A Law Regarding Smallpox

Pilots,

We are informing you that, you are forbidden to board any ship departing from the Pacific Northwest or California to these islands, without first investigating whether or not there has been small pox or any other infectious disease. If you find that there has been a case of an infectious disease in the past 42 days, you or any of your men are not permitted to board. You are to direct the ship to the outside of the harbor to a safe anchorage, and inform the captain that he must raise the yellow flag (that we have provided) on the main mast. You must then inform the government of these circumstances.

Should anyone choose not to follow these orders they will be severely punished and banished from these islands.

Kinau
Honolulu, May 28 1839 Auhea
Paki

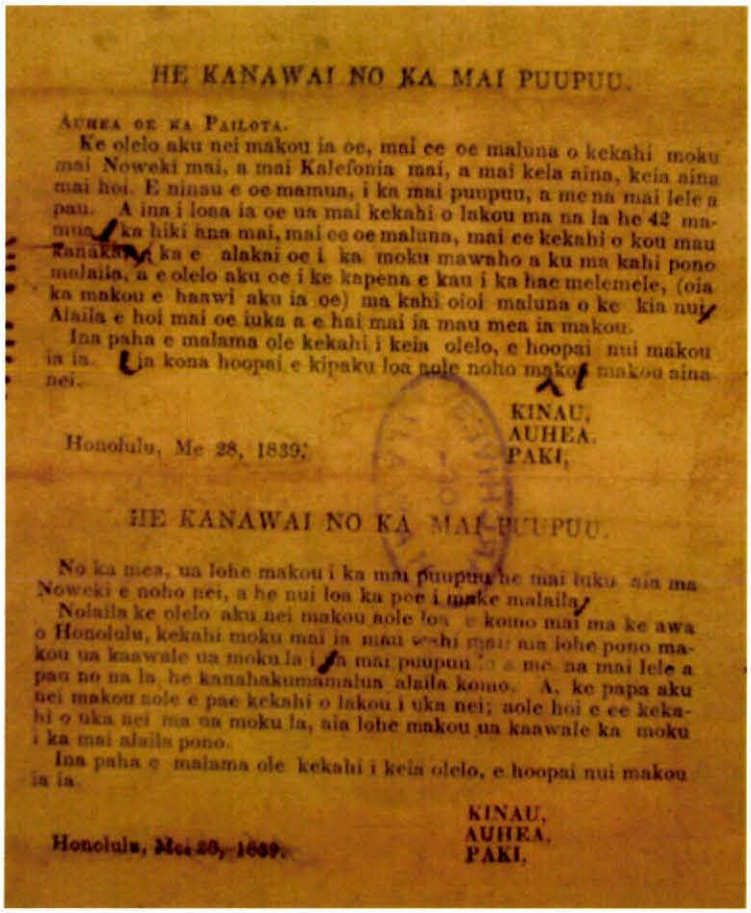
A Law Regarding Smallpox

Because we have heard of that the devastating disease small pox is currently in the Pacific Northwest and has caused extreme casualties.

We therefore make know that we are restricting entrance into Honolulu harbor for those vessels that have originated in those areas, until we can ascertain that the vessel has been free of small pox or any other infectious disease for at least 42 days, (and if this is so the vessel) will be allowed to enter. We also prohibit anyone from disembarking from their ships, until this information can be ascertained by the government.

Should anyone chose to neglect these laws, they shall be severely punished.

Kinau
Honolulu, May 28, 1839 Auhea
Paki



HE KANAWAI NO KA MAI PUUPUU.

AUHEA OE KA PAILOTA.

Ke olelo aku nei makou ia oe, mai ee oe maluna o kekahi moku mai Noweki mai, a mai Kalefonia mai, a mai kela aina, keia aina mai hoi. E ninau e oe mamua, i ka mai puupuu, a me na mai lele a pau. A ina i loaa ia oe ua mai kekahi o lakou ma na la he 42 mamua ka hiki ana mai, mai ee oe maluna, mai ee kekahi o kou mau kanaka, a ka e alakai oe i ka moku mawaho a ku ma kahi pono malaila, a e olelo aku oe i ke kapena e kau i ka hae melemele, (oia ka makou e haawi aku ia oe) ma kahi oioi maluna o ke kia nui. Alaila e hoi mai oe iuka a e hai mai ia mau mea ia makou.

Ina paha e malama ole kekahi i keia olelo, e hoopai nui makou ia ia. Ua kona hoopai e kipaku loa aole noho makou makou aina nei.

KINAU,
AUHEA,
PAKI,

Honolulu, Me 28, 1839.

HE KANAWAI NO KA MAI PUUPUU.

No ka mea, ua lohe makou i ka mai puupuu he mai iuka aia ma Noweki e noho nei, a he nui loa ka poe i make malaila.

Nolaila ke olelo aku nei makou aole loa e komo mai ma ke awa o Honolulu, kekahi moku mai ia mau wahi mai na lohe pono makou ua kaawale ua moku la i ka mai puupuu a me na mai lele a pau no na la he kanahakumamalua alaila komo. A, ke papa aku nei makou aole e pae kekahi o lakou i uka nei; aole hoi e ee kekahi o uka nei ma ua moku la, aia lohe makou ua kaawale ka moku i ka mai alaila pono.

Ina paha e malama ole kekahi i keia olelo, e hoopai nui makou ia ia.

KINAU,
AUHEA,
PAKI,

Honolulu, Mei 28, 1839.

Chapter 4. Figure 4. Modified. May 28 1839 Law Relating to Smallpox. This law was signed by the Kuhina Nui, Kīna'u. The office of the Regent did not have an equivalent in European governmental structures. It was a uniquely Hawaiian creation whose office was as a co-equal to the Mō'ī. It was first created by Ka'ahumanu and was often times held by women until its removal in 1864. *Hawai'i State Archives FO&EX 418 Folder 5 1838-1839.*

Figure 4 must have been authored in the contexts of a known outbreak of the diseases in the Pacific Northwest and California, as it is directed toward that specific outbreak. However, there are also other laws, which seek to prevent the influx of infectious diseases into the Hawaiian Islands. Given what is know today about the native population decline, one can see these kinds of laws were not able to completely prevent the influx and spread of infectious diseases into the Hawaiian islands. Throughout the reign of each Mō'ī a battle was raged against the arrival of foreign diseases on Hawaiian shores. It was a bravely fought, largely losing battle that laws could

not seem to solve.[312] However, the attempts of ali'i to use laws as a means to address these problems demonstrate that the ali'i of the time were appropriating laws for their own interests.

There were also laws proclaimed in this period that inhibited the behavior of native Hawaiians in ways that had not been done in the times of Kamehameha I and Liholiho. Many of these laws were those that were proclaimed by Ka'ahumanu during her reign as Kuhina nui or Regent and are reflective of her acceptance of Christian ethics and behavior. One such law regulated the monogamous sexual relationships between a husband and a wife. Laws such as these have been used to demonstrate the influence of the missionaries on the ali'i, but they also demonstrate the agency of Ka'ahumanu in accepting and advancing the Christian doctrine over the islands.[313] Therefore, while many of these laws were opposed to early 'Ōiwi ethical behaviors, one must not remove Ka'ahumanu and her major role in imposing Christian morality over the islands from an analysis of these events. Ka'ahumanu may have been using Christianity to advance her own means and political agenda. Figure 5 is a law which forbids polygamous sexual relationships and is signed by Kauikeaouli in 1829.

NO KA

MOE KOLOHE.

KAUIKEAOULI.

Chapter 4. Figure 5. Modified. Sept 21 1829 Law Relating to Sexual Relationships *Hawai'i State Archives FO&EX 418 Folder 3 1827-1829*

Kumukānāwai i kau ma 1839—The Source of Laws 1839

On June 7, 1839 the first formal body of laws were enacted by Kauikeaouli. These laws seem to be one of the first attempts of ali'i to use written law to define the relationships between Hawaiian classes. When the Hawaiian Historian Samuel Kamakau discusses these laws, he does so only after illustrating that there were laws in the ancient system of government as well, such as in the time of the anciently celebrated chief Kuali'i.[314] His intention may be to show that there had existed laws prior to these that were administered traditionally and he may have been doing so to show that law was really not that foreign to the ali'i. While the written laws proclaimed prior to 1839 seemed to largely regulate engagements with foreigners, taxation, and trade, the laws passed in 1839 begin to codify relationships between ali'i and maka'āinana. The laws were published as two sections under the titles *Kumu Kanawai* (Source of Law or Constitution) and *Ke Kanawai Hooponopono Waiwai* (Law Regulating Taxation, Property, and the Rights of Classes). A literal translation of Kumu Kanawai is the *source of law* it is this section that has been called a Declaration of Rights . The first section or the *Kumu Kanawai* begins with a quotation from Acts 17:26 of the Bible, demonstrating the acceptance of some Christian doctrines by the ali'i of the time.

Ua hana mai ke Akua i na lahui kanaka a pau i ke koko hookahi, e noho like lakou ma ka honua nei me ke kuikahi, a me ka pomaikai.[315]	God hath made of one blood all nations men, to dwell on the face of the earth in unity and blessedness.[316]

While the above section clearly illustrates Christian metaphysics as the source of all law, a later passage attempts to define the origin of the ali'i class. In doing so it offers an explanation that

would have been accepted in pre-Christian times—that the class of ali'i was established by Akua (God). One should recall the words of the 'Ai Kapu supporter Kekuaokalani in Chapter 3 which stated that only the Gods could give the power to be an ali'i. In this sense the following passage of the *Kumu Kanawai* of 1839 is exposing a principle that had been held since the 'aha ali'i, that the ali'i were given their authority through there lineage and through Akua. Although the Akua that is being made reference to is a Christian God and markedly different to those that were previously worshiped, in both cases, the essence of the idea is the same—the ali'i were established by Akua. In this sense the introduction and acceptance of Christianity did not impose an acceptance of the universal equality of man, it did not extinguish chiefly authority but rather provided the ali'i with another metaphysical validation of what they already believed.

Na ke Akua mai no hoi ka oihana alii, a me ka noho alii ana i mea e malu ai.[317]	*God has established the class of chiefs and the right of chiefs to rule to provide peace and protection.*

I am offering a literal translation of this section in order to suggest possible interpretations that the ali'i may have had in crafting this document. It is important to offer multiple perspectives of this document because it was authored in the Hawaiian language and the ali'i were actively involved its creation and design. No doubt a multi-layered critical analysis of these early laws could illustrate the ways in which ali'i were now producing and legitimizing their authority, while also drawing from the influence of politics as taught by their recently hired advisor William Richards.[318] That these ali'i were changing as a result of their engagement with foreigners and new ideas is certain, but it must not be forgotten that they were still ali'i—they alone held the kuleana of guiding and governing the society in the modes and models that they saw fit. In this respect, the scholar Juri Mykkanen has suggested that the success of the missionary program and

the teaching of literacy was intimately linked to the support of the chiefs and that in many ways the mission was subservient to the ali'i,[319] so much so that following Ka'ahumanu's death on June 5, 1832, a prominent missionary, Sheldon Dibble, expressed his concerns that the "success of the mission had almost completely rested on the shoulders of the chiefs and the hierarchical functioning of Hawaiian society."[320]

The *Kumu Kanawai* of 1839 also added a great deal of power to the authority of the Mō'ī. In the final paragraph a warning is offered to chiefs who refuse to obey this edict. It states

O ke alii e hana i kekahi mea ku e i keia Kumu kanawai, e pau kona noho alii ana ma keia pae aina o Hawaii nei, ke hoomau ia malaila, pela na kiaaina, a me na luna a me na konohiki a pau.[321]	*Whatever chief shall conduct themselves in disobedience to this Kumu kanawai, their rights as chiefs shall be extinguished in the Hawaiian Islands, this is also the case for the governors and all land agents.*

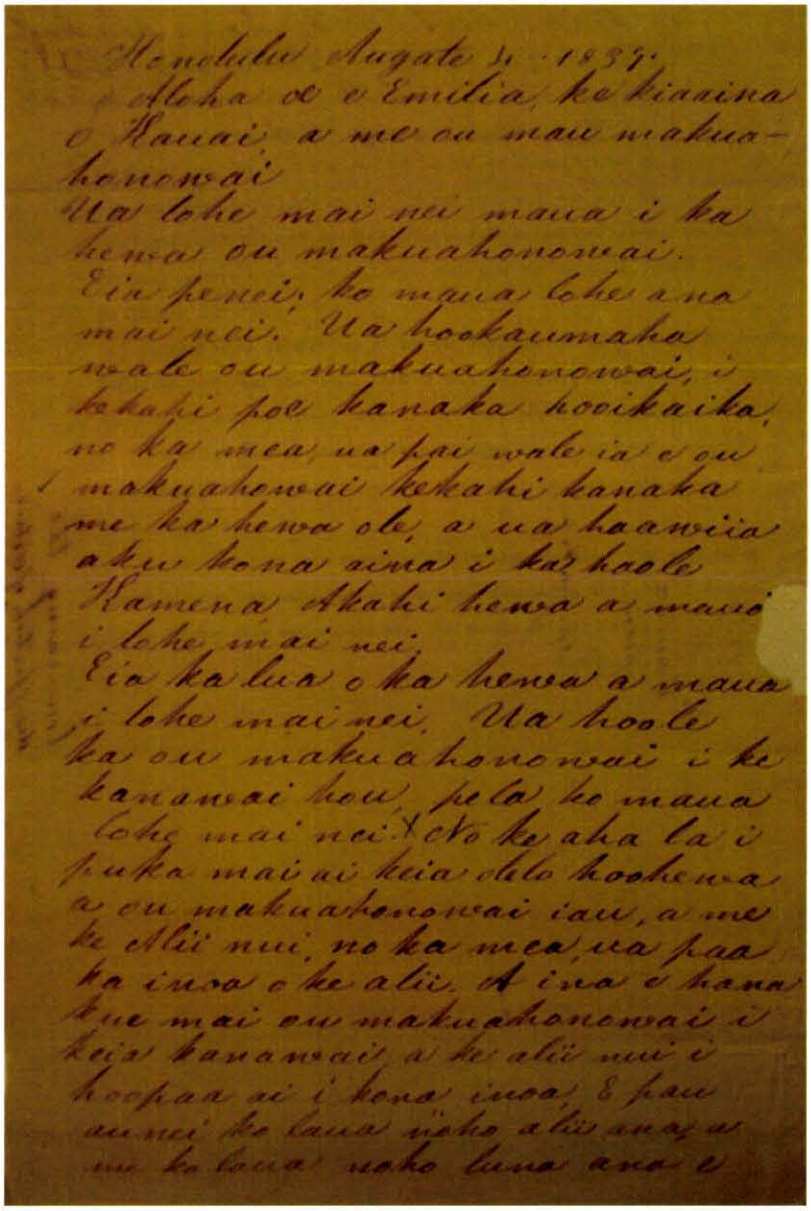
These reservations placed on the ali'i gave Kauikeaouli quite a bit of power. Possibly for the first time, a Mō'ī had the potential power to extinguish the nobility of an ali'i. In earlier times ali'i occasionally took each others' lives. By 1839, those practices had long ended but this reservation may have enabled Kauikeaouli to solidify his authority in accordance with more "civilized" means. Although the laws are not overly restrictive on any particular class and seem to be based on what many would find today to be acceptable ethical standards, this could have been an extremely powerful tool of coercion which required chiefs to obey the laws of Kauikeaouli. I have not found any data that would allow me to determine how often this clause had to be put into practice. However, I have found a letter that does deal with this issue. Kauikeaouli and his ali'i had received word that a particular group of chiefs on Kaua'i were not obeying the laws and unjustly punishing laborers. In a letter dated August 4, 1839, to the Kia'āina or Governor of

Kaua'i, Emilia Keaweamahi,[322] Emilia was notified that word had reached Kauikeaouli, saying that her in-laws have been disregarding the laws. The punishment offered was potentially severe and these lawless ali'i are warned that they will lose their status as ali'i should they continue to disregard the law. A translation of the letter is as follows,

Honolulu August 4 1839

Regards to you Emilia, the Governor of Kauai and also to your in laws.
We have heard of the wrongs committed by your in laws, we have recently heard that your in laws have caused suffering to a hard working person, who was struck by your in laws without just cause, and that his lands were taken and given to a haole named Kamena. This was the first offense that we have heard.

The second offense that we have received news of is that your in-laws have said that they refused to acknowledge the new laws. Why have the disgraceful words uttered by your in-laws reached me and the Ali'i nui? Whereas the King's signature has been placed on the laws, if your in-laws continue to disregard the laws that the King had enacted, their rights as chiefs shall be extinguished as is stated by the laws. Here is your last chance; you must abide by the laws and not according to your own discretion.


Honolulu August 4. 1839.
Aloha o e Emilia, ke kiaaina
o Hawai, a me ou mau makua-
hanawai
Ua loke mai nei mana i ka
hewa ou makuahanawai.
Eia penei, ke mana loke a na
mai nei. Ua hookaumaha
wale ou makuahanawai, i
kekahi poe kanaka hoikaika,
no ka mea, ua pai wale ia e ou
makuahanawai kekahi kanaka
me ka hewa ole, a ua haawiia
aku kona aina i ka haole
Hamena, Akahi hewa a mana
i loke mai nei,
Eia ka lua o ka hewa a mana
i loke mai nei. Ua hoole
ka ou makuahanawai i ke
kanawai hou, pela ke mana
loke mai nei. No ke aha la i
puka mai ai keia olelo hoohewa
a ou makuahanawai iau, a me
ke Alii nui, no ka mea, ua paa
ka inoa o ke alii. A ina e hana
pu mai ou makuahanawai i
keia kanawai, a ke alii nui i
hoopaa ai i kona inoa, E pau
ana nei ke kaua ana o a
me ke kaua ana o luna ana e

Chapter 4. Figure 6. Modified. August 4 1839 Letter to Emilia
Hawai'i State Archives Hawaiian Chiefs M-59 Folder 9 1834-1839 Misc.

The second section of the laws of 1839 published as *Kanawai Hooponopono Waiwai* (laws organizing wealth) began to codify traditional relationships between maka'āinana and ali'i 'ai ahupua'a, and also the relationship between those of the ali'i class. Throughout the 24 pages

of laws there are 13 sections and seven sub-sections, the following is a list of the sections and their translations.

1. No Ka Auhau O Ke Kino	*1. Poll Tax*
2. No Ka Auhau O Ka Aina	*2. Land Tax*
3. No Ka Noa Ana O Ke Kai	*3. Open Divisions of the Ocean given to subjects*
4. No Na Kai Kapu	*4. Divisions of the Ocean (and resources) kept for the King*
5. No Na Koele	*5. Relating to Work Tax*
6. No Ka Poe Hana A Me Ka Poe Hana Ole	*6. Relating to Landlords and Tenants*
7. No Na Kiaaina A Me Na Konohiki	*7. Relating to Governors and Land Managers*
8. Ka Hana A Na Alii I Ka Makahiki Mua	*8. Relating to the Goals of laws in the 1st Year*
9. Ka Hana A Ka Poe Luna Auhau	*9. Relating to Collection of Taxes*
10. Ka Hana A Na Wahine	*10. Relating to the Work of Women*
11. No Ka Hana Ana I Na Mea Hou	*11. Relating to Business Following this Law*
12. No Ka Ili Ana Aku O Ka Aina I Ka Hooilina	*12. Relating to Inheritance of Lands by heirs*
13. No Ka Mahele Wai	*13. Relating to Water Given to all for Irrigation*
I. Auhau O Ka Makahiki Mua	*I Relating to Taxes in this Present Year*
II. Ka Hana A Na Alii	*II. Relating to the Rights of Chiefs*
III. No Na Konohiki	*III. Relating to the Land Managers*
IV. No Na Luna I Koho Hou Ia	*IV. Relating to New Officers*
V. Na Mea Kapu O Ke Kuahiwi	*V. Relating to Kapu Items from the Mountains*
VI. No Ka Pili Ana O Ke Kanawai	*VI. Relating to Administering Law*
VII. Ahaolelo Na Na Alii	*VII. Relating to the Council of Nobles*

Throughout the 24 pages of these laws there seems to be a clear intention by Kauikeaouli to codify the relationship between the ali'i and the maka'āinana with a special interest in protecting the maka'āinana from the potential abuses of overbearing ali'i. These laws seem to be the most critical of ali'i who might excessively burden maka'āinana. While there is no clear way to know to what extent these laws were needed to protect, from the occurrence of such situations, the law would only affect the situations where ali'i may have abused power. Furthermore, following the death of Kamehameha I, when sandalwood passed from his personal property and became owned by the chiefs individually, there may have been abuses by chiefs which burdened the maka'āinana, if this was the case, laws such as these would aid in protecting maka'āinana from burdensome chiefs.[323] Osorio sees this body of laws as demonstrating how,

> Ultimate responsibility for the maintenance of the land and the people in Hawai'i passed from the ancient line of Ali'i and the gods they represented to the newer and much less understood authority of law.[324]

While Osorio is correct in demonstrating that law represented a change, he offers less consideration of the idea that the ali'i may have understood their usage of law, or the possibility that laws which protected the maka'āinana from potentially abusive chiefs may have been welcomed following the mistakes made in the sandalwood trade. What I am suggesting is that ali'i were instrumental in the modernization of the Hawaiian Kingdom and that they were also fairly selective in their adaptations. I am also trying to demonstrate that these laws were Hawaiian-ized tools, in opposition to scholars such as Merry who have stated that,

> During the brief period from 1825 to 1850 the Kingdom of Hawai'i was transformed from a system of governance based on sacred laws, hereditary rank, and religious authority to one based on Anglo-American common law, a written constitution, and an elected legislature.

It would be quite different if Merry had used the phrased "ali'i transformed," rather than "was transformed," which implies a kind of outside imposed reform, glossing over the fact that the ali'i were the intimately involved in the transformation. Another point that I am contesting is her classification of the laws of 1839 as Anglo-American. While some laws were clearly based on Anglo-American common law others were not and were based on Hawaiian custom and ancient structure. I am attempting to situate the agency of the ali'i in emplacing these laws while also suggesting that they were modifying existing structures and negotiating European legal forms which created something new, neither completely Anglo-American nor traditionally Hawaiian, but a combination of both. A good example of laws that support my analysis are the sections of the 1839 laws that are devoted to resource divisions of the ocean and land, as well as the sections devoted to land inheritance.

In both of sections 3 and 12 of the laws of 1839, one can see the government's recognition of resources and land being owned jointly by 3 classes–the Ali'i Nui, the Konohiki (chiefs),and the Maka'āinana.[325] The entire fisheries of the Kingdom were divided among these three classes with Kauikeaouli giving to the maka'āinana "o ke kai kilohee, o ke kai lu hee, o ke kai malolo o k moana"[326] (*the Kilohe'e grounds, the Lūhe'e Grounds, and the Mālolo Grounds*). I am not sure where the precedent would be in Anglo-American law for statutes such as these, and furthermore the act of codifying Hawaiian divisions of fisheries might be easily overlooked by scholars untrained in the complex 'Ōiwi resource divisions and Palena. These were ancient fishing grounds that were being codified and transferred into the modern system, these fishing grounds that were intimately known by the hoa'āina and the chiefs of the time, and are an excellent

example of traditional resource knowledge being transferred into the codified structure of the Kingdom.

In the section devoted to land inheritance, the inheritor of land must pay a 1/3 interest to the Mōʻī in land to acquire the inherence provided that there is more than one parcel of land. This would mean that 1/3 of the lands that had been previously controlled by ones ancestor would revert to the Mōʻī, a concept that bears resemblance to a Kālaiʻāina. The importance of the 1/3 interest of the Mōī, along with the dividing of fisheries according to three classes is that it is a recognition of the three classes of interest in the lands and marine resources of the Kingdom, a notion that would be difficult to find in Anglo-American law. These principles are later more clearly defined in the 1840 constitution and in the principles of the Land Commission in 1846, but the early articulation of these principles in 1839 reflects the notion that land had been conceived as jointly "owned" through the undefined interests of these three classes.

Of central importance for addressing the agency of the aliʻi in the modernization of the Hawaiian Kingdom through the usage of these early laws, is the question of how these laws were proclaimed and who was involved in their composition. Section 8 of the laws of 1839 offer a few reasons for the passing of these new laws. An analysis of section 8 demonstrates that aliʻi were being calculative in their usage of laws to reform government and that they may have been attempting to use law to create a state of harmony which had existed previously in the Kingdom. A portion of section 8 of the laws of 1839 state,

O ka imi i ka pono a oi aku mamua o ka malu au i lohe ai no keia pae aina, ia Kamehameha, o ka hele o ka elemakule, a me ka luahine, a me ke keiki a moe i ke ala; o ka hoopau ae i ka noho naaupo ana o na konohiki a me na luna auhau aku i na makaainana, no laila mai ke kaumaha i hana ole ai ka poe hana, a i ilihune loa ai ke aupuni... Oia ka hana a na alii e noonoo ai a e mau ai hoi ka noho alii ana maluna o keia pae aina, e hoi nui aku ko kakou mau kanaka a pau i kuaaina e mahi ai, a e imi i waiwei no lakou.[327]	*(These are our reasons for these laws) To seek that greater justice and peace that I had heard of for this Kingdom as was in the times of Kamehameha when the elderly could roam freely, and children could sleep in the open without fear (This is a reference to Māmalahoa a Law proclaimed by Kamehameha I) Also, to cease the burdening behaviors of the Konohiki and the tax collectors to the maka'āinana, therefore do not burden the workers so greatly that they are able to accomplish nothing and leave the government destitute.* *These are the works that the chiefs should encourage so that they can continue to be as chiefs in these islands, to encourage all of our people to return to the countryside to cultivate and labor for a wealth of their own.*

It is quite possible that Kauikeaouli was attempting to use law as a means to restore the state of Pono (secured harmony) that had existed in the later years of his father's reign. Reference is also made to the law of Māmalahoa, which was proclaimed by Kamehameha to protect people throughout their travels in the Kingdom. Another focus of the above quoted passage is that it seeks to place people back on the land and encourage them to farm and cultivate. A further consideration of rapid depopulation of the island might allow insight into the problems that Kauikeaouli was trying to remedy. If the population in Kamehameha's time was nearly 800,000, by 1836 it had fallen to 107,954,[328] what this would mean is that roughly 86 percent of the population alive in Kamehameha's time had passed away by 1836. Thus, in 1836, 14 percent of the population alive in 1778 had to attempt to maintain and accomplish the works of the previous

population. Clearly, this was a monumental task.[329] However, it was not uncommon, even in early times when the population was not affected by the influx of foreign disease for a Mōʻī to encourage industry in his/her people. Desha has noted that upon Kamehameha's return from his conquest of Oahu there was a near state of famine in Kona. Kamehameha then encouraged the makaʻāinana to labor and cultivate the soil.[330] In this sense, Kauikeaouli's encouragement of industry was an action that had been done by numerous Mōʻī who had preceded him.

Given that the impetus for implementing law appears to be that Kauikeaouli had wished to enable cultivation and industry over his lands, and that the desire for industry was promoted by Mōʻī generations prior to him—this offers a least one interpretation that the laws of 1839 were being used by aliʻi for the interests of their subjects and themselves. Another important subject to address focuses around the composition of these laws, who authored them and under what terms were they agreed to. I have found an important source toward answering these questions.

An 1839 report in the Hawaiian Spectator evaluates the events that lead up to the proclamation of the laws of 1839. The laws were written by a student of Lahainaluna, Boaz Mahune under the authority of Kauikeaouli. I will quote an extended passage so that the reader can clearly understand the events surrounding the implementation of the laws of 1839.

> They (the laws of 1839) were written by a graduate of the Seminary at the direction of the king, but without any definite instructions as to what he should write. He in the first instance wrote about one third of the present quantity of matter, and that was read to the king and several of the chiefs, who met and spent two or three hours a day for five days in succession, in the discussion of the laws, and the various subjects of which they treated. In some particulars the laws were pronounced defective in others erroneous, and the writer was directed to re-write them, and conform them to the views that had been expressed. This was done, and they were thus considerably enlarged, and then passed a second reading at a meeting of the king and all the important chiefs of the Islands. At this reading a longer time was spent than at the first. They were still pronounced defective, and further additions and corrections were made in the

> same manner and by the same person as before. They then passed a third and last reading, after which the king inquired of the chiefs if they approved, and on their saying, yes, he replied, "I also approve," and then rose and in their presence suffixed his name.[331]

The above passage clearly illustrates that these laws were not imposed on the ali'i and demonstrates that they were being cautious and fairly selective in their appropriation of laws. Mahune had to draft a total of three revisions in an attempt to have the laws conform to the wishes of the 'aha ali'i and Mō'ī. Clearly, in this situation, the ali'i were in the process of truly *creating* law. They were cautiously examining the appropriate content for the laws and designing them to, fit their own considerations, account for their reservations, and produce a *pono* state for society.

1840 Kumukanawai—The Constitution of 1840

On October 8th 1840, Kauikeaouli and the Kuhina Nui Kekauluohi signed the *Kumu Kanawai o ka Makahiki 1840,* the Constitution of 1840.[332] Like the *Kumu Kanawai* of 1839, the whereabouts of the original version of the Constitution of 1840 is presently unknown. The opening section of the Constitution of 1840 is the *Kumu Kanawai of 1839* plus an added paragraph which enables ali'i who were deposed of their rights as chiefs for not following the laws to have their rights as ali'i to be reinstated provided they have changed their conduct and live by the law.[333]

The Constitution of 1840, as the laws of 1839, were composed in Hawaiian and later translated into English. I believe that this has caused some of the interpretations of the documents to gloss over the aspects of traditional government that were embedded in these early laws and Constitutions. The fact that they were authored in Hawaiian makes the Hawaiian

versions of these documents the original sources. I have offered the Hawaiian sections as well as the English translations that were made by the government in later years, which were not literal translations. A reading of these laws and Constitution only in the English language could easily mislead scholarly analysis. Since the Hawaiian language is the original source, I believe it is this source that can provide the best insight into what the ali'i were attempting to transform as well as offer glimpses into how they saw this change in relation to older systems of governance.

The Constitution doubtlessly changed the function of society. After all, that is what Constitutions do in any country. It separated the powers of government into the executive, legislative, and judicial branches, although the Mō'ī and Kuhina Nui also sat on the Supreme Court along with four other appointed members. The executive branch was composed of the Mō'ī and Kuhina Nui and represented very little change from the earlier forms of governance. The legislative branch was composed of the "No na alii malalo of ke Alii Nui"[334] *the Chiefs under the King* or the "House of Nobles." These were some of the highest ranking and closest advisors to Kauikeaouli at the time. The actual ali'i are listed in the Constitution and it is stated that the admittance of any other member must be made known by law. The ali'i that composed this body in 1840 were, Hoapiliwahine, Kuakini, Kekau'ōnohi, Kahekili, Paki, Konia, Keohokālole, Leleiōhoku, Kekuanao'a, Keali'iahonui, Kana'ina, Keoni 'Ī'ī, Keoni Ana, and Ha'alilo. Composed of these ali'i, the House of Nobles can be seen as a modification of the 'aha ali'i, a body of closely related and variously ranked ali'i who would advise the Mō'ī similarly to had been done by the aha ali'i. The segment of the legislative branch that composed the greatest shift in power were the "Poe i Kohoia"[335] the *Elected People* or the "Representative Body." According to the Constitution these representatives would be chosen through the will of the people and no law

should be passed without their consent. Kamakau praises the ancient Hawaiian system but also elaborates on some of the advantages of Constitutional Government,

> ʻO nā aupuni kumukānāwai ʻole, aia ke kumukānāwai a me nā kānāwai ma ka mana o ka mōʻī a me nā aliʻi. O ka mōʻī a me nā aliʻi aloha aupuni a aloha makaʻāinana, e like me ko Hawaii nei poʻe aliʻi, a laila, ua ʻoluʻolu a kuapapa nui ko lākou aupuni, a o nā aliʻi aloha ʻole ua kaniʻuhū nā makaʻāinana. ʻO ke kaniʻūhu o nā makaʻāinana o nā aupuni kumukānāwai, he kaniʻuhū hiki ia ke hoʻopiʻi i mua o kona makua, ʻo ka ʻaha ʻōlelo; he kūpono paha, a he kūpono ʻole paha, a ʻo ka ʻaha ʻōlelo ka mea nāna e wehe a e hoʻopaʻa e like me ke kūpono a ke kūpono ʻole, a ʻo ia ka pomaikaʻi o nā aupuni kumukānāwai.[336]
>
> In governments where there is no constitution, the roles of the constitution and laws are governed solely through the authority of the King and the chiefs. In the cases where there is a benevolent ruler and chiefs who care for the people, as was the case in Hawaiʻi there exists peace and tranquility, but in the cases where the chiefs abuse the people and they express their complaints, the complaints of people in a constitutional government can be petitioned to the authorities, where a council can decide if the concerns are valid or not, and can then make the appropriate decisions. This is the benefit of Constitutional governments.

Many would agree with Kamakau's comparison of the advantages of Constitutional governments–they are supposed to provide the masses with a voice and representation in government while protecting their rights against abuses by the powerful elite groups. In ideal situations they may not be necessary, but constitutions have become powerful documents in the "modern" world. In the years following 1840, makaʻāinana made use of the benefits of Constitutional government and learned to petition. While I do not have a current statistic for the number of petitions that were submitted to the Hawaiian Kingdom government, it is safe to say that there were numerous petitions authored by makaʻāinana to the Hawaiian Kingdom government that covered a number of differing issues. Some of the petitions that I have seen include, petitions against Konohiki taking more resources than the law permits from an ahupuaʻa, and other petitions that request the government to adopt a certain policy, one of which

called for not allowing foreigners to become subject. Given that in ancient times maka'āinana seemed to have no say in governmental decisions of ali'i, this is evidence that the maka'āinana had learned and appropriated the art of petitioning ali'i and to that extent had accepted the benefits of Constitutional government.

Another important section of the Constitution of 1840 deals with the ownership of lands. The section titled "Ka hoakaka ana i ke Ano o ka Noho o na alii" *Clarifying the Nature of the Rule of the ali'i,* or "Exposition of the Principles on which the Present Dynasty is Founded," it is stated that Kamehameha is the head or founder of the present system of government and that all lands from Hawai'i to Ni'ihau belong to him, but are not his sole property, lands belonged to Kamehameha and also to the people and chiefs in common.

O *Kamehameha I,* oia ke poo o keia aupuni, a nona no na aina a pau mai Hawaii a Niihau, aole nae nona ponoi, no na kanaka no, a me na '(a)lii, a o Kamehameha no ko lakou poo nana e olelo i ka aina.	*Kamehameha was the head of this present government, it was to him that all the lands from Hawa'i to Ni'ihau belonged, but it was not solely his, the lands also belonged to the people (maka'āinana) and to the chiefs, and Kamehameha was the head who had the authority to dispense lands.*

This section of the Constitution is essentially attempting to codify the ancient rights that the Mō'ī, ali'i, and maka'āinana had in land and within the structure of a Kālai'āina. In a Kālai'āina, the Mō'ī could award lands but it was not his/her sole property. A Mō'ī would award lands with the ali'i, while the maka'āinana also had rights to their 'ili, mo'o 'āina, pauku 'āina, and kīhāpai, as well as the rights for the resources within their ahupua'a.[337] This is an excellent example of the ali'i attempting to modernize the Kingdom through refinement of ancient structures. By defining in law that there were vested rights of three groups in the lands of the Kingdom,

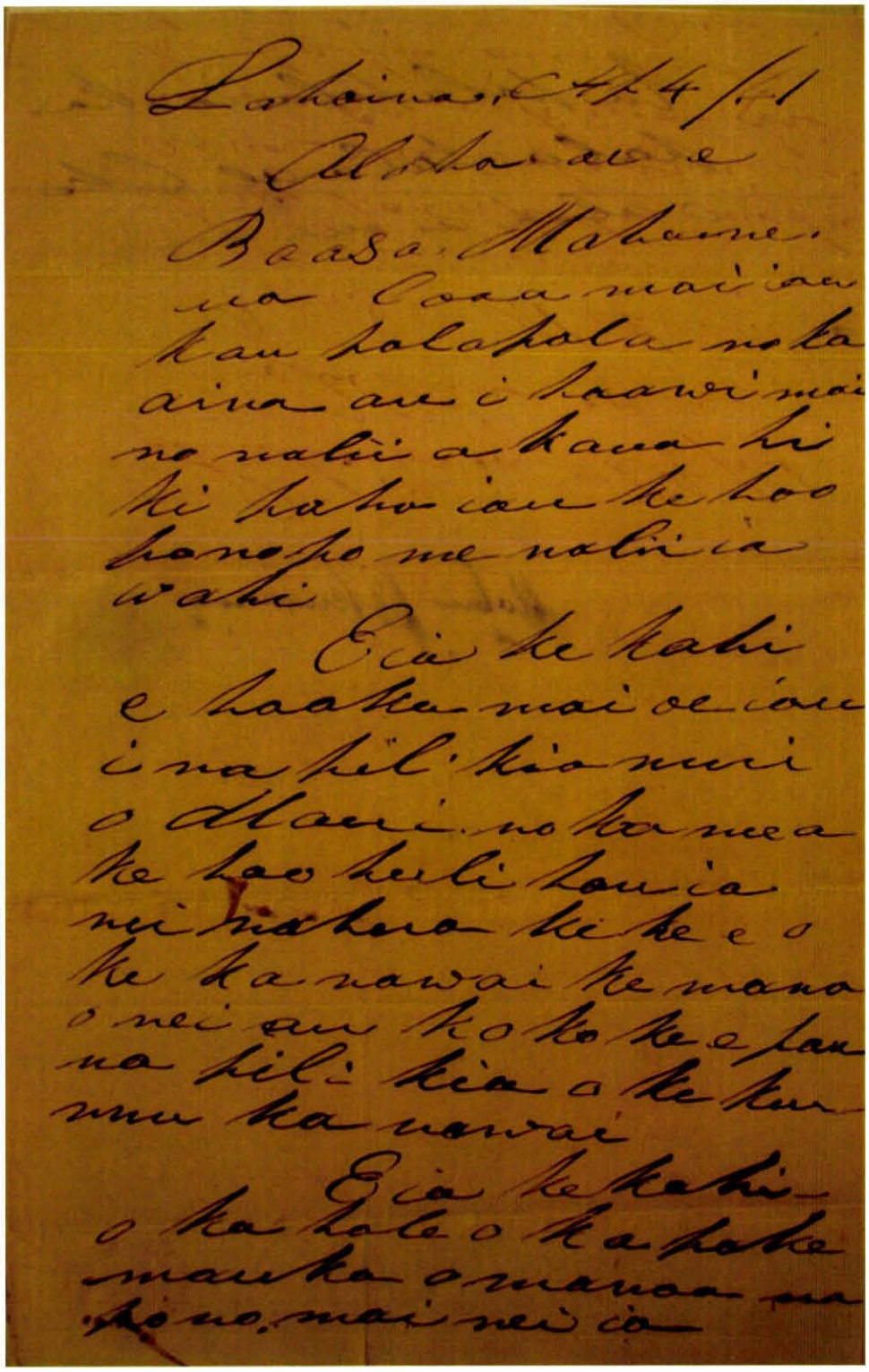
Kauikeaouli was transferring what was held traditionally in practice into a modern governmental system.

Kamakau writes that the 1840 Constitution was written by William Richards with Boaza Māhune representing the Mōʻī Kaukeaouli, and Iona Kāpena representing the Kuhina Nui Kīnaʻu.[338] These two advisors of the aliʻi likely added and removed content as a means to assure that the Constitution would be acceptable to the Mōīʻ and Kuhina Nui. Kamakau demonstrates their qualifications by mentioning that these were the same people who were chosen by the Mōʻī and Kuhina Nui to prepare the laws of 1839. However in spite of their best efforts the Constitution may have had slight problems. On April 4 1841, Kekuanaoa, an aliʻi within the "House of Nobles," authored a letter to Māhune citing among other things that the problems with the laws and Constitution were nearly finished because the inaccurate wording of the laws were being revised.

