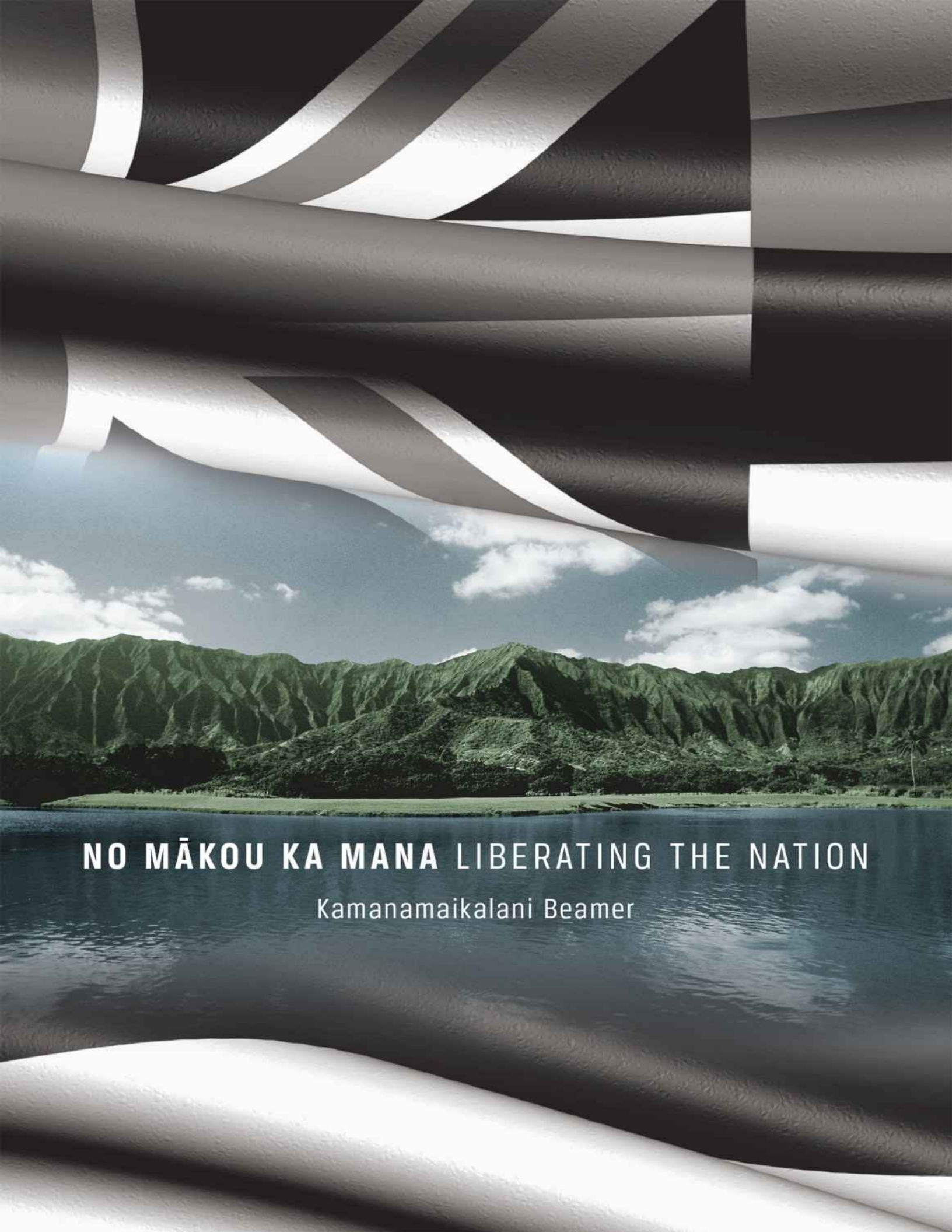


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INTRODUCTION

> It will be seen, therefore, that as connecting the earlier kings of ancient history with the monarchs latest upon the throne this chant is a contribution to the history of the Hawaiian Islands, and as it is the only record of its kind in existence it seemed to me worthy of preservation in convenient form.[1]
>
> LILIʻUOKALANI

Queen Liliʻuokalani was likely the first person to translate the two-thousand-plus lines of the famed Hawaiian creation chant, the Kumulipo, into the English language. The original title of her translated work, *An Account of the Creation of the World according to Hawaiian Tradition,* reveals her intent: to carve out a space for Hawaiian knowledge alongside other such prominent accounts as the Vedas, the Book of Genesis, and the works of Darwin. In this monumental undertaking Liliʻuokalani not only was founding a movement to express and value Hawaiian knowledge in a changing world, she also was wrestling with the fate of Hawaiian political independence.