Lahaina April 4/ 41	Lāhaina April 4/(18)41
Aloha oe e Boasa Mahune, Ua loaa mai iau kau palapala no ka aina au i haawi mai no nalii a kaua hiki paha iau ke hooponopono me nalii ia wahi. Eia kekahi e hooko mai oe iau i na pilikia nui o Maui no ka mea ke hoohuli hou ia nei na hua (olelo) kikee o ke kanawai. Ke manao nei au kokoke e pau na pilikia o ke kumu kanawai...[339]	*Greeting to you Boasa Mahune* *I have received your documents pertaining to land that you gave for our chiefs.* *Perhaps I can correct them with the chiefs in Lāhaina..* *Here is another thing, Confirm for me the severe problems of Maui because the unclear wording of the law is being revised. I am thinking that the problems with the Constitution will soon be finished.*

Figure 7 is a digital image of Kekuanaoaʻs letter to Māhune on April 4 1841. This letter suggests that aliʻi such as Boaz Mahune and Kekuanaoʻa were aware of some of the potential problems that could or did arise from the use of in-exact language in laws, which would demonstrate that the

ali'i were knowledgeable of some of the consequences of written law. That they were revising law demonstrates that they were thinking critically about how to make the best usages of laws for their own means. Even if the Constitution had been entirely authored by a foreigner (which it wasn't) that they were revising aspects of it demonstrates the agency of the ali'i in its creation.[340]



Lahaina, 4 4/41

Aloha oe e

Boaza Mahune

no Loaa mai iau

kau kalapala no ka

aina au i kaawi mai

no nalii a kana li

ki kahoi iau ke koo

hanopo me nalii ia

waki

E ia ke kahi

e haaku mai oe iau

i na hil kia nui

o Maui no ka mea

ke hoo kuli kou ia

nei na kona kiko e o

ke ka nawai ke mana

o nei au koko ke e pau

na hil kia o ke kum

mu ka nawai

E ia ke kahi

o ka hale o ka hake

mauka o manoa na

ho no mai nei ia

Chapter 4. Figure 7. Modified. April 4 1841 Mataio Kekuanao'a to Boaz Mahune *Hawai'i State Archives Hawaiian Chiefs* M-59 Folder 12. 1841 March-May

William Richards

William Richards came to Hawaii in 1823, on the second company of arrivals from the American Board of Foreign Missions. He had had been requested by Kauikeaouli as a teacher and offered 600 dollars a year to teach as well as advise the King in important subject matters of business.[341] Richards was not their first choice, as Kame'eleihiwa writes that the ali'i had been,

> Searching for such a teacher since the troubles of 1836, when they decided that they needed to understand just how the foreign world worked. Unable to find anyone else outside of the Calvinist mission, they settled on Richards.[342]

The ali'i desired someone who could offer them knowledge of the outside world, and who had skills in the Hawaiian language. Due to these factors, Richards became a teacher and advisor to the Mō'ī on July 3, 1838 the same day he resigned from the Mission.[343] In 1838 he began to lecture to Kauikeaouli and the other ali'i about political economy. Richards had translated the work of Wayland, Lay, and Newman on political economy and created a book titled *No Ke Kālai'āina* for his lectures. The book was to be printed and copyrighted by the chiefs. Richard's lectures likely had some effect on the chiefs given that some of the major governmental reforms take place following his initial lectures in 1838. However, it must be kept in mind that the ali'i were seeking knowledge of foreign governments and political theories to understand how the foreign world functioned and to make use of this knowledge for their own means. Placed in this context, the departure of Richards from the mission and his lectures to the ali'i, were largely a result of the agency of the ali'i in bringing about such as situation. These ali'i understood completely the earlier Hawaiian structures of government, they were seeking knowledge of how other countries were governed and how to conduct their politics on the international level in ways that would be respected by other countries. Like Kamehameha's acquisition of Young,

Kauikeaouli's acquisition of Richards offered him distinct political advantages provided that he could be trusted. It is difficult to know why Richards had left the mission to become an employee of the ali'i, but it is likely that varying degrees of benevolence and self-interest played a role in his decision. Richards' description of Kauikeaouli in 1838 is less than favorable where he writes,

> As far as I can judge of the character of the King, I should hope more from him as a *ruler,* than as a man.[344]

For a number of years Kauikeaouli had refused to accept Christianity, he had taken his sister Nāhi'ena'ena as a wife, and was attempting to live under the old akua,[345] appalling the Mission. It is likely that these actions are reflected in the sentiments expressed by Richards. When contemplating the relationship between Richards and Kauikeaouli it is important to consider their interactions and the nature of the source materials. For instance though Richards is critical of Kauikeaouli in his letter to the Mission, when he speaks directly to the chiefs he does so with some caution. Richards notes,

> I have said scarcely nothing to the king and chiefs respecting the existing evils or defects in the government, except as the subject had come up naturally and almost necessarily while discussing established principles of Political Economy.[346]

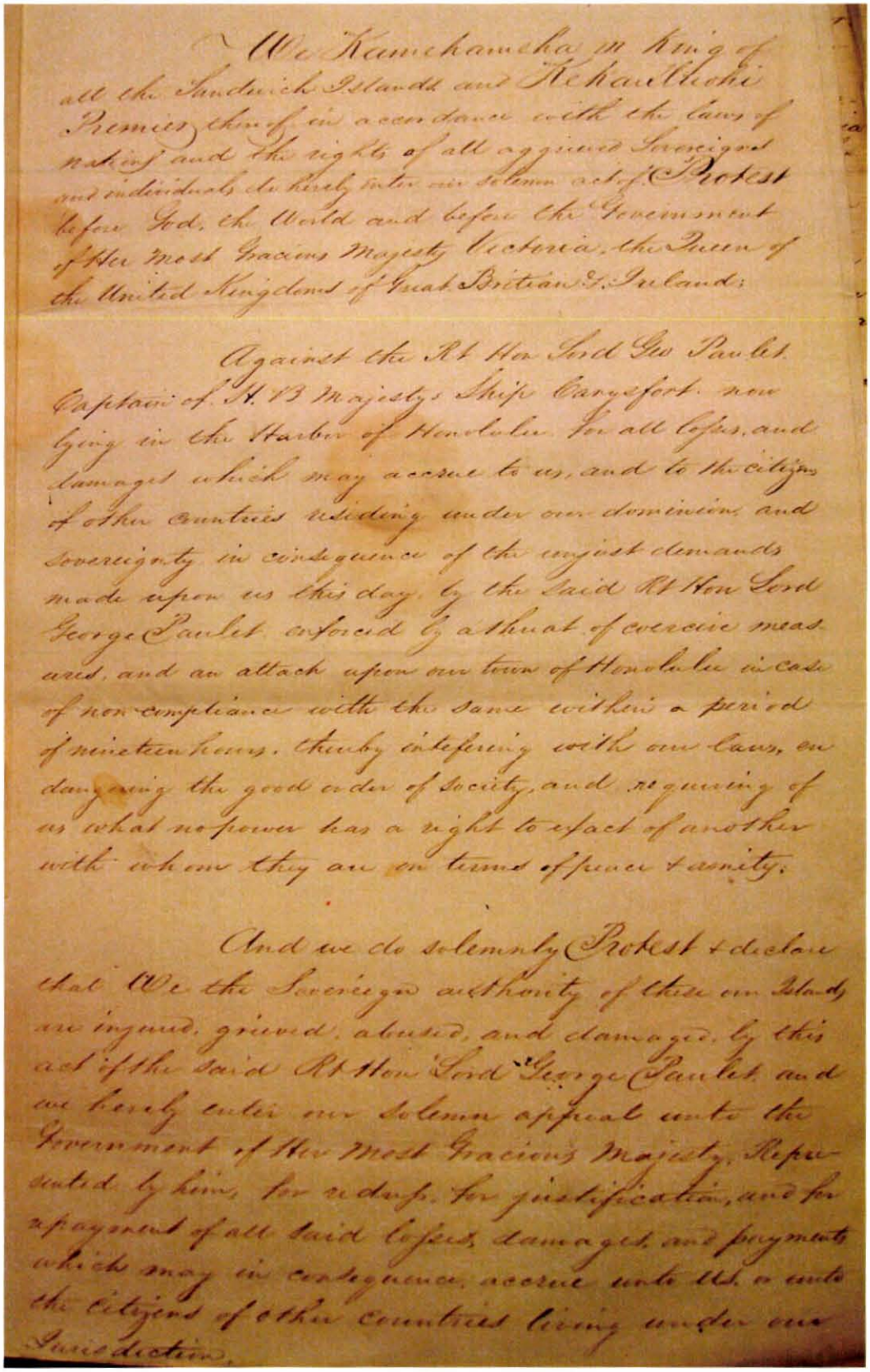
When analyzing these early materials and particularly the writings of those who had been a part of the Mission, I think it is important to identify who the document is written for. In other words, missionaries were often times extremely critical of the ali'i in letters to the Mission. However, their actions on the ground likely required them to behave in manners that are not reflected in their letters to the Mission. Had people like Richards not shown the ali'i respect they would not be supported by the ali'i.

Over time William Richards or Rikeke becomes a trusted advisor to the ali'i. On July 18, 1842 Richards left the Kingdom as an assistant to the ambassador Timoteo Ha'alilio.[347] Their

mission was to secure the government's recognition as an independent state. Ha'alilio and Richards would meet with the governments of the United States, Britain, and France. In London, they were aided by the governor of the Hudson Bay Company in North America, Sir George Simpson.[348]

While Ha'alilio and Richards were on their mission the Hawaiian Kingdom government was seized by an overly aggressive British consul named Richard Charlton. This brought an even more critical element to their mission, as the Kingdom was being occupied by representatives of the British government under the command of British Admiral Lord George Paulet who had arrived in Hawaii on February 10th 1843.[349] Eight days later on February 18, Mō'ī Kauikeaouli and Kuhina Nui Kekāuluohi composed a formal protest to Queen Victoria of Britain. A Hawaiian and English version of this protest was sent to British officials, I include both pages of the English translation of the protest. This protest demonstrates that by 1843, the ali'i had appropriated the rules of political economy as taught by Richards. They were using law as a tool to maintain their nations' independence from those powerful countries that had been actively colonizing other places. By appropriating the rhetoric of states and principles of jurisprudence they were able to appeal to the accepted rational characteristics of governance of the time while also manipulating the rulers of other countries. The opening passage of the figure 8 states,

> We Kamehameha III King of all the Sandwich Islands and Kekauluohi Premier there of, in accordance with the laws of nations and the rights of aggrieved Sovereigns and individuals do hereby enter in solem act of **Protest** before God, the World and before the Government of Her Most Gracious Majesty Victoria the Queen of the United Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland.[350]

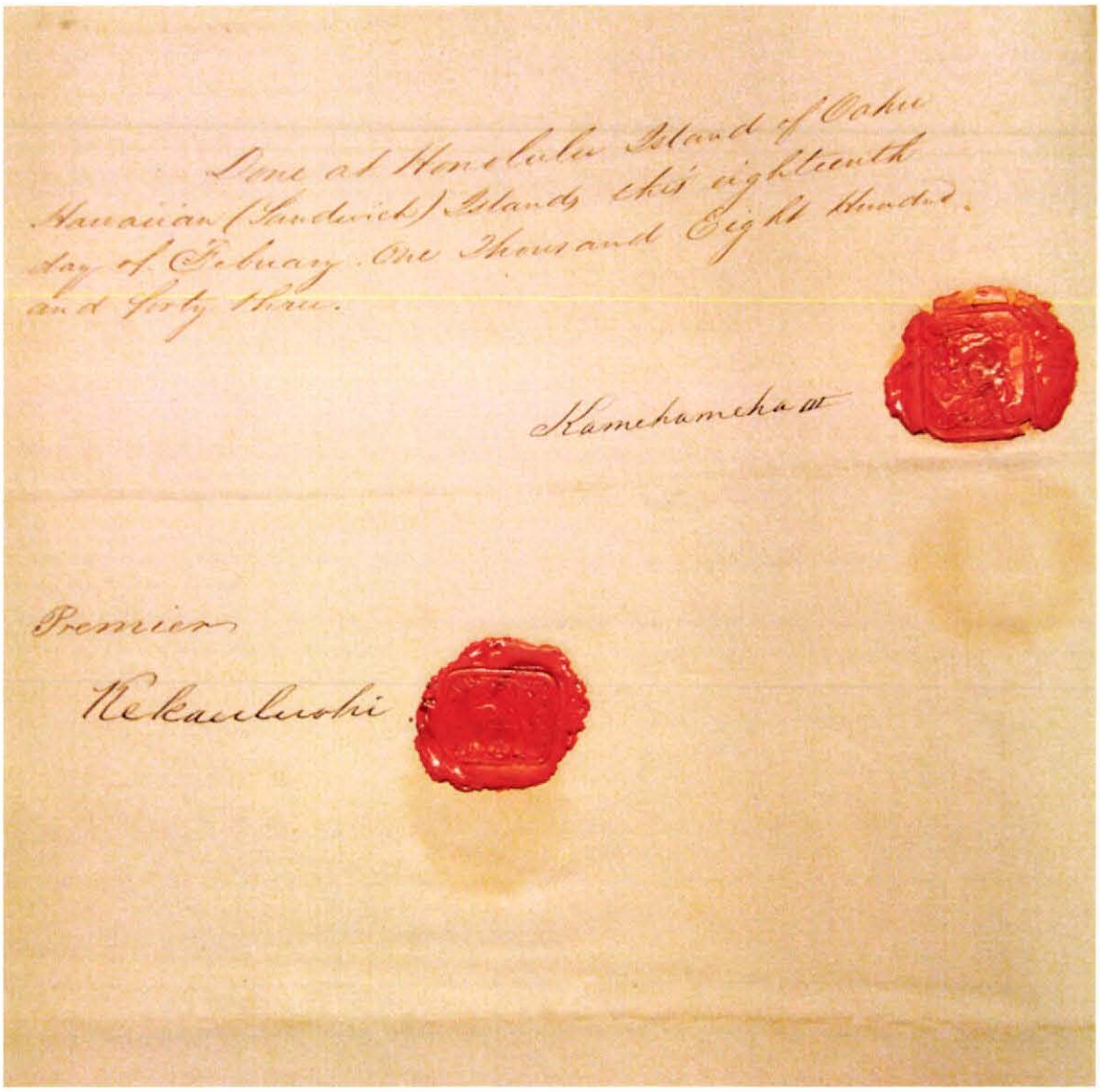


We Kamehameha III King of all the Sandwich Islands and Kekauonohi Premier thereof in accordance with the laws of nations and the rights of all aggrieved Sovereigns and individuals do hereby enter our solemn act of Protest before God, the World and before the Government of Her Most Gracious Majesty Victoria, the Queen of the United Kingdoms of Great Britain & Ireland:

Against the Rt Hon Lord Geo Paulet Captain of H B Majesty's Ship Carysfort now lying in the Harbor of Honolulu for all losses and damages which may accrue to us, and to the citizens of other countries residing under our dominions and sovereignty in consequence of the unjust demands made upon us this day, by the said Rt Hon Lord George Paulet enforced by a threat of coercive measures, and an attack upon our town of Honolulu in case of non compliance with the same within a period of nineteen hours, thereby interfering with our laws, endangering the good order of society, and requiring of us what no power has a right to exact of another with whom they are on terms of peace & amity.

And we do solemnly Protest & declare that We the Sovereign authority of these our Islands are injured, grieved, abused, and damaged, by this act of the said Rt Hon Lord George Paulet and we hereby enter our solemn appeal unto the Government of Her Most Gracious Majesty, represented by him, for redress, for justification, and for repayment of all said losses, damages, and payments which may in consequence accrue unto us, or unto the citizens of other countries living under our Jurisdiction.

Chapter 4. Figure 8. Modified. Feb 18 1843 Protest of Mōʻī and Kuhina Nui against actions of Lord George Paulet. Page 1. *UK National Archives FO/58/18*


Done at Honolulu Island of Oahu
Hawaiian (Sandwich) Islands this eighteenth
day of February One Thousand Eight Hundred
and forty three.

Kamehameha III

Premier

Kekauonohi

Chapter 4. Figure 8. Modified. Feb 18 1843 Protest of Mōʻī and Kuhina Nui against actions of Lord George Paulet. Page 2. *UK National Archives FO/58/18*

Shortly following the receipt of this protest, Queen Victoria, ordered Admiral Richard Thomas to Hawaiʻi where Hawaiian sovereignty was formally restored on July 31 1843.[351] While Haʻalilio and Richards were on their diplomatic mission they contributed significantly to the resolution of this issue. They sent numerous letters to British officials in regards to the situation in the

Hawaiian Islands and acted in conjunction with the Hawaiian representative who delivered this protest to British officials James F.B. Marshall.

On November 28th 1843, the Hawaiian Kingdom government was recognized as a sovereign and independent state. At this time Richards and Ha'alilio were in France where they received word that the governments of France and Britain would enter into a formal joint declaration that would make their mission a success. In Richard's personal journal on Sunday the 10th of December 1843, Richards enthusiastically writes,

> I received Mr. Addington's reply to ours together with the formal pledge of France and England to let the Sandwich Islands alone. I now feel that the great business for which I left you and for which I have been so long laboring is triumphantly finished—yes, done not for a few years merely, but for all time. Incase the nation shows itself to be worthy of what it is Declared to be, an Independent State.

The independence of the Kingdom had been recognized and the mission was a success. Richards' understanding of the significance of this act can be seen by his writing that states Hawai'i would independent *for all time*. However, the Hawaiian ambassador Timoteo Ha'alilio who had battled bouts of sickness throughout the entire trip, would not survive. In many ways Ha'alilio was a martyr for Hawaiian nationalism and could be compared to Liholiho and his retinue who pass away in a foreign land while on a diplomatic mission. On December 3, 1844 Ha'alilio died while on a ship returning to Hawai'i Richards writes that a few days prior to his death that Ha'alilio turned to him so say,

E ke Makua aole oe i ae mai i ko'u makemake e ike hou i ko'u aina hanau, a me ko'u mau makamaka malaila. Mai hoole mai oe i ko'u makemake e ike ko'u Aupuni, a me na makamaka o'u e noho la malaila[352]	*Heavenly Father you have not (yet) granted my wish to see again the lands of my birth and my dear companions. Do not deny my wishes to see again my Government and the beloved friends who reside there.*

William Richards passed away on November 7, 1847. He is buried in Waiola cemetery near the tombs of Ka'ahumanu, Keōpūolani and Kaumuali'i. The plaque on his tombstone describes, his work in the Mission, his service to Kauikeaouli while involved in government, and his accomplishments in the diplomatic mission to secure Hawaiian independence. He arrived with the Mission but later became an active part of the Hawaiian Kingdom government through his diplomatic positions. Unlike Young he did not marry a Hawaiian wife, but it is possible that he may have also experienced a shift in identity. His journal entry about Hawaiian independence demonstrates that he had become a Hawaiian national and an advocate for its independence. In this sense he was an advocate for his country and Mō'ī in a period of political tribulations and to that extent served Kauikeaouli's interest.

Re-thinking the Mahele

The Mahele of 1848 was a division of nearly all the lands in the Hawaiian Kingdom amongst the Mō'ī, the chiefs, and the government. Prior to the Mahele there had been private ownership of land in a number of select cases where the individual involved had acquired title through deed (oral or written) by either the Mōī or Kuhina Nui. The Constitution of 1840 affirms that only those who held the offices of Mō'ī or Kuhina Nui could convey allodial title. The Land Commission was established on December 10 1845, to investigate claims of those who had acquired title by the Mō'ī or Kuhina Nui prior to 1845. When these claims had been verified or found inaccurate the government was able to remove these parcels from the rest of the lands that would be divided in the Mahele of 1848. The Mahele was an instrument that began to settle the undefined rights of three groups with vested rights in the dominion of the Kingdom—the government, the chiefs and the hoa'āina. These needed to be settled because it had been codified in law though the Declaration of Rights and laws of 1839 and the Constitution of 1840, that

the lands of the Kingdom were owned by these three groups. When Lyons discusses the principles of the Mahele, he writes,

> The theory that was adopted, in effect, was this: that the King, the chiefs, and the common people held each undivided shares, so to say, in the whole landed estate.[353]

The Mahele was an instrument to begin settling these undivided interests, and it was the division of nearly all the land in the Hawaiian islands between the Mōʻī, government and chiefs which ultimately allowed for large-scale private ownership in the Hawaiian Kingdom, subject to the rights of native tenants (native Hawaiian 'commoners') to make their claims for land. Following the Mahele, the only group with an undefined interest in all the lands of the Kingdom were the native tenants, and this would be later addressed in the Kuleana Act of 1850. Those individuals of the native tenant class who did not divide out their interests continued to possess, in perpetuity, an undivided right in the entire dominium, until they divided their interest and acquired a freehold title whenever they desired a division.[354] Davianna McGregor writes that the,

> The establishment of a private property system in Hawaiʻi was a process of dividing out the multiple layers of interest in each piece of land, each ahupuaʻa, and each island.[355]

In contemporary scholarship the Mahele has been viewed as the 'single most critical dismemberment of Hawaiian society.'[356] Many scholars have theorized that it was effectively a means of dispossession for most native subjects of the Hawaiian Kingdom.[357] The statistic commonly noted evidencing this dispossession is that hoaʻāina (or native tenants) were awarded only 28,000 acres as a result of the Mahele. This statistic is only for *kuleana* awards, however, and does not include government grants that could have been acquired as a result of section 4 of the Kuleana Act of 1850, as well as the fact that native tenants had the right to exercise their interest in the dominium. Noenoe Silva hints that previously accepted understandings of the Mahele may need to be re-analyzed when she writes,

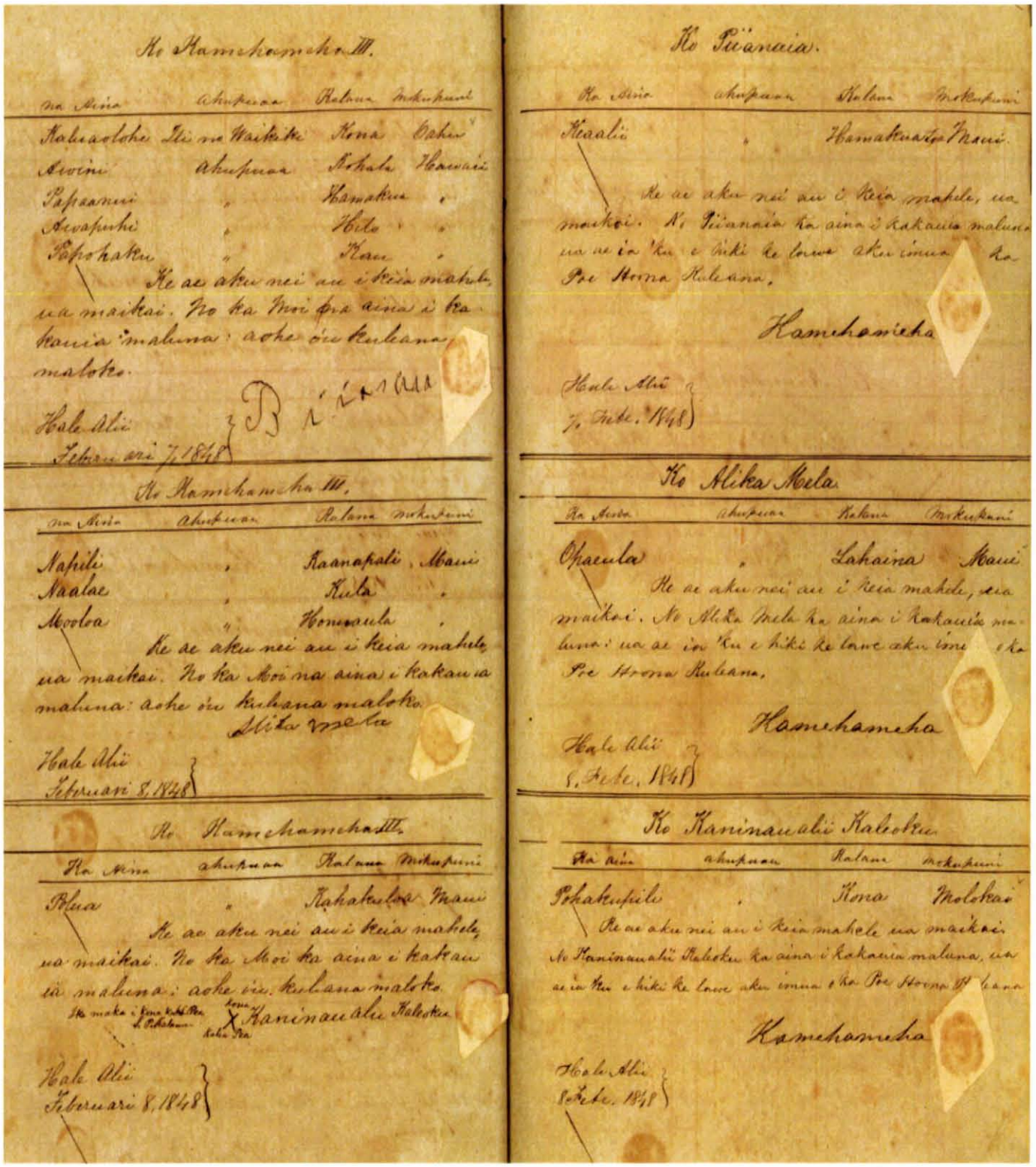
> Keanu Sai, however, has noted more recently that maka`āinana were allowed to file claims after the official deadlines...Further, the government lands were offered to the maka`āinana at low prices, at first fifty cents per acre, then later one dollar per acre.[358]

The Hawaiian Annual of *1896* lists 667,317.41 acres of government grants as having been sold by 1893. Looking through the index of government grants, one finds the names of large land owners who used the lands for sugar, as well as the names of many native subjects who may have purchased lands at reduced rates as a result of the Kuleana act.[359] Presently, although there is no accurate figure for the acreage of government lands acquired only by native tenants, the evidence that government lands were being sold at low rates to natives might be a cause for rethinking the outcomes of the Mahele. As government grants have received little to no evaluation by contemporary scholars on the Mahele, it is certainly an area open for further research and analysis. Ph.D. Candidate in Political Science, Keanu Sai, has lectured about the Mahele calling into question previous interpretations and currently, Donovan Preza is completing his Masters thesis in the department of Geography on this particular subject. The following section is not concerned with this issue specifically, but operates on the assumption that the Mahele may not have dispossessed native tenants to the extent that has been previously theorized. The following section is an examination of Kauikeaouli's role in the Mahele and also section 7 of the Kuleana Act.

Kauikeaouli—Mahele of 1848 & Kuleana Act of 1850

The Mahele of 1848 basically created three separate land bases. The first was for 252 ali'i,[360] the second was for the government, and the third was for the Mō'ī. All lands that had been previously given to ali'i that were not given in fee reverted to Kauikeaouli who then re-distributed the lands in accordance to his own will and usually determined by relationship to Kamehameha I. Figure 9 is an image of pages 115-116 of the Buke Mahele. The page on the left titled *Ko Kamehameha* lists the lands that were

returned to the Mōʻī, the page on the right shows the lands given from Kauikeaouli back to the particular chief. In its essence the Mahele of 1848 was similar to a Kālaiʻāina where lands reverted to the Mōī and were then redistributed accordingly. Lands were also awarded by the Mōʻī solely by the place name as was the case in a traditional Kālaiʻāina. In the Buke Mahele lands are named in descending order from island–kalana–ahupuaʻa–ʻili. By structuring the Buke Mahele according to traditional place names and divisions of place, much of the traditional knowledge of place names and boundaries were preserved because they became the source of title. Of course the Mahele of 1848 was also not like a traditional Kālaiʻāina because this was to be the last Kālaiʻāina where aliʻi now had the ability to acquire fee-title to their lands. Therefore, the Mahele can be seen as a somewhat hybrid initiative being quite similar to a Kālaiʻāina in the way that lands were distributed, and those who were involved in the process, but it differed from a traditional Kālaiʻāina in the kind of title that it provided to the recipient. It gave aliʻi a title subject to the rights of native tenants. This title allowed a chief the ability to acquire allodial title upon the payment of commutation (a 1/3 value of land payment to the government in order acquire allodial title on lands thus extinguishing the vested rights of a class or government) and the receipt of a royal patent.



Ke Kamehameha III.

na Aina	akupuaa	Kalana	Mokupuni
Kaluaoloke	Ili no Waikiki	Kona	Oahu
Aiwini	akupuaa	Kohala	Hawaii
Papaanui	"	Hamakua	"
Aiwapuhi	"	Hilo	"
Papokaku	"	Kau	"

Ke ae aku nei au i keia mahele, ua maikai. No ka Moi pu aina i ka Kauia maluna: aole oia kuleana maloko.

Hale Alii
Februari 7, 1848

Ke Kamehameha III.

na Aina	akupuaa	Kalana	Mokupuni
Napili	"	Kaanapali	Maui
Naalae	"	Kula	"
Moolua	"	Honuaula	"

Ke ae aku nei au i keia mahele, ua maikai. No ka Moi na aina i kakauia maluna: aole oia kuleana maloko.

Alika Mela

Hale Alii
Februari 8, 1848

Ke Kamehameha III.

Ka Aina	akupuaa	Kalana	Mokupuni
Pkua	"	Kahakuloa	Maui

Ke ae aku nei au i keia mahele, ua maikai. No ka Moi ka aina i kakauia maluna: aole oia kuleana maloko.

Ke make i Kona Kalana o Kohala — Kona X Kaninauali Kaloku — Kona Kalana

Hale Alii
Februari 8, 1848

Ke Piianaia.

Ka Aina	akupuaa	Kalana	Mokupuni
Keaalii	"	Hamakuapoko	Maui

Ke ae aku nei au i keia mahele, ua maikai. No Piianaia ka aina i kakauia maluna ua ae ia ku e hiki ke lawe aku imua ka Poe Hona Kuleana.

Kamehameha

Hale Alii
7, Febe. 1848

Ke Alika Mela

Ka Aina	akupuaa	Kalana	Mokupuni
Opaeula	"	Lahaina	Maui

Ke ae aku nei au i keia mahele, ua maikai. No Alika Mela ka aina i kakauia maluna: ua ae ia ku e hiki ke lawe aku imua o ka Poe Hona Kuleana.

Kamehameha

Hale Alii
8, Febe. 1848

Ke Kaninauali Kaloku

Ka Aina	akupuaa	Kalana	Mokupuni
Pohakupuili	"	Kona	Molokai

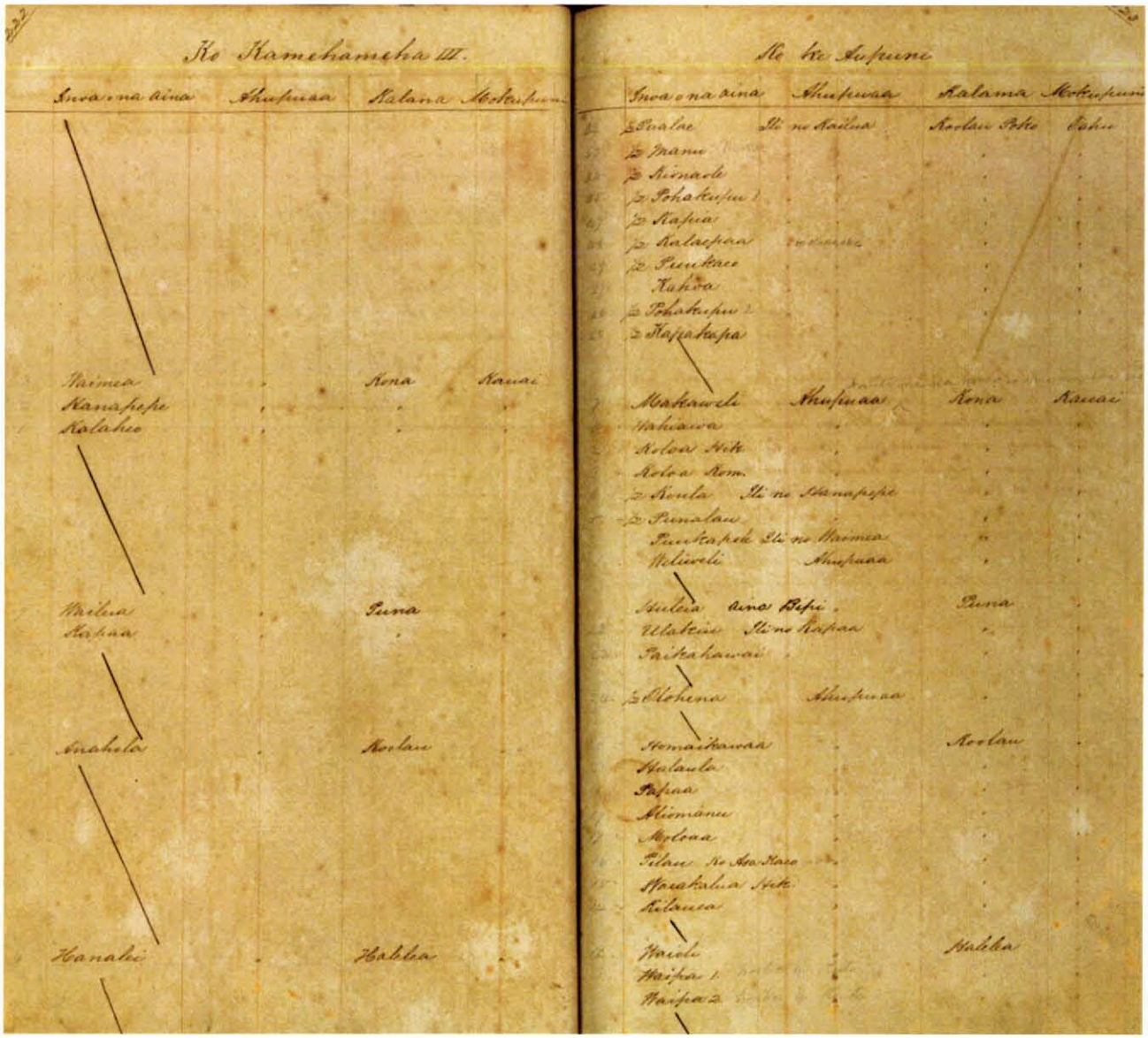
Ke ae aku nei au i keia mahele ua maikai. No Kaninauali Kaloku ka aina i kakauia maluna, ua ae ia ku e hiki ke lawe aku imua o ka Poe Hona Kuleana.

Kamehameha

Hale Alii
8 Febe. 1848

Chapter 4. Figure 9. Modified. Pages 115-116 of the Buke Mahele. Page 115 lists the lands that were previously under the control of the particular chief listed and that were returned to Kauikeaouli. Page 116 shows the lands that were then given by Kauikeaouli to the particular ali'i.

Lands were also given to the government in this division. Pages 178-225 of the Buke Mahele represent the divisions between the government and the Mōʻī. On the left side of the image titled *Ko Kamehameha III* are the land that Kauikeaouli retains for himself and his heirs. The right side of the image titled *Ko Ke Aupuni* represent the lands retained for the government.



Chapter 4. Figure 10. Modified. Pages 222-223 of the Buke Mahele. Page 222 lists the lands that were for Kauikeaouli. Page 223 shows the lands that were then given by Kauikeaouli to the government.

On page 224 of the Buke Mahele, Kauikeaouli signs his signature and lists a possible reason for his agreeing the Mahele of 1848. In this section he is listing the lands that he has reserved for himself and his heirs in perpetuity. These lands later become referred to as the Crown Lands. Kauikeaouli writes,

E ike auanei na kanaka a pau ma keia palapala, owau o Kamehameha III no ka lokomaikai o ke Akua, ke Lii o ko Hawaii nei Pae Aina; ua haawi au i keia la no ko'u makemake maoli no, a ua hoolilo a me ka hookaawale mau loa aku i na 'lii a me na kanaka, ka nui o ko'u aina alii, e pono ai a e pomaikai ai ke Aupuni Hawaii, no laila ma keia palapala, ke hookoe nei au no'u iho a no ko'u poe hooilina a me ko'u po'e hope a mau loa aku na aina o'u i kakau ia ma na aoao 178, 182, 184, 186, 190, 200, 204, 206, 210, 212, 214, 216, 218, 220, 222, o keia Buke: ua hookaawale ia ua poe aina la no'u a no ko'u poe hooilina a me na hope o'u a mau loa, he waiwai ponoi no'u aole mea e ae.

Kauia ko'u inoa a me kuu Sila ma ka Hale Alii i keia la 8 o Maraki 1848

Kamehameha[361]

May it be known to all by this document, that I am Kamehameha III, who because of the grace of God am King of the Hawaiian Archipelago; I give on this day my honest wishes, I hereby give entirely and forever separating the rights of the chiefs and the people of my Kingdom, the majority of my lands so that justice and blessing may come to the Hawaiian Kingdom government. Therefore, with this document I am reserving for myself, my heirs, and my descendents for eternity the lands of mine written on pages 178, 182, 184, 186 190, 200, 204, 206, 210, 212, 214, 216, 218, 220, 222, of this Book: these lands shall be reserved for myself, my heirs, and my descendants and those who come after me for eternity, I reserve the wealth of these lands and nothing else.

My name has been given and my royal Seal in the Palace on this the 8th of March 1848.

Kamehameha

Following the Mahele of 1848, Kauikeaouli signed the Kuleana Act into law on August 6th 1850. This law was created in an attempt to allow hoa'āina (native tenants) the opportunity to acquire fee-simple title to their lands free of commutation. The Kuleana Act also included section 4 which was mentioned earlier, that allowed the hoa'āina to purchase government lands at reduced rates, and section 7, which attempted to codify ancient resource use and access into the law. The English version of Section 7 states that,

> When the landlords have taken allodial titles to their lands, the people on each of their lands, shall not be deprived of the right to take firewood, house timber, aho cord, thatch, or ti leaf, from the land on which they live, for their own private use, should they need them... The people shall also have a right to drinking water, and running water, and the right of way.[362]

These provisions of the Kuleana Act derive from Hawaiian custom and cannot be said to have their origin in Anglo-American law. Because the ali'i codified these ancient resource use rights into law remnants of them survive even under U.S. occupation. Many of these "access rights" are still regarded as valid even under Hawai'i state law,[363] making private property law in Hawai'i quite different from some of the states America.

Both the Kuleana Act and the Mahele can be seen as hybrid institutions that were created through the authority of Kauikeaouli and the ali'i of his the time. These institutions attempted to get people back on the land so that cultivation might again thrive by granting them title to lands. Kamehameha IV comments on these ideas in a speech given on Jan 5 in 1856, where he states that,

> There are three essentials to success in cultivating the soil. The first is a place to cultivate—the second, the hands to work with—and the third, perseverance. You have all your patches granted you by law, your hands are not tied by either natural or artificial bonds.[364]

While attempting to empower the hoa'āina to return to being cultivators of the land as they had in previous generations, the appropriation of private property by the ali'i also allowed for large tax revenues for the government as well safe guarded national interests since private property was respected by the European and American nations. Since lands were awarded according to their ancient name and division the Mahele and the Kuleana Act also preserved many place names and much ancient knowledge about place.

The Mahele and the Kuleana Act transferred and codified much traditional class and property relationships. I would argue that the Mahele as a process protected Hawaiian interests through awarding lands "subject to the rights of native tenants," and through the sections of the Kuleana act that codify traditional ahupua'a resources rights into law. If anything the problem of the Mahele for the foreigners was that it went too far toward protecting Hawaiian national interest, and did not go far enough in terms of allowing lands to lose Hawaiian control, because of the Mahele that could not happen until 1893. In chapter 5 I discuss some of the changes to land laws that were being implemented by the P.G'.s (Provisional Government) and their successor governments.

Kula Keiki Ali'i—Education of the Chiefs Children

Another important initiative founded by Kauikeaouli was the Chiefs' Children's School. Kauikeaouli had decided that the keiki ali'i (young chiefs) needed to supplement their learning from their traditional kahu (guardian) with that of a European education. The earliest discussion of the creating the school is on the 1st of June 1839, when Kauikeaouli and many other prominent ali'i made written requests that Mr. and Mrs. Cooke become teachers for the children of the

ali'i.[365] Shortly after this request, on July 4 1840 Kauikeaouli and Kekāuluohi passed a law forming the Keiki Kula Ali'i or the Chief's Children's School. The purpose of this school was to educate the ali'i children in Arithmetic, Geography, European languages and in Euro-American European protocols, in order to prepare them to be rulers in the modern world.

HE MAU KANAWAI

NO KA

HALE KULA NO NA KEIKI ALII.

I. Ua hoonohoia o Mika KUKE a me kana wahine maluna o na kamalii, a me ko ka hale a pau loa; o laua na kumu, a me na makua. He mea pono no hoi i na haumana a pau loa, a me ko ka hale a pau, e hoolohe i ka laua olelo. Ina pilikia ka hana ia laua; alaila, e hana pu no lakou me KAUKA, a e kokua no hoi o KEKUANAOA.

II. E kokua mai no na Makua hanau a me na Makua hanai, a me na kahu a pau, mamuli o ka manao a me ka olelo a na kumu e pono ai. E hoolako hoi lakou i na keiki i ka ai a me ka ia, a me ke kapa maemae, a e kokua mai no hoi i na hemahema a pau o ke kula, e like me ka olelo a na kumu a me ke kahu.

III. O IOANE II ke kahu. Aia ia ia na keena o na keiki a me ka hooponopono ana i ko lakou kapa maloko o ka hale. Aia ia ia kekahi malama ana o na keiki. Ina e hele oia, ma na hora kula wale no e hele ai, a e hoi koke mai no.

IV. Aia i na kumu ke komo mai o na mea mawaho, a me ka puka ana aku o na mea oloko o ka hale i malu ai ka hale.

V. Mai hana ino kekahi i kekahi.

VI. Mai hana ino i ka hale a me na mea a pau maloko o ka hale.

VII. Mai komo na keikikane maloko o na keena o na kaikamahine; aole hoi na kaikamahine maloko o na keena o na keikikane.

VIII. Mai komo na kamalii maloko o ka hale kuke; aole hoopaapaa malaila.

IX. E hoolohe koke i ka leo o ka bele ke kani mai ia.

Peneia ke kani ana:—

1. Ma ka hora 5½ e kani ai ka bele ala.
2. Ma ka hora 6 e kani ai ka bele pule ohana.
3. Ma ka hora 6½ e kani ai ka bele aina kakahiaka.
4. Mai ka hora 7 a hiki ka hora 9 he manawa paani paha.
5. Ma ka hora 9 e kani ai ka bele kula.
6. Ma ka hora 12 e kani ai ka bele aina awakea.
7. Mai ka hora 1 a hiki ka hora 2 he manawa paani.
8. Ma ka hora 2 e kani ai ka bele kula.
9. Mai ka hora 4 a hiki ka hora 5½ e holo kaa paha, e paani paha.
10. Ma ka hora 5½ e kani ai ka bele aina ahiahi.
11. Ma ka hora 6 e kani ai ka bele pule ohana ahiahi.
12. Ma ka hora 7 e kani ai ka bele auau.
13. Ma ka hora 7½ e kani ai ka bele e komo ai i na keena.
14. Ma ka hora 8 e kinai ai i na kukui.

} Aia i na kumu e hololi ae keia mau bele.

X. E malama ke kuene i ka hana a me ka waiwai a pau i haawiia ia ia, me ke keakea ole ia hai, a me ke komo ole maloko o na wahi i hookaawaleia'i no na keiki.

XI. Pela no ke kuke, o ka oihana i haawiia ia ia o kana ia e hana ai, me ka lalau ole ma na mea pono ole ia ia.

Ua hanaia keia mau kanawai, ma Honolulu, i keia la cha o Iulai, 1840.

KAMEHAMEHA III.
KEKAULUOHI.

Chapter 4. Figure 11. Modified. July 4 1840 Laws relating to the School House for the Chiefs' Children's' School *Hawaii State Archives* Series 418 folder 7.

The school was not accepted by all ali'i and some of the kahu (guardian) of the keiki ali'i rejected the proposition that these ali'i children should be in the care of the Cookes. One of the strongest in opposition to this was the principal kahu of Alexander Liholiho, Kalauwalu, who took Alexander to Maui so he would not be able to attend the school.[366] Following the death of Kauluwalu, Alexander Liholiho was brought to the school under the authority of Kauikeaouli and was accompanied by some thirty kahu.[367] The school was sought to prepare these high ranking ali'i children to be rulers on a global scale, so that the keiki could have knowledge of Euro-American protocol. However, this did not come without some getting used to. When reflecting on the difficulties of disciplining the ali'i children, Amos Cooke writes to his brother-in-law that,

> Children of the Chiefs hitherto have had their own way, and been their own masters. It is yet to be decided whether or not they will consent to be ruled. If they know not how to be ruled, they will never know as they should how to rule.[368]

There was a considerable amount of struggle within the school, between the kahu, the Cookes and the keiki. However on a few occasions the Cookes were supported by the ali'i in their attempts at "disciplining" the keiki ali'i. Governor Kekuanao'a who was the biological father of several of the keiki at the school including, Alexander Liholiho, Moses, Lot Kapuāiwa, and Victoria Kamamalu wrote to Mr. Cooke about disciplining the keiki ali'i. Kekuanao'a was a fairly strong supporter of the school as well as strongly supportive of his children's attendance. It is possible that because of Kekuanao'a's experiences in London, he knew first hand the foreign worlds that these keiki alii needed to be prepared for. Kekuanaoa writes to Amos Cook, (the following is an English translation offered in *The Hawaiian Chiefs' Children's School).*

> Greetings to you, Mr. Cooke. I received your letter concerning the misdeeds of the children. What you did was right and I support your deed and I punished our children in a lonely house, and after some wailing I released them. I am not in favor of their conduct; what you did was right.[369]

Somewhat ironically even some members of the American mission were not in support of the Chiefs' Children's School. There was much missionary resentment toward the school and the Cookes for agreeing to the terms demanded by the ali'i—that the school would only be a school for those children of royal lineage. In this sense the school is a hybrid institution. It challenged the missionary ethics in regards to the equality of man while it also changed 'Ōiwi relationships between kahu and keiki. On one occasion the American Missionary Edward Bailey who ran a school on Maui, wrote to Amos Cooke questioning the ethical standards of a school being created only educate the keiki ali'i. Bailey writes,

> Pardon me now for saying an unpleasant thing. I heard by Bro. Van Duzee, that common people were excluded from intercourse with your school and that on account of rank. Can it be that Brother Cooke will do a thing which will hold himself and brethren up to the world and to posterity in a ludicrous if not hateful light. That he will prostitute to the whims of full-fed avaricious despots, the liberties which God hath given him![370]

The chiefs were willing to subject their keiki to some kinds of discipline, in the hopes that they could gain valuable knowledge about foreign protocols and structures. The Cookes were willing to accept the established authority of the ali'i and the mana of their genealogies which gave these children of ali'i the right to rule and to be educated apart from the hoa'āina, for a fee. The landscape of the school also illustrates hybridity, for there was a western style school house and a total seventeen rooms, which included a dining room, kitchen, a large school room, and living quarters, constructed alongside an adjoining Hale Pili or traditional grass house built in the school yard that was used by the children and their kahu as a comfortable place of refuge.[371]

The school was successful in educating the ali'i children about foreign countries and providing them with knowledge in accordance with a formal Euro-American education. The school was often visited by diplomats of other countries as well as the ali'i, the Mō'ī, the Queen, and the Kūhina nui. The keiki ali'i also learned History, Arithmetic , Geography (a few of them learned to Survey), and English grammar, religion, geometry, algebra, moral science, ancient Greek and Roman history, bookkeeping, trigonometry, and natural philosophy. There was also little distinction for curriculum based on gender, and keiki ali'i of both sexes learned much of the same subjects. [372] On April 8 1843, Cooke writes a report on the progress of the school which reflects the progress of the children. He writes,

> In summing up what our scholars have done during the past year, I was surprised at their advancement. I cannot account for it but in fact of their constant attendance at school. We have had no vacation and have always had 5 whole days and a school on Saturday A.M. To prevent them from getting sick from too constant employment in school, we have invented exercises for them...Sometimes they play ball, roll hoops, fly kites, etc. and all are far from being lazy. I never saw a band of brothers & sisters, especially so large a band, that had so few difficulties among themselves as *these* children.[373]

One of the goals of the school was to provide the keiki ali'i with an education that would allow them to comfortably conduct themselves with the rulers and dignitaries of other countries. Thus, the curriculum attempted to provide them with a worldly education. Since, at this time the Hawaiian language was flourishing in the government as well as in Hawaiian language print newspapers there was no fear of its demise, and the choice to make the ali'i children multilingual was made to better prepare them when they assumed their future positions of power. Although students primarily studied in English they were also to learn foreign languages as well. In a letter from Alexander Liholiho to Kauikeaouli written on June 29 1843, Alexander writes that, "We want to have the time come when we shall have the English Language perfectly, then we shall

study other languages."[374] This is an excellent illustration of the intent of the school, it was not to *Americanize* these keiki, it was to *Internationalize* them. That Kauikeaouli and the other ali'i had the foresight to adopt a policy that attempted to educate these ali'i children about the protocols, knowledge systems, and languages of other countries, demonstrates their foresight in attempting to move the nation forward. They understood that these children would be the future rulers of the nation and that they needed to be prepared for rule in the modernizing world for the Hawaiian nation to survive. That the ali'i were able to have two members of the Mission abandon their posts in exchange for exclusively educating an elite class in opposition to Protestant morality demonstrates, the authority of the ali'i and the Cooke selective acceptance of ali'i structure.

Linda Menton has conducted a thorough investigation of the Chiefs' Children's School, but in her appraisal of the school I feel she fails to account for native agency. She correctly states that the Cookes "set about creating a physical and psychological environment designed to transform their royal charges into Christian and "civilized" *ali'i*."[375] One must agree with her categorization of the intentions of the Cookes and this is evidenced in a reading of their journals. However Menton also notes that Cookes, "found it distressing to have to admit to themselves, and even more mortifying, to the ABCFM, that the royal children showed no signs of conversion."[376] Menton fails to accurately describe the agency of these keiki ali'i in their selective appropriation of the knowledge offered to them at the school. As Liholiho (Kamehameha II) and many other ali'i had done during the early years of the Mission (see Chapter 3) these keiki ali'i were willing to except the secular knowledge offered to them from the Cooks, but had reservations about their metaphysical teachings. Menton later assess the

accomplishments and failures of the school. She notes that the school had been successful in educating the keiki into articulate, educated youths who were knowledgeable of foreign protocol, but who were not true converts to Christianity. Menton writes,

> By Western standards their (the Cooke's) work was not a total failure. They had managed to mold the chiefs' children into literate, polite, and genteel young men and women; indeed outsiders often complemented them in this regard. But in another sense, by the missionaries' own standards, they had failed. Even though their students were nominal Christians, at least under the dress exerted at the school, none of them manifested the kind of radical change of behavior that was both a concomitant to and a sign of true conversion.[377]

Her analysis of the successes and failures of the school through Western and the Mission perspectives, overlooks the perspective and agency of the ali'i. She fails to consider what the ali'i were getting out of this relationship. In her own description of the accomplishments of the school she is demonstrating the effort that these keiki ali'i, (like Liholiho's use of the palapala in Chapter 3) exerted to gain knowledge that would inform them and better prepare them for rule in an increasingly modern world. In her discussion of the failures of the school she demonstrates that these keiki were not passively accepting all of the teachings of the Cookes. They were appropriating the things that they thought were useful and dismissing those that they deemed of less significance.[378]

Among some of the prominent keiki who attended this school are the following Mōī: Alexander Liholiho, Lot Kapuāiwa, William Lunalilo, Kalākaua, and Lili'uokalani. A listing of those keiki ali'i that attended the school in 1844 is offered in figure 12. At the school, days would begin for the ali'i by being catered to by their kahu. On June 3 1844 Lot Kapuāiwa he writes in his journal that,

> When I awoke my servant went and got some water for me in my wash bowl and I got upon my suttee and I washed my face. This morning I read with the Children

> in School and studied with them in Arithmetic. About half past four the Premier came to see us and probably she will take tea with us.[379]

While the keiki ali'i were at the school they were frequently visited by members of government and some of their kahu. The roles in society were demonstrated by their frequent visits to parties for diplomats and their often being offered salutes and salutations by foreign officials and naval vessels. Menton notes that the Cooke's were never,

> Able to isolate them (the keiki ali'i) from the influence of the larger community and from the influence of the indigenous culture...The children were still in constant contact with their parents and guardians, some of whom, as the children knew, held beliefs that were very different from those espoused by the Cookes.[380]

Now that we have covered some of the education offered to these keiki ali'i, we shall cover some significant aspects of their periods as Mō'ī. In these sections I suggest that these keiki ali'i welcomed and appropriated the secular knowledge offered by the Cookes to a much greater extent than they accepted the metaphysical. The following pages of this chapter shall cover the mo'olelo of three of those keiki ali'i who later become Mō'ī, Alexander Liholiho, Lot Kapuāiwa, and Kalākaua. What the reader will see from these later sections is that though these ali'i were enrolled in a school headed by American Protestant Missionaries, each of their prospective rules can be seen as moving steadily away from the American Protestant influence.

Complete list of children in the school from report furnished to Mr. Wyllie by Mr. Cooke, 1844.

CHIEFS' CHILDREN'S SCHOOL

1. Teachers: Mr. and Mrs. Cooke (assistant missionaries).
2. Commenced with six scholars June, 1839. Eleven entered the family of their teachers May, 1840.
3. Names, Ages, Rank, Parentage, etc.:
   1. Moses Kekuaiwa, son of Kekuanaoa and Kinau, born July 20, 1829, adopted by Kaikioewa, and presumptive Governor of Kauai.
   2. Lot Kamehameha, brother of Moses, born December 11, 1830, adopted by Hoapili and presumptive Governor of Maui.
   3. Alexander Liholiho, brother of Moses and Lot, born Feb. 9, 1834, adopted by the King, and heir apparent.
   4. Victoria Kamamalu, sister of M., L. and A., born November 1, 1838. Successor of her mother as Premier.
   5. William Charles Lunalilo, son of Kanaina and Kekauluohi (acting Premier), born January 31, 1835.
   6. Bernice Pauahi, daughter of Paki and Konia, born December 19, 1831. Adopted by Kinau.
   7. Abigail Maheha, daughter of Namaile and Liliha, adopted by Kekauonohi, born July 10, 1832.
   8. Jane Loeau, half-sister of Abigail, born December 5, 1828. Adopted by Kaukaualii.
   9. Elizabeth Kekauiau, daughter of Laanui and Oana Ana (daughter of John Rives), born September 11, 1834.
   10. Emma Rooke, daughter of Naea and Kekela (Fanny, daughter of John Young), born Jan. 2, 1836.
   11. Peter Young Kaeo [Pita], son of Kaeo and Lahilahi (Jenny, daughter of John Young), born March 4, 1836. Adopted by John Young, acting Governor of Maui.
   12. James Kaliokalani [Kali], son of Paakea and Keohokalole, born May 29, 1835. Adopted by his grandfather, Aikanaka.
   13. David Kalakaua, brother of James, born November 16, 1836. Adopted by Haaheo (Kania).
   14. Lydia Makaeha [Liliuokalani], sister of James and David, born September 2, 1838. Adopted by Paki and Konia. Entered school June, 1842.
   15. Polly Paaaina, daughter of Henry Lewis and Kekela, born —, 1833. Adopted by John Ii. Entered the school May, 1843.

   [A sixteenth pupil, John Pitt Kinau, entered after 1844.]

I have mentioned the father first, though in *most cases* their rank is from their mother.

Chapter 4. Figure 12. Modified. As seen in *The Hawaiian Chiefs' Children's' School* by Mary Richards.

Alexander Liholiho and Lota Kapuāiwa

This section is devoted to Alexander Liholiho and Lot Kapuāiwa. In this section I will: list some brief biographical information on Alexander and Lot, cover significant portions of the trips of Alexander and Lot to Europe and the United States, and demonstrate how they used their rule to distance the American Protestant influence from government to modernize existing Hawaiian structures and to retain Hawaiian control of the Kingdom.

Alexander Liholiho and Lot Kapuāiwa were the grandsons' of Kamehameha I. Their mother was Kīna'u, the daughter of Kamehameha and the Kuhina Nui of the Kingdom during the reigns of Kamehameha II and the early part of Kamehameha III. Their father was Mataio Kekuanao'a who was the governor of O'ahu and had also traveled with Liholiho to London. Alexander Liholiho was the hānai son of Kamehameha III and had been named the heir to the throne. The ancient practice of hānai was still very much respected and cherished in this time as can be demonstrated by a letter from a young Alexander Liholiho to Kamehameha III. On December 28 1840, while practicing his English Alexander writes,

> My Dear Father,
>
> I wished to write you this morning. But I was in doubt what to say at the beginning. Some said write "My dear uncle," some said write, "My dear older brother." But I concluded to begin with "My dear Father" because my love to you is very great and because you have been very kind to me to me like a father and you have called me your child.
>
> I am very well and happy. I attended to reading and writing spelling and arithmetic. I remember you with great love.
>
> Your Son,
>
> Alexander[381]

Alexander's letter demonstrates his close connection to Kauikeaouli. This was one of many letters that he had composed for his hānai father and at an early age. It is likely that one of the

Cookes had advised Alexander to refer to the Kauikeaouli as an "uncle," but it is of significance to note that Alexander's usage of "father" is consistent with the ancient practices of hānai. Alexander develops a desire for knowledge of governmental affairs as demonstrated by the following letter written to Kauikeaouli. At about the age of nine Alexander request that the Mō'ī send to him regular correspondence. On June 29th 1843 he writes,

> "It would give me great pleasure if you would write to me more frequently, I should like to know your troubles with Ld George, but you will think I am too young to hear of such things. Just as you please about it."[382]

Internationalizing Ali'i—The Princes in Britain, France and the U.S.

On September 5 1849, at a meeting of the Privy Council Kauikeaouli proposed to send Dr. Judd on a diplomatic mission to France to negotiate a new treaty with the French, as well to recover monetary damages sustained by acts of Rear Admiral de Tromelin who had fired upon the barracks in an act against the Kingdom government. In this meeting it was also suggested that Judd bring with him the two young princes, Alexander Liholiho and Lot Kapuāiwa . The Privy Council confirmed that both Judd and the princes would go on this diplomatic mission by the following resolutions,

> Whereas His Majesty the King has declared that it is his wish that Mr. Judd should be appointed a special commissioner to proceed to France, England and the United States, to negotiate a new Treaty, prefer a claim for reparation of the damages sustained by this Government by the recent acts of Rear Admiral de Tromelin, and better secure the Independence of the Hawaii Islands... Resolved. That Lot and Alexander leave this place for America, England, and France, the Government paying the expenses.[383]

At the time of their departure, both Alexander and Lot were in their teens. Alexander was fifteen and his elder brother Lot was eighteen. Prior to their voyage they had a considerable amount of

book knowledge about the histories of the Britain, France and the United States. They had heard the lectures of William Richards about his and Ha'alilio's diplomatic mission to the U.S. Britain and France,[384] had lectures at the Chiefs' Children's School on Euro-American history, and had met a number of diplomats and foreign officials who had visited Hawai'i. There accompanying Judd on this mission was means to provide them with first hand experience of diplomatic negotiations with other countries as well as to allow them to meet high ranking foreign officials who they might potentially be negotiating future agreements as rulers. That Kauikeaouli sent them on this trip illustrates his understanding of the importance of providing these future Mō'ī with the knowledge of the business of foreign states and could also be seen as an extension of Liholiho's policy of establishing ali'i connections with the royalty of other countries. Following the group's departure from Honolulu harbor on September 11 1849, while at sea, Lot Kapuāiawa reads books such as *The Pathfinder* by J.F. Cooper, and a book which Lot titles in his journal as *Their Consulate and Empire of Napoleon,* as well as the official correspondence in order to "know something about the mission we are going."[385] Throughout their entire trip they met with high foreign officials, are graced with lavish dinner parties by high state officials, offered seats in the finest Opera houses, and had guided tours of royal residences. In France the young princes had regular French language and fencing lessons. While in France Alexander writes that he, "had the honor of seating [himself] in the throne of Charlemagne."[386] In London they were unable to meet with the Queen because she was expecting the birth of a child. They did however meet with Prince Albert in Buckingham Palace and were given a royal tour of Windsor castle. Alexander discussed the meeting between Prince Albert and himself in his journal where he wrote,

> When we entered the Prince was standing a little aside of the door, & bowed to each of us as we came in. He was a fine man, about as tall as I am, and had a very fine bust & straight legs... His Royal Highness then asked if we had seen anything in London, to which I replied by saying not very much. The Doctor then told him that we had been to the British Museum, and there seen some Idols brought from home that were not to be found in the Islands. He then asked us if we would like to see Windsor...The Conversation then turned upon the islands, the Prince making inquiries of our principle exports, to which I mentioned Sugar, Coffee & Molasses &c, and he then remarked that California being so near to us, that we were very well situated for the trade between China & that place, to which I answered in the affirmative.[387]

There is no doubt that Alexander Liholiho and Lot Kapuāiwa's meeting with Prince Albert and other high officials of government in Britain, France and the United States enabled them to gain insight into the complexities of the international politics while also providing an opportunity to experience the social and cultural differences of these respective countries. The trip also may have added to, or affirmed their own confidences as ali'i, demonstrating their class in other countries, affirming themselves as capable agents of rule over Hawai'i, and linking them to the global elite. While Liholiho died before meeting with a British Sovereign, Boki's meeting with King George IV was of critical importance for Hawaiian-British relations. Alexander Liholiho's meeting with Prince Albert also had a lasting effect on the British-Hawaiian royal relations. In fact years later, upon the birth of Alexander's child, he gave the child the English name of Albert and the baby prince would have Queen Victoria as a godmother.[388]

The success of Liholiho's and previous Hawaiian diplomatic trips to London was apparent to Alexander and Lot who often met officials that recalled fondly meeting Liholiho and his retinue as well as William Richards and Ha'alilo.

The journals of Alexander and Lot both demonstrate their affinity with History, Art, Mathematics, and calculations. Their writings also demonstrate the sophistication of their

training and education. They were educated well enough to give comments on Opera, for example. Following Alexander and Lot's attendance at several Operas in London and Paris when the princes attend one in Boston. Alexander is disappointed in the performance and he writes, "the Opera was badly sustained in all its parts. We came home much disappointed."[389] One evening while in France the two young princes went to see a Spanish giant at an attraction and they were amazed by his stature. Alexander's knowledge and fascination with Mathematics can be demonstrated by his measurements made on the giant man, Alexander Liholiho writes,

> He, aged 24, measured 8 feet, 3 inches, and weighed 367 lbs & a half. I measured his breadth, & measured one half fathom more than my outstretched arms. His foot were fifteen inches long. His hands were tremendous and his little finger was more than an inch longer than my middle figure. We examined him for some time. I walked under his Arm with my hat on, and it merely grazed his arm.[390]

Upon departing from Europe, the party travels through the East Coast of the United States. While in the United States they visit Boston, Philadelphia, New York, and Washington among other cities. While in Washington they were invited to attend the Presidents Levee,[391] where they met the President and many members of Congress and the Senate. Alexander was unimpressed and he comments that "At a quarter past ten we withdrew from what they called a Brilliant Reception—ha! ha! ha!."[392] Throughout their tour of the United States Alexander notes his dislike of the country, culture, and many of the people. Just days following his attendance of the President's reception, on a train to New York, Alexander was requested by a train conductor to leave his seat as a consequence of his color. Alexander demonstrates his rejection of American notions of racial inequalities and segregation through his interaction with the conductor. I will quote an extended passage because I find this section of Alexander's journal to offer insight into how he saw himself as well as his appraisal of Americans. Alexander writes,

> While I was sitting looking out of the window, a man came to me & told me to get out of the carriage rather unceremoniously, saying that I was in the wrong carriage. I immediately asked him what he meant. He continued his request, finally he came around by the door and I went out to meet him. Just as he was coming in, somebody whispered a word into his ears—by this time I came up to him, and asked him his reasons for telling me to get out of that carriage. He then told me to keep my seat.
> I took hold of his arm, and asked him his reasons, and what right he had in turning me out and talking to me in the way that he did. He replied that he had some reasons, but requested me to keep my seat. And I followed him out, but he took care to be out of my way after that. I found he was the conductor, and probably had taken me for somebodys servant, just because I had darker skin than he had. Confounded fool.
> The first time that I ever received such treatment, not in England or France or anywhere else. But in this country I must be treated like a dog to go & come at an Americans bidding.
> Here I must state that I am disappointed at the Americans. They have no manners, no politeness, not even common civilities, to a Stranger. And not only in this single case, but almost everybody that one meets traveling in the United States are saucy...
> In England an African can pay his fare for the Cars, and he can sit alongside of Queen Victoria. The Americans talk and they think a great deal of their liberty, and strangers often find that too many liberties are taken of their comfort, just because his hosts are a free people.
> To be sure there are exceptions, and those are most generally found among those that have traveled in foreign Countries and learnt better manners than their own raw, Course bearing in their own Country.[393]

A reading of this extended quotation offers a glimpse into the mind of a well traveled Alexander Liholiho. It is almost as if he sees Americans as radically inferior to those of the French and British and Hawaiian in terms of culture and class. Clearly American sentiments toward the supposed racial inferiority of non-whites is adamantly opposed by Alexander, as he sets out to attempt to put the conductor in his place and grabs him by the arm. The princes' comparative experiences in Europe and the United States had demonstrated to them that the United States was considerably lacking in terms of culture, etiquette, and possibly respect. America may have appeared to them to be a country of commoners. Lot affirms Alexander's categorization of

American people by writing, "they are great people the Americans, always picking others business but their own."[394] It is certain that these experiences played a role in their politics as Mōʻī.

Overall the princes were lionized through their travels. They were treated with dignity and respect throughout their trip, with the exception to Alexander's experience on the train in the U.S. The aliʻi and Judd arrive back in Hawaii on September 9 1850. These aliʻi would return home with knowledge of foreign lands that was unmatched by any of their contemporary aliʻi and by the vast majority of the citizens of the world at this time. They had dined and danced with those of the highest classes while on their trip, met and become acquainted with the rulers and royalty of the three most powerful countries of the time, and had gained valuable knowledge of the distinct differences of culture and social structure between the three. Seeing such visual representations of history as Westminster Abbey as well as witnessing the museumification of history at the British Museum and the Louvre doubtlessly had a profound impact on their conceptions of heritage and the possibilities of cultural production. Kuykendhal writes that,

> To the young princes, the year of foreign travel was of great interest and value. They had opportunities for seeing some of the best features of the culture of the great countries which they visited; and they had been received by the rulers of those nations with every mark of respect and consideration. Especially was this the case in England, and the two princes brought back to their native land a deep feeling of aloha for that country and a great admiration for the established institutions of Great Britain. This was to be a factor of definite significance in the succeeding history of Hawaii.[395]

The affinity for Britain and the elements of distaste that the princes develop for American culture and society can be indirectly correlated to their policies as Mōʻī. The following sections will demonstrate how both Lot and Alexander distanced the Hawaiian Kingdom from the American

Protestant Mission through the use of the Church of England and how they also enacted some policies that may have been influenced by the knowledge that they gained from their travels.

Kamehameha IV and V—Reforming Christianity

In this section I discuss the polices of Alexander Liholiho and Lot Kapuāiwa which distanced the Kingdom from the influence of the American Protestant Mission and its members. In particular, I will cover their attempts at maintaining alliances with Britain and their removal of the American Protestant Mission worship by the family of the Mōʻī.

In the early part of 1852 Alexander Liholiho was admitted to the Privy Council of the Hawaiian Kingdom, where he soon became the most trusted and important influence on Kauikeaouli.[396] Not long after his admittance into the Privy Council, Alexander was instrumental in having Dr. Judd (who he traveled with to Britain, France, and the U.S.) removed from the Hawaiian Kingdom government. Judd has lost the favor and trust of the aliʻi because of his mishandling of a small pox outbreak in Honolulu. On the 5th of September 1853 Alexander Liholiho was made president of the Privy Council and named his brother Lot to be the new Kuhina Nui and named a new cabinet.[397] The very next day Alexander's father Kekuanaoʻa replaced Judd as the Commissioner of Health. That Alexander was instrumental in removing Judd from office is of significance because it is an illustration of the authority and mana of aliʻi and how it could be used to remove a haole member of government who had lost the trust of the aliʻi.

Being the heir to the throne Alexander would inherit all of the lands that had belonged to Kauikeaouli as a result of the Mahele as Kauikeaouli stated that these would belong to himself and his heirs in perpetuity.[398] It was through the management of these lands that Alexander Liholiho was to gain his personal wealth since the office of the Mōʻī did not come with a salary. These lands later become termed the "Crown Lands," which were the exclusive property of the Mōʻī, subject to the rights of native tenants. Later in the reign of Lot Kapuāiwa the Crown lands were made inalienable through legislation passed on January 3 1865.

Upon Alexander's ascent to the position of Mōʻī on December 8 1854, one of his first actions was to expel a proposed treaty of annexation between the United States and the Hawaiian Kingdom.[399] This was a treaty that had been under negotiation but was never ratified by the United States nor the Hawaiian Kingdom.[400] This action is important because it shows his desire to maintain Hawaiian Kingdom independence. Another important step that Kamehameha IV took toward solidifying independence was done by appointing his brother Lot as the Secretary of War, and in calling for greater appropriations by the legislature to supply this office with the appropriate funds to defend Hawaiian independence. By burying the prospect of annexation between the U.S. and the Kingdom while also attempting to build a capable defense force Kamehameha IV had began to distinguish his reign as being one which attempted to promote Hawaiian interests with an indifference to the ethics of the Protestant mission. Another important policy advanced by Kamehameha IV was the transfer of the ruling family to the worship of the Episcopal church.

Ironically many of those keiki aliʻi who had learned from American Protestants like the Cookes at the Chief's Children's' School, embraced their secular teachings but rejected their

religious teachings and replace them with those of the Episcopal church. A letter from Lot (Kamehameha V) to Queen Emma demonstrates the political motives behind the establishment of the Church of England in the Hawaiian Islands. In Lot's reflection on the establishment of the Episcopal church in Hawai'i he writes that,

> There was from the beginning a very great political reason, why the Mission from England should have had the support of all people who really loved their Country. It was never mooted by any one. We thought, get England to be interested in us my means of her Church, and let the Englishmen contribute their wealth Clergymen & laymen to ornament and sustain this Church, she will begin to learn more of us and take more interest in us which well fostered will ripen into a great friendship, not only between the rulers of the Countries but the friendship of the people of England. This fact was underlying the whole Church History from the beginning till now.[401]

These sentiments reflect the true purpose for Alexander Liholiho's invitation and courtship of the Church of England into the Hawaiian Islands. These former students at the Chiefs' Children's School had traveled to England and witnessed some of the services of the Episcopal church of particular interest may have been the Church's liberalism in comparison to the American Protestant Mission as well as the church's acceptance of aristocracy. Kuykendall writes that Kamehameha IV,

> Believed that the doctrines and ritual of that church (Church of England) to be more compatible with monarchical government than those of the Congregational and Presbyterian churches already established in his kingdom.[402]

Kamehameha IV's importing of the Episcopal Church was a somewhat delicate situation. It provided a political opportunity for him to distance himself from the American Protestants. He used the government run newspaper and its editor Abe Fornander to support his positions and also challenge the American Mission in discursive ways but not in ways that would be too forceful or too frequent. Abe Fornander wrote to Kamehameha IV, "You do not want me to hammer the

(American) Missionaries too hard or too often."[403] The formal establishment of the Church of England was a process that took a considerable amount of effort by Kamehameha IV, negotiations took place for about three years prior to the formal establishment of the Church in the Islands on October 11 1862.

On December 5 1859, the Hawaiian consul in Britain was written asking that he approach the officials of the Church of England with a request from the King and Queen for the establishment of an Episcopal Chapel or Church in Honolulu.[404] There was also a specific request for a particular kind of bishop. The Minister of Foreign Affairs Wyllie writes,

> The King desires me to make known to you, confidentially, that He and the Queen would prefer that the Episcopal Clergyman, for the proposed Chapel or Church, should have a family of his own, and be eminently liberal in all his principles and ideas.[405]

This request demonstrates Alexander Liholiho's agency in securing a bishop that would fulfill his desires. By June 25 1860 a committee of the members of the Church of England agreed to a resolution for the establishment of a Church in the Hawaiian Islands (see Figure 13). Alexander Liholiho would also write a letter directly to Queen Victoria of Britain in an attempt to expedite the establishment of the church in Hawai'i. In his letter to Victoria he writes,

> I approach You Majesty with this letter for the purpose of requesting Your Majesty's approval of the establishment of the Anglican Episcopal Church within my Dominions.
> The Lord Primate of all England has already been addressed upon the subject by my minister for Foreign Affairs.
> I therefore presume upon the well known graciousness which Your Majesty has always extended to me, my Predecessors and my people, and for which we have always been thankful, to ask for such countenance to this pious undertaking as may seem most meet to Your Majesty, and to whatever degree that may be extended, I and my people will ever be thankful.[406]

This letter had an effect on the outcome of the process and Queen Victoria responded to Alexander through a letter from Lord Russell.[407] On October 11th 1862 Bishop Staley arrived in the Hawaiian Islands and on the 19th of that month the church was officially inaugurated. Queen Emma was baptized on the 21st of October 1862 and soon her former companions at the Chiefs' Children's School, Lot Kapuāiwa and Kalākaua would also become members along with many prominent members of government. The departure of the ruling family from the American Protestant Mission was not appreciated by the Mission and their descendants. In fact it was seen as a betrayal and offense against the earlier works of the Mission in the Hawaiian Islands. In the midst of Alexander and Lot's reforming Christianity in the Hawaiian islands, Dr Judd (their former overseer on their trip to the Britain, France and the U.S.) wrote of Alexander in 1861 that,

> The King, educated by the Mission [The Chiefs' Children's School] most of all things dislikes the Mission. Having been compelled to be good when a boy, he is determined not to be good as a man. Driven out to morning prayer meeting, monthly concert, Sabbath school, long sermons, and daily exhortations, his heart is hardened to a degree unknown to the heathen.[408]

Alexander and Lot had attempted to radically reshape the political climate in the Islands through the introduction of the Church of England. Their travels to Britain had provided them with insights into foreign governments and societies that led them to consider possibilities for bringing reform to Hawai'i. Their ability to bring about change and import the Church of England to the Hawaiian Islands illustrates their ability to steer the course of government and worship in directions that they saw fit. It also demonstrates that they were not under the influence of American Missionaries. Instead they were active agents who appropriated what they saw were the best tools available to secure themselves and the Hawaiian people's independence and modernization.

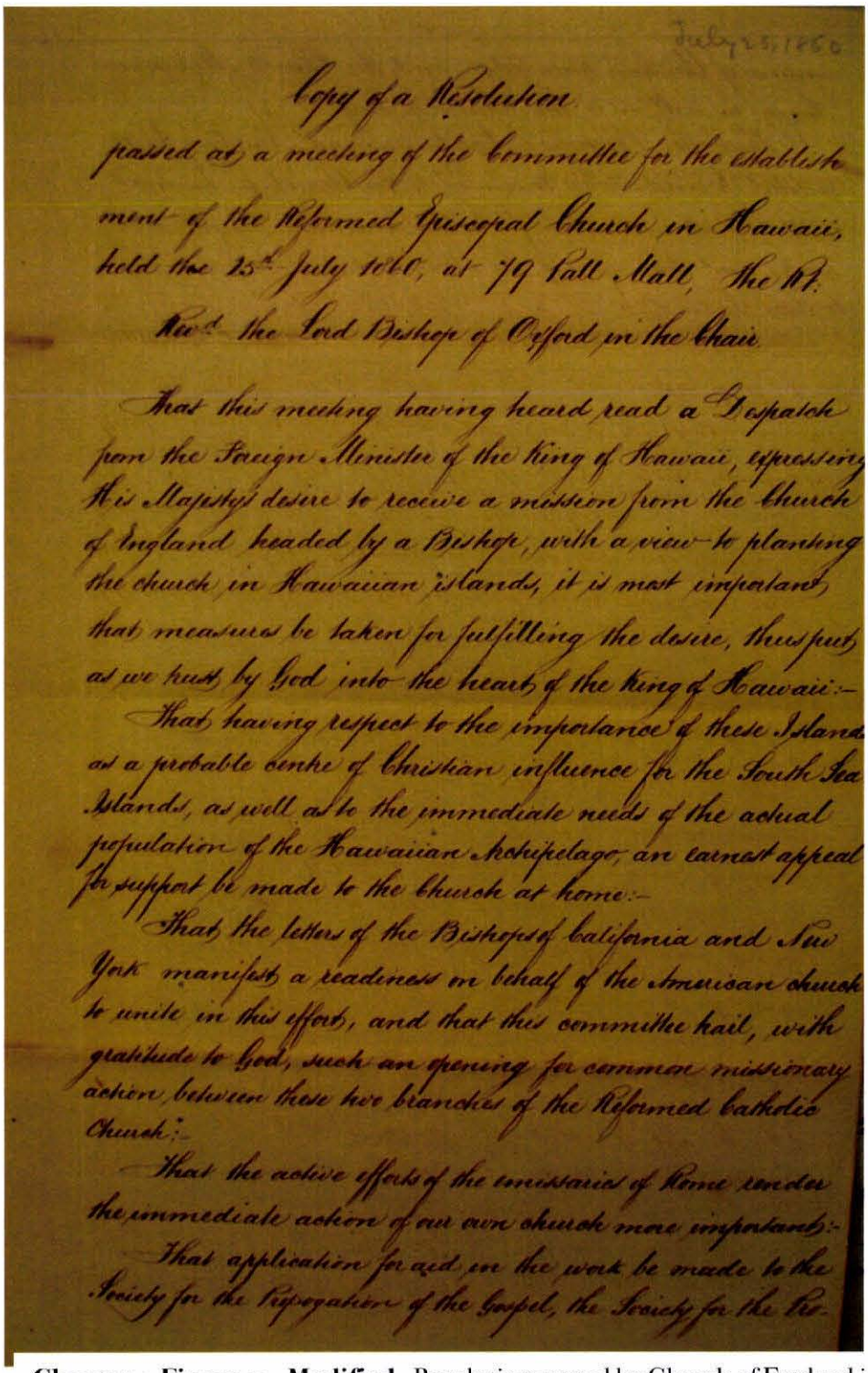
Following Alexander's death in 1863, Lot became Mō'ī and continued to be active in the Church of England. Of significance in Lot's reign as Kamehameha V is that he enacted a new constitution in 1864 which replaced the one of 1852 that both he and his brother Alexander had thought problematic.[409] Lot reigned for nine years in which time he was able to set out on a series of public works including the construction of 'Iolani Hale (government building), the Royal Mausoleum, post offices, schoolhouses, an insane asylum, and the original Royal Hawaiian Hotel.[410] Lot also was instrumental in instituting mapping initiatives in the Kingdom. These attempted to preserve ancient place boundaries, and many of the maps shown in Chapter 2 as illustrations of ancient divisions and boundaries were produced as a result of his initiatives.[411] In many ways his reign followed that of his brothers. He reformed the government and set about instituting changes he thought fit for a constitutional monarchy. Kuykendall writes that,

> Before he became king, (he) is said to have permitted and even encouraged the revival of some of the old Hawaiian customs such as the *hula* and *kahuna* practices. After the death of his brother, the scenes and sounds around the palace were strongly reminiscent of ancient times. [412]

The reigns of Lot and Alexander demonstrate how they were able to appropriate some of the teachings of the Cookes as well as what they had gathered from their experiences around the world in order to advance their own agendas. Their willingness to seek out a church outside of the American Protestant influence demonstrates that they were open to attempt to appropriate even Christianity for their own means.

If the reigns of Alexander Liholiho and Lot suggest movements away from American Protestant ethics or ideals, the reign of one of their former school mates at the Chiefs' Children's School, might be said to have almost completely left missionary ethics behind. The following section will cover segments of Kalākaua's reign that include: his voyage around the world, his

revival of hula and the Hale Nauā, and his attempts to use international law to protect other nations in the Pacific from being colonized.



July 25, 1860

Copy of a Resolution

passed at a meeting of the Committee for the establishment of the Reformed Episcopal Church in Hawaii, held the 25th July 1860, at 79 Pall Mall, the Rt. Revd. the Lord Bishop of Oxford in the Chair.

That this meeting having heard read a Despatch from the Foreign Minister of the King of Hawaii, expressing His Majesty's desire to receive a mission from the Church of England headed by a Bishop, with a view to planting the church in Hawaiian islands, it is most important, that measures be taken for fulfilling the desire, thus put, as we trust, by God into the heart of the king of Hawaii:-

That having respect to the importance of these Islands as a probable centre of Christian influence for the South Sea Islands, as well as to the immediate needs of the actual population of the Hawaiian Archipelago, an earnest appeal for support be made to the church at home:-

That the letters of the Bishops of California and New York manifest a readiness on behalf of the American church to unite in this effort, and that this committee hail, with gratitude to God, such an opening for common missionary action, between these two branches of the Reformed Catholic Church:-

That the active efforts of the emissaries of Rome render the immediate action of our own church more important:-

That application for aid in the work be made to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Society for the Pro-

Chapter 4. Figure 13. Modified. Resolution passed by Church of England in Support in the establishment of a Chapel in Hawai'i. *Hawai'i State Archives* M-80-1-9. July 25 1860.

Kalākaua

This section will discuss important portions of the reign of Kalākaua, and will include: portions of his voyage around the world, his initiatives as reviving traditional arts through the celebration of hula and the Hale Nauā, as well as his attempts to use the Hawaiian Kingdom's status as an Independent State to protect other nations in the Pacific from being colonized. The importance of the section is that it will illustrate how Kalākaua sought to further the Kingdom's international relations, merge elements of ancient Hawaiian culture into modern forms, as well as demonstrate the significant role that a Mō'ī could play in reforming the society. I see the reign of Kalākaua as branching from the reigns of the previous Mō'ī while also expanding the cultural national consciousness, and pushing Hawaiian independence into new horizons.