In January of 1895, police officers accompanied by mercenaries of the Republic of Hawaiʻi seized Queen Liliʻuokalani at her home in Honolulu. The arrest of Liliʻuokalani was a political action, undertaken even though the president of the republic, Sanford Dole, had stated that there was "no legal evidence"[2] linking her to the armed attempt to restore the constitutional monarchy. Republic officials raided Liliʻuokalani's home in Honolulu and took, among other things, her personal papers and diary. The queen would be brought before a military commission largely comprised of those who had conspired against her and the Hawaiian Kingdom only a few years prior. Her trial was held in the former Throne Room of ʻIolani Palace, where officials of the republic attempted to publicly debase Liliʻuokalani. She was demeaned throughout the trial and later stated, "The object of it was evidently to humiliate me, to make me break down in the presence of the staring crowd. But in this they were disappointed."[3] Since those who had a distinct interest in negating her innocence

tried her, the guilty verdict offered by the tribunal was virtually guaranteed. The legitimate sovereign was convicted of "misprision of treason" and confined to a room in her former palace. While imprisoned, she was denied visitors and spent much of her time in solitude. Alone and physically isolated from her people, the queen looked within.

When Liliʻuokalani had assumed the throne in 1891, most of the aliʻi (native rulers), if not all, had become Christian. By the 1890s, aliʻi had been associating with American Protestant missionaries for about seventy years. True to a Christian ethic, the queen looked to God for comfort throughout her detention. A famed song composed during this period, "Liliʻuokalani's Prayer," illustrates her faith in Akua (God). One of the song's passages is translated as follows:

> *As I reflect on wrongs*
> *In my imprisonment*
> *You are my light,*
> *Your glory my support.*[4]

As an indigenous scholar in the twenty-first century, I find Liliʻuokalani's reaction to her calamity remarkable. Is it not ironic that a native sovereign in the midst of the most tragic period of her life would seek comfort by looking to a god that was not the god of her ancestors, a god who had been introduced to Hawaiʻi by the ancestors of those who had recently imprisoned her? Though Liliʻuokalani would have recognized the irony of her situation, she would have seen no contradiction in her behavior. Nor would she have seen any contradiction between her Christian beliefs and those of the Kumulipo, which she began translating while in prison.

The Kumulipo is a koʻihonua, a cosmogonic creation chant first uttered upon the birth of the ancient chief Kaʻīʻīmamao, who is thought to have been born in the seventeenth century. The Kumulipo offers a traditional explanation of the origins of life and the divine origin of aliʻi in Hawaiʻi. That Liliʻuokalani could translate the Kumulipo demonstrates not only her grasp of both the Hawaiian and English languages, but also her command of ancient knowledge systems, gods, and genealogy. Koʻihonua always had been used as both spiritual and material representations of mana (power, authority), and Liliʻuokalani's translation is no different. She offered her translation to a wide audience to demonstrate the depth of Hawaiian knowledge and to call attention to the record of hundreds of generations of native rule over the islands—and she did this at a strategic time when the continuity of native rule was in question.

To say that Liliʻuokalani was both a practitioner of ancient Hawaiian ways of knowing *and* a Christian may seem paradoxical. How one makes sense of her actions depends on the optic through which one views them. Whether one sees her as a Christian and former student of missionary teachers, or as the descendant of an ancient line of Hawaiian chiefs and the possessor of chiefly knowledge who advocated for Hawaiians, often depends on what one wants to see. Liliʻuokalani was one of a group of aliʻi who had learned about the haole (white foreigner) world as youths and had visited foreign countries as adults. She also was among the aliʻi who had conducted diplomacy with the rulers of other countries and was a guest of the British Queen Victoria at her Golden Jubilee in 1887. Like other aliʻi in the Hawaiian Kingdom, Liliʻuokalani had a solid understanding of ancient chiefly knowledge, genealogy, and protocol, as well as Euro-American educational structure, governance, and legal systems. Aliʻi of her time were able to draw from their knowledge of the Hawaiian and Euro-American world and, at the same time, guide their country and people in ways that they saw fit. One could say they lived in both the Hawaiian and Euro-American worlds, but in reality they lived in one world, while their identities were drawn from a combination of the two.

Recognizing the complex identity of aliʻi such as Liliʻuokalani is an important part of this study; however, the examples of how the aliʻi exercised their agency are perhaps of greater significance for contemporary ʻŌiwi (Native Hawaiian)[5] and other indigenous people. This book does not suggest that one should live like and make the same decisions as the aliʻi; rather, it discusses what can be learned from how the aliʻi confronted their challenges.

This study builds on three related themes: (1) how a group of Hawaiian aliʻi confronted Europeans and Americans to form a nation-state in the nineteenth century, (2) how natives exercised their agency even while Hawaiian nationalism began to decline following the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom government in 1893, and (3) how ʻŌiwi today can be emboldened by gaining a better understanding of the wisdom of our aliʻi and the choices they made to benefit the lāhui.

The essential argument of this book is that aliʻi *selectively appropriated* Euro-American tools of governance while modifying existing indigenous structure to create a hybrid nation-state as a means to resist colonialism and to protect Native Hawaiian and national interests. Essentially, I am saying that aliʻi took what they wanted to use from the Euro-American world while maintaining their identity as aliʻi and Hawaiians.

This book is an academic engagement with archival materials interpreted through “native agency optics” and affirmed with credible primary sources. This book is also a moʻolelo (history, story) about how aliʻi engaged haole with the intention of securing a better future for coming generations. As with any moʻolelo, its merit can be judged by the lessons it provides for ʻŌiwi today. Good moʻolelo include more than just interesting people, conflicting interests, and famous places. Good moʻolelo convey meaning. While the person telling the moʻolelo dictates the style and determines the structure of the story to emphasize particular lessons, in the end it is the listeners who leave with their own particular message. Moʻolelo enter into the listeners’ minds and provide glimpses of a particular period or event, but they leave behind something more. A good moʻolelo can be transmitted and reinterpreted for meaning multiple times, with little or no regard for spatial and temporal differences. Good moʻolelo offer something about the human condition that needs to be relearned by each successive generation.

As a child I often sat at the feet of my tūtū, captivated by the moʻolelo she told. Like my grandmother, I am a storyteller. I reach into the pool of knowledge I have gathered and select important segments to accent and propel my story. As my grandmother was connected to the moʻolelo she told, I too am part of these moʻolelo. I am writing a history that in many ways has shaped who I am today and will determine what the future holds.

No Mākou ka Mana is my moʻolelo, yet I would have no story to tell if not for the deeds of those before me. This collection of moʻolelo demonstrates aliʻi brilliance, courage, and unwillingness to surrender to a foreign hegemonic force. Highlighting the achievements of ancestors frees their spirits and allows us to view our forebears as more than victims. Focusing on the deliberate decisions and accomplishments of the aliʻi also empowers ʻŌiwi to continue to control our future and to liberate our minds from previously conceived binaries and limited possibilities.

This book is a story of Hawaiian Kingdom aliʻi resistance to and incorporation of foreign ideas, political theories, and technologies. It is not an account of the dispersal of Protestant missionary ethics in the Hawaiian Islands. Nor is it an account of what missionaries thought they were doing *for* or *to* aliʻi. In fact, this book has little to say about missionaries. The works of other ʻŌiwi authors have thoroughly covered the missionaries and their sometimes questionable intentions. Neither is this book focused on the living descendants of those involved in the overthrow, who continue to occupy some of the most

luxurious places in Hawai‘i and make up some of the islands’ wealthiest inhabitants (though that would be a compelling story about justice). My book is not intended to be an authoritative work on ‘Ōiwi governance, politics, and statecraft in the 1800s, nor is it intended to be a comprehensive biographical account of Hawaiian Kingdom ali‘i. Nor is this book about the steady demise of the Native Hawaiian population as a result of the introduction of foreign diseases, superior military technologies, and notions of manifest destiny. Rather, it is a story of how we as a people have steadily made our way forward (holomua) despite having been outnumbered and occasionally outmatched and outgunned in the past.

This book offers a new framework for viewing and understanding Hawaiian history, leaders, and lands. It offers a new perspective of Hawaiian leadership and the creation of the Hawaiian Kingdom. It places the ali‘i at the center of the narrative while examining critical moments of their reigns as they grappled with Euro-American imperialism. As ali‘i forged the nation and held on to critical pieces of an ‘Ōiwi past, they formed a country. The Hawaiian Kingdom—recognized as an independent state in 1843 and acknowledged as a member of the family of nations—was a country built on a foundation of both indigenous Hawaiian and modified Euro-American principles to protect Hawaiian national interests.