Iā 'Oe E Ka Lā—Kalākaua in Japan and Siam

On the 19th of January 1881, King David La'amea Kalākaua left the Hawaiian Kingdom on a journey to circumnavigate the globe.[413] He would be the first sovereign of not only Hawai'i, but, the world to accomplish such a feat. When the voyage was complete, the countries and nations that the King had visited included, Japan, China, Siam, Singapore, India, Egypt, Italy, England, Belgium, Austria, Spain, Portugal, France, and the United States. There are various reasons that have been offered for his voyage: to secure a source of immigration of a cognate races to Hawai'i to marry into and increase the existing Hawaiian population; to increase the Hawaiian Kingdom's diplomatic relationships around the world; and to gain extensive knowledge about the other countries of the world. It is likely that some combination of these

three possible reasons for the trip were its true impetus. As on the trips of Kamehameha II, Alexander Liholiho, and Lota Kapuāiwa, throughout Kalākaua's voyage he was entertained and accepted by the rulers and highest government officials of the countries and colonies he visited. Throughout his voyage he was well received and sought to create strategic alliances with other countries. Following a brief stop in San Francisco, Kalākaua set off to visit Japan. Upon their arrival in Edo on March 4 1881, Kalākaua raised the royal standard and was met by a stunning display of diplomatic respect.

> At the same moment the Hawaiian flag was broken out on the mainmast. Swarms of sailors sprang aloft and manned the yards, that is, stood, in line along them, each man extending his arm to the shoulder of the next one. As if by magic the ship was dressed from stern to stern with the flags of all nations. The report of the first gun was followed by a royal salute of twenty-one guns...as we crossed the bows of all the warships in succession, the same ceremonies were repeated...When the boat touched the landing, the strains of "Hawaii Ponoi" (The Hawaiian National Anthem) burst from the shore. This unexpected compliment from the Emperor's military band, this music of our country upset us instantly.[414]

Kalākaua was the first head of state to officially visit Japan. He was asked by the Emperor of Japan to be the Emperors guest so long as he remained in the Empire.[415] In a private meeting with the Japanese Emperor, Kalākaua proposed a the creation of a federation between Hawai'i, Japan, and Polynesia and also offered a marriage alliance between Hawai'i and Japan through a marriage of his niece Princess Ka'iulani and the Japanese Prince Komatzu.[416] These offers were considered by the Japanese Emperor but never acted upon and Kalākaua's wishes for a Hawaii-Japan royal union were never accomplished. A treaty was discussed which would allow the subjects of both nations to travel and trade freely with one another, and would bring the countries closer together.[417] Another "success of the visit was an amicable treaty, which was the

first to welcome Japan into the nations of the world."[418] The Japanese Emperor viewed Kalākaua's visit as important commenting that it was,

> The first visit to Japan of one the kings of a nation of the brotherhood to which his own nation did not belong should be cordial and memorable.[419]

Kalākaua took much away from this trip. Not only was it a meeting with a brother Monarch it was also a meeting between two non-Euro-American rulers. Kalākaua seemed to have been fascinated with Japanese culture and tradition. He met with high Japanese officials and was greatly impressed with the Buddhist temples, so much so that he considered introducing Buddhism into the Hawaiian Kingdom. He also told one of his companions, Armstrong, that he believed in reincarnation.[420] Another important impression that Kalākaua gained from Japan which may have enabled him to see similarities with his own heritage concerned the divine origin of rulers. Armstrong writes that Kalākaua's realization about the common belief between the Japanese and the Hawaiian cultures that the ali'i or rulers were of divine origin had,

> Strongly affected him, and he was planning the culture of a similar belief among his own people regarding himself. The Chamberlain and I saw symptoms of his scheme in his declaration one day that the kings of Hawaii descended from *akuas* (gods), but that the missionaries had denied it.

While traveling on this voyage Kalākaua also met with another non-European foreign ruler to whom he took a particular liking, the twenty-seven year old King of Siam, Souditch-Chou-Fa-Chulalou Korn.[421] The King of Siam had studied some of the political science of Europe and had an education in European literature.[422] Siam must have been an interesting place to Kalākaua, it was in the process of modernizing while attempting to maintain its political independence. Siam's climate was strikingly similar to that of Hawai'i and the coconut trees made them feel as if they were at home. The King of Siam and Kalākaua had a number of interesting conversations.

The King of Siam was interested in how Kalākaua had learned to speak such good English and noted that though some of his subjects had lived in England there were no subjects in his court that could speak English as well as Kalākaua.[423] They also discussed traditional religions of their societies and considered themselves to be related through their Malay blood. The two developed a liking for one another and Armstrong writes that,

> He (The King of Siam) asked his Royal Brother to remain in the country, to visit the interior; there would be an elephant-hunt if he desired it.[424]

Kalākaua was graciously received by the Siamese King and enjoyed a ride on the King's elephant, had a banquet held in his honor, visited the Royal Mausoleum, and was awarded the Grand Cross Order of Siam. The meetings of two Monarchs who ruled over modernizing societies which had been influenced by European knowledge and protocols must have been an equally stimulating exercise for both Kalākaua and the King of Siam. On Kalākaua's departure the King expresses to Kalākaua his desires to visit other countries as well Armstrong writes,

> The Siamese King said that his royal guest was most fortunate in ruling a good people who were quiet while he were absent; he wished, above all things, to visit Europe and America, but he was unable to leave his people.[425]

Kalākaua's meeting with the rulers of Japan and Siam likely informed his political consciousness in ways that he may have not expected. Kalākaua had visited the United States and would have been prepared for his trips to European countries given the experiences of his predecessors in these countries prior to him. In Britain he was entertained and admired by Queen Victoria who writes,

> King Kalikaua is tall, darker, than Queen Emma, but with the same cast of features, black, but not woolly hair, more like the New Zealanders, but without their thick lips. He is very gentlemanlike & pleasing, & speaks English perfectly; he is of course a Christian.[426]

His meeting with Queen Victoria left a positive impression on her. Kalākaua had learned enough about European protocol and society to understand how to leave behind a positive persona. In this way Kalākaua's voyage was similar to those taken by the previous ali'i . However his meeting with the rulers of Japan and Siam may have offered Kalākaua insightful comparisons of his own experience as being a Non-European ruler in the 19th century. The complex negotiations that were taking place in Japan and Siam because of Imperial pressures by European countries likely had a resonance with Kalākaua. It may have caused him to consider the possibility of strengthening alliances between non-European nations. Also the similarities between the Japanese belief in the divine origin of the Emperor combined with his discussion with the King of Siam on their nation's traditional religions may have caused Kalākaua, to think about his own traditions and culture in ways that he may not have been as open to prior to his visit. Witnessing the open practice of non-Christian religions in the countries of Siam and Japan and their relatively harmonious societies likely caused Kalākaua to consider the possibility of openly reviving traditional Hawaiian practices, which is something that Kalākaua's reign remains known for even today.

The Celebration of Heritage

Following Kalākaua's return to Hawai'i on October 29th 1881 he set about bringing some important social changes over the Kingdom. After being lionized in many nations that expanded the circumference of the globe, Kalākaua's roar would be heard in Hawai'i through the open reassertion of Hawaiian cultural traditions and practices in the face of Missionary ethics. Kalākaua's distaste for Christianity is well expressed in a letter he writes to his sister Lili'uokalani while he was in Paris. Having witnessed the French indulgence in life, mocking the American Protestants Kalākaua asks whether or not all these (the French) people are going to hell,

> Surely not! But what a contrast to our miserable bigoted community, All sober and down in the mouth keeping a wrong Sabbath instead of a proper Sunday, the Pure are to pure that the impure should make the Sunday a day of mockery, with such rubbish trash that we have so long been lead to believe, it is a wonder that we have not risen any higher than the common brute.[427]

Noenoe Silva argues that Kalākaua used ancient Hawaiian genealogy, cosmology, and mele (song, poem) as a means to reassert Hawaiian traditions. Covering material from the time period that directly followed Kalākaua's voyage, Silva argues that the establishment of the government funded Papa Kū'auhau o Nā Ali'i Hawai'i (Hawaiian Board of Genealogies), the Hale Nauā society which sought to reassert ancient knowledge, and the Coronation of Kalākaua were important examples of Kalākaua's reassertion of ancient systems of knowledge and morality. She writes,

> The enactments of tradition that Kalākaua undertook that strengthened the identity of Kanaka Maoli as a people proud of their past and of their past achievements made him more popular and his legacy of national pride has persisted to this day.[428]

Seeing the heritages of other non-European nations such as Japan and Siam as they attempted to modernize may have provided Kalākaua with insight into his own situation as ruler of a Non-European state. Following his voyage, Kalākaua openly promoted institutions and created legislative bodies that promoted Hawaiian connections to their ancient metaphysics and tradition in ways that had not been done since Ka'ahumanu's sumptuary laws in the 1820s. At Kalākaua's coronation ceremony, hula was openly performed for twenty-four hours.[429] He was instrumental in bringing back the cosmogonic creation chant that linked his genealogy to akua and the origin of the universe, the *Kumulipo*.[430] He also brought back performances of Hawaiian heritage which became official narratives for the nation.[431] Another one of these institutions promoted by Kalākaua was the Hale Nauā. Hale Nauā actively studied and attempted to revive the traditional arts, science, medicine, and metaphysics of old Hawai'i. One should recall the Hale Nauā that was essential to the process of Kālai'āina and within the 'aha ali'i as noted in chapter 2. Figure 14 is the Preamble to the Constitution of Hale Nauā.

. . . THE . .

CONSTITUTION . . .
AND BY-LAWS . . .

OF THE

Hale Naua or

Temple of Science

PREAMBLE . . . .

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

Chapter 4. Figure 14. Modified. Preamble of the Hale Nauā Constitution

The object of Hale Nauā was the revival of "Ancient Sciences of Hawai'i in combination with the promotion and advancement of Modern Sciences, Art, Literature and Philanthropy."[432] Kalākaua used the Hale Nauā to revitalize tradition and also to advance modern science. In other words he was using both Hawaiian tradition and modern science to indirectly demonstrate the inaccuracies of American Protestant teachings while linking Hawaiian knowledge with the universality of science. In the words of Noenoe Silva, "they had hoped to show that science had proved what they had always known."[433] On the first annual address of the Hale Nauā Society given on November 26 1887 in 'Iolani Palace illustrates the power of the linkages of these two systems of knowledge.[434] The address delivered by Antone Rosa discusses some of the early Hawaiian navigators such as Kahai and Ulu (as were discussed in the beginning of Chapter 2) he states,

> The ability of the men who planned and carried out these expeditions shows that they cannot be regarded as leaders of a barbarous Race. Neither were they men who fled from the persecutions of a conquering race, nor were they refuges of war; but they were men who undertook expeditions, planned and fitted out for an express purpose; and for praiseworthy objects...
>
> The science of Genealogy was their constant study and it is ascertained that the doctrine of Evolution was known to these people thousands of years back. The knowledge then of the ancient sciences of our forefathers is what is offered in the teaching of our order and from its lessons and precepts you must all be satisfied and assured that in them there can be nothing repugnant to your religious or moral feelings...
>
> The knowledge of the ancient history of our people as viewed from the outside world, does not appear creditable and people are apt to accuse our ancestors as being a most depraved and degraded race, without any moral standing as they were viewed by the missionaries at their first arrival on these islands...
>
> For in those days science had but faintly discerned the possibilities of the truth concerning man. Theology still usurped the interpretation. When the law of

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> Evolution became known through the energy and the untiring zeal of the Anthropologists and Embriologists this supposed impenetrable veil was pierced, the truth laid bare in spite of theological assertions to the contrary...
>
> As we penetrate deeper and deeper into the recess of the past a min of Archaeological wealth unfolds to us that causes us to wonder how with their slimly aided observations of natural phenomena, our ancestors have arrived so near to the truth and to accord with the ideas of modern sciences...[435]

From a reading of the above quotations one can see that the Hale Nauā was demonstrating that traditional knowledge systems such as genealogies were valid sources for knowledge while also appropriating science to demonstrate that Missionary theology was inaccurate. The Hale Nauā promoted all the ancient arts and sciences including traditional ways of organizing time. Figure 15 is a portion of the Hawaiian Moon calendar taken from a Hale Nauā publication.

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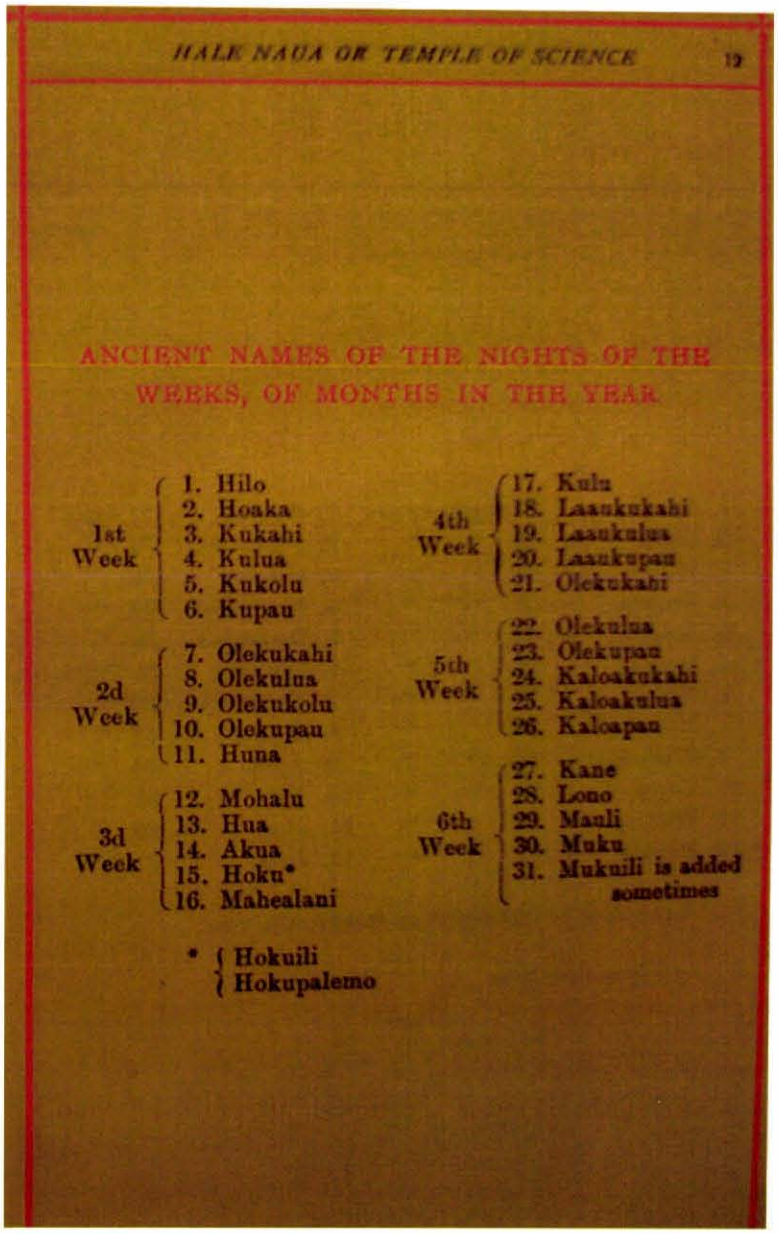


HALE NAUA OR TEMPLE OF SCIENCE 19

ANCIENT NAMES OF THE NIGHTS OF THE WEEKS, OF MONTHS IN THE YEAR

1st Week
1. Hilo
2. Hoaka
3. Kukahi
4. Kulua
5. Kukolu
6. Kupau

2d Week
7. Olekukahi
8. Olekulua
9. Olekukolu
10. Olekupau
11. Huna

3d Week
12. Mohalu
13. Hua
14. Akua
15. Hoku*
16. Mahealani

4th Week
17. Kulu
18. Laaukukahi
19. Laaukulua
20. Laaukupau
21. Olekukahi

5th Week
22. Olekulua
23. Olekupau
24. Kaloakukahi
25. Kaloakulua
26. Kaloapau

6th Week
27. Kane
28. Lono
29. Mauli
30. Muku
31. Mukuili is added sometimes

* Hokuili
Hokupalemo

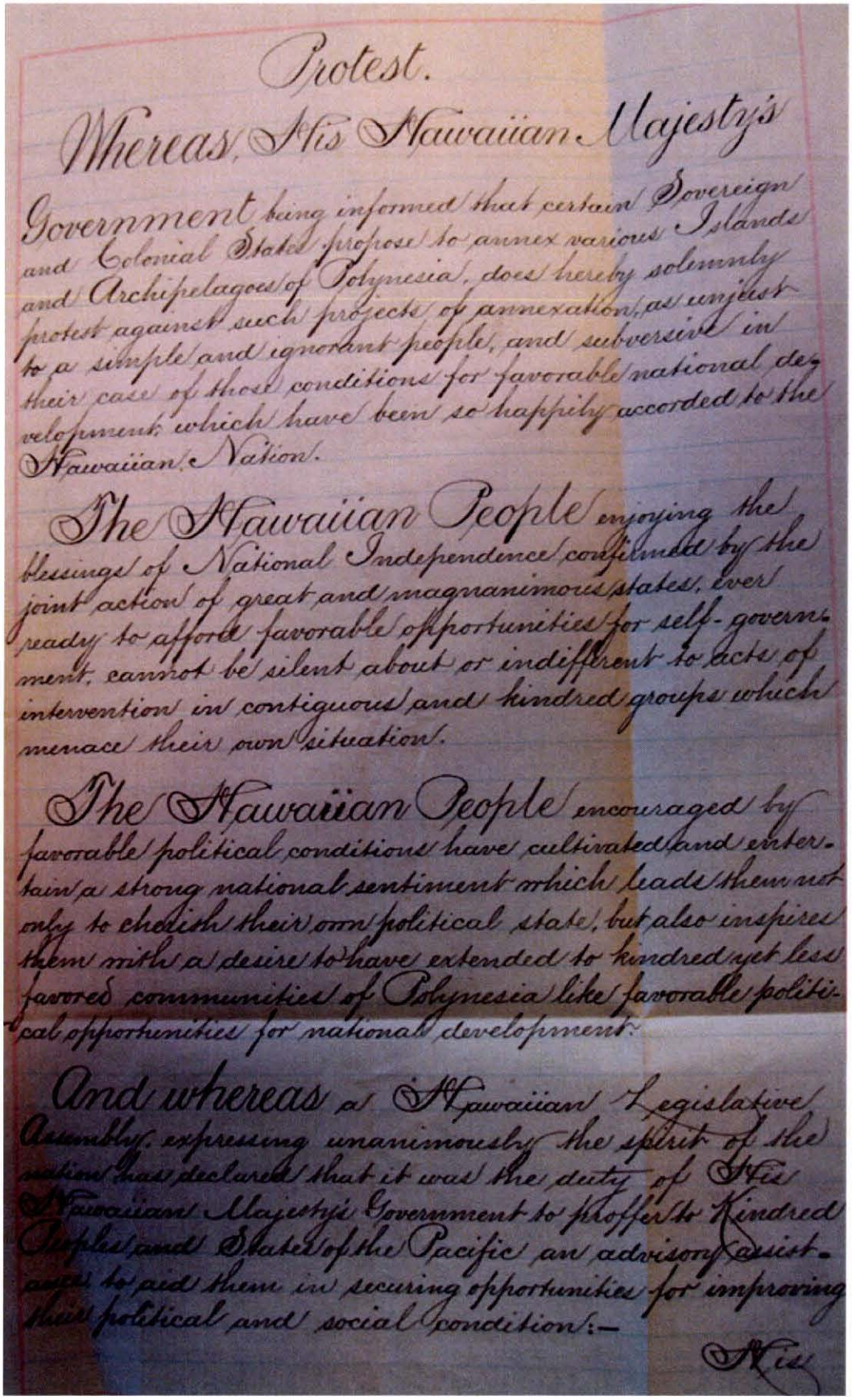
Chapter 4. Figure 15. Modified. Ancient Names of the Moon Phases

Kalākaua used Hale Nauā, as a means to challenge missionary perspectives and advance learning through the embracement of heritage. He also used other government agencies such as the Board of Genealogies and his coronation ceremony to bring Hawaiian traditions, such as genealogies and hula, back into the forefront of Hawaiian society and made them symbols of Hawaiian nationalism.[436] His voyage and meeting with the rulers of other countries including

Japan and Siam, may have had an impact on his attempts toward cultural production and the legitimization of heritage in Hawai'i. The revival of Hawaiian arts and sciences by Kalākaua demonstrate the ability of the Mō'ī to facilitate cultural change in the Hawaiian Kingdom as well as demonstrate his position as a leader of cultural transformation and resurgence. Kalākaua also used his position as Mō'ī and the head of an independent state to bring about some significant political changes, one of which sought to protect other Pacific nations from colonization while also expanding his own sovereign authority.

Pan-Pacific Federation

Between 1883 and 1887 Kalākaua had made known his desires to see the islands of Polynesia remain independent of colonial rule. What he had envisioned was a Pacific federation of nations that would fall under the umbrella of Hawaiian sovereignty. A possible motivation for this policy was not only the protection of other Pacific peoples from colonization by the Western powers of the time, but it may have also been related to the population decline in the Hawaiian islands. If a federation were established the Hawaiian Kingdom might be able to acquire immigrants of similar culture to be introduced into the Hawaiian Islands as this was a policy sought throughout the reigns of Kamehameha VI through Kalākaua. The policy taken by Kalākaua in attempting to protect islands in the Pacific from European colonial rule demonstrates his authority as Mō'ī as well as his appropriation of international relations of the time. On August 23 1883, in Honolulu, a formal protest was entered under the authority of Kalākaua and approved unanimously by his cabinet council. This protest was forwarded to twenty-six sovereign states.[437]



Protest.

Whereas, His Hawaiian Majesty's Government being informed that certain Sovereign and Colonial States propose to annex various Islands and Archipelagoes of Polynesia, does hereby solemnly protest against such projects of annexation, as unjust to a simple and ignorant people, and subversive in their case of those conditions for favorable national development, which have been so happily accorded to the Hawaiian Nation.

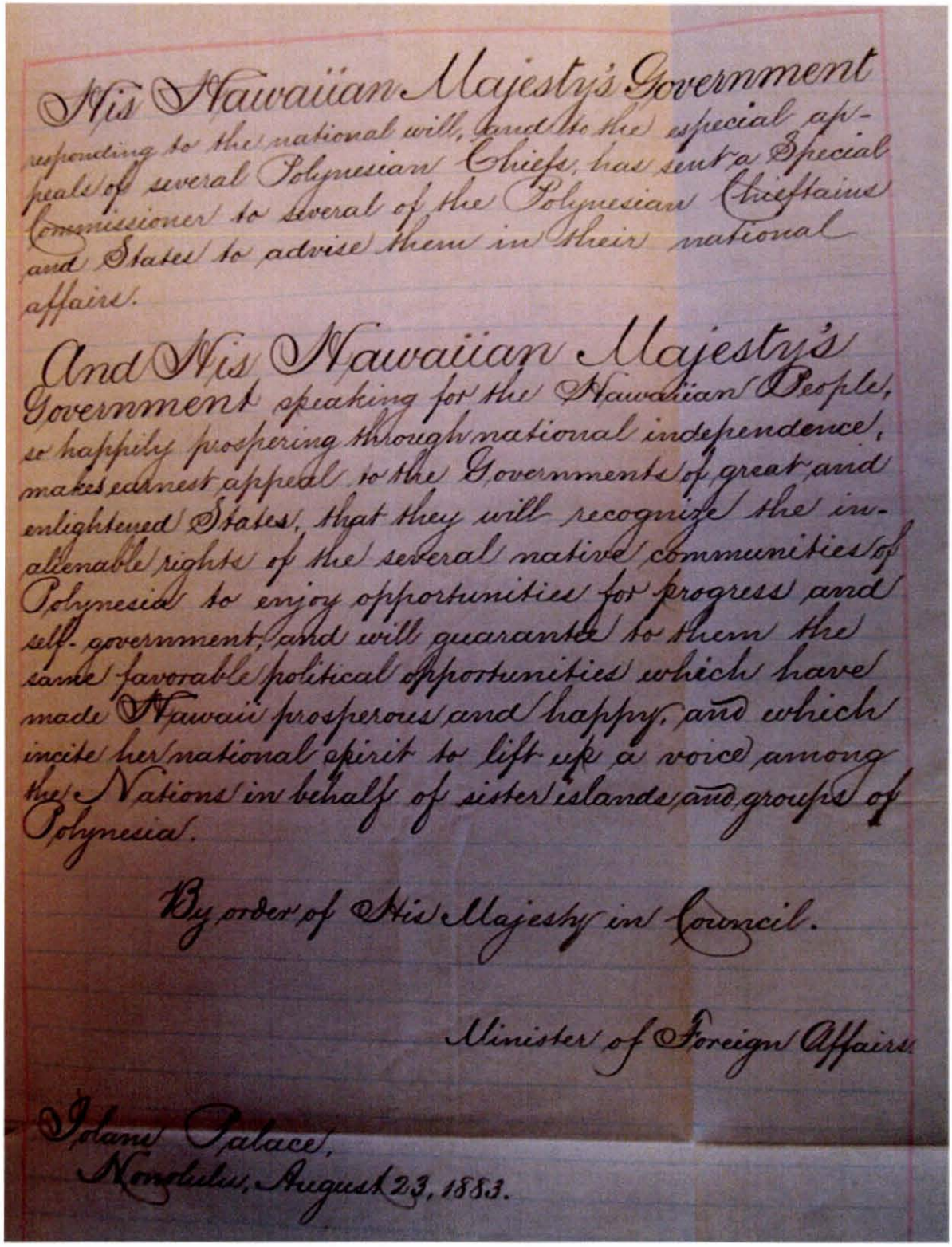
The Hawaiian People enjoying the blessings of National Independence confirmed by the joint action of great and magnanimous states, ever ready to afford favorable opportunities for self-government, cannot be silent about or indifferent to acts of intervention in contiguous and kindred groups which menace their own situation.

The Hawaiian People encouraged by favorable political conditions have cultivated and entertain a strong national sentiment which leads them not only to cherish their own political state, but also inspires them with a desire to have extended to kindred yet less favored communities of Polynesia like favorable political opportunities for national development.

And whereas a Hawaiian Legislative Assembly, expressing unanimously the spirit of the nation has declared that it was the duty of His Hawaiian Majesty's Government to proffer to Kindred Peoples and States of the Pacific an advisory assistance to aid them in securing opportunities for improving their political and social condition:—

His

Chapter 4. Figure 15. Modified. Hawaiian Kingdom Protest against colonization of the Pacific islands delivered to 26 independent states *UK National Archives FO 58/185*



His Hawaiian Majesty's Government responding to the national will, and to the especial appeals of several Polynesian Chiefs, has sent a Special Commissioner to several of the Polynesian Chieftains and States to advise them in their national affairs.

And His Hawaiian Majesty's Government speaking for the Hawaiian People, so happily prospering through national independence, makes earnest appeal to the Governments of great and enlightened States, that they will recognize the inalienable rights of the several native communities of Polynesia to enjoy opportunities for progress and self-government, and will guarantee to them the same favorable political opportunities which have made Hawaii prosperous and happy, and which incite her national spirit to lift up a voice among the Nations in behalf of sister islands and groups of Polynesia.

By order of His Majesty in Council.

Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Iolani Palace,
Honolulu, August 23, 1883.

Chapter 4. Figure 16. Modified. Page 2 Hawaiian Kingdom Protest against colonization of the Pacific islands delivered to 26 independent states. *UK National Archives FO 58/185*

By the time of Kalākaua, Hawaiian ali'i had mastered the protocols of international diplomacy. Since the time of Kamehameha I Hawaiian ali'i had met with, negotiated and created treaties with the rulers and diplomats of many countries. Kalākaua was trying to use their position as an independent and sovereign state in an attempt to protect a non-sovereign state from being colonized. Since the Hawaiian Kingdom's independence and status as a sovereign state had been recognized and continually respected since 1843, Kalākaua was attempting to use that political status along with the years of respected diplomatic negotiations between the Kingdom, Britain, France, and the United States as leverage for protecting other Pacific peoples. In a sense he was trying to use his diplomatic skills and international law in ways that they had probably never been used before. While the practices of international law at the time allowed non-sovereign territories to be colonized by states, this is a rare (possibly only) case of an independent state using international law in an attempt to negate these practices. In this petition Kalākaua also appealed to the moral character of the "Great and Enlightened" independent states to "recognize the inalienable rights of the several native communities of Polynesia to enjoy the opportunities for progress and self-government."[438] Both the United States and Britain resented the Hawaiian Kingdom becoming involved in the Pacific and encouraged Kalākaua not to interfere in the issue through their consuls. However, Kalākaua refused to give up on the cause for a free Pacific and in 1886 purchases a naval vessel which he named the *Kaimiloa* (To Search Vast Distances). In 1886, Samoa was on the brink of American and German Colonization. Kalākaua ordered this vessel to Sāmoa in order to negotiate a federation with King Malietoa of Sāmoa. In 1887, shortly after the arrival of the *Kaimiloa*, King Malietoa signed the following treaty with Kalākaua. Here is the English translation,

By Virtue of my inherent and recognized rights as King of the Samoan Islands by my own people and by Treaty with the Three great powers of America, England, and Germany, and by and with the advice of my government, and the consent of the Taimua and Taipule representing the Legislative powers of my Kingdom, I do hereby freely and voluntarily offer and agree and bind myself to enter into a political confederation with his Majesty Kalakaua King of the Hawaiian Islands, and I hereby give this solemn pledge that I will conform to whatever measures may hereafter be adopted by His Majesty Kalakaua and be mutually agreed upon to promote and carry into effect this political confederation and to maintain it forever.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this 17th day of February A.D. 1887.

M.R. Malietoa

King of Samoa

While these protests and the political Confederation between Samoa and the Hawaiian Kingdom were not able to stop the colonization of the Pacific they do demonstrate Kalākaua's unique usage of international law to protect a non-sovereign territory from colonization. The fact that Kalākaua attempted to create this policy demonstrates that he did not see himself nor the Hawaiian Kingdom as being colonized and that he attempted to use his country's somewhat unique position in the world to protect other Pacific peoples from being colonized. One might speculate what the nations of the Pacific might look like today had this policy been effective might they have remained free of nuclear testing or colonization from emerging imperial powers like Japan? In any case the policy of Kalākaua is a demonstration of the extents to which he was willing to selectively appropriate law and negotiate international politics.

Conclusion

This chapter has focused on the modernization of the Hawaiian Kingdom. Throughout the chapter I gave examples of ali'i agency in modernizing their kingdom, through the appropriation of law, religion, and politics. I have argued that ali'i were selectively appropriating the concepts, tools, and protocols of Euro-America for their own means. I have demonstrated how law and diplomacy were tools used by ali'i that offered them the ability to regulate and manipulate, their own subjects, foreigners, and to a certain extent their international affairs. Looking back from the rule of Kalākaua to the sumptuary laws proclaimed by Ka'ahumanu in the 1820s, one might argue that the ali'i following Ka'ahumanu began to distance themselves from the teachings of the American Protestant Missionaries. The reigns of Alexander Liholiho, Lot and Kalākaua are certainly confirmations of such as analysis. However, I have attempted to show how along each step of the modernization process the ali'i selectively appropriated the tools and concepts that they thought would most benefit themselves and their people. The fact that Alexander and Kalākaua move in significant directions away from the American Protestant Mission and begin to reinstitute Hawaiian cultural traditions demonstrate their particular engagements along this process, that when understood through today's standards are admirable, but this should not overlook the ways in which the ali'i previous to them were also being calculative and attempting to negotiate the modernization process through their own means.

The early section of this chapter that dealt with Kauikeaouli and the beginning of the modernization of the Hawaiian Kingdom demonstrated how the ali'i were using law as a tool to subjugate foreigners in their lands. These early examples of laws proclaimed in the Hawaiian Kingdom were illustrations of the enticing aspects of law which enabled ali'i to demonstrate their

authority over foreigners in their Dominions. Later reforms such as the laws of 1839, the Constitution of 1840, and the Mahele of 1848, demonstrated how ali'i used law in a way that enabled the modernization of traditions, like the Mō'ī, Palena, Kālai'āina, and the 'aha ali'i.

The education of the ali'i children at the Chiefs' Children's School provided these keiki ali'i an opportunity to learn and appropriate Western knowledge systems and protocols. Creating keiki ali'i that were bilingual in English and Hawaiian, while also introducing them to European History and Sciences, enabled these keiki ali'i to later function with and position themselves in within elite Euro-American circles on their journeys to other countries—enabling them to illustrate and maintain their own sovereign positions in the world, while advancing the position of the kingdom.

The attempts of Alexander Liholiho and Lot Kapuāiwa to maintain and foster the Hawaiian Kingdom and British connection through the use of the Episcopal Church demonstrated how they were attempting to use new metaphysical sources of mana to maintain their Kingdom's independence. It also demonstrates how they had not accepted the theological teachings of the Chief's Children's School, though they had clearly made use of the secular knowledge made available to them by the Cookes.

The reign of Kalākaua might be categorized as the return and politicization of Hawaiian cultural traditions while attempting to expand the Hawaiian Kingdom's international prestige. Kalākaua's tour around the world demonstrated his appropriation of international diplomacy and negotiations with other countries and his attempts to expand his own sphere of influence. His usage of Hawaiian tradition and science through the Hale Nauā to disprove missionary theology and validate ancient Hawaiian knowledge is an important illustration of his authority as Mō'ī and

the figure head of Hawaiian culture. The Hawaiian Kingdoms attempt at thwarting colonialism in the Pacific demonstrates the ali'i agency and use of international law to attempt to influence the policies of other independent states.

Overall this chapter offered original source material to support an analysis which demonstrates that ali'i were negotiating their own modernization. The Kingdom modernized through the selective appropriation by the ali'i of aspects of European governance, politics, and law, but not through imposed colonial prowess. The ali'i were active agents is navigating the future course of their people and their heirs in an increasingly complicated and politically hazardous world. One should accept that at times in this history some missionaries had differing amounts of influence on the ali'i. However, the ali'i always were always the more powerful agents within their own dominions. Like their predecessors, Kamehameha I and II as well as those ancient ali'i who composed the 'aha ali'i, the Mō'ī covered in this chapter used diplomacy to create alliances with other rulers in order to maintain their own positions and further the interests of their people.

Chapter five will be the final chapter of this dissertation and will summarize the previous four chapters. Along with a summary of the previous materials I will also argue the important epistemological and political reasons for not seeing the Hawaiian Kingdom through a colonial optic, and also for seeing the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom as a severing of traditional ties to authority and access to power. In Chapter five I will show how the ali'i adoption of law in the Kingdom did not cause the demise of Hawaiian nationality, and that the loss of Hawaiian nationality has much more to do with small group of haole, resentful of Hawaiian authority who were backed by representatives of the United States. I will also suggest critical new areas of study

important toward a better understanding of the present state of Hawaiian dispossession in terms of land, culture, and power while demonstrating that a colonial analysis of the Hawaiian Kingdom has glossed over these very significant arenas of research.

Chapter 5: *Why The Facts Matter*– The Severing of 1893 and The Change of Structure

The only guarantee of the Nation's independence I believe to be the existence of a Native Sovereign. (British Consul Wodehouse April 5 1889).

The cause of Hawaiian independence is larger and dearer than the life of any man connected with it. Love of country is deep-seated in the breast of every Hawaiian, whatever his station. (Queen Lili'uokalani *Queen's Story* p. 302).

The Hawaiians who have been so patiently awaiting for more than a year for the "undoing of the wrong" and the Restoration of their Sovereign and of their cherished institutions are now beginning to feel dissatisfied and restless at this long delay and they will feel keenly their abandonment by the U.S. Their faith and trust in that country will be gone forever and will be succeeded by a hatred which may even extend to all foreign Nationalities. (British Consul Wodehouse Feb 20 1894).

The first two quotations listed above are significant because they demonstrate the mana that the office of the Mō'ī had as a material figure and its significance for Hawaiian nationalism. The third quote is an almost prophetic statement citing a possible origin for the feelings that some 'Ōiwi have towards American haole today. The Mō'ī represented a position which rooted Hawaiian nationalism into the ancient traditions discussed in Chapter 2. The Mō'ī was both a physical and symbolic figure that linked native Hawaiians to centuries of history and politics in Ka Pae 'Āina. This chapter is a brief comparative chapter that will illustrate the drastic changes experienced by Hawaiian nationals following the U.S backed removal of Lili'uokalani from rule and will suggest new areas of critical research for scholars seeking to understand the contemporary state of native Hawaiian dispossession. This chapter is important for the overall argument of the dissertation because it illustrates the changes in structure that occurred as a result of the Overthrow of 1893 that may have been underestimated through a colonial interpretation of the Hawaiian Kingdom. In this chapter I argue that the Overthrow created drastic shifts in power that enabled events to occur in the Hawaiian Islands that would not have occurred had the Mō'ī not been forcefully removed through the aid of officials of the United

States. I argue that glancing through the colonial optic has caused scholars to underestimate the profound changes that occur as a result of overthrow, in terms of the loss of the office of the Mōī, the loss of a land base, and the suppression of the Hawaiian language. This chapter will cover significant segments of the arrest of Lili'uokalani and demonstrate that the Provisional Government were attempting to erase the native conception of her as an ali'i. It will also cover significant changes in land laws that occur following the overthrow including portions of the 1895 Land Act which may have been used to settle an American population, which demonstrate the profound changes that the Provisional Government and Oligarchy were able to accomplish following the overthrow and their acquisition of a land base. The chapter will conclude with an analysis of the steady removal of the Hawaiian language from the public and private spheres following the overthrow, which demonstrate the suppression of language and culture that occur following the overthrow. Throughout this chapter I make use of a terms used by Lili'uokalani to refer to the Provisional Government and Republic, in following her historical precedent I use the term "P.G.'s" to refer to the Provisional Government and "Oligarchy "to refer to the Republic of Hawai'i.[439]

Severing the Overthrow of 1893

On January 17th 1893 a minute group of haole backed by a United States consul and marines conspired against the Constitutional government of the Hawaiian Kingdom and its Sovereign Queen Lili'uokalani. These events have been thoroughly covered in the works of other scholars[440] and will be briefly summarized to provide a historical backdrop for this section. U.S. Minister John Stevens had ordered the landing of soldiers from the USS *Boston* on the 16th

of January and stationed United States Marines across from 'Iolani Palace and Ali'iolani Hale. On January 17th a committee of 13 haole read a proclamation which claimed that monarchy in the Hawaiian Islands had been abrogated and that they were the Provisional Government of the Islands. They then received recognition by U.S. Minister Stevens as the government of the islands. When Queen Lili'uokalani was asked to abdicate her throne and to yield to the Provisional Government, she refused to recognize the P.G.'s and instead authored a formal protest to the United States which stated that she had,

> Yielded to the superior force of the United States of America, whose minister plenipotentiary...has caused United States troops to be landed at Honolulu and declared that he would support the said provisional government...
> I do under protest, and impelled by said force, yield my authority until such time as the Government of the United States shall, upon the facts being presented to it, undo the action of its representatives and reinstate me in the authority which I claim as the constitutional sovereign of the Hawaiian Islands.[441]

In the same document that P.G.'s used to abrogate the Hawaiian Monarchical system of government they also established their government to "exist until terms of union with the United States of America have been negotiated and agreed upon."[442] Following an investigation of U.S. Congressman James Blount, President Grover Cleveland removed a proposed treaty of annexation between the United States and Hawaii and called for the restoration of the Queen. Unfortunately for Hawaiian nationals the restoration would never take place and in 1897 the P.G.'s now under the name of the Republic of Hawai'i would again attempt to negotiate a treaty of annexation.

In 1897 groups of Hawaiian nationals mobilized in an attempt to defeat the proposed treaty of annexation. Noenoe Silva has extensively covered the work of Queen Lili'uokalani, the Hui Kālai'āina, and the Hui Aloha 'Āina in informing United States representatives about the

disproval of a majority of the Hawaiian national population against the proposed treaty.[443] The Hui conducted large scale petition drives and gained the signatures of nearly 40,000 Hawaiian nationals expressing their resistance to annexation. As a result of their efforts the treaty of annexation was defeated in the U.S. congress. However, the United States then resorted to a domestic Joint-Resolution known as the "Newlands Resolution," as a means to claim to extinguish Hawaiian sovereignty and to incorporate the Hawaiian Islands into U.S. Dominions. The legality of this action continues be debated and researched by academics, Hawaiian organizations, and legal experts today.[444]

Previously in the history of the Kingdom there had been significant threats to Hawaiian sovereignty. The Paulet Affair of 1843 had caused a brief six-month occupation of the islands by British forces until Hawaiian protests caused Queen Victoria to send Admiral Thomas to remove Paulet and return sovereignty over the islands to Hawaiians (see Chapter 4). The Bayonet Document of 1887 had limited the authority of the Mōʻī, forcing Kalākaua at gunpoint to sign a new constitution, which disenfranchised Chinese, Japanese and many native Hawaiian voters while allowing Euro-American voters an increased voting block, as well as replacing the legal legislature.[445] However, the events that transpired on the 17th of January would forever change Hawaiian History and fuse the United States onto Hawaiian shores.

Surely there were personal and political struggles that had taken place in the Kingdom prior to 1893 where people were taken advantage of, or got the short end of a bargain. I don't doubt that there were times when natives were taken advantage of by haole businessmen nor that there were also situations where natives took advantage of haole. Aliʻi negotiated with haole in the Kingdom and at times aspects of Hawaiian culture were suppressed because of the aliʻi

acceptance of some of the ideas introduced by American Protestant missionaries. However, the language was alive in all parts of society and government, and Hawaiian culture had probably seen some of its brightest days in the Kingdom during the reign of Kalākaua. The events surrounding 1893 are much more critical than the collisions of culture that occured when Hiram Bingham lectured to the ali'i on Protestant ethics or his most severe attacks against their dignity. Aside from the shattering effect of de-population which was a longer term process than the overthrow, the American backed overthrow of Queen Lili'uokalani is the most significant event that has led to the troubled state of contemporary Hawaiians. Admittedly it is difficult to causally link the overthrow to the status of Hawaiians in 2008. However, I do think that a strong argument can be made to demonstrate the drastic degree to which the overthrow has affected future generations of Hawaiians and Hawaiian nationals.

In the following section I will argue why the overthrow should be seen as an attempt at critical severing of ancient Hawaiian traditions and access to mana and the beginning of a Faux-Colonial Occupation. My argument is that the changes that take place following 1893 could have never occurred under the rule of a Mō'ī. The hoa'āina no longer had access to the Mō'ī in a traditional position severely limited their agency, and changed the structure to one without an ancient linkage. I argue that following the overthrow, Hawai'i was occupied by the United States which brought about severe changes that are *Faux-Colonial* in that they center around the acquisition of land and settlement with a foreign population, the suppression of native language and culture combined with the imposed inferiority of the native under the haole. However, I hesitate to call this Colonialism because of the Hawaiian Kingdom's status as an independent and sovereign state, along with the realization that what was occurring post-1893 was a systemic

attempt to erase a Hawaiian nationality and nationalistic sentiments in order to replace them with American nationalism, not an attempt to colonize a non-sovereign territory.

Loss of Mōʻī— Change of Structure—Occupation and Faux-Colonial

The office of the Mōʻī was a modernization of an ancient tradition of chiefly authority. The position carried with it the unique cultural affiliated relationships that had developed between makaʻāinana and aliʻi in the Hawaiian Islands during the nearly 2,000 years of history. The Mōʻī represented a link to those aliʻi for whom ancient genealogies such as the Kumulipo were composed. The office of Mōʻī was required by the constitution of the Kingdom to be filled by a native of chiefly blood. When Queen Liliʻuokalani reflected on the position and authority of the Mōʻī, she wrote that that the prerogatives of the Mōʻī were, "based upon the ancient custom and the authority of the island chiefs, were the sole guaranty of our nationality."[446] The existence of a native Mōʻī provided access to mana for those native nationals and Royalists and protected their interests. Since Mōʻī were agents on the international as well as national scale they served the interests of the native and Royalist population on both of those scales, this is important because the removal of this office also removes the voice of Hawaiians on the international scale.

The significance of the overthrow is that it was an attempt to sever traditions of chiefly authority and the ancient bond between aliʻi and makaʻāinana. It was an attempt to remove an ancient authority given to those of the aliʻi class, to dispossess the most powerful native Hawaiian alive, and the break the will of the native and Royalist population. The cause of the overthrow was not the acceptance and use of law by Mōʻī such as Kauikeaouli, nor was it caused by the

reforms emplaced on Hawaiian society by Ka'ahumanu in the 1820. In the words of U.S. President Grover Cleveland,

> The lawful Government of Hawaii was overthrown without the drawing of a sword or the firing of a shot by a process every step of which, it may be safely asserted, is directly traceable to and dependent for its success upon the agency of the United States acting through its diplomatic and naval representatives.[447]

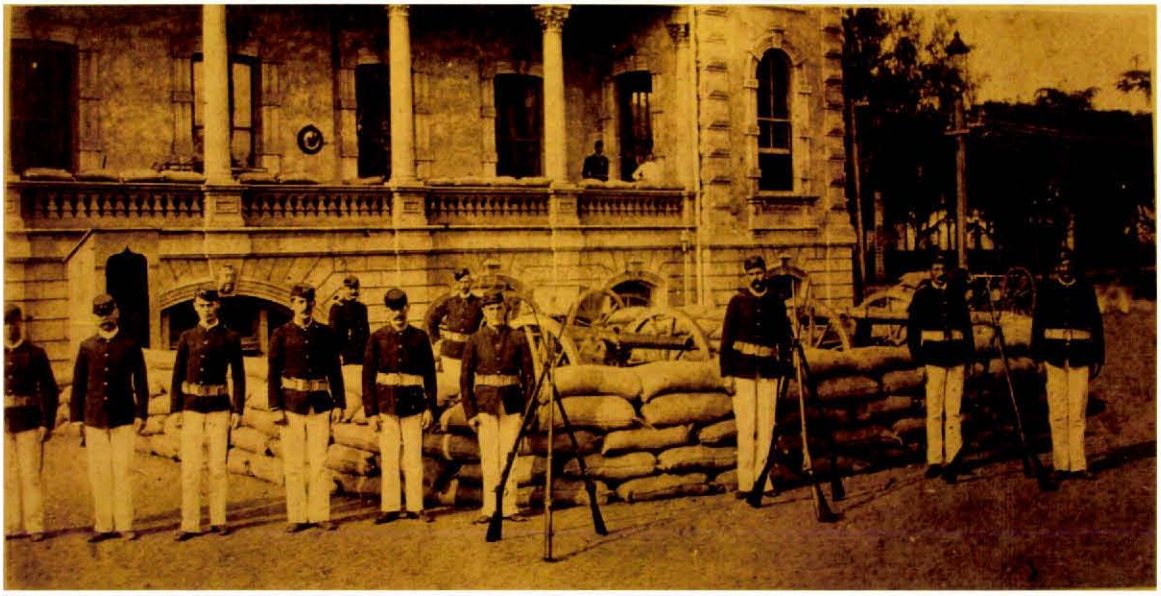
A glance through the colonial optic has given scholars the impression that the overthrow was a culminating event, the final consolidation of American colonialism, rather than the beginning of a U.S. occupation of the Hawaiian Islands. My interpretation is that the U.S. occupation began in 1893 and was then solidified by the establishment of the territory of Hawaii in 1900. The Statehood vote in 1959 concealed the occupation under the guise of democracy. Following sixty-six years of United States military presence and the drastic changes in demographics due to U.S. immigration into the islands the result of the vote were pre-determined. Any scholarly work that deals with Hawaiian history, 1893 to the present, should account for the radical shift in governance and power following the overthrow in 1893. To overlook this drastic change is to gloss over fundamental changes in power and structure in Hawai'i: I am arguing that these changes in structure were significant enough to cause radical changes to Hawaiian society and culture. Following 1893, the structure that ali'i had to grapple with was no longer Imperialism but a domestic Oligarchy and the beginnings of a United States occupation. Although in different time periods and under differing sets of circumstances, to write a modern history of the Hawaiian islands without taking into account these drastic shifts in power would be similar to writing a history of Iraq as if the U.S. invasion in 2003 had little effect on the shifts in power and structure in that country.

Following the overthrow of the constitutional sovereign, Liliʻuokalani, the change in structure and the shift in power from a Hawaiian Mōʻī to an Oligarchy of haole attorneys and businessmen was severe enough to be the beginning of *Faux-Colonial* events taking place in the Hawaiian Islands. I use the term *Faux-Colonial* because following the United States backed removal of the Hawaiian Kingdom's constitutional monarch, it can be safely stated that the Hawaiian state was in a position of being Occupied by the U.S. under the terms of international law.[448] However, following January 17 1893, *Faux-Colonial* things happen in the Hawaiian islands including: active oppression and physical violence against supporters of the Mōʻī, the confiscation of a large land base with an intention of settling an Anglo-Saxon foreign population, and the repression of Hawaiian culture including the removal of the Hawaiian language as a medium of education in schools. I would argue that these events should not be seen as colonial but rather as active attempts at obliterating Hawaiian nationalism; the occupation had to attempt to obliterate all reminisces of Hawaiian nationality while creating something similar to colonial subjects. As a result of the occupation Hawaiian Kingdom nationals would be mentally and physically brutalized for the Oligarchy to remain in power and to accomplish their goals of merging the Islands with the United States. In the words of PGS member Samuel Damon,

> If we are ever to have peace and annexation the first thing to do is to obliterate the past.[449]

In the following sections I will discuss some possible areas for future research that I think are of considerable interest for those seeking to understand events that are causally connected to *Faux-Colonial* symptoms of many modern Hawaiians.

Military Despotism 1893-1898



Chapter 5. Figure 1. Military forces of the Oligarchy surround Iolani Palace with walls of sand bags artillery to protect Oligarchy interests against Royalist. *Hawai'i State Archives.*

On March 29th 1893 James Blount a U.S. Congressman from Georgia arrived in the islands to investigate the events surrounding the overthrow of Lili'uokalani with a particular interest in determining if any United States officials took active roles in the Overthrow. Three days later on April 1 he removed United States troops from their active duty in guarding the P.G.'s and lower the United States flag from Ali'i 'Iolani Hale.[450] The removal of the protection of the P.G.'s only caused them to dig in deeper and set about a series of events which would have them establish a kind of Military State over the Hawaiian national population, or in the words of British Consul Wodehouse a "Military Despotism" that "enrolled men of the lowest character."[451] The P.G.'s recruited any person they could find to support their rule which included large regiments of mercenaries to protect their interests.[452] They established battalions of Sharpshooters and a National Guard to maintain themselves in power, and according to British Consul Wodehouse the P.G. government had a "military craze."[453] The P.G.'s received large donations from American citizens who supported their cause of American expansion. The

Oligarchy purchased large amounts of weaponry from the United States and embedded themselves behind a wall of sandbags, guns, and a cannon within Ali'i 'Iolani Hale and 'Iolani Palace.[454]

There were members of the P.G.'s and Citizens Guard who called for armed resistance and firing upon the United States troops (the very force that had placed them in their position of power) should they attempt to restore the Queen under the orders of U.S. President Grover Cleveland.[455] They arrested and held without trial political prisoners and even arrested British Subjects, which brought about legal action against the U.S. and Oligarchy.[456] They investigated and attempted to silence newspaper editors for publishing "seditious articles" that condemned or challenged their actions.[457] A law was passed against seditious offenses on the 30th of Jan 1893. Section 3 specified that a, "seditious intention is an intention to bring into hatred or contempt, or to excite disaffection against the Provisional Government."[458] There was also an act passed which forbade the publishing of newspapers without a certificate from the government. During the years from 1893-1898 government employees were investigated and interviewed for Loyalty Reports, and those who refused to swear an oath to the self proclaimed "Republic of Hawai'i" were removed from positions.[459] One would have to use a strange definition of the word "Republic" to refer to the government that was in place between the years of 1894-1898 as the constitution was never offered to a vote of the population, even the "Republic" of philosopher kings as prescribed to by Plato in his famous book of the same title was a more democratic form of rule than the government in power in the Hawaiian islands in these years. Many Hawaiians, however, did not yield to their demands and openly resisted the policies of the P.G.'s and Oligarchy diplomatically and even militarily in 1895.

Chapter 5. Figure 2. Military force of the Oligarchy on the front steps of 'Iolani Palace. *Hawai'i State Archives.*

The 1897 petitions against annexation have been thoroughly covered in the work of Noenoe Silva and represent the astute political prowess of Hawaiian nationals of the time against American Occupation of the islands through two groups that opposed annexation, the Hui Kālai'āina and the Hui Aloha 'Āina.[460] Silva's work largely documents the correspondence between Hawaiian nationals and the United States but does not examine their correspondence to other countries. I have found evidence which demonstrates that members of the Hui Kālai'āina (a group of Royalists who conducted a petition drive against the annexation of Hawai'i to the United States) also informed the representatives of other independent states of their actions against U.S. aggression. On October 29 1897, James Kaulia met with the Acting British Consul Walker to inform him of the petition submitted to the Republic, also a separate petition to the

President, Congress and People of the United States (see figures 1&2) , and the petitions that were being delivered to the United States Senate. Walker writes that,

> A general popular protest against annexation is shortly to be forwarded to the President and the Senate of the United States, is in the process of preparation, and I learn that up to this time it has received about 25,000 signatures of adults, the great majority of the signers being people of Hawaiian or partly Hawaiian race. This number of adult signatures represents the almost entire mass of the native Hawaiians.[461]

Walker's third party perspective into the Annexation Petitions and the mobilization of the native Hawaiian population supports the analysis of Silva and her work on documenting the petition drives of the Hui Kālai'āina and the Hui Aloha 'Āina. Hawaiian nationalists continued to act as representatives of their country through diplomacy. At present it is not clear if representatives such as James Kaulia also met with other foreign Consuls in the Islands, such as the French or Japanese, but given this information it is certainly possible. Figures 1&2 are the memorials presented to the President, Congress and People of the United States. Walker writes that this memorial was,

> Passed and approved in the Hawaiian language at a largely attended meeting on October 8th of citizens of Hawaii, (mostly aboriginal Hawaiian or partly Hawaiian, but many of British, American or other foreign, race, all of whom however possessed electoral qualifications under the former constitution) protesting against a ratification of the proposed treaty of annexation without a reference of the subject to such people of the islands as would under the former constitution have been qualified for the electoral franchise.[462]

Walker's discussion of the memorial illustrates the fact that the groups in opposition were largely Hawaiian but also composed with those of other ethnicities. Hawaiians may have had the most at stake in this issue given that they had no other country of origin. However, there were many non-native Hawaiian nationals who also stood against annexation. Noenoe Silva has also covered the memorial in her analysis, she writes,

> Little information exists about this organization except notices in the newspapers calling for a mass meeting on October 8, 1897, to protest the annexation treaty, and a palapala hoopi'i (memorial) signed by the committee members, which was approved by the public at that meeting.[463]

Below is an image of the memorial that I took while in London. I have manipulated the image in an attempt to make the text more legible.

[TRANSLATION.]

MEMORIAL.

2

To the President, the Congress and the People of the United States of America.

This Memorial respectfully represents as follows:

1. That your memorialists are residents of the Hawaiian Islands; that the majority of them are aboriginal Hawaiians; and that all of them possess the qualifications provided for electors of representatives in the Hawaiian Legislature by the Constitution and laws prevailing in the Hawaiian Islands at the date of the overthrow of the Hawaiian Constitutional Government, January 17, 1893.

2. That the supporters of the Hawaiian Constitution of 1887 have been, thence to the present time, in the year 1897, held in subjection by the armed forces of the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands, and of its successor, the Republic of Hawaii; and have never yielded, and do not acknowledge a spontaneous or willing allegiance or support to said Provisional Government, or to said Republic of Hawaii.

3. That the Government of the Republic of Hawaii has no warrant for its existence in the support of the people of these Islands; that it was proclaimed and instituted and has hitherto existed and now exists, without considering the rights and wishes of a great majority of the residents, native and foreign born, of the Hawaiian Islands; and especially that said Government exists and maintains itself solely by force of arms, against the rights and wishes of almost the entire aboriginal population of these Islands.

4. That said Republic is not and never has been founded or conducted upon a basis of popular government or republican principles; that its Constitution was adopted by a convention, a majority of whose members were self-appointed, and the balance of whose members were elected by a numerically insignificant minority of the white and aboriginal male citizens and residents of these Islands; that a majority of the persons so voting for delegates to such Consitutional Convention was composed of aliens, and that a majority of said aliens so voting were of then very recent residence, without financial interests or social ties in these Islands.

5. That the Constitution so adopted by said Convention has never been submitted to a vote of the people of these Islands; but was promulgated and established over the said Islands, and has ever since been maintained, only by force of arms, and with indifference to the will of practically the entire aboriginal population, and a vast majority of the whole population of these Islands.

6. That the said Government, so existing under the title of the Republic of Hawaii, assumes and asserts the right to extinguish the Hawaiian Nationality, heretofore existing, and to cede and convey all rights of sovereignty in and over the Hawaiian Islands and their dependencies to a foreign power, namely, to the United States of America.

7. That your memorialists have learned with grief and dismay that the President of the United States has entered into, and submitted for ratification by the United States Senate, a Treaty with the Government of the Republic of Hawaii, whereby it is proposed to extinguish our existence as a Nation, and to annex our territory to the United States.

8. That the Hawaiian people, during more than half a century prior to the events hereinabove recited, had been accustomed to participate in the Constitutional forms of Government, in the election of Legislatures, in the administration of justice through regularly constituted magistrates, courts and juries, and in the representative administration of public affairs, in which the principle of government by majorities has been acknowledged and firmly established.

9. That your memorialists humbly but fervently protest against the consummation of this invasion of their political rights; and they earnestly appeal to the President, the Congress and the People of the United States, to refrain from further participating in the wrong so proposed; and they invoke in support of this memorial the spirit of that immortal Instrument, the Declaration of American Independence; and especially the truth therein expressed, that Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed,—and here repeat, that the consent of the people of the Hawaiian Islands to the forms of Government imposed by the so-called Republic of Hawaii, and to said proposed Treaty of Annexation, has never been asked by and is not accorded, either to said Government or to said project of Annexation.

Chapter 5. Figure 2. Page 1. Memorial Passed at mass meeting of Royalist on October 8 1897. Modified. *National Archives* United Kingdom FO 58/309

10. That the consummation of the project of Annexation dealt with in said Treaty would be subversive of the personal and political rights of these memorialists and of the Hawaiian people and Nation, and would be a negation of the rights and principles proclaimed in the Declaration of American Independence, in the Constitution of the United States, and in the schemes of government of all other civilized and representative Governments.

11. Wherefore your memorialists respectfully submit that they, no less than the citizens of any American Commonwealth, are entitled to select, ordain and establish for themselves, such forms of Government as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness; and that questions of such moment to the Hawaiian people as are proposed to be settled by said Treaty, are questions upon which said people have the right, in the forum of Conscience, to be heard; and that said Hawaiian people have thus far been denied the privilege of being heard upon said questions.

12. And your memorialists humbly pray the President, Congress and the people of the United States, that no further steps be taken toward the ratification of said Treaty, or toward the extinguishment of the Hawaiian Nationality, or toward the absorption of the Hawaiian people and territory into the body politic and territory of the United States of America, at least until the Hawaiian people, as represented by those citizens and residents of the Hawaiian Islands who, under the provisions of the Hawaiian Constitution, promulgated July 7, 1887, would be qualified to vote for representatives in the Legislature, shall have had the opportunity to express at the ballot box, their wishes as to whether such project of Annexation shall be accepted or rejected.

13. And your memorialists, for themselves, and in behalf of the Hawaiian people and of the residents of the Hawaiian Islands, pledge their faith that if they shall be accorded the privilege of voting upon said questions, at a free and fair election to be held for that purpose; and if a fair count of the votes that shall be cast at such election shall show a majority in favor of such Annexation, these memorialists, and the Hawaiian people will yield a ready and cheerful acquiescence in said project.

HONOLULU, H. I., October 8, 1897.

SIGNED
J. KALUA KAHOOKANO,
SAMUEL K. PUA,
F. J. TESTA,
C. B. MAILE,
SAMUEL K. KAMAKAIA,
Citizens' Committee.
JAMES KEAUILUNA KAULIA,
President of the Hawaiian Patriotic League.
DAVID KALAUOKALANI,
President of the Hawaiian Political Association.

Chapter 5. Figure 3. Page 2. Memorial Passed at mass meeting of Royalist on October 8 1897. Modified. *National Archives* United Kingdom FO 58/309

The memorial that emerged from the mass meetings of Hawaiian nationals to oppose annexation were not the only forms of international diplomacy being conducted by Hawaiian nationals

during the reign of the military state over the islands. Queen Lili'uokalani also entered into international diplomacy to inform other independent states of the Hawaiian situation and also in an attempt to illustrate the illegitimacy of the "so called Republic." On June 20 1894, Lili'uokalani entered a formal protest against the Pgs and Republic government with the British Consul that requests the British government not recognize the Republic as legitimate nor as an independent state. In her protest she makes use of the Blount report and the statements of President Grover Cleveland in his address to the U.S. Congress in 1893 and clearly is fighting on an international scale to protect Hawaiian nationality and independence. I have included the entire protest since I have not found reference to it in other sources and thus it may not have been published.

Honolulu, H.I.
June 20. 1894

Sir:

Having in mind the amicable relations hitherto existing between the Government which you here represent and the Government of Hawaii, as evidenced by many years of friendly intercourse, and being desirous of bringing to the attention of your Government the facts here following, I Liliuokalani, by the Grace of God and under the Constitution of the Hawaiian Kingdom Queen, do hereby solemnly protest that I am now, and have continuously been since the 20th day of January A.D. 1891, the Constitutional Sovereign of the Hawaiian Kingdom; that on the 17th day of January A.D. 1893 (in the words of the President of the United States himself), - "By an act of "war, committed with the participation "of a diplomatic representative of the United

His Excellency
Major James Hay Woodehouse
Her Britannic Majesty's Minister Resident
Honolulu.

Chapter 5. Figure 4. Page 1. Formal Protest of Lili'uokalani to the British Government. *UK National Archives.* FO 331/1 June 20 1894

United States, and without authority of
Congress, the Government of a feeble but
friendly and confiding people has been
overthrown. A substantial wrong has
thus been done which a due regard
for our national character as well
as the rights of the injured people
requires we should endeavor to re-
-pair"; that on said date I and my
Government prepared a written protest
against any and all acts done against
myself and the Constitutional Govern-
-ment of the Hawaiian Kingdom by cer-
-tain persons claiming to have esta-
-blished a provisional government of
and for this Kingdom; that said pro-
-test was forwarded to the President
of the United States, also to Sanford
B. Dole, the Chairman of the Executive
Council of the said Provisional govern-
-ment, and was by the latter duly ac-
-knowledged; that in response to said
protest the President of the United
States sent a special commissioner
in the person of Hon. James H. Blount
to Honolulu to make an accurate,
full and impartial investigation of
the facts attending the subversion
of

Chapter 5. Figure 5. Page 2. Formal Protest of Lili'uokalani to the British Government. *UK National Archives.* FO 331/1 June 20 1894

of the Constitutional Government of
Hawaii and the installment in its
place of the Provisional Government;
that said Commissioner arrived in
Honolulu on the 29th day of March
A.D. 1893 and fulfilled his duties
with untiring diligence and with
rare tact and fairness; that said
Commissioner found that the govern-
-ment of Hawaii surrendered its
authority under a threat of war,
until such time only as the govern-
-ment of the United States, upon the
facts being presented to it, should
re-instate the Constitutional Sove-
-reign, and the provisional govern-
-ment was created to exist until
terms of union with the United States
of America have been negotiated
and agreed upon, also that but for
the lawless occupation of Honolulu
under false pretexts by United States
forces, and but for the United States
Minister's recognition of the provision-
-al government when the United States
forces were its sole support and con-
-stituted its only military strength,
I and my government would never
have

Chapter 5. Figure 6. Page 3. Formal Protest of Lili'uokalani to the British Government. *UK National Archives.* FO 331/1 June 20 1894

have yielded to the provisional government, even for a time, and for the sole purpose of submitting my case to the enlightened justice of the United States, or for any purpose; also that the great wrong done to this feeble but independent state by an abuse of the authority of the United States should be undone by restoring the legitimate government.

That since the happening of said events, the executive, and the Congress of the United States have formally de-
-clined the overtures of said Provi-
-sional Government for the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States.

That notwithstanding said re-
-cited facts, said provisional govern-
-ment has continued to exercise the functions of government in this King-
-dom to the present date, and that its course, from the time of its inception to the present, has been marked by a succession of arbi-
-trary, illiberal and despotic acts, and by the enactment and enforce-
-ment of pretended "laws" subversive

of

Chapter 5. Figure 7. Page 4. Formal Protest of Lili'uokalani to the British Government. *UK National Archives.* FO 331/1 June 20 1894

of the first principles of free govern-
-ment and utterly at variance with
the traditions, history, habits and
wishes of the Hawaiian people.

That said Provisional Government
has now recently convened, and is
now holding what it is pleased to
term a constitutional convention,
composed of nineteen (19) self- ap-
-pointed members, being the President
and Executive and Advisory Councils
of said provisional government,
and eighteen (18) delegates elected
by less than ten per cent (10%) of
the legal voters of the Kingdom,
consisting almost entirely of aliens,
and chiefly of such aliens as have no
permanent home or interests in
Hawaii, and which said convention
is now considering a draft of a
constitution (copy of which is here-
-to annexed) submitted for its
approval by the Executive Council
of said provisional government
consisting of the President and
Ministers thereof.

That it is the expressed pur-
-pose of the said provisional govern
-ment

Chapter 5. Figure 8. Page 5. Formal Protest of Lili'uokalani to the British Government. *UK National Archives.* FO 331/1 June 20 1894

ment to promulgate such Constitution
as shall be approved by said con-
-vention without submitting it to a
vote of the people, or of any of the peo-
-ple, and to thereupon proclaim a
government under such constitution,
and under the name of the Republic
of Hawaii.

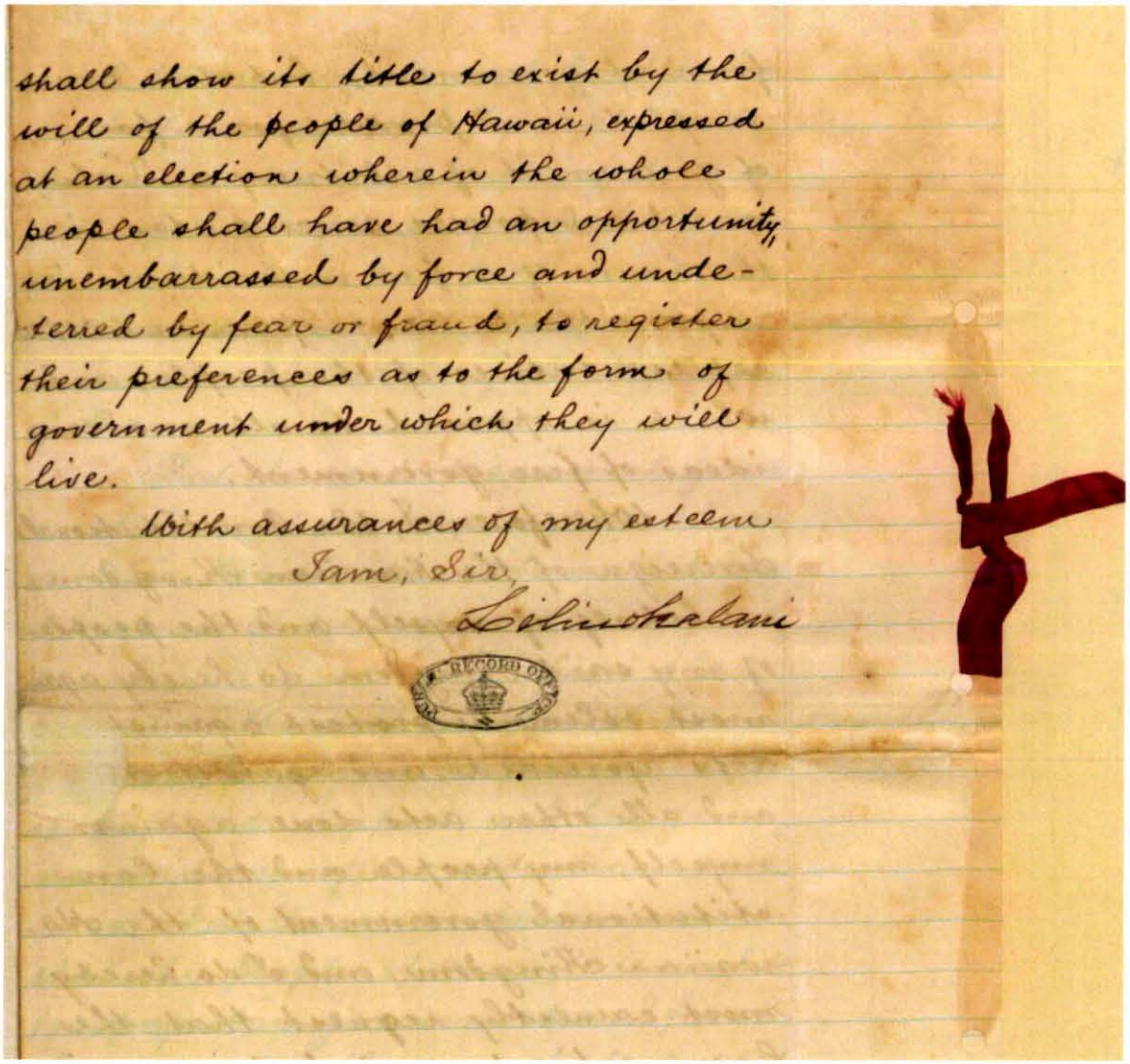
That the said provisional govern
-ment has not assumed a republican
or other Constitutional form, but has
remained a mere executive council
or oligarchy, set up without the
assent of the people; that it has
not sought to find a permanent basis
of popular support, and has given
no evidence of an intention to
do so; that its representatives assert
that the people of Hawaii are unfit
for popular government and frank-
-ly avow that they can be best ruled
by arbitrary or despotic power, and
that the proposed constitution, so
submitted by said executive coun-
-cil of the provisional government
for the approval of said convention
does not provide for or contemplate
a free, popular or republican
form

Chapter 5. Figure 9. Page 6. Formal Protest of Lili'uokalani to the British Government. *UK National Archives.* FO 331/1 June 20 1894

form of government,- but does con-
-template and provide for a form
of government of arbitrary and oli-
-garchical powers, concentrated in
the hands of a few individuals ir-
-responsible to the people, or to the
representatives of the people, and
which is opposed to all modern
ideas of free government.

Wherefore, I, the Constitutional
Sovereign of the Hawaiian Kingdom,
on behalf of myself and the people
of my said Kingdom do hereby again
most solemnly protest against the
acts aforesaid, and against any
and all other acts done against
myself, my people and the Con-
-stitutional government of the Ha-
-waiian Kingdom, and I do hereby
most earnestly request that the
Government represented by you will
not extend its recognition to
any pretended government of the
Hawaiian Islands, under whatever
name it may apply for such re-
-cognition, other than the consti-
-tutional government so deposed
as aforesaid,- except such government
shall

Chapter 5. Figure 10. Page 7. Formal Protest of Lili'uokalani to the British Government. *UK National Archives.* FO 331/1 June 20 1894



shall show its title to exist by the will of the people of Hawaii, expressed at an election wherein the whole people shall have had an opportunity, unembarrassed by force and undetered by fear or fraud, to register their preferences as to the form of government under which they will live.

With assurances of my esteem
I am, Sir,
Liliuokalani

Chapter 5. Figure 11. Page 8. Formal Protest of Lili'uokalani to the British Government. *UK National Archives.* FO 331/1 June 20 1894

In her protest Lili'uokalani demonstrates that the P.G.'s were never a legitimate government and merely existed as a Provisional Government until they could join with the United States. There were never any intentions on the part of those in power to be independent of the United States and when their hopes for annexation were not immediately gratified they attempted to proclaim themselves as a "Republic." However the impetus for the Republic was simply a delay in annexation. This analysis is confirmed by a discussion that takes place between U.S. Consul

Willis and members of the P.G.'s. The records of the Executive Council documents the following,

> Mr. Willis asked what kind of Government we had--I replied a Provisional Government. He said, yes, to exist until Annexation was negotiated with the United States, and when these negotiations are terminated by Mr. Cleveland what then? I replied that we were to exist until terms of union we negotiated and concluded, and we might have to wait for another administration.[464]

A discussion followed in regards to the P.G.'s never being recognized as a *de jure* government that in fact they had no permanent form of government, and had never been recognized as an independent state. It was following this discussion that they set about establishing the "Republic."

There were numerous discussions surrounding the arrest of the "Ex-Queen." The Mōʻī was seen as a constant threat to the P.G.'s and Oligarchy and there had been discussions to arrest Liliʻuokalani at least as early as November 29 1893, when P.G. officials had discussed declaring her a prisoner of the state.[465] As the Mōʻī, Liliʻuokalani represented a link to ancient Hawaiian tradition and culture while also being a modern representation of Hawaiian nationality, this was clearly understood by the members of the Oligarchy. By arresting Liliʻuokalani they were attempting to break the will of Hawaiians and Royalists who consciously remained Hawaiian nationals. Some Hawaiian nationals took to force in an attempt to unseat the Oligarchy in and an armed conflict broke out on January 6 1895. The discussion about her arrest intensified, and though in an Executive council meeting on the January 14th 1895 Dole declares that there was **"no legal evidence of the complicity of the ex-queen to cause her arrest,"**[466] However two days later on January 16th in spite of the inexistence of evidence against her, the Queen was taken into custody. In *The Hawaiian Republic*, Adam Russ often cites the minutes of the Executive

council he even paraphrases some of the discussions that took place prior to Dole's statement, but he fails to ever mention that there was no legal evidence against the Queen. The decision to arrest Lili'uokalani was political and not legal. One discussion in the Executive Council offers insight into the political reasons for her arrest.

> Mr. Smith stated that there was a very strong feeling that Lili'uokalani should be arrested and he wished to have the matter discussed...
>
> The matter of arresting Lili'uokalani was then introduced for general discussion. Mr. Waterhouse spoke in favor of arresting her at once, using the argument that ***the natives still looked upon her as their alii***... but if she was arrested like an ordinary conspirator it would remove all impression from the native mind...
>
> Mr. P.G. Jones was in favor of her arrest in case he could be assured it would remove such an idea from the native minds. He understood that there was no evidence against her of being implicated in the uprising. He was in favor of her arrest mainly because of the strong popular desire for it.
>
> Mr. Alexander stated that he could not say he understood what effect the arrest would have upon the natives, ***but thought it would impress upon them with the fact that monarchy is dead.***
>
> Mr. Allen was against confining her in her own house as that would not have the desired effect, ***she ought to be arrested like a common criminal in order to get the idea out of the natives' minds*** that she was still treated by the Government with consideration.
>
> Mr. Damon was in ***favor of arresting her within the hour.*** Have someone go over and request her to come over to the Executive Building, in case she refuse send a squad over for her, but give her the opportunity to come quietly. Give her no reasons whatever.
>
> Mr. Atherton was in favor of ***arresting her so that the natives could appreciate the fact that she was no better than they were themselves***, and just as subject to arrest at the hands of the Government.
>
> Minister King was in favor of ***arresting her at once and had been of the same opinion for twenty months.***

> Minister Smith said that it was understood that nothing was to be said of this meeting outside.[467]

The arrest of Lili'uokalani was intimately tied to the Oligarchy's desire to break the will of natives and destroy ancient connections between ali'i and maka'āinana. They used her arrest as an attempt to insinuate their own power into the minds of the natives. This can be seen as a *Faux-Colonial* act, in which the P.G.'s were trying to end ancient Hawaiian custom and heritage while attempting to replace it with their despotic militarism. The P.G.'s and the Oligarchy maintained themselves through military force and power as would in many cases a colonial government or any occupying force over an un-supportive population. The Oligarchy passed laws that would make their actions exempt from liability by repealing a Kingdom law that allowed subjects to bring up legal action against the government.[468] They also passed a similar law making it illegal for any one to bring up suit against military officers or any "other person *bonna fide* under the authority of the President, or in good faith for the purpose of suppressing the rebellion" regardless of the severity of the actions.[469] The Oligarchy went so far as to pass a law allowing them to arrest, or banish any person suspected of "lawless intentions."[470] Prior to 1893 the Hawaiian language thrived in all aspects of government, education, and through a vast number of vibrant Hawaiian language newspapers. The government and the Mō'ī possessed a large land base to use and dispense of in accordance to its own will. While the hoa'āina actively took part in government through suffrage and often voiced their opinions to the government through letters expressing gratitude or petitions with concerns, interest, or suggestions. Surely there were cultural clashes which occurred between 'Ōiwi and haole in Hawaiian history prior to 1893. However, the clashes that occur in the years following the overthrow were drastically more

intense, favored the haole or other supporters of the PGS, and were done with limited resources for ʻŌiwi.

I completely disagree with propositions that the Overthrow is causally connected to aliʻi acceptance of law as defined by Europeans, moreover, the fact that the Overthrow was composed entirely of what was *un-lawful* should raise an immediate red-flag to those who make such arguments. That the P.G.'s conspired with representatives of the United States, breaking international treaties and disregarding the laws of nations demonstrates that it was not the acceptance of law that caused the Overthrow but rather the conspiring against it. When one accepts that law had been appropriated and accepted by ʻŌiwi in the Hawaiian Kingdom, laws created when ʻŌiwi are no longer in power become of critical interest. I believe that for a fuller understanding of the status of contemporary Hawaiian in terms of culture, socio-economics, and political affiliation, greater attention should be given and research applied to the actions of the P.G.'s, "Republic," and "U.S. Territory." In the following two sections I offer two fundamental changes that I believe need to be given critical examinations: the loss of land base, and the steady removal of the Hawaiian language from government, schools, and popular culture.

Loss of Land Base Post-1893 —The Land Act of 1895, Torrens Land Court

The Mahele of 1848 created a governmental land base for the Kingdom and the Mōʻī. The "Government lands" were those to be used for the administering of the government a portion of which was to be sold as reduced rates for hoaʻāina as a result of section 4 of the Kuleana Act, while the lands of the Mōʻī which were termed "Crown Lands" were used to fund the office of the Mōʻī and were made inalienable through legislation on January 3 1865.

Following the Crown lands being made inalienable in 1865, the Crown Lands were leased via Crown Land Commissioners and the proceeds of these leases were the personal funds of the Mōʻī. However, hoaʻāina who chose not to acquire allodial title through the Kuleana Act continued to live on Government and Crown Lands as they had been doing as a class previously for generations. Since all titles were awarded, "subject to the rights of native tenants," the hoaʻāina possessed habitation and use rights over their lands. I have found numerous examples of hoaʻāina living on Government and Crown Lands Post-Mahele which indicate that the government recognized their rights to do so. The land base of the Government and Crown lands were a significant source of material power for the Mōʻī, Kingdom government and the hoaʻāina. The land laws that were passed in the Kingdom should not be confused with United States property laws as the laws of the Kingdom were a unique set of hybrid laws created through the blending of Hawaiian tradition and aliʻi appropriation of Euro-American understandings of law. These hybrid laws became a problem for the P.G.'s, Oligarchy, and Territory and I believe that further research needs to investigate the repeal of Kingdom land laws as well as who acquired land in these time periods.

Following the P.G.'s coming into power in 1893 there were numerous discussions in the Executive and Advisory Councils (the law making bodies of the PGS) in regards to "Land Laws" and the "ownership of Crown Lands." When the P.G.'s declared themselves a "Republic," under the section titled "Miscellaneous Provisions," article 95 claimed to make the Crown Lands the property of the Republic and rendered these lands alienable.[471] Liliʻuokalani fought these claims in court cases in the "Republic" and in the U.S. congress. She wrote that the P.G.'s had been claiming control over the Crown lands and that,

> For four years and more, now, these people have confiscated and collected the revenues reserved from all time in order that the highest in rank, that is, the reigning sovereign, might care for his poorer people. *Never were the revenues of these lands included in government accounts.* They comprise 915,000 acres out of a total extent of four millions, or about one-quarter, and yield an income of about 50,000 a year. They are by legislative act and the rulings of the Supreme Court my own property...**The present government is now striving to cede these lands, which they do not own and can never own,** to the United States.[472]

In 1895 the many discussions about reforming the land laws of the Kingdom came to fruition through the passage of laws relating directly to land and resources and legitimate title. A number of these laws were passed in Special Session in 1895. Act 18 enabled a person or persons to acquire a right of way over the land of another for a "railway, drain, flume, water-pipe, or ditch for agricultural, milling, manufacturing, mining, domestic or sanitary purposes." Although more research needs to be done, this Act would be a great aid to the Oligarchy controlled sugar industry. Act 15 repealed a Kingdom law passed in 1876 which regulated the passage of water over lands. A Joint-Resolution was passed to investigate the systems of land registration in other countries because the "great uncertainty in many of the titles to land tends to hinder and obstruct the development and progress of the country."[473] As a result of this Joint-Resolution Mr. Damon suggested that,

> It might be well to send someone to New Zealand and investigate the workings of their land system and (Mr. Damon) suggested Mr. Thurston or Mr. Smith

On December 18th W.O. Smith returned from New Zealand after having conducted a formal investigation of the system of land title and registration there. There was also correspondence between the New Zealand Surveyor General Percy Smith and representatives of the Oligarchy.[474] New Zealand had been fairly effective in promoting the foreign settlement on their lands. Given the fact that the Oligarchy had the support of a minority of the population of the Hawaiian

Islands, the settlement of a foreign population was something it could definitely have benefited from. Though not as successful as they wished, the Oligarchy was actively trying to find ways to encourage Anglo-Saxon settlement of the Hawaiian Islands. A few letters found in the Sanford Dole collection at the Hawaii State Archives speak to this desire. The majority of these letters were written in 1908, although there is one undated report titled "Land Settlement." I will quote passages from three of those letters.