Later, in 1893, US officials and a small oligarchy of lawyers and businessmen overthrew the Hawaiian Kingdom precisely because it successfully safeguarded Hawaiian interests. The overthrow was not a culmination of a sustained set of colonizing events that began with James Cook’s arrival in the islands; rather, it was a critical assault on indigenous Hawaiian governance and the beginning of the US occupation of the Hawaiian Islands.

No Mākou ka Mana traces the birth, repression, and reemergence of a Hawaiian national consciousness. The Hawaiian national consciousness was born through “hybridizing traditions,” an example of which is the publication of mo‘okū‘auhau (genealogies) of ali‘i in Hawaiian-language newspapers beginning in 1835. Once exclusively ali‘i knowledge, known only to those who had been trained in genealogy, these ancient ali‘i genealogies were made accessible to the masses for the first time through print newspapers. These genealogies reflected a fundamentally ‘Ōiwi way of *seeing* and *being* in the world. Preserving tradition while simultaneously nurturing a national identity, the publication of ali‘i genealogies recalled the antiquity of chiefly rule and ‘Ōiwi metaphysical relationships to ‘āina (land) while promoting the continuity

of tradition, rule, and identity.

Following the 1893 overthrow, the succeeding governments set about systematically repressing the Hawaiian national consciousness and Americanizing the population. Building on the strength of an ʻŌiwi cultural, spiritual, and political renaissance in the 1970s, steadily churning like the seas surrounding the islands, the minds of many ʻŌiwi today have reawakened to the possibility of a Hawaiian national consciousness. As if arising from a collective muse, this book documents my individual path toward, and reflections on, this growing awareness.

1 | ʻŌIWI AGENCY

> 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.[1]
>
> LILIʻUOKALANI

Hawaiian aliʻi had adopted a diplomatic strategy with the world. This strategy allowed them to modify their traditional forms of governance and institutions while maintaining a distinctly Hawaiian identity. Aliʻi of the nineteenth century used laws, constitutional governments, and maps as a means of governing the Hawaiian Kingdom's aboriginal and nonaboriginal population. By doing so, the Hawaiian Kingdom government was able to achieve recognition as an independent and sovereign state by the major colonial powers of the time, including Britain, France, and the United States.

On November 28, 1843, France and Britain, even while they were actively administering colonial governments in the Pacific, Africa, and the Americas, formally recognized the Hawaiian Kingdom as an independent and coequal sovereign state. How was it that a seemingly small island chain in the Pacific, run by an aboriginal monarch, was admitted to the community of nation-states by countries that often viewed indigenous populations as having few or no claims to land, property, and political independence?

One way to address this complex question is to investigate the intricate ways that Hawaiian aliʻi navigated and manipulated the geopolitical structures of their time. Recognizing the agency of aliʻi provides greater understanding of the history of the Hawaiian Kingdom and gives insights into how colonialism and imperialism have operated in Hawaiʻi.

Imagine the kinds of history Hawaiian historians would have been writing had the Hawaiian Kingdom government been able to maintain its independence.

Would the kingdom's story be one of triumph in the face of adversity, or possibly one of thoughtful negotiation and compromise? The creation of the Hawaiian nation-state is an example of such negotiations, resulting in unique hybrid institutions such as Hawaiian-language newspapers that published moʻolelo about ancient akua, including Kamapuaʻa and Pele.[2]

ʻŌiwi never were colonized de jure; the recognition of the Hawaiian Kingdom as a sovereign and independent state in 1843 barred the possibility of de jure colonialism under international law. In fact, ʻŌiwi were not even "colonized" de facto following the 1893 overthrow, as many observers might claim, prior to the US occupation of the Hawaiian Islands.[3]

MOʻOKŪʻAUHAU MOʻOLELO: INTELLECTUAL GENEALOGY

> ʻIke no ke aliʻi i kona kanaka, a ua ʻike no ke kanaka i kona aliʻi.
>
> *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.[4]

Contemporary ʻŌiwi scholars have contributed much-needed analysis and rigor to a history that for many years had been written by those unskilled in the Hawaiian language and unable to access the rich content available in Hawaiian newspapers and other primary documents. This book builds on twentieth-century ʻŌiwi scholarship and offers new points of reference, particularly with regard to the Hawaiian Kingdom.