> Honolulu, Hawaii, November 12 1909
>
> To Honorable W. P. Dillingham,
> United States Senate
> Washington, D.C.
>
> My dear Senator,
>
> Since leaving the government, I have taken special interest in the administration of land laws in relation to their application to the encouragement of settlers from the mainland... The difficulties in the way of American farmers, or persons on the mainland, wishing to cultivate land here, are mainly the expense of the trip, want of exact information as to lands they may acquire, the markets, transportation of products and social conditions. The importance of immigration of American farmers as settlers of agricultural lands here is so great to the political and social future of these islands, that everything should be done to encourage it and make it successful...

> Honolulu, Hawaii, July 31 1908
>
> A. Lewis, Jr.
> Chairman, Commissioner on the Public Lands of the Territory of Hawaii
>
> Dear Sir,
>
> The experience gained by the government under the statue providing for settlement associations has in some cases been a disappointment in that it gives a few people a chance to acquire a block of holdings without the competition of others. It is a privilege given to a few from which the public is excluded.
> The value of this system is mainly in regard to the settlement of strangers or persons coming to these islands from the mainland, and in such cases its value is very great; in fact it may be regarded as vital to the success of the settlement of strangers coming from abroad, the reason being that if such persons can colonize, - acquaintances, neighbors in the old country perhaps settling near together, the loneliness and the tendency to homesickness and discouragement incident to a new life in a strange land, are largely modified by the neighborhood of friends and acquaintances. It is an almost impracticable thing to think of bringing farmers here from the mainland to settle singly in these islands with the

> idea that they will make a success of it; the loneliness of it, the new conditions, the different social conditions, would all combine to discourage such as a settler with his family, to promote homesickness, discouragement and to finally cause failure; but where strangers may settle together the conditions are most favorable for success.
>
> LAND SETTLEMENT IN HAWAII
>
> The cosmopolitan character of the population of the Territory is well known. Large numbers of Japanese, a smaller number of Chinese, Koreans, the Portuguese referred to, the Hawaiians and part Hawaiians, and scattering representations of other races and the comparatively small number of persons who are of Anglo-Saxon descent, make a showing which only needs to be studied to produce a strong conviction that in order to develop a citizenship here that will be always improving in those characteristics which are recognized as the highest attributes of American citizenship, it is essential that the class referred to as Anglo-Saxon should be largely increased and particularly that it should be increased by the introduction of persons from the mainland who have acquired long residence and particularly by inheritance and position, the qualities of citizenship above referred to.
>
> As of yet but little had been done in the way of introducing Americans from the mainland to these islands. Although the preparation of the Act of 1895 (the Land Act) was distinctly made with that object in view...[475]

It is clear from the statements of Dole is that the P.G.'s, Oligarchy and Territory were attempting to implant a white-American population onto the islands in an attempt to produce American nationalism in the islands.

Passed in Special Session on August 14 1895, Act 26 or the " 1895 Land Act" (the law referred to by Dole in endnote 31) repealed much of the previous Hawaiian Kingdom statutes that related to land. The law totals 41 pages and it reclassifies land and completely restructured the ways people would acquire title and lease lands. Rather than discuss all of the provisions of the law, I will briefly discuss some of the sections of the law that I think are of critical significance and should be further studied. The Law attempted to take two previously distinct land groups–those of the Government and those of the Crown–and reclassify them as one land base under the

term "Public Lands."[476] The law also required that anyone desirous of obtaining land take an oath of allegiance to the Republic, have no civil disability for any offense, nor be delinquent in taxes. These requirements immediately excluded numerous Hawaiian nationals and Royalists who never took an oath of allegiance, or refused to pay taxes to the P.G.'s and Republic. The laws introduced prevented for the first time what was termed "unlawful occupation" on government lands and assigned Sub-Agents over districts to prevent unlawful occupation and to remove any "squatters." In the Hawaiian Kingdom subjects were allowed to occupy Government and Crown lands under their rights as native tenants. Part IV allowed "land patents" to be sold by the Commissioners of Public Lands with the Consent of the Executive Council of parcels not over one thousand acres at public auction. All deeds required the signature of the President and the Minister of Interior and section 17 gave President Dole the ability to *perfect title* on any lands in the Hawaiian Islands. A portion of section 17 reads as follows,

> That the President may in his discretion upon the recommendation and approval, execute quit-claim deeds for perfecting the titles of private lands where such titles are purely equitable or where such lands are suffering under defective titles...[477]

It is unclear the extent to which this provision was actually used but the ability of the President to perfect title on land places his position of power on equal footing of that of a Dictator or Absolute Monarch.

Another important section of the 1895 Land Act that needs to be further studied is the Settlement Associations. This topic has been covered by Van Dyke in a brief 10 page section in his recent book *Who Owns the Crown Lands*. According to an 1899 report of J. F. Brown cited in Van Dyke's book, a total of 46,594 acres of Crown and Government land had been sold by the Republic by 1898.[478] Van Dyke also writes that according to the 1896 census "57 percent of the

taxable land was controlled by persons of European or American ancestry, who had taken over most of Hawai'i's land... and manipulated it for profit."[479] I think that both of these numbers need to be looked into further and inspected further to guarantee their accuracy. For instance, do these statistics reflect the crown land leases that were converted into fee-title after 1893, or does the statistic merely reflect those lands that were sold outright? I have also found a newspaper article which appeared in the Hawaiian Gazette on April 26, 1898 that speaks about the Land Act, its disposal of lands, and the settlers making use of the liberal land laws of the Oligarchy. The article states,

> The keen inquiry for coffee and other lands since carrying into operation the Land Act of 1895—the great increase in numbers of those who have flocked into this country since that time, men of means and industry seeking to avail themselves of the liberal terms of our Land Laws has greatly reduced the available acreage of the Public Lands.[480]

Queen Lili'uokalani expresses similar sentiments about the changing demographics of the Hawaiian Islands in the years of the Republic. The Queen had moved to Washington D.C. to facilitate the petitions against annexation. The Queen often met with members of the U.S. government in attempts to place on record her position and the Nationals of the Kingdom against annexation. In a letter she wrote from Washington D.C. in 1899 she reflected on the changes that were taking place in the islands during the rule of the Oligarchy. She writes,

> There is not much news from home but strangers are flocking in to Honolulu from all parts of the world and strangers seem to look at the kamaainas as much as to say, "who are you" and are starting enterprises of their own... I fear we will feel like strangers in our own land.[481]

The passages of Lili'uokalani and the Hawaiian Gazette are ethnographic accounts which state that the demographics of the Hawaiian Islands were changing rapidly following the overthrow, while Dole's statements about attempting to settle Anglo-Saxons in the Hawaiian Islands show a

systemic desire to accomplish such a task. Although there needs to be further research into these areas, it is very likely that the Land Act was not only a law which was used to change existing Land Laws of the Kingdom, as well as encouraging new secure new settlers who could begin to plant and foster the seeds of American Nationalism in the Islands.

The problem of valid title to land, however, would continue to be a problem for the successor governments to the P.G.'s and Oligarchy. In 1903 the Torrens System of land title recordation was introduced into the Hawaiian Islands, likely as a result of the earlier contacts between the P.G.'s and the government officials of New Zealand. The following are passages from a government Land Court publication.

> In instances of conveyances by natives it cannot be ascertained from an examination of the indexes in whom the title is vested, this being due partly to the fact that children do not take the names of the parents...Another evil is that of persons being known by two and in some instances different names, conveying lands sometimes by one name sometimes by another. The number of volumes of indexes, already large, will increase year by year, "the consequence being that the labor of investigating titles, will become more complex, the cost greatly increased, and the ability in many cases to positively arrive at a conclusion as to whom the title is vested in, absolutely impossible...
>
> Titles in this territory have become burdened with those elements which often make it almost impossible to buy safely; out of the murkiness and darkness surrounding them there hardly comes a gleam of light to satisfy those who wish to be safe in their investments. Uncertainties and technical blemishes hang like so many threatening clouds over them and laborious searches of title are necessary to determine their status. Even then doubt may still persist and potential danger remain. We have experienced samples of the potential danger. It springs into vitality at the most unexpected times and strikes from hidden places. Out of the void wherein sits enthroned the unknown claimant and the heirs of John Doe too frequently strikes a thunderbolt to scatter and destroy.[482]

In the Hawaiian Islands today the State of Hawai'i only guarantees the title when registered in the Land Court System. Similar to the way that the Land Act had provided for Dole to "clear up title," the Land Court adjudicates title and awards a title that is "clear" of all previous interest or

uncertainty by awarding a new original certificate of title. These changes in Land Court registration cleared up confusion for those unfamiliar with Hawaiian genealogies and enabled the system to function more efficiently for those who wanted to clear title to lands which may have had vested rights of hoa'āina. There is also the possibility that the Torrens System was being used to gloss over arguments made that all titles continue to be vested in the Hawaiian Kingdom because of the United States involvement in the illegal overthrow and the Republic's ceding of the Government and Crown Lands "which they do not own and can never own" to the United States. Given the reasons stated for the introduction of the Torrens System it is unlikely that such a system was introduced to benefit natives, but rather as a means to strip them of their ancestral birth rights, or the rights to inherit the lands of their kūpuna. However, further research is necessary to have a definitive answer.

The loss of the Mō'ī and the loss of the control of the land base of the Government and Crown lands had a lasting effect on Hawaiians. The changes in land laws following the Overthrow likely were done to support the interest of the P.G.'s and their backers and disregarded the rights and interests of Hawaiian Nationals. I have argued in the previous sections that the loss of the Mō'ī was significant and that the changes in structure following 1893 bring about an occupation which produces *Faux-Colonial* events, including the settlement of a foreign population in the islands, and the occupation of a national or ancestral land base. One difference however, which demonstrates why I am calling the events produced by the occupation as *Faux-Colonial* events, is that of land titles. In colonial situations an independent state colonizes a non-sovereign territory. In an occupation an independent state occupies the sovereign dominions of another independent state. Radical differences between the two rest

around land titles, where in colonies the original source title rests with the country of the colonizer, while in an occupied country the original source title rests with the occupied state. Since land titles originate from the Kingdom and the Mahele of 1848 contemporary scholars interested in uncovering the settlement and occupation of Hawaiian lands have the benefit of there existing a paper trail that is accessible for nearly every parcel of land throughout the Hawaiian Islands. This enables the acquisition of detailed knowledge about both legal and illegal land transfers from the establishment of title until today. I believe that this can be an exciting new area of research that could look into the many subjects including the sales of Crown Lands Post-1893 and those who purchased them and own them today.

The last area that I will discuss in this chapter which I think is critical for understanding the contemporary Hawaiian situation and open for further research, surround the Hawaiian language and its steady removal from the public sphere Post-1893.

Language Loss Post-1893 —1896 Ban on Hawaiian Language, Illegitimizing ʻŌlelo

The most serious blow suffered by the colonized is being removed from history and from the community. Albert Memmi *The Colonized and the Colonizer p. 91.*

In this section I will make the argument that the Hawaiian language was a legitimate means of expression in political, judicial, and social contexts throughout the Hawaiian Kingdom prior to the Overthrow of 1893. This argument is important because it shows that ʻŌiwi had maintained their language throughout the aliʻi led modernization of the Hawaiian Kingdom, and it also shows that the events of 1893 led to significant changes in regards to legitimacy of ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi in the public and private spheres.

ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi or the Hawaiian Language was ingrained into all social, political, and judicial systems of the Kingdom. In fact the Hawaiian Kingdom had one of the highest literacy rates of any country in the world at the time.[483] The work of Noenoe Silva has documented some of the range of Hawaiian language newspapers in the Kingdom. She has documented how ʻŌiwi used Hawaiian language newspapers as a medium to express cultural and national history while creating a medium for ʻŌiwi that enriched opportunities to express their collective identity as a people.[484] When ʻŌiwi became publishers of their own newspapers they appropriated the printing press and used it to express ancient moʻolelo and moʻokūʻauhau that celebrated their heritage and was a way of "ensuring that their knowledge was passed on to future generations."[485]

Although arguing in a distinctly different context, Benedict Anderson has made the case that newspapers and print technology were essential toward the development and at the very origins of nationalism. Anderson writes that newspapers produced a medium that readers could experience concretely, through a print-language that could link them to others literate in their language while enticing their imaginations to illustrate themselves as one of a community who actively took part in the daily dialogue of the paper. Anderson writes,

> These fellow-readers, to whom they were connected through print, formed, in their secular, particular, visible invisibility, the embryo of the nationally imagined community.[486]

Anderson's categorization of the power and impact of newspapers and print-language are similar to Noenoe's interpretation of Hawaiian language newspapers. However their interpretations may differ slightly because in the case of Hawaiian language newspapers much of the material that was being printed originated from understandings about Kanaka or ʻŌiwi identity that pre-dated

print-language in Hawai'i by hundreds of years. One example is the Kumuhonua genealogy which was used to link ali'i to the origins of life the word Kumu-Honua literally translates to the "*Source of the world.*" Silva's understandings of the Hawaiian newspapers opens up a space where the community was using mo'olelo and mo'okū'auhau, or what had previously been used to "imagine the community," and using print-language to celebrate that heritage while also maintaining traditional knowledge within a new medium. This is slightly different to Anderson's discussion of the creation of a novel or the use of print-language to build the image of antiquity. In this case, what he is referring to is the way that the "printed book kept a permanent form, capable of virtually infinite reproduction, temporally and spatially,"[487] which is demonstrated by the ways the, "words of our seventeenth-century forbearers are accessible to us in a way that to Villon his twelfth-century ancestors were not."[488] While 'Ōiwi were using print-language to voice their contemporary concerns that can now be reproduced both temporally and spatially, they were also voicing ancient mo'olelo and mo'okū'auhau which because of their work, can also be reproduced today.

Noenoe Silva's work on the Hawaiian language newspapers has been a tremendous aid to this study. I see her book *Aloha Betrayed* as documenting the ways that 'Ōiwi demonstrated that they were never colonized. In one important section of her book she discusses the ways that 'Ōiwi in the 19th century used public performances of hula as demonstrations of pride in their heritage and to cultivate national identity. She then argues that,

> At that time, [in the Hawaiian Kingdom] with English-language schools outnumbering Hawaiian (and receiving more funding), the process of writing Kanaka out of their own history had begun.[489]

While I agree that this is a critical issue to be looked at, I strongly disagree that the funding of English language schools is equal to start of 'Ōiwi being written out of their own history. The publishing of Hawaiian language newspapers is clearly evidence that shows 'Ōiwi were not written out of history prior to 1893. However, there was some debate in the Kingdom about the funding of English schools. One fact that I think must be taken into account when considering this issue is the drastically differing social and political conditions of that time with those of present day 'Ōiwi. Prior to 1893 Hawaiian language was an official language of the government and alive in all aspects of social society. I would imagine that Hawaiian language was as prevalent in the Hawaiian Islands as English is today. The fact that English language schools were created does not mean these students would not learn Hawaiian—in fact they already knew Hawaiian or would learn it outside of the classroom. The knowledge of the English language alongside, not in place of the Hawaiian language could be a benefit to them. In a speech given to the Hawaiian legislature on April 7 1855 Kamehameha IV stated his reasons for desiring the English language to be taught in schools.

> It is of the highest importance, in my opinion, that education in the English language should become more general, for it is my firm conviction that unless my subjects become educated in this tongue, their hope of intellectual progress, and of meeting the foreigners on terms of equality, is a vain one.[490]

Kamehameha IV's reason for attempting to begin to educate his subject in the English language centers around enabling the kanaka to compete with foreigners in an ever increasingly competitive world. It was a necessity for Kamehameha IV to have advisors who could read and write in English, in order to conduct treaties and economic negotiations with English speaking countries, why not have some of those advisors also be aboriginal Hawaiians? In contemporary

times one might interpret Kamehameha IV's words as fostering the beginning of the suppression of the language, but I believe this is because of our current social and political circumstances. In the Kingdom the Hawaiian language never carried with it the negative associations it did following 1893 and its steady removal from the public and private spheres that are essential to language loss as experienced by the colonized. Noenoe Silva herself writes that in the Kingdom, ""kanaka" was not yet an epithet to be ashamed of."[491] I think it is critical to observe that the harshly negative associations of language and culture as discussed by authors like Ngugi were not imposed on the minds of 'Ōiwi prior to 1893.

There was debate about English education schools and there were some 'Ōiwi of the Kingdom era who were for educating the population through the English language. One critic of English language schools' curriculum was the father of Kamehameha's IV and V, Mataio Kekuanao'a. Kekuanao'a writes,

> The theory of substituting the English language for the Hawaiian, in order to educate our people, is as dangerous to Hawaiian nationality, as it is useless in promoting the general education of the people...If we wish to preserve the Kingdom of Hawai'i for Hawaiians, and to educate our people, we must insist that the Hawaiian language shall be the language of all our National Schools, and the English shall be taught whenever practicable, but only, as an important *branch* of Hawaiian education.[492]

The Hawaiian language would remain an essential part of education until its removal by the Oligarchy in 1896. Section 30 of Act 57, which passed on June 8 1896, required that "the English language shall be the medium and basis of instruction in all public and private schools."[493]

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ACT 57.

AN ACT TO CREATE AN EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT TO BE KNOWN AS THE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION; TO DEFINE ITS DUTIES AND POWERS: AND TO REPEAL THE FOLLOWING LAWS.

An Act entitled "An Act to provide for the separation of the sexes in the Government Schools," approved July 25, 1862; Sections 1 to 27 inclusive, 29 to 38 inclusive, of an Act entitled "An Act to repeal Chapter X. of the Civil Code, and to regulate the Bureau of Public Instruction," approved January 10, 1865; An Act entitled "An Act to amend Section 21 of an Act entitled "An Act to repeal Chapter X. of the Civil Code, and to regulate the Bureau of Public Instruction," approved January 10, 1865, regulating the time for which children may be placed at the Reformatory or Industrial School," approved July 6, 1866; An Act entitled "An Act to amend an Act entitled "An Act to repeal Chapter X of the Civil Code, and to regulate the Bureau of Public Instruction," approved January 10, 1865, by adding Sections 26 (A), 26 (B) and 26 (C) after Section 26 in said Act," approved June 22, 1868; An Act entitled "An Act to amend an Act to repeal Chapter X of the Civil Code, and to regulate the Bureau of Public Instruction, passed January 10, 1865" approved June 24, 1868; Chapter XV of the Laws of 1870, entitled "An Act to amend an Act entitled "An Act to repeal Chapter X of the Civil Code, and to regulate the Bureau of Public Instruction," and to insert certain new sections to be styled Section 18 (A), Section 18 (B), and Section 23 (A);" Chapter XXXVII of the Laws of 1870, entitled "An Act to Regulate Independent Schools in relation to sessions and qualifications of teachers;" Chapter XXV of the Laws of 1878, entitled "An Act to amend Sections 3 and 4 of Chapter 79 of the Penal

Chapter 5. Figure. 12. Act 57 of the Republic of Hawaii passed June 8 1896. Section 30 of this Act made English the language of instruction in schools

The law removing Hawaiian language as a medium of education along with the attacks against the Mōʻī and the removal of Hawaiian as a qualification for being a Representative by Lorrin Thurston on May 5th 1894, steadily moved the Hawaiian language out of the public sphere and placed it on unequal standing with the Hawaiian language in government. Together with the severing of traditional ties through the removal of the Mōʻī, the influx of a large English speaking population, and the Oligarchy's desire to Americanize the population, I believe one can begin to see the reasons for the steady decline of the Hawaiian language in the public and private spheres. Later students in the Territory would be physically punished and mentally abused for speaking

their native tongue in public schools.[494] I was blessed to have a relationship with 'Anakala Eddie Kaanana who was a native speaker and told me stories about how he was abused in school for speaking the Hawaiian language, there are also many accounts of this documented on the Ka Leo Hawai'i Hawaiian language tapes. It is my argument that these events formed the basis for the near loss of the Hawaiian language. It was the active attempts at illegitimating 'Ōlelo Hawai'i in the public spheres of government and education by the P.G.'s and Oligarchy that lead to its being removed from even the private spheres where many native speakers willingly chose not to pass on the language to their children and grandchildren largely because of shame and ridicule.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have argued that the Overthrow of 1893 was an attempt at severing traditional ties between ali'i and hoa'āina. I have argued that colonial interpretations of the Hawaiian Kingdom that have seen the Overthrow of 1893 as a culminating event, have understated the radical shifts in power and changes in structure that occur following 1893. I have made use of the term that British consul Wodehouse had given to the P.G.'s as a "Military Despotism" and shown how it relied on the use of military force to maintain power and used force to suppress natives and Royalists. I also illustrated that even in this radically oppressive structure many 'Ōiwi refused to be complacent and continued to act as a country of Hawaiian nationals through the use of petitions and diplomacy. I have also briefly covered some of the changes in land law and documented some legislation that removed the Hawaiian language from the public sphere. It is my hope that further research be conducted on this time period that might lead to valuable insight into the disposal of lands and the suppression of culture that took place in this time period. At present there is very little scholarship fully devoted to this time

period possibly the only one that devotes its entirety to the time period is by William Russ titled the *Hawaiian Republic*. Being that there is so little scholarship about this time there is a considerable amount of space left for other interpretations of events that transpire in the years between 1893-1898.

The next chapter will be the final chapter of my dissertation and will summarize all of the previous chapters and offer some concluding remarks. Following a summary of chapters one through five, I will discuss ways of interpreting Hawaiian history in a that recognizes the United States occupation of the Hawaiian islands and offer a term "Post-Americanism." I will then discuss the Re-emergence of a Hawaiian national consciousness.

Chapter 6: The Re-emergence of a National Consciousness

This dissertation is nearing its close and will soon expose its final thoughts to the reader. Like all dissertations this has been a journey. This particular journey has been one of long hours in the archives, at the computer, late nights of editing, preparing outlines, organizing thoughts, and experiencing throughout the occasional bursts of self-doubt that I have been told is familiar to most persons in the midst of writing. In the previous chapters I have presented my arguments and my interpretations of the evidence that I encountered. Having presented my arguments to the reader, I hope that at least my positions are clear, even if the reader disagrees with my conclusions. In the event that my positions need to be clarified and refreshed I offer in this concluding chapter, which will summarize the previous chapters and speculate on the importance of this work for future scholarship on the Hawaiian Kingdom. I will demonstrate why analysis of the Hawaiian Kingdom should look outside of the colonial optic, advocate new ways of organizing scholarship on the Hawaiian Kingdom which recognizes the U.S. occupation of the islands, and offer some thoughts on rise of Hawaiian national consciousness.

Previous Chapters Summary

The previous chapters have illustrated the ways in which ancient ʻŌiwi structures were codified in the Hawaiian Kingdom, and the agency of the aliʻi in dealing with foreign rulers, diplomats, missionaries, concepts, and ideals. I have demonstrated that there existed indigenous socio-political structures prior to the arrival of Europeans in the Hawaiian Islands, and that the aliʻi modernized these structures to create the Hawaiian Kingdom. I have demonstrated that the modernization of the Hawaiian traditions in the Kingdom was not imposed but rather advocated

and adapted by Mōī in each of their respective reigns. I have also demonstrated that there were complex negotiations that were taking place during the exchanges between ali'i and foreigners, and that for the most part the ali'i were able to have equal or perhaps even the better part of these negotiations prior to 1893.

Chapter 1 was a literature review of existing scholarship pertaining to the Hawaiian Kingdom and Colonialism, which offered a critique on a colonial analysis of the Hawaiian Kingdom. In this chapter I examined previous scholarship as a means to illustrate those authors who have influenced me and also to signify to the reader the course that this dissertation would navigate. In chapter one I offered a critique on a colonial analysis of the Hawaiian Kingdom, and showed how much scholarship has seen the Kingdom through a teleological colonial gaze which has misrepresented historical analysis by giving too much agency to foreigners and overlooking the important shifts in power that occur following the overthrow in 1893. In chapter one I also discussed and argued that neither the spatial nor psychological definitions of colonialism apply to the Kingdom prior to 1893.

In chapter one I also discussed nationalism. Using the works of Anderson and Thongchai I summarized previous scholarship on nationalism and illustrated the unique position of the Hawaiian Kingdom in terms of being a case where one could study both the origins and erasure of nationalism through a study of the creation and demise of the Hawaiian Kingdom. The work of Thongchai was of particular importance due to the similarities between Thailand and the Hawaiian Kingdom in terms of being non-European non-colonized independent states, the major difference between the two is that Thailand was able to maintain its government and independence and thus retain its nationalism, while, the Hawaiian Kingdom was overthrown,

occupied by the United States and experienced a near erasure of Hawaiian nationalism. There is more work can be conducted which looks into the social, political, and material processes that were involved in removing Hawaiian nationalism from the consciousness of Hawaiians.

In chapter one I illustrated how my work was not going to gaze at the history of the Hawaiian Kingdom through a colonial optic. I elaborated a course for viewing Hawaiian history through the eyes of the ali'i and demonstrated how I interpret the engagements with foreigners as being dictated through an ali'i led policy of selective adaptation. I also tried to argue that I see my scholarship as not merely being a critique of previous work but also a progression and extension of the works of recent 'Ōiwi scholar by adding another native voice to the discussion and by reinterpreting previously held assumptions about Hawaiian history. It is my very strongly hope that the reader might see my work in this light.

Chapter 2 examined ancient 'Ōiwi structures such as the 'aha ali'i, Mō'ī, Palena, and Kālai'āina. In examining these structures I argued that they constituted a kind of ancient state-craft which separated the society to at least two different classes and embodied territoriality on the ground. I made the case that these were Pre-European structures and that they were the foundation for the ali'i led modernization of the Kingdom in later years. Having a knowledge of the structures that were covered in Chapter 2 are important toward understanding how the Hawaiian Kingdom modernized through the codification and modification of existing structures.

In chapter two I also used the Kumuhonua genealogy to trace the development of the ali'i structure through the aha ali'i up to the development of the Mō'ī. I illustrated the relationships that the concept of Mō'ī had with the concepts of Palena and Kālai'āina and argued that these structures were intimately related. I argued that creation of accurate Palena would be achieved

through the centralized power of a Mō'ī while also demonstrating that a Kālai'āina would require that Palena be previously established and respected in order to be successful. I also briefly covered the range of land divisions that were emplaced through Palena and used maps produced in the Hawaiian Kingdom as a means to illustrate the range of these divisions while also demonstrating that the mapping initiatives in the Kingdom attempted to codify ancient Palena. Chapter 2 demonstrated three critical ancient structures that were the foundations of government and would be later codified in the modernization of the Hawaiian Kingdom.

Chapter 3 examined early 'Ōiwi-Haole interactions and the reigns of Kamehameha and Liholiho. I argued that the ali'i following Kamehameha pursued his established policy of diplomacy through the creation of alliances with other countries, and the use of foreign and native protocols. The letter of Kamehameha I to King George III was the first direct correspondence between a Hawaiian and British sovereign and enabled the growth of future diplomatic negotiations. Kamehameha had established a diplomatic alliance with Britain that was further strengthened by Liholiho's visit to London and Boki's meeting with King George IV. This relationship was critical towards securing and maintaining Hawaiian independence during the years between 1810-1825.

A portion of chapter 3 examined the events surrounding the 'Ai noa. I argued that one motivation of Ka'ahumanu for breaking the 'Ai kapu was to promote her own political interests while extinguishing a potential rival in Kekuaokalani. I argued that Ka'ahumanu and Kalanimoku used his baptism into Christianity as a means to acquire a god that good rival the one given to Kekuaokalani by Kamehameha. I also covered the arrival of the Protestant missionaries

to Hawai'i, and the ways in which Liholiho and other ali'i appropriated literacy from the missionaries.

In Chapter 3 I also illustrated the roles of such foreigners as John Young and M. Rives in their service to the ali'i and the complex negotiations that took place between them and the ali'i. I demonstrated that Liholiho and those who died with him in London were in many respects martyrs for Hawaiian nationalism, and that their voyage was actually quite successful in advancing the international alliance between Hawai'i and Britain. Throughout the chapter I illustrated the ways that ali'i were selectively appropriating tools, dress, and protocol from foreigners and the missionaries, and making use of them for their own means which is an essential argument of my dissertation.

Chapter 4 examined significant portions of the reigns of the Mō'ī from Kamehameha III through Kalākaua. I demonstrated the differing ways that these ali'i exercised agency in dealing with foreigners and modifying existing structures. Chapter 4 demonstrated the ways that each of these Mō'ī were calculative in their engagements with foreigners and the steps that they took in making use of the modernization of government to suit their interests and in support of Hawaiian nationals.

It can be argued that the reign of Kauikeaouli was really the era when the Kingdom fully embraced modernization. As a result of his leadership the Kingdom modernized through the reworking and codification of ancient structures, political relationships, and land stewardship. During the reign of Kauikeaouli the ancient structures of Mō'ī modernized in the Kingdom into a Constitutional Monarchy, while the ancient structures of Palena and Kālai'āina were modernized through the Laws of 1839, the Constitution of 1840, the Mahele of 1848 and the

Kuleana Act of 1850. The Laws of 1839 established the rights of three classes in the lands and fisheries of the Kingdom as had been previously practiced. The Constitution of 1840 affirmed the three classes of people who had undefined vested rights in the lands of the Kingdom, those of the Mō'ī, the ali'i, and the hoa'āina. In the Mahele, nearly all the lands in the entire Kingdom reverted to Kauikeaouli, who then awarded to chiefs title to land in accordance with ancient names and boundaries. Kauikeaouli took ancient divisions and modified them into modern sources of title, which would then require that they be mapped in accordance to their ancient boundaries. The Kuleana Act of 1850 gave the hoa'āina the ability to acquire fee-simple title to lands, to purchase government lands at reduced rates, and to have access rights to the resources of lands from the mountains to the sea.

Chapter 4 also briefly covered the Chiefs' Children's School and the education that was made available to the keiki ali'i through the request of Kauikeaouli and paid for through government funding. In my examination of the school I illustrated how many of the keiki ali'i embraced the secular teachings offered by the Cookes but were ambivalent about their metaphysical teachings. I also illustrated the hybrid nature of the school which conformed entirely to neither ancient 'Ōiwi practices nor Protestant Missionary ethics, but suited the interest of the ali'i much more than it did the Mission. In my discussion of the school I paid particular attention to Alexander Liholiho and his Brother Lot Kapuāiwa because I was able to acquire their journals from their days at the school.

In chapter 4 I also covered the trip of Alexander Liholiho and Lot Kapuāiwa to American and European countries. In my discussions of the trip I analyzed some significant moments that may have influenced these teenage ali'i, and had lasting effects on their understandings of rule,

governance, and the world. I demonstrated that these keiki ali'i were recognized and respected as royalty by those of other countries and that they encountered those of the highest class and political status throughout their trip which may have further emboldened their own positions as being competent and capable rulers.

I combined the reigns of Alexander Liholiho and Lot Kapuāiwa to demonstrate their progression away from American Protestant ethics and council. I illustrated how these ali'i used the Episcopal Church as a means to distance themselves from American Protestant teachings and to further connections between the British and the Hawaiian Kingdoms. I also briefly illustrated some of the public work projects initiated and accomplished by Lot in his reign as Kamehameha V.

The final Mō'ī covered in Chapter 4 was Kalākaua. I briefly discussed the portions of his voyage around the world spent in Japan and Siam. I suggested that his encounters with Non-European foreign rulers may have been of significance for his development as Mō'ī by providing him with first hand knowledge of Non-European rulers of nations that were battling against Imperialism in ways similar to those of the Hawaiian Kingdom. I also covered Kalākaua's efforts to create a Hawaiian national heritage and his revitalization of ancient arts and sciences. In my discussions of Kalākaua's political policy, I discussed his use of international law to protect other nations in the Pacific from being colonized by European and American powers. I illustrated how this usage of International law demonstrates that ali'i such as Kalākaua understood the implications of being recognized as an independent state and were using the Hawaiian Kingdom's status in an attempt to protect other Pacific peoples from being colonized, which I argued demonstrated that the ali'i never saw themselves as being colonized.

The ali'i covered in the chapters 1-4 battled with Imperialism in the face of de-population, and against overwhelming odds to become a recognized independent state. These ali'i and those of their generation never ceased to advocate for Hawaiian independence while friends and family fell to foreign diseases. Though they were often victims of disease they did not succumb to a victim mentality. In many ways their story is one of heroism and courage within the geo-historical period where European and American countries were facilitating the displacement of native peoples' land and heritage across most of the globe. Between 1810-and 1893, ali'i had managed to maintain Hawaiian independence and sovereign control over the Islands. In these years Hawaiian culture was transformed in accordance to the will of the particular Mō'ī or Kuhina Nui as a representative of his/ her people. One must recognized that the Hawaiian culture practiced and promoted by Ka'ahumanu in the 1820-30s was likely quite different from the culture practiced and promoted by Kalākaua in the late 1880s, but one must also recognize that the ali'i were ones who possessed the authority to facilitate change in Hawaiian society.

Chapter 5 briefly covered the years 1893-1898 and the changes in structure that took place as a result of the 1893 overthrow. I argued throughout chapter 5 that following 1893, the changes in structure were severe enough to bring about drastic shifts in power, causing the beginning of the U.S. occupation of Hawai'i and enabling *Faux-Colonial* events to happen in the Hawaiian Islands. I also argued that previous scholarship that has seen the Kingdom as a colonial institution has drastically understated the significance of 1893 and not accounted for the radical shifts in structure and power that happen following the Overthrow. I made use of British consul Wodehouse's description of government in the Hawaiian Islands following the removal of the Queen as a "Military Despotism," and demonstrated some of the ways that power had shifted

Post-1893 through material force, politics, and legislation. I attempted to refrain from attacking members of the P.G.'s in my text and instead used their own quotes obtained from letters and minutes of their meetings to illustrate their anti-Hawaiian views. I focused briefly on the topics of land and language loss, examining sections of the 1895 Land Act and the 1896 removal of the Hawaiian language as a medium of instruction.

In chapter 5 I also covered some of the agency exhibited by Lili'uokalani and the supporters of the Hawaiian Kingdom constitutional government. Although their agency operated in a different structure than had existed previous to the overthrow of 1893, I made a point to show that 'Ōiwi and Royalists still possessed agency. Though the structure had shifted from Imperialism (Pre-1893) to Occupation (Post 1893), I argued that many Hawaiian nationals continued to conduct themselves as nationals and subjects of their country and protested to the international community as well as the United States, the illegal removal of their constitutional government and sovereign. I included an important protest offered by the constitutional sovereign Lili'uokalani to the British government requesting that they not recognize the government of the Oligarchy as legitimate. I also included a memorial against annexation addressed to the President, Congress, and people of the United States that had been forwarded to the British government through a meeting of James Kaulia with the British consul Wodehouse. I argued that the time period from 1893-1898 is an important era for understanding the status of contemporary Hawaiians and might be understudied by Hawaiian historians and historical geographers and is an area open for future research and analysis. It is my opinion that critical knowledge and understanding of the events that happen in this time period might strengthen present political movements and also spark future strategies and methods. One

project that I think would be extremely valuable centers around Government and Crown lands sold post-1893. I think that an accurate accounting of the lands sold post 1893 could provide political pressure for the United States government and the owners of lands that were illegally sold after 1893. It is one thing to tell a descendant of Lorrin Thurston that their ancestor stole Hawaiian land, it is another thing to title search the lands sold and document the potentially vast parcels of Crown lands that were illegally acquired. When an accurate accounting of Government and Crown lands are completed ʻŌiwi will have quantitative data to document land loss and confiscation. Another important place to research are the sugar plantations illegal acquisition of kuleana lands Post-1893, presently, these issues remain the things many ʻŌiwi discuss in the garage over some pūpū and mea ʻinu, but research that is able to verify and quantify these claims could provide much political momentum for social justice movements for Hawaiians.

Throughout the previous chapters I have sought to illustrate aliʻi agency in the Hawaiian Kingdom. In illustrating aliʻi agency I have made relatively few of the standard attacks against the missionaries and conniving foreigners in the Kingdom. Possibly the most important reason that I have refrained from this type of analysis is because I have attempted to see this history through the eyes of each aliʻi in their time period rather than the missionary. I also have a feeling in my naʻau that previous work that has attacked on missionaries and foreigners has infused them with too much power, and in doing so has overlooked and almost insulted the intelligence of the aliʻi. Focusing attacks on missionaries and foreigners in the Kingdom has unintentionally produced scholarship which has overlooked ʻŌiwi agency and glossed over the mana of aliʻi in their engagements with foreigners. In presenting my research in different public and academic

settings, I have found that many members of the public seem to be accepting of scholarship that illustrates how our kūpuna grappled with foreigners and modernity. In some academic settings however, there have been times someone has commented about the role of the missionaries in the production of the Hawaiian Kingdom as if the ali'i were on the sidelines. On one occasion I showed a map made by S.P. Kalama and a member of the audience was skeptical of the maps origin given it was produced at Lāhainaluna, which was run by the American Mission. In situations where 'Ōiwi and foreigners have engaged there is an almost a priori assumption that the foreigners or the Mission had the upper hand in each of these engagements. This assumption is often held without an examination of the unique historical situations and without taking into account the particularities of place. The harboring of such unexamined assumptions has conceals the complexities of native and foreign engagements and has little chance for empowering native communities. It is my hope that further research which attempts to see events in the Hawaiian Kingdom through ali'i perspectives and articulate their agency might begin to demonstrate to 'Ōiwi communities an empowering perspective on Hawaiian history prior to 1893, and offer glimpses into the complex negotiations that were taking place. My goal is to provide 'Ōiwi today with historical examples of how our ancestors grappled with Modernity that might inform present day solutions and contribute to communities the accomplishments of our ali'i in the era of the Hawaiian Kingdom.

Post-Colonialism, and Post-Americanism?

If a portion of Post-Colonial scholarship has focused on the realization that traditional indigenous forms of governance were often complex and structured, this dissertation has built off that realization by pointing out that these complex structures don't disappear with the arrival of Europeans. Structures and institutions that pre-date Cook's arrival on the shores of Kaua'i, continue to exist in different forms throughout the Hawaiian Kingdom and in lingering forms today. It is interesting that Post-Colonial scholarship has often focused on the former colonies of Britain, Spain, France, and Portugal. In such scholarship it has been important to document and illustrate the ways in which many colonial concepts and institutions continue to exist in the Post-Colonial period.[495] Less research has been done to focus on the quasi-colonies of the United States of America, which might include places taken by the United States following the Spanish-American War of 1898. Where might these places fit into the scholarship on Post-Colonialism? Where are the voices of those colonized by a former colony? Places such as Guam, the Philippines, Sāmoa, or more recently Micronesia are rarely spoken of in Post-Colonial discourse. In the case of Hawai'i, I am calling for a term which attempts to illustrate the geo-political history of these islands prior to American occupation, and which could be used to expose the social processes of colonization in the Hawaiian Islands after the U.S. intervention in 1893.[496] Post-Americanism in the Hawaiian context, could seek to view the geo-political history of the Hawaiian Islands on an international rather than a U.S. perspective. As a modern 'Ōiwi scholar, I find that it is impossible to deny the influence that the U.S. has had since 1893 over our educational systems, our political affiliations, our language, and our access to resources. While this realization is critical for the understanding of our present situation, it may also enable us to

conceptually move in another direction. [This movement could take place ma ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi (in the Hawaiian language) as well as ma ka ʻōlelo Pelekane (in the English language) given the present situation where many ʻŌiwi cannot speak the Hawaiian language.] Three possible places this body of literature could focus are: (1) The recovery of the national history from the creation chant, the Kumulipo, until the 1893 intervention (2) Attempts at Americanizing the Population (1893-1970)—this scholarship might look into the ways that the existing laws of the Kingdom were being repealed by the "Provisional Government" and "Republic" with a special focus on laws pertaining to land, language, education, political affiliation, and the resistance or compliance with such initiates. Also to be discussed are the changes experienced during the period where the United States formally assumes control of governmental aspects of occupation in 1900; (3) Re-emergence of a national consciousness (1970-Present)—this body of scholarship might focus on the re-emergence of Hawaiian culture, mele, political activism, ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi, and the Hawaiian Kingdom's status under international law.

The Re-emergence of a National Consciousness

It is very important that we get together and we gotta shed off a lot of the images that have been thrown on top of us, by newspapers, by television, and we just want one thing to talk to you folks about, is, this is the seed today of a new revolution and we not talking about the kind like the pilgrims came over here and run away from England go wipe out the Indians, you know, and call this America, and celebrate 200 hundred years with firecrackers, but, the kind of revolution that we are talking about is one of consciousness, consciousness, awareness, facts, figures, and like Walter said, we going to the Iolani Palace to make ho'okupu to our kūpuna, our ali'i, we hope to put somebody back in there, and we serious, we got to think this way, we gotta talk that way because that's the only facts, that allow for change, and change is synonymous to revolution, and revolution comes from the word revolving turning in and out, so that you have something better, better to live with, and we say again we want to get rid of that image: "radicals," we don't know what that word means, but I know a lot of people get turned off by us, not giving us a chance, you know we not getting our kicks doing this, this is the beginning after this pau, we going down to something else and what we looking for it the truth, the truth, the truth, the truth, the truth...

(George Helm at 'Iolani Palace as seen in *Kaho'olawe Aloha Aina* 1977)

The above quotation was taken from a speech of George Helm given at 'Iolani Palace in the midst of the struggles to stop the United State military bombing and usage of Kaho'olawe. His sentiments reflect his categorization of the cultural, religious, spiritual, and political re-awakening taking place in Hawai'i the 1970s and the role that the Protect Kaho'olawe Association had in that movement. His ideas about the ali'i and placing someone back into 'Iolani Palace reflect the re-emergence of Hawaiian nationalistic sentiments, these sentiments have spawned to become important topics of academic study and inquiry for native Hawaiian scholars and others studying contemporary Hawaiian political movements.

Across the Hawaiian Islands today there is a growing sense of Hawaiian nationalism and a growing conception of the existence of a Hawaiian nationality. For the most part this nationalism exists in native communities, but there are also a number of non-ethnic Hawaiians who call themselves Hawaiian nationals, having joined one of many independence groups or being a descendant of a non-native Hawaiian national. At the University of Hawai'i there are a growing

number of Hawaiians actively studying the status of the Hawaiian Kingdom as an independent state under international law. While there are other students who prefer recognition by the U.S. Federal government which would allow for some kind of nation-within-a nation form of government, there are also members of the Hawaiian community who reject completely any of these notions and believe strongly in themselves as Americans. On significant dates in the History of the Hawaiian Kingdom, such as November 28, July 31, Jan 17, and the birthdays of the Mōʻī, one can see a number of relatively small events, celebrations, and protests at different sites throughout the islands. Often times these events are organized by individual groups and can be fractured with differing political positions and opinions; but all of the gatherings are respectful, peaceful, and dedicated.

On September 7, 2003 a group of possibly 18,000 Hawaiians gathered to march through Waikīkī under the banner of Kū I Ka Pono (Stand for Justice) many of the participants wore red to signify their connection to the aliʻi, their blood, and distress. Having been a part of the march, one aspect of it that grabbed my attention were the differing reasons that many of the participants had for being there. The diversity of opinion which brought people to the march were reflected by the signs they held, which included: to protest the court case which might allow a haole into Kamehameha schools; protest against lawsuits filed against the Hawaiian Homes and Office of Hawaiian Affairs; protest against the cases brought against other aliʻi trusts; to support Federal recognition by the United States; to assert Hawaiian Kingdom independence as an independent state; to assert the inherent-sovereignty of native Hawaiians; and many haole who wanted to show their support of Hawaiians. There was no consensus for why people had shown up early on a Sunday morning to march, but each member stood in unity while groups of us chanted, sang,

shouted, and listened as we made our way through the streets of Waikīkī. Truly it was an amazing display of unity among factions and a swelling of the masses. There were those of every age who attended from the kūpuna to the keiki as well as many who flew in from neighboring islands to attend. Long time "sovereignty activists" walked alongside Bishop Estate trustees, families, and every day people as we took to the streets of Kalākaua.

Chapter. 6. Figure 1. Photo of a group of young marchers, taken by the Honolulu Advertiser.

In this dissertation I have been somewhat critical of previous scholarship on the Hawaiian Kingdom. I want readers to know that I am not rejecting the work nor the political movements that have happened before me, but I am trying to critique previous academic works in an attempt to forward native scholarship. I am grateful and indebted to those Hawaiian scholars that came before me, and those that have mentored me as a keiki, student, and academic. I hope that my work is seen as building off from what they have started rather than merely critiquing their works. I am confident that I would not even be able to frame my arguments had it not been for their work, intelligence, courage, and dedication. I hope that my work is contributing to the

re-emergence of a Hawaiian national consciousness by recapturing some of the strategy and brilliance of ali'i and providing work that seeks to recapture some of their successes.

I think that research which focuses on the Kingdom freed from the colonial optic can begin to inform political movements in new and important ways. Scholarship that looks into the Kingdom and that attempts to understand Hawaiian nationalism as was practiced in the Kingdom might begin to provide new political strategies and illustrate ways that our ancestors in the Kingdom were being "modern" but still Hawaiian, an issue that is at the core of many political issues today. I think research that looks into the occupation of the Kingdom by the United States and attempts to understand the steady removal of Hawaiian nationalism from identity of Hawaiians and its replacement with American nationalism would be a fascinating cultural history and might begin to offer insight into how Hawaiian nationalism can be regained. In our scholarship and political strategies, I believe we need to be extremely calculated and attempt to forward arguments that can make the most political, social, and economic change. The issue that the United States should be forced to address is the illegal overthrow and occupation of an independent state and country. This is the issue that the United States has not had to address and I think that scholarship should attempt to force a resolution of this issue. There can be no modern recourse for Hawaiians because of the introduction of foreign diseases by Cook, in fact, he was killed many years ago. But I believe that there can be recourse for the United States involvement in the overthrow and occupation of our country. The question that the United States government should have to answer to the world is, *can the United States overthrow and occupy and independent country and claim its sovereign territory?* If we are able to have them answer this question one of two things could happen; (1) they answer yes, and expose to the world

that they are willing to overthrow and annex a foreign country against the rules of international law, which could have global political implications (2) They answer no, and begin to have to remedy the situtation. If they never have to answer the question, I believe neither of these two options will take place.

I am a part of a generation of Hawaiians who learned very little about the political history of our people as a youth. We may be the last generation since 1893 who have these systemic experiences given the rise of the Hawaiian charter schools, immersion, and the rise of the collective Hawaiian consciousness over the past 20 yrs. As high school students some of us watched on the ʻŌlelo channel groups of Hawaiians speaking the Hawaiian language, and professors of the Center for Hawaiian Studies such Dr. Haunani Kay Trask, Dr. Lilikalā Kameʻeleihiwa, and Dr. Jon Osorio speaking about portions of our history that were rarely spoken about in high school classes. I was one who would look forward to finding them on the television. Their passion and intelligence gripped me and made me want to understand more completely the issues they were discussing. "Sovereignty" became a word that every Hawaiian in high school had heard–but likely very few really understood. Because the word was not really lectured on or spoken about in the classroom, when it was spoken the word caused confusion: some thought it meant to "get all the haole out of Hawaiʻi," others thought it meant to have a government, while others often stated that it was the thing that only the "crazy or radical Hawaiians" talked about, with a connotation that it was really a ridiculous idea. Possibly the smallest group saw it as a word that was associated with pride, but still slightly different. Unlike the generations of my great-grandparents, grandparents, and parents, for many in my generation pride in Hawaiian culture was *cool*, it was a good thing to sing Hawaiian songs, chant or dance

hula. However, the sovereignty thing was not really cool. It was associated with people who were not the kind of Hawaiian who smiled and sang, but who yelled and screamed. It was associated with anger and hostility, actions that Kamehameha did not consider pono Hawaiian behavior. Looking back it's easy to say that it was pretty silly and ignorant. Yet, there might be something to the *coolness* of culture disassociated from politics that resonates even today. Merry Monarch is covered throughout the media as a positive thing and those in touch with Hawaiian culture recognize the overt and at times blatant political-ness of hula which fame and memorialize our Mōʻī, yet for the most part, much of that might be missed by the untrained eye–maybe it is meant to be missed. But "political" gatherings, protests, or even legal cases brought into international courts like the Hague Permanent Court of Arbitrations, remain largely un-embraced by the broader population in comparison to that of music, art, and hula festivals. I hope that might change as Hawaiian history becomes understood by the younger generation at earlier ages, and as the community as a whole steadily dissolves the fear of being branded "political." The high school students that I have seen from many of the Charter and Hawaiian immersion schools are miles ahead of where myself and many of my classmates were that their age. Many of these children seem to exhibit an understanding that culture is politics and politics are cultural–its simply what they do.

I am a part of a generation of Hawaiians who have taken up kūleana in a wide expanse of fields, the likeness of which may have not been seen since prior to 1893. Our parents and grandparents were the creators of the Hawaiian Renaissance and we are the seeds, our roots have taken hold and we have begun to flower. There is a group of twenty and thirty some-things who have become navigators, fishpond managers, kalo farmers, activists, musicians, film-makers,

carpenters, lawyers, doctors, educators, contractors, firemen, and every other profession. Many of us speak our language and have come to know our history. Those of our kūpuna and parents generation have accomplished and fought to make our lives a reality and I think I can speak for all in saying we are forever grateful. I am sure that the generation that follows us will outmatch whatever achievements that we are able to accomplish. Still, I am excited to see what we can do.

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[1] He Moolelo Kaao O Kamapuaa *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui* June 22, 1891.
[2] Trask, Haunani-Kay. *From a Native Daughter : Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i*. Rev. ed. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999. Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires : How Shall We Live in Harmony? : Pehea Lā E Pono Ai?* (Honolulu, HI: Bishop Museum Press, 1992). Jon Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui : A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002). Noenoe Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism*, American Encounters/Global Interactions (Durham [N.C.]: Duke University Press, 2004).
[3] See Figure 1.
[4] Thiong'o Ngugi wa, *Decolonising the Mind : The Politics of Language in African Literature* (London: J. Currey ; Heinemann, 1986).p. 3. "The effects of a cultural bomb is to annihilate a people's belief in their names, in their languages, in their environment, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in themselves. It makes them see their past as one wasteland of non-achievement and it makes them want to distance themselves from that wasteland...It makes them identify with that which is decadent and reactionary, all those forces which would stop their own springs of life. Possibilities of triumph or victory are seen as remote ridiculous dreams."
[5] Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai?* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1992). p.22.
[6] Given the Hawaiian Kingdom's recognition as an Independent and Sovereign state, under international law Independent states cannot be colonized. The term used to describe the situation where one Independent state is operating control or governance within the territory of another Independent state is occupation, such as the United States in Iraq today. The important part of this distinction is that occupations are not permanent, and are governed by the principles of International law in regard to occupation.
[7] I am using the definition of "Colonized in the mind" as seems to be consistent in the writings of Fannon, Ngugi, Nandy, which speak about the ways in which the colonized become disconnected to their own language, worldview, epistemologies, and traditions and regard them in a negative sense. Through this process the colonized replace what they formally valued with that of the colonizer. Positive attributes of language, culture, of "being" become associated with the colonizer, while at the same time planting a belief of innate inferiority of the colonized to the colonizer. There is also a discussion in these works on the dialectic relationship between the colonized and the colonizer, in which there develops an essential need for the relationship, where one cannot exists without the other. It may be the case that much of these social processes begin to take place in the Hawaiian Islands after the Intervention of 1893. Following these events the

Pgs take on a strategy toward Americanizing the population, and obliterating the link of the native population to their ali'i. While this process is similar on the ground to the social experience of those formally colonized, I still would hesitate to use the discourses of colonialism to explain the events in the Hawaiian islands post-1893, because of the political implications for the Hawaiian Kingdom under international law. Some scholars have suggested that it is better to term the processes taking place post-1893 as occupation, where the political circumstances are vastly different from colonization, though the social situations (oppression, attempts at the obliteration of native language and worldviews) are nearly identical.

[8] "colonialism" *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Politics*. Ed. Iain McLean and Alistair McMillan. Oxford University Press, 2003. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press. University of Hawaii - Manoa, Hamilton Library. 3 October 2007 <http://micro189.lib3.hawaii.edu:2493/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t86.e230>

[9] Alastair Pennycook, *English and the Discourses of Colonialism, Politics of Language* (London ; New York: Routledge, 1998). p. 35.

[10] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies : Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London ; New York: Zed Books, 1999). p. 21.

[11] Ibid. p. 21.

[12] Ngugi wa, *Decolonising the Mind : The Politics of Language in African Literature*. p. 16.

[13] Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Gove Press, 1963). p. 36.

[14] Ian J. Barrow, *Making History, Drawing Territory : British Mapping in India, C.1756-1905* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2003). p.2.

[15] Ibid. p. 10.

[16] Kapil Raj, "Circulation and the Emergence of Modern Mapping : Great Britain and Early Colonial India, 1764-1820," in *Society and Circulation : Mobile People and Itinerant Cultures in South Asia, 1750-1950*, ed. Claude Markovits, Jacques Pouchepadass, and Sanjay Subrahmanyam (Delhi: Permanent Black 2003). p. 53.

[17] David N. Livingstone, *Putting Science in Its Place : Geographies of Scientific Knowledge*, Science. Culture (Chicago ; London: University of Chicago Press, 2003). p.14.

[18] Giselle Byrnes, *Boundary Markers : Land Surveying and the Colonisation of New Zealand* (Wellington, N.Z.: Bridget Williams Books, 2001). pp. 4-5.

[19] Ibid. p. 6.

[20] Denis E. Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (Totowa, N.J.: Barnes & Noble Books, 1985). pp. 163-175. Byrnes, *Boundary Markers : Land Surveying and the Colonisation of New Zealand*. p. 77.

[21] I place the West in quotes because it is used to describe a society that is relatively more East than West of Hawai'i.

[22] Hiram Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands; or, the Civil, Religious, and Political History of Those Islands*, 3d ed. (New York,: Praeger Publishers, 1969). p. 86.

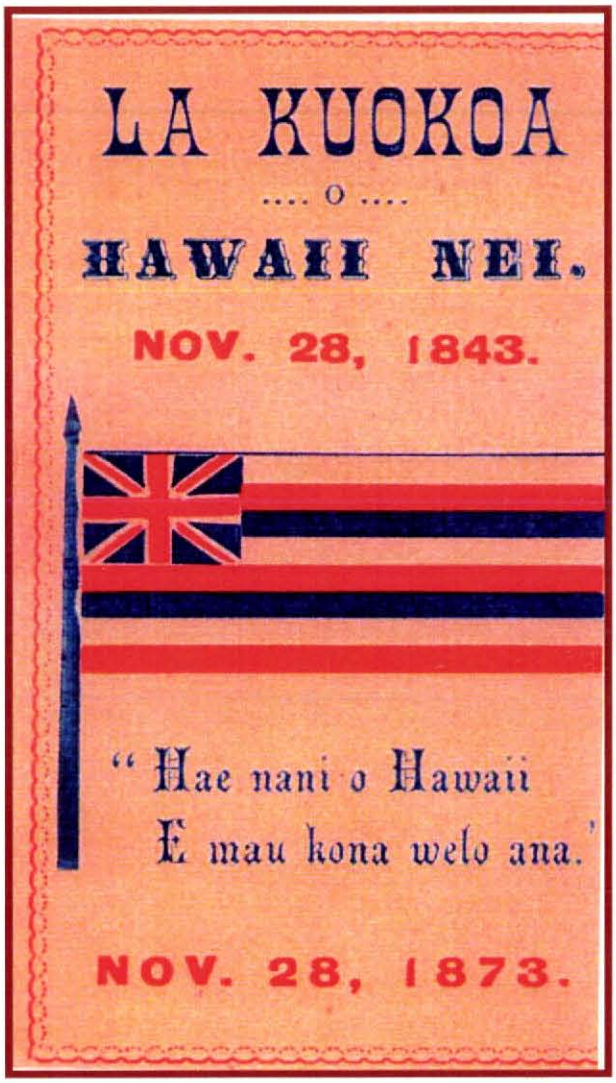
[23] Anthony Giddens, *The Constitution of Society : Outline of the Theory of Structuration* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984). p. 25.

[24] Paul J. Cloke, Chris Philo, and David Sadler, *Approaching Human Geography : An Introduction to Contemporary Theoretical Debates*, Mappings (New York: Guilford Press, 1991). pp. 101-105

[25] "Oxford English Dictionary ". (Place Published, 1989.

[26] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes : Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London ; New York: Routledge, 1992). p. 6-7.

[27] Ibid. p. 7.
[28] Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary : Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian*, Rev. and enl. ed. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986). p. 548.
[29] Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London ; New York: Routledge, 1994). p. 3.
[30] Ibid. p. 112.
[31] For a discussion of these events see Chapter 3.
[32] Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai?* pp. 85-93.
[33] Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002). p. 203.
[34] Haunani-Kay Trask, *From a Native Daughter : Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i*, Rev. ed. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999). p. 6.
[35] Reinaldo L. Roman, "Governing Man-Gods: Spritism and the Struggle for Progress in Republican Cuba," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 37 (2007). Also see. Stefania Capone, "Transatlantic Dialogue: Roger Bastide and the African American Religions," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 37, no. 2007 (2007).
[36] Winichakul Thongchai, *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994). p. 15.
[37] Ibid. p. 16.
[38] Ibid. p. 40. Thus they distinguished worldly matters and spiritual affairs from each other, though they were related. They believed that Buddhism was the truth of the latter whereas Western science was the truth of the former. Thus they openly welcomed Western science more than any other group in Siam--so much so, in fact, that missionaries regarded this Buddhist orthodoxy movement as the progressive faction in Siam.
[39] Ibid. p. 131.
[40] Ibid. p. 131.
[41] S. Merry, *Colonizing Hawai'i, The Cultural Power of Law,* New Jersey, 2000. ;
N. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed,* Durham and London: 2004, p. 42. ; L. Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires; pehea la e pono ai ?,* Honolulu, 1992. ; J. Chinen, *Original Land Titles in Hawai'i.* Honolulu, 1971. ; J. Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio, *Dismembering Lahui: a history of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887,* Honolulu, 2002.
[42] Although palena often extended into the sea this fact is not significant for this discussion, because resources were included within palena and islands (at least Hawai'i, Maui, O'ahu, Kaua'i, Moloka'i, Lāna'i and Ni'ihau) seem to have been in many cases distinct territories.
[43] Patrick Vinton Kirch, *On the Roads of the Winds* (Berkeley University of California Press, 2000). pp. 296-300.



[44] This is an image of Hawaiian nationalism. It appeared in a Hawaiian language newspaper in 1873. It is the Flag of the Hawaiian Kingdom, used to celebrate November 28 the national independence day for the Hawaiian Kingdom. The words in quotations could be translated as, "The beloved flag of Hawai'i, Long may it continue to fly."

[45] Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism.* p. 151.

[46] Tonga was nearly another example, but it was taken as a protectorate of Great Britain in 1900 and achieved its status as a sovereign state on June 4 1970.

[47] Trask, *From a Native Daughter : Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i.* p. 7.

[48] Doug Herman, "The Aloha State: Place Names and the Ant-Conquest of Hawai'i," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 89, no. 1 (1999).p. 84.

[49] Abraham Fornander, *Ancient History of the Hawaiian People to the Times of Kamehameha I* (Honolulu, Hawai'i: Mutual Publishing, 1996). pp. 234-235.

[50] This situation has similarities to the description in, Derek Gregory, *Geographical Imaginations* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1994). p. 32. In other ways, of course, "they" were neither pliant nor silenced, and in the early phases of the colonial encounter in particular indigenous peoples

could be "no less powerful and no less able to appropriate than the whites who imagine[d] themselves as intruders."

[51] See Chapter 2 for a discussion of the evolution of the position of Mōʻī.

[52] Fornander, *Ancient History of the Hawaiian People to the Times of Kamehameha I.* pp. 67-70.

[53] Ibid. pp. 254-255.

[54] Trask, *From a Native Daughter : Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i.* p. 5.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Kameʻeleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai?.* p. 16.

[57] On page 15 Kameʻeleihiwa writes, "Recently, much attention has been focused on the 1893 overthrow of Queen Liliʻuokalani and the demise of the Hawaiian monarchy. But the real loss of sovereignty began with the 1848 Māhele, when the *Mōʻī* and *Aliʻi Nui* lost ultimate control of the ʻĀina."

[58] Japan, Thailand, Indonesia and others.

[59] Kameʻeleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai?* p. 157-158.

[60] Ibid. p. 232.

[61] Jon Kamakawiwoʻole Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui : A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002). p. 3.

[62] Osorio, Dismembering Lāhui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887. pp. 37-43.

[63] Ibid. p. 42.

[64] Ibid. p. 9.

[65] David E. Stannard, *Before the Horror : The Population of Hawai'i on the Eve of Western Contact* (Honolulu, Hawaii: Social Science Research Institute, University of Hawaii, 1989).

[66] Alexander Kalanikualiholihokekapu ʻIolani Liholiho II. Kamehameha IV. April 7 1855.

[67] Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887.* pp. 229-235.

[68] Ibid. p. 195.

[69] Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism.* p. 38.

[70] Ibid. p. 162.

[71] Ibid. p. 9.

[72] Ibid.

[73] Ibid. p. 97.

[74] Ibid. p. 202.

[75] Sally Engle Merry, *Colonizing Hawai'i : The Cultural Power of Law, Princeton Studies in Culture/Power/History* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000). p. 13.

[76] Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui : A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887.* p. 74.

[77] Anthony Giddens, *Central Problems in Social Theory : Action, Structure, and Contradiction in Social Analysis* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979). p. 55. "'Action' or agency, as I use it, thus does not refer to a series of discrete acts combined together, but to *a continuous flow of conduct.* We may define action, if I may borrow a formulation from a previous work, as involving a 'stream of actual or contemplated casual interventions of corporeal beings in the ongoing process of events-in-the-world. " The use of Gidden's definition of agency might provide insight into the actions of Hawaiian aliʻi in the Kingdom.

[78] Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, 3 vols., vol. 1 (Honolulu,: University of Hawaiʻi, 1938). p. 415.

[79] Kalanianaʻole collection M-80-5-3 Hawaii State Archives. This folder is titled *Beginnings of Government by Aliʻi Rule,* contains a moʻolelo, which seems to be in Kūhiō's handwriting. Given that there is no author listed, and the moʻolelo is found in Kalanianaʻole collection, and I find the handwriting to match that of Kūhiō, I am assuming it to be his writing, which might not be necessarily true. I have attempted to find information that would lead me to a definitive answer, but at this point it is uncertain. It

is also possible that this is a copied version of an article that was written in one of the many Hawaiian language newspapers as well, but I have not been able to definitively answer that either. The first page seems to be missing and the last page states "Aole i pau ke kopeia ana o keia moolelo, lawe e ia Ka Buke." Which might suggest that it was a previously written work that was being copied by Kūhiō or someone working for Kūhiō. Throughout the document the author goes into great detail into the actions of some famous ali'i, Such as Ulu, Hema, Puna, Kapawa, Kaha'i, Paumakua, Mailikūkahi, and others. If it was not Kūhiō that wrote this, it was clearly someone who possessed vast knowledge about the genealogy of ali'i and their mo'olelo and shows that this knowledge had been maintained irregardless of educational systems or influences of Europeans or Americans. That this is the case is the most significant, regardless of authorship. I looked through large amounts of Laws and bills in an attempt to find exactly which bill this is, but was unable to find the exact bill. I had a few of the archivist at Hawai'i State Archives helping me search but they were unable to confirm it as well. Many of them suspected that it was a draft bill of what became the Organic Act.

[80] This was a secret society founded by Kalākaua which according to Article 1 of the constitution of Hale Nauā, "The object of this Society is the revival of Ancient Sciences of Hawaii in combination with the promotion and advancement of Modern Sciences, Art, Literature and Philanthropy." *Constitution and By-Laws of the Hale Naua or Temple of Sciences,* (San Francisco: Bancroft Company Printers 1880). p. 6.

[81] Ibid. p. 3.

[82] In this mo'olelo is states that Kaulu and Ulu are the same person. "Oia no hoi o Ulu i ikeia ma ka helu 14 mai a Wakea mai."

[83] Ibid p. 5.

[84] There is also a discussion of the moolelo of Paumakua who is a great navigator and brings back three haole to Ka Pae 'Āina following his voyages.

[85] Robert J. Hommon, "The Formation of Primitive States in Pre-Contact Hawai'i" (Thesis, University of Arizona., 1976). Hommon argues that Pre-Contact Hawai'i (which he means Hawai'i prior to Cook, not Ulu making contact with others in the world) was an "archaic state."

On p.4. he lists the following, "A "primitive" state must include the following features: (1) a government that exercises the "monopoly of power;" (2) at least two socio-economic classes, and (3) boundaries that are maintained and modified by governmental force." In certain ways there may be similarities between Hammons listing of features and (1) Mō'ī, (2) Kālai'āina, and (3) Palena

[86] The work of groups such as *Ho'olaupa'i* is and will be a tremendous aid to future researchers who are skilled in 'ōlelo makuahine. I am positive that as more of this vast information becomes available, scholars will be able to conduct a more detailed analysis of these structures through comparisons of various mo'olelo, of chiefs of various islands throughout Hawai'i. Work such as this would provide an ability to compare and contrast different examples of Kālai'āina, and the results and players of each of them. As well as, places like Hana, Maui which were often controlled by Hawai'i island chiefs. Future research might be able to answer what a Kālai'āina looked like on Maui when Hana was under the control of Hawaii island ali'i, as well as was the Ali'i nui on Maui called Mō'ī if he or she did not control the entire island (i.e. Hana)?

[87] Lorrin Andrews, "A Dictonary of the Hawaiian Language," ed. Albert J. Shutz Noenoe Silva (Waipahu: Island Heritage Publishing 2003). p. 384.

[88] Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai?* pp. 19- 20.

[89] Stephen Desha, *He Moolelo Kaao No Kekūhaupio Ke Koa Kaulana O Ke Au O Kamehameha Ka Nui,* 2 vols. (Hilo, Hawai'i: Hale Kuamo'o-Kikowaena-'Ōlelo Hawai'i, 1996). Vol. 1. p. 142.

[90] Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai?*. p. 44.

[91] Carolyn Kēhaunani Cachola Abad, "The Evolution of Hawaiian Socio-Political Complexity: An Analysis of Hawaiian Oral Tradition" (University of Hawai'i, 2000). p. 80.
[92] Samuel Elbert Mary Kawena Puku'i, "Hawaiian Dictionary," (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1986). Andrews, "A Dictonary of the Hawaiian Language."
[93] Mary Kawena Puku'i, "Hawaiian Dictionary."
[94] Andrews, "A Dictonary of the Hawaiian Language."
[95] Fornander, *Ancient History of the Hawaiian People to the Times of Kamehameha I.* p. 64.
[96] Abad, "The Evolution of Hawaiian Socio-Political Complexity: An Analysis of Hawaiian Oral Tradition". p. 276.
[97] Mary Kawena Puku'i, "Hawaiian Dictionary."
[98] Fornander, Ancient History of the Hawaiian People to the Times of Kamehameha I. p. 64.
[99] Ibid. p. 66.
[100] These time periods will be discussed later in the chapter.
[101] David Kalākaua, *The Legends and Myths of Hawaii* (Honolulu: Mutual Pub., 1990). pp. 97-98.
[102] Fornander, Ancient History of the Hawaiian People to the Times of Kamehameha I. p. 67.
[103] Ibid. p. 66.
[104] Kalaniana'ole collection M-80-5-3 Hawaii State Archives .
[105] Kalaniana'ole collection M-80-5-3. Hawaii State Archives.
[106] Ibid.
[107] Other sources list that Heleipawa and Kapawa are the same person, while Samuel Kamakau writes that in the Maui and O'ahu histories that Heleipawa is the father of Aikanaka, and Kapawa is the father of Heleipawa. *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* 4 May 1865, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* 18 November 1865. There is also a discussion of Kapawa and Heleipawa is the Dissertation of Kehau Abad *The Evolution of Hawaiian Socio-Political Complexity: An Analysis of Hawaiian Oral Traditions* p. 169. Abad's work is the most comprehensive study into 'Ōiwi genealogies and oral histories by a modern 'Ōiwi historian to date.
[108] Fornander, *Ancient History of the Hawaiian People to the Times of Kamehameha I.* p.21. There is a discussion about Kapawa and Heleipawa in this section as it pertains to manipulation of genealogies.
[109] Edith Kawelohea McKinzie, *Hawaiian Genealogies*, ed. Ishmael Stagner, 2 vols., vol. 1 (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998). This is a complied genealogy extracted from an article in the newspaper *Ka Noanoa* October 25 1842 and an article in the newspaper *Ka Makaainana* on the 20th and 27th of April 1896.
[110] As the position of Mō'ī depends on a particular set of circumstances, Malo may have chosen to use the term Ali'i Nui which is less specific. In most cases a Mō'ī was an Ali'i Nui, but if Malo were to have used the term Mō'ī in his description he would be leaving out the situations that existed when there was no Mō'ī on the island and the different districts were being ruled opposing Ali'i nui. He description allows his metaphor to be applied in both situations where a Mō'ī consolidated rule on the island and situations where Alii Nui were ruling as separate Ali'i 'Ai Moku.
[111] Fornander, Ancient History of the Hawaiian People to the Times of Kamehameha I. p. 30.
[112] See attached genealogy.
[113] Kalākaua, *The Legends and Myths of Hawaii* p. 85.
[114] Fornander, Ancient History of the Hawaiian People to the Times of Kamehameha I. p. 30.
[115] S.M. Kamakau, "Ka Moolelo Hawaii," *Ke Au Okoa*, 11 Novemaba 1869.
[116] Ibid.
[117] Kalākaua, *The Legends and Myths of Hawaii* p. 177. Kalākaua clearly states that Kalaunuiohua was the "king" of Hawai'i island and that in that time period Kamaluohua was the "*moi* of Maui". Also he states that Kahokuohua was the "*moi* of Molokai". Also that the "*moi*" of Kauai was Kukona (p. 189). It is

also interesting that he refers to Huapouleilei as the "alii nui" of O'ahu and notes that "his possession embracing the districts of Ewa, Waianae, and Waialua, while the Koolau and Kona divisions were ruled, respectively, by Moku-a-Loe and Kahui. By doing this Kalākaua seems to be making a clarification between Mō'ī and Ali'i nui.

[118] Fornander, *Ancient History of the Hawaiian People to the Times of Kamehameha I.* p.22. Also Davida Malo, *Ka Moolelo Hawaii*, ed. Malcolm Nāea Chun. trans. Malcolm Nāea Chun (Honolulu: First People's Publications, 2006). pp. 5-7.

[119] Whether he was referred as a Mō'ī or as an ali'i 'ai moku, either of these terms would now have to refer to an ali'i who consolidated rule over an entire island. Which is the evolution I am trying to trace.

[120] Kalākaua, *The Legends and Myths of Hawaii* p. 178.

[121] Ibid. p.181.

[122] Fornander, Ancient History of the Hawaiian People to the Times of Kamehameha I. p. 68.

[123] Malo, *Ka Moolelo Hawaii.* P. 142. Malo also notes that Kalaunuiohua continues this practice of making Kia'āina of the ruling chiefs of Moloka'i and O'ahu.

[124] Fornander, Ancient History of the Hawaiian People to the Times of Kamehameha I. pp. 67-69.

[125] Abad, "The Evolution of Hawaiian Socio-Political Complexity: An Analysis of Hawaiian Oral Tradition". pp. 308-309.

[126] Fornander, Ancient History of the Hawaiian People to the Times of Kamehameha I. p. 28.

[127] An excellent example of this is the mo'olelo of Kamehameha's rise to power. In some accounts Kamehameha is a wohi chief, in others he is naha. Two of his adversaries, Kīwala'o and Keawemauhili are of the higher nī'aupi'o ranks. Another example could have been 'Umi, or the mo'olelo of Mā'ilikūkahi who is offered the position of Mō'ī by the 'aha ali'i after the former Mō'ī is removed from power. See. Kalākaua, *The Legends and Myths of Hawaii* p. 353-368. Malo, *Ka Moolelo Hawaii.* pp. 146-152. Desha, *He Moolelo Kaao No Kekūhaupio Ke Koa Kaulana O Ke Au O Kamehameha Ka Nui.* etc.

[128] Giddens, *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration.*

[129] Andrews, "A Dictonary of the Hawaiian Language." p. 453.

[130] Brenton Kamanamaikalani Beamer, "Huli Ka Palena" (University of Hawaii at Mānoa, 2005). p. 120.

[131] Ibid.

[132] Malo, *Ka Moolelo Hawaii.* p. 87.

[133] S.N. Haleole, "He Moolelo No Kalaehina," *Ka Hoku o Ka Pakipika*, Okatoba 10 1861. See also the Mo'olelo of 'Umi.

[134] Kamakau, "Ka Moolelo Hawaii." 11 Novemaba 1869

[135] C.J. Lyons, "Land Matters in Hawaii," *The Islander* 1875. 2 July.

[136] James King, *The Journals of Captain James Cook* ed. J.C. Beaglehole, vol. III (Cambridge Haklu Society and the University Press, 1967). p. 82.

[137] Stannard, *Before the Horror: The Population of Hawai'i on the Eve of Western Contact.*

[138] Fornander, Ancient History of the Hawaiian People to the Times of Kamehameha I. p. 89.

[139] Ibid. p. 88.

[140] Abad, "The Evolution of Hawaiian Socio-Political Complexity: An Analysis of Hawaiian Oral Tradition". pp. 310-312.

[141] Kalaniana'ole collection M-80-5-3 Hawaii State Archives.

[142] Fornander, *Ancient History of the Hawaiian People to the Times of Kamehameha I.* p. 89. He caused the island to be thoroughly surveyed, and boundaries between differing divisions and lands be definitely and permanently marked out, thus obviating future disputes between neighboring chiefs and landholders.

S.M. Kamakau, *The Tales and Traditions of the People of Old, Nā Mo'olelo a Ka Po'e Kahiko* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1991). p. 53. When the kingdom passed to Mā'ilikūkahi, the land divisions were in a state of confusion; the *ahupua'a*, the *kū*, the *'ili 'āina*, the *mo'o 'āina*, the *pauku 'āina*, and the *kīhāpai* were not clearly defined. Therefore Mā'ilikūkahi ordered the chiefs, *ali'i*, the lesser chiefs, *kaukau ali'i*, the warrior chiefs, *pū'ali ali'i*, and the overseers, *luna* to divided all of O'ahu into *moku, ahupua'a, 'ili kūpono, 'ili 'āina,* and *mo'o 'āina*.

[143] Kamakau, The Tales and Traditions of the People of Old, Nā Mo'olelo a Ka Po'e Kahiko. p.53.

[144] Martha Warren Beckwith, *Hawaiian Mythology* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1970). p. 383.

[145] S.M. Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii* (Honolulu: The Kamehameha School Press, 1992). p. 19. Also see Kame'eleihiwa 1992, p.27.

[146] Fornander, Ancient History of the Hawaiian People to the Times of Kamehameha I. p. 93.

[147] Abad, "The Evolution of Hawaiian Socio-Political Complexity: An Analysis of Hawaiian Oral Tradition". pp. 308-314.

[148] Lyons, "Land Matters in Hawaii." 16 July.

[149] Malo, *Ka Moolelo Hawaii.* p.11.

[150] Ibid. p. 11.

[151] Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai?* p. 27.

[152] Translated by Mary Kawena Puku'i Unknown, "Hen Index," (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Archives).

[153] Lyons, "Land Matters in Hawaii." 2 July 1875.

[154] Hawaii CZM Program, http://state.hi.us/dbedt/czm/program/section309.shtml.

[155] Bruce Braun, *The Intemperate Rainforest : Nature, Culture, and Power on Canada's West Coast* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002). p. 47.

[156] Lyons, "Land Matters in Hawaii." 1875 9 July.

[157] Ibid. 1875 9 July

[158] *Boundaries of Pulehunui*, 4 Haw. 239 (1879), Boundary Commission, "The Ahupuaa of Kapapala," in *Volume A No.1 Page 437* (1873).

[159] Mary Kawena Puku'i, *Olelo Noeau Hawaiian Proverbs & Poetical Sayings* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1983). p. 155. # 1432 "The people of Kalaoa in east Hilo were noted for their lack of hospitality. To avoid having to ask visitors or passers-by to partake of food with them, they ate in the dark where they could not be seen.

[160] Malo, *Ka Moolelo Hawaii.* p. 85.

[161] Lyons, "Land Matters in Hawaii." 1875 16 July.

[162] Ibid.

[163] E. S. Craighill Handy, Elizabeth Green Handy, and Mary Kawena Pukui, *Native Planters in Old Hawaii : Their Life, Lore, and Environment*, Rev. ed., *Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin ; 233* (Honolulu, Hawaii: Bishop Museum Press, 1995). p. 49.

[164] Lyons, "Land Matters in Hawaii."

[165] Ibid.

[166] Desha, *He Moolelo Kaao No Kekūhaupio Ke Koa Kaulana O Ke Au O Kamehameha Ka Nui.*

[167] Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai?* pp. 51-52.

[168] For more on this see my masters thesis, Beamer, "Huli Ka Palena".

[169] Malo, *Ka Moolelo Hawaii.* p. 106.

[170] Ibid. p. 107.

[171] Ibid. p. 107.

[172] Fornander, *Ancient History of the Hawaiian People to the Times of Kamehameha I.* p. 63.

[173] Livingstone, *Putting Science in Its Place : Geographies of Scientific Knowledge.* p.14.

[174] RA/GEO/MAIN/14966 Illustrated by the Permission of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.