For example, a large portion of recent ʻŌiwi scholarship on the Hawaiian Kingdom has been conducted through a colonial gaze.[5] While such an approach has provided insights into the mindset of some American missionaries in the Hawaiian Kingdom, I have attempted to depart from such an analysis. My reason for taking this path is because I am interested to see if new understanding might be gained with the colonial spectacles placed on the table. Perhaps even more importantly, I am taking a different approach because the original source documents I have used for my moʻolelo give voice to a story outside that of colonialism.

Within this departure, it is helpful to contrast several fundamental aspects of colonial analysis with my approach. For example, a colonial analysis focuses on

the ways in which the colonized became different from their ancestors. I am attempting, however, to show the ways in which ali‘i were similar to their ancestors.

A colonial analysis also emphasizes the essential role of power relationships. More than any other factor, it is the vastly unequal relationship of power that creates the binaries of the colonizer and the colonized. The colonizer’s symbolic and material power enables the extraction of indigenous resources for economic gain, the domination of existing indigenous structures in the ancestral lands of the colonized and, eventually, settlement. These unequal relationships of power allow for the implanting of “cultural bombs”[6] of colonialism.

Before 1893, however, the vastly unequal relationships of power between the native and foreign population did not exist in the Hawaiian Kingdom. In fact, the Hawaiian monarchical form of government provided power and access to power for the native and royalist population. So long as the aboriginal population had a mō‘ī (supreme chief who rules an island) of aboriginal descent and a government composed of Hawaiian nationals, they had access to power.

The power balance was demonstrated through the creation of international alliances and the mastery of native and foreign protocols of governance, allowing ali‘i to secure their national lands from foreign possession while integrating aspects of European culture into the islands. This resulted in unique symbols of royalty such as ‘Iolani Palace, whose outside shell was built in Victorian style, while its inner core was composed completely of native woods. European orders and gold star medallions would sit alongside such ‘Ōiwi symbols of royalty as kāhili and ‘ahu‘ula.

It is no 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 Hawaiian thinking. 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.”[7] In this context, the reanalyzing and debating of Hawaiian history is to be expected. Some might also argue that it is a 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.

REPLACING COLONIALISM WITH ‘ŌIWI OPTICS

> “We record once more our reverent and thankful acknowledgment of the success with which God, in his providence and by his spirit, has crowned 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.”[8]

> “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.”[9]

The quotations presented above represent opposing worldviews. The first, by Samuel Bartlett, is a portion of a resolution passed by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions at its annual meeting in 1870. It summarizes the works of the missionaries who “civilized” those who were “savage,” and “humanized” what was “beast.” The quotation is part of a story that attempts to demonstrate the great moral accomplishments of missionaries but says little about what expenses were paid by the native culture, people, and political systems. This story is clearly focused on the missionary and is not open to the fact that “uncivilized” peoples have culture, industry, and structures.

The second passage, by Haunani-Kay Trask, shows the other side of the “civilizing” process, asserting that foreign systems and views cannot coexist within the Hawaiian context. Trask’s quote is part of a larger thesis that denounces the ways in which natives and their cultures were made to suffer as a result of coming into contact with “civilization.” It is an important story to tell. It challenges the alleged Western successes and contends that what the West really brought was *pillage-ization*, not civilization.

And yet, there is a striking similarity between the viewpoints of Trask and Bartlett: the exclusive agent is the foreigner. Focusing only on the foreigner produces an erasure, or nonrepresentation, of the historical native agent. Bartlett essentially is saying, “Look what I have done for you,” while Trask is saying, “Look what you did to me.”

No Mākou ka Mana is not concerned with what missionaries or foreigners did for or to ʻŌiwi, but rather what ʻŌiwi did *for themselves*, in the midst of depopulation and constant threats of colonialism. In taking this position,

however, it should be emphasized that I do not justify the missionizing process or any of the racial assumptions that were clearly a part of the "civilizing" process.

Viewing the events that occurred in the Hawaiian Islands from the time of Kamehameha to Liliʻuokalani without the colonial optic leads to a greater understanding of the actions of the aliʻi in these time periods. For example, when the actions of mōʻī such as Alexander Liholiho or Lota Kapuāiwa are interpreted through ʻŌiwi optics instead of a presentist perspective that focuses on American colonialism, the result can be viewed as an act of agency rather than resistance. Acknowledging the agency of the mōʻī suggests that their choices and actions were proactive and were asserted from a position of power—not reactive and endured from a subjugated role.

For the first nine decades of the 1800s, aliʻi were agents on the international scale. Global interactions opened the way for America and other nations to seek opportunities in the Hawaiian Kingdom. The term "Euro-American imperialism" is therefore more fitting than "American colonialism" in describing what Hawaiian aliʻi were facing at the time.