[175] S.M. Kamakau, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* May 4 1865.
[176] Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau, *Ke Kumu Aupuni Ka Moolelo Hawaii No Kamehameha Ka Na'i Aupuni a Me Kāna Aupuni I Hookumu Ai*, ed. Ka 'Ahahui 'Ōlelo Hawai'i (Honolulu Hawai'i: Ke Kumu Lama, 1996). p. 41.
[177] Ibid. p. 42.
[178] Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism*. pp.20-21.
[179] Gananath Obeyesekere, *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook : European Mythmaking in the Pacific* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press ;, 1997). p. 3.
[180] Desha, *He Moolelo Kaao No Kekūhaupio Ke Koa Kaulana O Ke Au O Kamehameha Ka Nui*. Vol. 1. p. 79.
[181] Ibid. Vol. 1. p. 44.
[182] Ibid. Vol. 1. p. 44.. This is a reference to how Wauke or Hawaiian Mullberry is grown, the shoots are plucked so that the bark will be suitable to use for Kapa. By Keawemauhili making a reference to it he is essentially saying to do away with the child before he becomes strong.
[183] Ibid. p. 141.
[184] Ibid. Vol. 2. p. 333.
[185] Ibid. Vol. 2. p. 336.
[186] Fornander, *Ancient History of the Hawaiian People to the Times of Kamehameha I*. p. 234.
[187] Ibid. pp. 234-235.
[188] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes : Travel Writing and Transculturation*.
[189] Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*. pp. 29-30.
[190] Desha, *He Moolelo Kaao No Kekūhaupio Ke Koa Kaulana O Ke Au O Kamehameha Ka Nui*.. p 341.
[191] Louis Claude de Saulses de Freycient, "Hawaii in 1819," *Pacific Anthropological Records* No 26 (1978). p. 20.
[192] Ibid. p. 21.
[193] , *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, Kekemapa 23 1835.
[194] Freycient, "Hawaii in 1819."
[195] Pasuk Phongpaichit Chris Baker, *A History of Tailand* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005). pp. 36-80.
[196] Desha, *He Moolelo Kaao No Kekūhaupio Ke Koa Kaulana O Ke Au O Kamehameha Ka Nui*. pp. 145-146.
[197] Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*. p. 29.
[198] Kamakau, *Ke Kumu Aupuni Ka Moolelo Hawaii No Kamehameha Ka Na'i Aupuni a Me Kāna Aupuni I Hookumu Ai*. Desha, *He Moolelo Kaao No Kekūhaupio Ke Koa Kaulana O Ke Au O Kamehameha Ka Nui*. Fornander, *Ancient History of the Hawaiian People to the Times of Kamehameha I*.
[199] Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*. Vol 1. pp. 41-43
[200] Kamakau, *Ke Kumu Aupuni Ka Moolelo Hawaii No Kamehameha Ka Na'i Aupuni a Me Kāna Aupuni I Hookumu Ai*. p. 177, 191-192.
[201] Rhoda E.A. Hackler, "Alliance or Cession? Missing Letter from Kamehameha I to King George Iii of England Casts Light on 1794 Agreement " *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 20 (1986).
[202] Fornander, *Ancient History of the Hawaiian People to the Times of Kamehameha I*. p. 341.
[203] It could be possible that Kamehameha had the Hawaiian flag designed to include the Union Jack as a means to illustrate the alliance with Britain and possibly because the material itself was provided by the British. see Desha, *He Moolelo Kaao No Kekūhaupio Ke Koa Kaulana O Ke Au O Kamehameha Ka Nui*. Vol 2. pp. 278-280. Also footnote 28 in the letter of April 30 1812, the

Earl of Liverpool writes to Kamehameha that, "a considerable quantity of Bunting was sent last Year by His Royal Highnesses directions to the Governor of New South Wales, with orders that it should be forwarded to You, with the least possible delay."
[204] RA/GEO/MAIN/14966 Illustrated by the Permission of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.
[205] Hawai'i State Archives 402-2-7
[206] Freycient, "Hawaii in 1819." p. 22.
[207] Fornander, *Ancient History of the Hawaiian People to the Times of Kamehameha I.* pp. 246-269.
[208] Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom.* Vol. p. 47.
[209] Ibid. Vol 1. pp. 50-51.
[210] Kamakau, *Ke Kumu Aupuni Ka Moolelo Hawaii No Kamehameha Ka Na'i Aupuni a Me Kāna Aupuni I Hookumu Ai.* p. 200.
[211] Ibid. p. 200.
[212] Ibid. p. 200.
[213] Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai?* pp. 42-43.
[214] Kamakau, *Ke Kumu Aupuni Ka Moolelo Hawaii No Kamehameha Ka Na'i Aupuni a Me Kāna Aupuni I Hookumu Ai.* p. 201.
[215] Lota Kapuaiwa Alexander Liholiho, "Journal of Kamehameha V with Brother Kamehameha Iv at the Chiefs Children's School," in *Journal Collection, Original Manuscript* (Honolulu: Mission Houses Museum Library 1844). Call # MsJK13. In this journal Alexander Refers to II visiting them on a nearly daily basis.
[216] Kamakau, *Ke Kumu Aupuni Ka Moolelo Hawaii No Kamehameha Ka Na'i Aupuni a Me Kāna Aupuni I Hookumu Ai.* p. 197.
[217] Ibid. p. 203.
[218] Ibid. p. 207. In passages 20-21 Kamakau discusses that the practice of 'Ai Noa (free-eating) was common. Following the death of a high ranking chief who was greatly loved the system would be suspended and women could eat kapu foods and enter into heiau. Following this period of morning the new Mō'ī would reinstate the Kapu and these practices would cease. What was different in this case was that some ali'i had wished to maintain the free-eating and desired that Liholiho not re-establish the Kapu which had been emplaced in Hawai'i for generations.
[219] For a discussion on the rise of Ka'ahumanu and her role in the 'Ai Noa see Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai?* pp. 69-79.
[220] Kamakau, *Ke Kumu Aupuni Ka Moolelo Hawaii No Kamehameha Ka Na'i Aupuni a Me Kāna Aupuni I Hookumu Ai.* p. 209.
[221] Ibid. p. 209.
[222] Ibid. p. 199.
[223] Ibid. p. 199.
[224] Ibid. p. 210.
[225] Freycient, "Hawaii in 1819." p. 14.
[226] Ibid. p. 14.
[227] Ibid. p. 14.
[228] This man is called by differing first names in the works of Freycient, Kamakau, and the Letter written by Henry Ellis in 1824.
[229] Freycient, "Hawaii in 1819." p. 20.
[230] Kamakau, *Ke Kumu Aupuni Ka Moolelo Hawaii No Kamehameha Ka Na'i Aupuni a Me Kāna Aupuni I Hookumu Ai.* p. 210.
[231] Ibid. p. 210.

[232] Kalākaua clearly thinks this to be the case. See Kalākaua, *The Legends and Myths of Hawaii* p. 433. "Not being a *tabu* chief by birth, he was easily persuaded by Kaahumanu to lend his assistance in depriving those of higher rank of their *tabu* prerogatives, and so to this end he and his brother Boki were baptized by the Roman Catholic chaplain of the French corvette *L'Uranie* shortly after the assumption of the government by Liholiho.
[233] Kamakau, *Ke Kumu Aupuni Ka Moolelo Hawaii No Kamehameha Ka Na'i Aupuni a Me Kāna Aupuni I Hookumu Ai*. p. 211.
[234] Ibid. p. 211.
[235] Kalākaua, *The Legends and Myths of Hawaii* p. 444.
[236] Kamakau, *Ke Kumu Aupuni Ka Moolelo Hawaii No Kamehameha Ka Na'i Aupuni a Me Kāna Aupuni I Hookumu Ai*. p. 216.
[237] Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai?* p. 79. For a her further interpretations on reasons for abandoning the kapu See pp. 79-82.
[238] Kamakau, *Ke Kumu Aupuni Ka Moolelo Hawaii No Kamehameha Ka Na'i Aupuni a Me Kāna Aupuni I Hookumu Ai*. p. 245.
[239] Ibid. pp. 244-246.
[240] Ibid. pp. 244-245.
[241] Ibid. 246.
[242] Ibid. p. 245.
[243] Ibid. p. 249.
[244] Ibid.
[245] Ibid.
[246] Albert J. Schutz, *The Voices of Eden a History of Hawaiian Language Studies* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1994). pp. 85-97.
[247] Edwin Dwight, *Memoirs of Henry Obookiah* (Honolulu: Woman's Board of Missions for the Pacific Islands, the Hawaii Conference, the United Church of Christ, 1968). p. 37. "I seeked for the Lord Jesus for a long time, but I found him not. It was because I did not seek him in a right manner. But still I do think that I have found him on my knees. The lord was not in the wind, neither in the earthquake, nor in the fire, but in a small voice."
[248] Schutz, *The Voices of Eden a History of Hawaiian Language Studies*. p. 87. This is significant because the Missionaries also use the Hebrew likely agreeing with 'Ōpūkahaia's insight.
[249] Dwight, *Memoirs of Henry Obookiah*. p. 36.
[250] Ibid. p. 43.
[251] Schutz, *The Voices of Eden a History of Hawaiian Language Studies*. p. 94.
[252] Ibid. p. 256. "Some of 'Ōpūkaha'ia's grammar is reflected in that of Ruggles" also see p. 99.
[253] Ibid. p. 94.
[254] Kamakau, *Ke Kumu Aupuni Ka Moolelo Hawaii No Kamehameha Ka Na'i Aupuni a Me Kāna Aupuni I Hookumu Ai*. p. 249.
[255] Ibid. 249.
[256] Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism*. p. 32.
[257] Kamakau, *Ke Kumu Aupuni Ka Moolelo Hawaii No Kamehameha Ka Na'i Aupuni a Me Kāna Aupuni I Hookumu Ai*. p. 259.
[258] Ibid. p. 257.
[259] ———, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*. p. 254.
[260] ———, *Ke Kumu Aupuni Ka Moolelo Hawaii No Kamehameha Ka Na'i Aupuni a Me Kāna Aupuni I Hookumu Ai*. p. 257.
[261] Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*. Vol. 1. p. 76.
[262] Ibid.

[263] Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands; or, the Civil, Religious, and Political History of Those Islands*. p. 202
[264] Kamakau, *Ke Kumu Aupuni Ka Moolelo Hawaii No Kamehameha Ka Na'i Aupuni a Me Kāna Aupuni I Hookumu Ai*. pp. 259-260.
[265] Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*. 77.
[266] Kamakau, *Ke Kumu Aupuni Ka Moolelo Hawaii No Kamehameha Ka Na'i Aupuni a Me Kāna Aupuni I Hookumu Ai*. p. 261
[267] Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands; or, the Civil, Religious, and Political History of Those Islands*. P. 203.
[268] Liholiho Kamehameha II from London to Paalua, Kaakumu, and Kaiukeaouli. 1824. Kamahoe Muwa. Hawaii State Archives FO&EX Series 402 This letter is kept in the safe at Hawaii State Archives and is in very poor condition. On the backside of this letter is a note written by Alexander Liholiho in September of 1847, which says he translated this letter on that date. Since today only the Translated version of the letter is legible, it may be that this was Alexander Liholiho's translation.
[269] Ibid.
[270] "Canning, George." Encyclopedia Britannica. 2008. Encyclopedia Britannica Online. 21 Feb. 2008 <http://search.eb.com/eb/article-9020010>.
[271] Hon Frederick Gerald Byng to 1st Earl of Granville. *The National Archives* London PRO/30/29/7/12
[272] Ibid. Nov 11 1824.
[273] Ibid. May 25 1824.
[274] Ibid. May 25 1824.
[275] Ibid. June 8 1824.
[276] Ibid. May 25 1824.
[277] Kamakau, *Ke Kumu Aupuni Ka Moolelo Hawaii No Kamehameha Ka Na'i Aupuni a Me Kāna Aupuni I Hookumu Ai*. p. 261. Samuel Manaiakalani Kamakau, Ke Aupuni Mōʻī : Ka Moʻolelo Hawaiʻi No Kauikeaouli, Keiki Hoʻoilina a Kamehameha a Me Ke Aupuni Āna I Noho Mōʻī Ai (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools Press, 2001). p.1.
[278] Hon Frederick Gerald Byng to 1st Earl of Granville. *The National Archives* London PRO/30/29/7/12 June 15 1824.
[279] Kamakau, Ke Aupuni Mōʻī : Ka Moʻolelo Hawaiʻi No Kauikeaouli, Keiki Hoʻoilina a Kamehameha a Me Ke Aupuni Āna I Noho Mōʻī Ai. p. 1. Also see. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*. Vol. 1. p. 78.
[280] Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*. p. 78.
[281] Hon Frederick Gerald Byng to 1st Earl of Granville. *The National Archives* London PRO/30/29/7/12
[282] Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*. Vol. 1. p. 78
[283] *The National Archives* London ADM 1/3544
[284] Ibid.
[285] Kamakau, *Ke Aupuni Mōʻī : Ka Moʻolelo Hawaiʻi No Kauikeaouli, Keiki Hoʻoilina a Kamehameha a Me Ke Aupuni Āna I Noho Mōʻī Ai*. p. 1.
[286] Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands; or, the Civil, Religious, and Political History of Those Islands*. pp. 202-203. Also see Gavan Daws, *Shoal of Time; History of the Hawaiian Islands* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1974). pp. 71-73.
[287] Kamakau, *Ke Kumu Aupuni Ka Moolelo Hawaii No Kamehameha Ka Na'i Aupuni a Me Kāna Aupuni I Hookumu Ai*. p. 261.
[288] Ibid.

[289] Hon Frederick Gerald Byng to 1st Earl of Granville. *The National Archives* London PRO/30/29/7/12 May 25 1824.
[290] Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*. Vol. 1. p. 79.
[291] Kamakau, Ke Aupuni Mōʻī : Ka Moʻolelo Hawaiʻi No Kauikeaouli, Keiki Hoʻoilina a Kamehameha a Me Ke Aupuni Āna I Noho Mōʻī Ai. p. 1.
[292] Hon Frederick Gerald Byng to 1st Earl of Granville. *The National Archives* London PRO/30/29/7/12 Sept 12-13 1824.
[293] Testimony of Mataio Kekuanaoʻa as translated by William Richards. *Hawaiʻi State Archives* FO& EX 402-2-13.
[294] Fornander, Ancient History of the Hawaiian People to the Times of Kamehameha I. p. 29.
[295] Hon Frederick Gerald Byng to 1st Earl of Granville. *The National Archives* London PRO/30/29/7/12 June 1 1824. This section is unclear because of Byng's handwriting, but the reader can make out the words "a ___pair of Feathered ____and ... I was to appear in them."
[296] Liholiho Kamehameha II from London to Paalua, Kaakumu, and Kaiukeaouli. 1824. Kamahoe Muwa. *Hawaii State Archives* FO&EX Series 402-2-14
[297] Daws, *Shoal of Time; History of the Hawaiian Islands*. P. 73.
[298] Viscount Palmerson. *Hawaii State Archives* British Document Series 375 Consul Incoming 1846-1848.
[299] Merry, *Colonizing Hawaiʻi : The Cultural Power of Law*. Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887*. Kameʻeleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai?*
[300] I recognize that ʻŌiwi had laws in ancient society such as the ʻAi kapu and Māmalahoa. However in this usage I am referring to Law as practiced and recognized by Europeans.
[301] Kamakau, *Ke Aupuni Mōʻī : Ka Moʻolelo Hawaiʻi No Kauikeaouli, Keiki Hoʻoilina a Kamehameha a Me Ke Aupuni Āna I Noho Mōʻī Ai*. p. 7.
[302] Ibid. p. 5.
[303] Ibid. pp. 12-13.
[304] Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*. p. 117. Kuykendall divides Kauikeaouli's reign into 3 segments. According to Kuykendall his actual control of governance began in March of 1833.
[305] Osorio, Dismembering Lāhui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887. p. 11.
[306] Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*. Vol. 1. p.121.
[307] Hawaiʻi State Archives FO&EX 418 Folder 2 1822-1825
[308] Hawaiʻi State Archives FO&EX 418 Folder 1
[309] Hawaiʻi State Archives FO&EX 418 Folder 2 1822-1825
[310] Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*. Vol. 1. p. 78.
[311] Hawaiʻi State Archives FO&EX 418 Folder 5 1838-1839
[312] Kameʻeleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai?* p. 141. Table 4 includes native population estimates from 1778-1896.
[313] Ibid. pp. 150-157. Also See. Juri Mykkèanen, *Inventing Politics : A New Political Anthropology of the Hawaiian Kingdom* (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 2003). pp. 48-59.
[314] Kamakau, Ke Aupuni Mōʻī : Ka Moʻolelo Hawaiʻi No Kauikeaouli, Keiki Hoʻoilina a Kamehameha a Me Ke Aupuni Āna I Noho Mōʻī Ai. p. 189.
[315] "He Kumu Kanawai a Me Ke Kanawai Hooponopono Waiwai No Ko Hawaii Nei Pae Aina Na Kamehameha III I Kau ", (Honolulu: 1839).
[316] Jason Kāpena Achiu, ed., *Ka Hoʻoilina; the Legacy*, vol. 1 (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools, 2002). p. 30.

[317] "He Kumu Kanawai a Me Ke Kanawai Hooponopono Waiwai No Ko Hawaii Nei Pae Aina Na Kamehameha III I Kau ".
[318] Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai?* p. 174.
[319] Mykkèanen, *Inventing Politics : A New Political Anthropology of the Hawaiian Kingdom.* pp. 118-124.
[320] Ibid. p.123.
[321] "He Kumu Kanawai a Me Ke Kanawai Hooponopono Waiwai No Ko Hawaii Nei Pae Aina Na Kamehameha III I Kau ".
[322] Hawai'i State Archives Hawaiian Chiefs M-59 Folder 9 1834-1839 Misc.
[323] Davianna McGregor, *Nā Kua'āina : Living Hawaiian Culture* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007). p. 30.
[324] Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887.* p. 25.
[325] Clearly these classes had existed in the Hawai'i at least since the Mō'ī Kalaunui'ōhua who was covered in chapter 2.
[326] "He Kumu Kanawai a Me Ke Kanawai Hooponopono Waiwai No Ko Hawaii Nei Pae Aina Na Kamehameha III I Kau ". p. 6.
[327] Ibid. p. 15.
[328] Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai?* p. 141.
[329] Donovan Preza who is working on his M.A. in the Geography department has influenced me in thinking about how the massive de-population "plays out on the ground." His work on the Mahele is discussing some of these issues and is a very important insight to consider when attempting to analyze political events and decisions made in this time period.
[330] Desha, *He Moolelo Kaao No Kekūhaupio Ke Koa Kaulana O Ke Au O Kamehameha Ka Nui.* Vol. 2. p. 283. Also those famed ali'i such as Mā'ilikūkahi mā encouraged cultivation.
[331] "Hawaiian Spectator ", (Honolulu: 1839). p. 247.
[332] Hawai'i State Archives, *He Kumu Kanawai A Me Na Kanawai O Ko Hawaii Pae Aina Ua Kau i ke kau ia Kamehameha III.* This is a reprinted version of the Constitution printed in Honolulu in 1841. I had tried to find the original Constitution but it is not located at the Hawaii State Archives, and according the Archivist Jason Achiu its present location is unknown.
[333] Ibid.
[334] Ibid.
[335] Ibid
[336] Kamakau, Ke Aupuni Mō'ī : Ka Mo'olelo Hawai'i No Kauikeaouli, Keiki Ho'oilina a Kamehameha a Me Ke Aupuni Āna I Noho Mō'ī Ai. p. 198.
[337] Handy, Handy, and Pukui, *Native Planters in Old Hawaii : Their Life, Lore, and Environment.* pp. 48-50. Also see Beamer, "Huli Ka Palena".
[338] Kamakau, Ke Aupuni Mō'ī : Ka Mo'olelo Hawai'i No Kauikeaouli, Keiki Ho'oilina a Kamehameha a Me Ke Aupuni Āna I Noho Mō'ī Ai. p. 190.
[339] Mataio Kekuanao'a to Boaz Mahune April 4 1841. *Hawaii State Archives* M-59-12.
[340] The letter could also be referring to the multiple English translations that could be made from these laws. As the official government translation of these laws did not occur until 1842. See Achiu, ed., *Ka Ho'oilina; the Legacy.* p. 35.
[341] Bernice Judd, "William Richards Report to the Sandwich Islands Mission on His First Year in Government Service, 1838-1839.," *Hawaiian Historical Society* 51 (1942). p. 65..
[342] Ibid. p. 174.
[343] Ibid.
[344] Ibid. p. 68.
[345] Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai?*pp. 157-167.

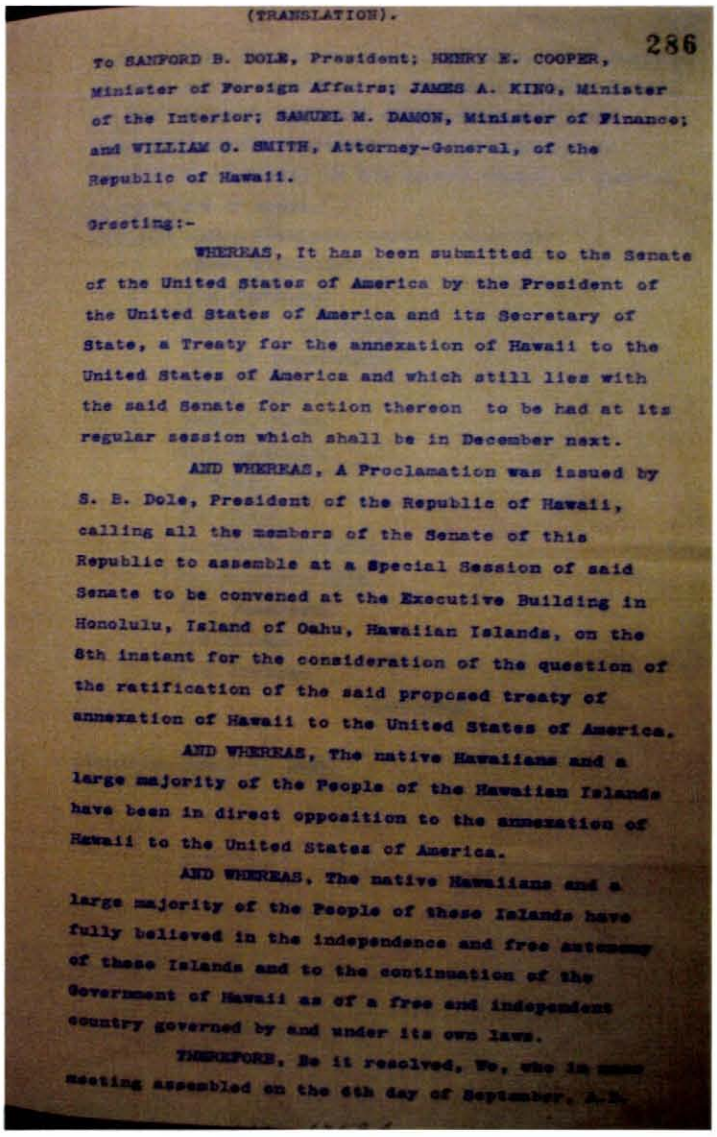
[346] Judd, "William Richards Report to the Sandwich Islands Mission on His First Year in Government Service, 1838-1839.." p. 67.
[347] The newspaper article is located at the Center for Overseas Archives in Aix-en-Provence, France, section Oceania, box 40, file B3. Excerpt from the French language newspaper *Le Globe* (Translation by Lorenz R Gonschor), 27 February 1843; This article was provided by Lorenz Gonschor to the Hawaiian Society of Law and Politics. Mahalo to Lorenz for this source. also see Richards' journal in the Hawaii State Archives, 1/4/1843.
[348] Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom.* Vol. 1. pp. 191-192.
[349] Ibid. Vol. 1. pp. 213-219.
[350] *British National Archives* FO/58/18 p. 44.
[351] Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism.* p. 36.
[352] *Hawaii State Archives* M-126 Folder 7 Oct 1843-March 1845.
[353] C.J. Lyons, Land matters in Hawaii, *The Islander*, 23 July 1875. Also see Hawaii. and Lorrin A. Thurston, *The Fundamental Law of Hawaii* (Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette Co., 1904). p. 140. This is a complied list of Constitutions and some important laws in the Kingdom. The Section of importance is the Principles of the Land Commission. Which states, "It being therefore fully established, that there are but three classes of persons having vested rights in the lands—1st the Government, 2nd the landlord, and 3rd the tenant, it next becomes necessary to ascertain the proportional rights of each."
[354] W.D. Alexander *A Brief History of Land Titles In The Hawaiian Kingdom,* Honolulu, 1882, 13-14. This section explains the principles agreed to in the Privy Council on 18 December, 1847. It notes that 'The division between the Chiefs or the Konohiki and their Tenants, prescribed by Rule 2d shall take place, whenever any Chief, Konohiki or Tenant shall desire such as division...' See also Dowsett v. Maukeala Supreme Court of Hawaii, 10 Haw. 166; 1895 Haw. In this case native tenants were living in an ahupua'a as such until courts of the Republic of Hawai'i ruled that they no longer could live legally as such. These native tenants under Kingdom law would have been able to request that their division of interest be made and accept their allodial title.
[355] McGregor, *Nā Kua'āina : Living Hawaiian Culture.* p. 36.
[356] J. Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio, *Dismembering Lahui: a History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887,* Honolulu, 2002, p. 44.
[357] Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires*; J. Chinen, *Original Land Titles in Hawai'i.* Honolulu, 197; Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio, *Dismembering Lahui*; S. Banner. Preparing to be colonized: land tenure and legal strategy in nineteenth-century Hawaii, *Law and Society Review,* 39 (2005) 273-314.
[358] Silva, *Aloha Betrayed,* p. 42.
[359] *An Act Confirming Certain Resolutions of the King and Privy Council, Passed on the 21st Day of December, A.D. 1849, Granting to the Common People Allodial Titles For Their Own Lands and House Lots, and Certain Other Privileges:* 'That a certain portion of the government lands in each island shall be set apart, and placed in the hands of special agents, to be disposed of in lots of from one to fifty acres, in fee-simple, to such natives as may not be otherwise furnished with sufficient land, at a minimum price of fifty cents per acre.'
[360] Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai?* p. 227.
[361] *Hawaii State Archives* Buke Mahele p. 224.
[362] Hawaii State Archives Revised Laws of Hawaii 1925.
[363] See Public Access Shoreline Hawaii v Hawai'i County Planning Commission. NO. 15460 SUPREME COURT OF HAWAII 79 Haw. 425; 903 P.2d 1246; 1995 Haw. LEXIS 62
[364] "Speeches of His Majesty Kamehameha Iv: To the Hawaiian Legislature ", ed. Foreign Affairs (Honolulu: Government Press, 1861). p. 21.

[365] Amos Starr Cooke, Juliette Montague Cooke, and Mary Atherton Richards, *The Hawaiian Chiefs' Children's School*, [Rev. ed. (Rutland, Vt.,: C. E. Tuttle Co., 1970). p. 25.
[366] Ibid. pp. 47-48.
[367] Ibid. pp. 61-62.
[368] Ibid. p. 51.
[369] Ibid. p. 44.
[370] Ibid. p. 44.
[371] Linda K. Menton, "A Christian And "Civilized" Education: The Hawaiian Chiefs' Children's School, 1839-1850.," *History of Education Quarterly* 32, no. 2 (1992). p. 228. Also see the journal of the keiki ali'i while at the school in the Mission Houses.
[372] Cooke, Cooke, and Richards, *The Hawaiian Chiefs' Children's School*. p. 171. Also see. Menton, "A Christian And "Civilized" Education: The Hawaiian Chiefs' Children's School, 1839-1850.." pp. 228-229.
[373] Cooke, Cooke, and Richards, *The Hawaiian Chiefs' Children's School*. p. 173.
[374] Alexander Liholiho to Kamehameha III June 29 1843. *The Hawaii State Archives* M-83 folder 5.
[375] Menton, "A Christian And "Civilized" Education: The Hawaiian Chiefs' Children's School, 1839-1850.." pp. 226-227.
[376] Ibid. p. 233.
[377] Ibid. p. 240.
[378] This kind of analysis could be carried out on an individual basis from one keiki to the next. Clearly some keiki ali'i, like Pauahi saw value in the Cooks Christian as well as Secular teachings. While other keiki ali'i, seemed to appropriate more of the secular.
[379] Lot Kapuāiwa. *Mission Houses Museum* Journal Collection, MsJK13, Original Manuscript, Journal, 1844 at Chiefs Children School with Brother Kamehameha IV, original manuscript 195 pages.
[380] Menton, "A Christian And "Civilized" Education: The Hawaiian Chiefs' Children's School, 1839-1850.." p. 240.
[381] Alexander Liholiho to Kamehameha III Dec 28 1840. *The Hawaii State Archives* M-83 folder 5.
[382] Alexander Liholiho to Kamehameha III June 29 1843. *The Hawaii State Archives* M-83 folder 5.
[383] Hawaiian Kingdom Privy Council Minutes September 5 1849 *Hawaii State Archives*
[384] Cooke, Cooke, and Richards, *The Hawaiian Chiefs' Children's School*. p. 242.
[385] Lot Kapuaiwa, "Journal of Lot Kamehameha," (Honolulu: Bishop Museum 1849-1850).
[386] Kamehameha, Jacob Adler, and Hawaiian Historical Society., *The Journal of Prince Alexander Liholiho; the Voyages Made to the United States, England and France in 1849-1850* ([Honolulu]: University of Hawaii Press for the Hawaiian Historical Society, 1967). p. 46.
[387] Ibid. p. 91.
[388] Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*. Vol. 2. pp. 94-95.
[389] Kamehameha, Adler, and Hawaiian Historical Society., *The Journal of Prince Alexander Liholiho; the Voyages Made to the United States, England and France in 1849-1850*. p. 99.
[390] Ibid. p. 51.
[391] Alexander remarks on page 105 of his journal that they "dressed for the Presidents Levee, as they call it here, although properly it was a Soiree or Reception." Alexander may be making reference to the fact that the U.S. president was not of royal linage and the usage of Levee which is used to refer to a Royal court party.

[392] Kamehameha, Adler, and Hawaiian Historical Society., *The Journal of Prince Alexander Liholiho; the Voyages Made to the United States, England and France in 1849-1850*. p. 106.
[393] Ibid. pp. 108-109.
[394] Kapuaiwa, "Journal of Lot Kamehameha."
[395] Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*. Vol. 1. p. 399.
[396] Ibid. Vol 1. p. 415.
[397] Hawaiian Kingdom Privy Council Minutes September 5 1850. *Hawaii State Archives*
[398] Alexander Liholiho would inherit these lands Subject to the dower of Queen Kalama as became the precedent. see 2 Haw. 715; 1864, In re Estate of Kamehameha IV.
[399] Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*. Vol. 1. p. 426.
[400] Ibid. Vol. 1. p. 426. It is possible that this treaty was removed completely from consideration even earlier, by Kamehameha III in his final public proclamation on Dec 8 1854, which stated that "I hereby publicly proclaim my acceptance of the aid thus proffered (by the U.S. Great Britain, and France) in support of my Sovereignty. My independence is more firmly established than ever before. Also see Hawaii State Archives Series 375 Incoming Folder 1854-1855 where the British consul informs the Foreign office of Alexander's stance for independence. June 10, 26 1854.
[401] Kamehameha V to Queen Emma June 9 1871. *Hawaii State Archives* M-45 NA-05
[402] Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*. Vol. 2. p. 87.
[403] Abe Fornander to Kamehameha IV *Hawaii State Archives* M-80-1-8KIV
[404] Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*. Vol. 2. p. 87.
[405] Wyllie to Hopkins no 17. Dec 14 1859 in Ibid. Vol. 2. p. 87.
[406] Queen Victoria to Kamehameha IV in Ibid.. Vol. 2. p. 87.
[407] Ibid. Vol. 2. p. 90.
[408] Kamehameha, Adler, and Hawaiian Historical Society., *The Journal of Prince Alexander Liholiho; the Voyages Made to the United States, England and France in 1849-1850*. p. xiv.
[409] Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887*. pp. 105-136.
[410] Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*. Vol. 2. p. 175
[411] Beamer, "Huli Ka Palena".
[412] Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*. p. 125.
[413] Hawaii State Archives Series 375 Outgoing 1881
[414] William N. Armstrong, *Around the World with a King* (London; New York: Kegan Paul International; Distributed by Columbia University Press, 2000). p. 28. This is an account of William Armstrong who traveled with Kalākaua on the voyage. He was the lowest ranking official on the trip and never published his journals until Kalakaua had passed away and Lili'uokalani had been illegally overthrown through the aid of U.S. officials. Throughout the book Armstrong write sarcastic comments about the King, this might reflect his discontent as being treated as the hired hand to a native King. That he published his journals following the death Kalakaua may suggest his fear of speaking against the King in his presence.
[415] Ibid. p. 29.
[416] Helena G. Allen, *Kalakaua : Renaissance King* (Honolulu: Mutual Pub., 1994). p. 115.
[417] *Hawaii State Archives* Series 375
[418] Allen, *Kalakaua : Renaissance King*. p. 116.
[419] Armstrong, *Around the World with a King*. p. 32.
[420] Ibid. p. 84.
[421] Allen, *Kalakaua : Renaissance King*. p. 120.
[422] Armstrong, *Around the World with a King*. p. 125.
[423] Ibid. p. 125.

[424] Ibid. p. 127.
[425] Ibid. p. 133.
[426] Royal Archives. Journal of Queen Victoria at Windsor Castle on 11 July 1881
[427] Allen, *Kalakaua : Renaissance King*, Armstrong, *Around the World with a King*. p. 132.
[428] Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism*. p. 90.
[429] Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai?* p. 314.
[430] Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism*. p. 89.
[431] Ibid. p. 89.
[432] Hawaii State Archives *M-469*
[433] Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism*. p. 97.
[434] There are both an English and Hawaiian copy of this speech. It is unclear who is the author.
[435] Hawaii State Archives *M-469*
[436] Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism*. pp. 87-122.
[437] Merze Tate, "Hawaii's Program of Primacy in Polynesia " *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 61 (1960). p. 382.
[438] *UK National Archives FO 58/185*
[439] Lili'uokalani, *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen* (Honolulu, HI: Mutual Publishing, 1990). pp. 257-258. Also Noenoe Silva has made use of the term Oligarchy to describe the Republic of Hawai'i.
[440] Tom Coffman et al., *Nation within the Story of America's Annexation of Hawai'i* ([Kaneohe, Hawaii]: Tom Coffman,, 1999), video recording :, James H. Blount, "Affairs in Hawaii Report of U.S. Special Commissioner James H. Blount to U.S. Secretary of State Walter Q. Gresham Concerning the Hawaiian Kingdom Investigation 53 Congress 3rd Session, 1894," (1894), Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism*, Tom Coffman, *Nation Within : The Story of America's Annexation of the Nation of Hawai'i* (Kāne'ohe, Hawai'i: Tom Coffman/EPICenter, 1998), Michael Dougherty, *To Steal a Kingdom* (Waimanalo, HI: Island Style Press, 1992).
[441] Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*. Vol. 3. p. 603.
[442] *Hawaii State Archives Laws of The Provisional Government 1893*
[443] Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism*.
[444] David Keanu Sai, "American Occupation of the Hawaiian State; a Century Unchecked " *Hawaiian Journal of Law and Politics* 1, no. 1 (2004).
[445] Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887*. pp. 238-249. Kalakaua spent much of the later years of his reign opposing this illegal "constitution" and its outcomes. See Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*. Vol. 3. pp. 401-430. Also see Lili'uokalani, *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen*. pp. 177-207. On Page 181 Queen Lili'uokalani notes that "This constitution was never in any way ratified, either by the people, or by their representatives, even after violence had procured the king's signature to it."
[446] Lili'uokalani, *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen*. p. 178.
[447] Grover Cleveland, "Presidents Message Relating to the Hawaiian Islands Jan 18 1893," ed. Executive Document no. 47 (Washington: Government Printing Office 1893). p. 13.
[448] Sai, "Ammerican Occupation of the Hawaiian State; a Century Unchecked ".
[449] *Hawaii State Archives Series 424 Vol. 4.* November 26 1895 Council of State
[450] *Hawaii State Archives* Series 425 Vol. 1. Proceedings of the Executive & Advisory Councils Jan 17 1893-April 18, 1893.
[451] *Hawaii State Archives Series 375* Outgoing Jan-July 1893. May 9th 1893.
[452] Hawaii State Archives Series 375 Outgoing Jan-July 1893.
[453] Hawaii State Archives Series 375 Outgoing Jan-July 1893. July 17 1893.

[454] *Hawaii State Archives* Series 128, 129, 130. National Guard; also see *Series 375* Outgoing Jan-July 1893.
[455] *Hawaii State Archives* Series 423 Vol. 1. Nov 30 1893.
[456] *Hawaii State Archives* Oahu Prison Misc. letters 1895-1896 Also Letters From Marshal Jan 1-27 1895 Oahu Prison Miscellaneous Letters 1893-1906. PSD 4u-2 For British Records see *National Archives* FO 331/64 British Claims
[457] *Hawaii State Archives* Series 423 Vol. 1.
[458] *Hawaii State Archives* Laws of the Provisional Government 1893
[459] *Hawaii State Archives* FO 44; Series 425 Vol .1-6.
[460] Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism.*
[461] *National Archives* United Kingdom FO 58/309 The Following is the Petition to Dole and the Republic.



(TRANSLATION).

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To SANFORD B. DOLE, President; HENRY E. COOPER, Minister of Foreign Affairs; JAMES A. KING, Minister of the Interior; SAMUEL M. DAMON, Minister of Finance; and WILLIAM O. SMITH, Attorney-General, of the Republic of Hawaii.

Greeting:-

WHEREAS, It has been submitted to the Senate of the United States of America by the President of the United States of America and its Secretary of State, a Treaty for the annexation of Hawaii to the United States of America and which still lies with the said Senate for action thereon to be had at its regular session which shall be in December next.

AND WHEREAS, A Proclamation was issued by S. B. Dole, President of the Republic of Hawaii, calling all the members of the Senate of this Republic to assemble at a Special Session of said Senate to be convened at the Executive Building in Honolulu, Island of Oahu, Hawaiian Islands, on the 8th instant for the consideration of the question of the ratification of the said proposed treaty of annexation of Hawaii to the United States of America.

AND WHEREAS, The native Hawaiians and a large majority of the People of the Hawaiian Islands have been in direct opposition to the annexation of Hawaii to the United States of America.

AND WHEREAS, The native Hawaiians and a large majority of the People of these Islands have fully believed in the independence and free autonomy of these Islands and to the continuation of the Government of Hawaii as of a free and independent country governed by and under its own laws.

THEREFORE, Be it resolved, We, who in [illegible] meeting assembled on the 6th day of September, A.D.

1897, at the city of Honolulu aforesaid, for ourselves and for and on behalf of the People of Hawaii as well as for the large majority of the People of the Hawaiian Islands, earnestly protest against the annexation of Hawaii to the United States of America in any form or shape.

(Signed) James Keauiluna Kaulia, Chairman
" David Kalauokalani
" J.K.Kaunamano
" Edward K. Lilikalani
" Abr. K. Palekaluhi
" Enoch Johnson
" John P. Kucha
" T.C. Polikapa
" J. Kanui
" F.S.Keiki
" J. Mahiai Kaneakua
" David Lokana Keku
" J.P. Kahahawai
" J.W.Holoua
" S.H. Meekapu

COMMITTEE

Honolulu, Septr 6, 1897.

[462] *National Archives* United Kingdom FO 58/309
[463] Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism*. p. 151. For a further discussion of this memorial see pages 151-154.
[464] *Hawai'i State Archives* Series 432 Vol. 1. December 16 1893.
[465] *Hawai'i State Archives* Series 432 Vol. 1.
[466] *Hawai'i State Archives* Series 432 Vol. 2.
[467] *Hawai'i State Archives* Series 432 Vol. 2. Jan 12 1895.
[468] *Hawaii State Archives* Session Laws of 1895 Acts 20, 22.
[469] *Hawaii State Archives* Session Laws of 1895 Act 24
[470] *Hawaii State Archives* Session Laws of 1895 Act 29 "An Act Relating to Persons Having Certain Lawless Intentions.
[471] *Hawaii State Archives* Constitution of the Republic of Hawaii
[472] Lili'uokalani, *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen*. pp. 260-261.

[473] *Hawai'i State Archives* Session Laws Special Session 1895
[474] *Hawai'i State Archives* Series 381 Vol. 1. J.F. Brown to Percy Smith October 25 1895 "While our land transactions are on a small scale as compared with those of your Land Department, it is desirable that our lands be delt with according to the best precedents in countries having somewhat similar conditions, and any information bearing on the settlement of lands and construction of roads will have special value."
[475] *Hawai'i State Archives* Dole Collection M-43 Dole Papers 1900-1914.
[476] *Hawai'i State Archives* Session Laws Special Session 1895 Act 26
[477] *Hawai'i State Archives* Session Laws Special Session 1895 Act 26
[478] Jon M. Van Dyke, *Who Owns the Crown Lands of Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008). p. 198.
[479] Ibid. pp. 198-199.
[480] The Hawaiian Gazette April 26 1898.
[481] Lili'uokalani to Emily Ladd 5/26/1899 *Private Collection of William F. "Buzz" Thompson III.* Much mahalo to Buzz Thompson 'Ohana and Dayna M. Beamer for this source.
[482] Land Court Registration (Torrens Titles) and Conveyancing in Hawaii *Published Under the Supervision of the Land Court* 1935 see Hamilton Library # HAML HAWM HD1208.H25 C.2
[483] Maenette K. P. Ah Nee-Benham and Ronald H. Heck, *Culture and Educational Policy in Hawai'i : The Silencing of Native Voices*, Sociocultural, Political, and Historical Studies in Education (Mahwah, N.J.: L. Erlbaum Associates, 1998). p. 72.
[484] Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism.* pp. 45-86.
[485] Ibid. p. 13.
[486] Benedict R. O'G Anderson, *Imagined Communities : Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Rev. and extended ed. (London ; New York: Verso, 1991). p. 44.
[487] Ibid. p. 44.
[488] Ibid. p. 45.
[489] Ibid. p. 121.
[490] "Speeches of His Majesty Kamehameha Iv: To the Hawaiian Legislature ". p. 14.
[491] Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism.* p. 73.
[492] Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom.* p. 112.
[493] *Hawai'i State Archives* Session Laws 1896 Act 57. Section 30. Page 189.
[494] 'Anakala Eddie Kaanana had told me of his experiences as a child in school in the Territory. There are also many similar accounts on Ka Leo Hawaii Hawaiian language interviews with native speakers.
[495] Bruce Braun, "Buried Epistemologies: The Politics of Nature in (Post) Colonial British Columbia," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 87, no. 1 (1997).
[496] I went to the 2006 Association of American Geographers (which is really an international conference) meeting in Chicago and attended a presentation on American Empire, which sited the Spanish American War as the beginning of U.S. empire and expansion. I was surprised to find that Hawai'i was not discussed in the session. When I asked the presenter why this was so, he replied that Americans think of Hawai'i as a part of America "because it became a State." It is interesting to note that Hawai'i is not a part of this discussion in the minds of some American scholars because of an American law.