Ideas themselves are not agents of colonialism. Colonization of the mind depends on how people *use* or *become used* by the ideas being introduced by the colonizer. Also important to this process is *how* the ideas are introduced. Often a narrow path lies between negotiating and adopting a new technology or ideal, and acknowledging how that technology, concept, or tool may have changed the individual. Yet, both of these issues must be researched and addressed.

An analogy can be drawn from my writing of this chapter. As I type each additional word on the keyboard of my computer, I am making use of a technology that arises out of foreign origin, and this technology limits me in certain ways. I am also using sources and theories that arose outside of the Hawaiian context. My voice inflection and the body posture I might adopt to accent certain phrases cannot be captured through this medium. However, I am able to construct thoughts, form arguments, and address issues that I deem of significance for myself, my kūpuna (ancestors), and others who have yet to be exposed to our story. My use of this technology is a give and take; however, by the act of writing I am not limiting or rejecting my abilities as a storyteller. I am simply placing them on the side for a later use.

Similarly, Hawaiian aliʻi of the late nineteenth century were able to exercise agency to choose which foreign technologies they wanted to use and to what degree. As skilled statesmen, the aliʻi were intentional in fronting certain

abilities and putting others aside for later use. Colonial theory cannot cover all the ground needed to convey the range and implications of such choices; therefore, I draw on ʻŌiwi optics to help tell this moʻolelo. I use the phrase ʻŌiwi optics as a means to reframe colonial discourse on the Hawaiian Kingdom while highlighting the ways that ʻŌiwi engaged foreigners and foreign concepts such as law, private property, and maps.

REDEFINING "TRADITION"

> "Regardless of the fact that law has changed the Native and may have created a being that is not entirely like his ancestors, law has also been made a part of our being, adopted and adapted to our view of ourselves and the world."[10]

Jonathan Osorio's passage above suggests that Native Hawaiians are in a constant state of evolution. Like Osorio, I believe that native appropriation is possible. In fact, as an indigenous scholar in the contemporary world, I would say it *has* to be possible.

A prerequisite for accepting this argument is to accept that the aliʻi were able to adapt to foreign systems while maintaining their Hawaiianness. Those who think a people must act identically to their ancestors to preserve their identity may have serious problems with my argument and conclusions. I value and trust traditional sources of knowledge such as oli (chant), mele (song), and moʻolelo and find them to be critical sources of knowledge. I also believe that preserving and practicing our culture is of greater importance than theorizing about practicing culture. But I do not consider myself or my analysis to be traditionalist. I believe that living cultures are dynamic and always in a state of change. *I believe the dichotomies of the traditional and modern, with all their connotations, are false.* They compose the conceptual shackles that preserve European hegemony and often reinscribe links between the colonizer and the colonized, occupier and occupied.

Metaphor of the Sickle

ʻŌiwi have been farming loʻi (irrigated pond fields) for generations. At some

point in ʻŌiwi history, sickles were introduced into the practice of mahi ʻai kalo (taro cultivation). Sickles turned out to be great tools and enabled work to be accomplished with greater ease. Today it would be difficult to find a loʻi farmer who does not have a sickle. Most farmers I have met prefer the Japanese sickle.

The idea that people adopt new tools or technologies is sensible and does not necessarily represent a paradigm shift. Yet, attempting to incorporate the sickle into the binaries of traditional and modern mahi ʻai practices is problematic. There is nothing traditional about the sickle, yet to tell a mahi ʻai today that he is not farming kalo "traditionally" because he is using a sickle is unjustifiable—and might even carry the risk of physical injury. In fact, discussions about binaries may be irrelevant for the mahi ʻai, who continues to act, with or without scholarly interpretations.

The incorporation of other tools and technologies, such as the introduction of weed-killers and chemically based fertilizers to kalo farming, has had unanticipated and sometimes harmful effects. Given that the future is unknown, it is difficult for those in the midst of negotiation and adaptation to know what the outcomes of their decisions might be. As a scholar who writes about such decisions with the benefit of hindsight, I view such negotiations as practice and make efforts to deconstruct the binaries of the traditional and modern.

The Lorrin Andrews dictionary, first published in 1865 when the Hawaiian language was thriving, contains no Hawaiian counterpart for the word "traditional." "I ka wā kahiko" is translated into English as *in ancient times*. In the Pukui and Elbert dictionary published nearly a century later, the phrase "mai nā kūpuna mai" is used to describe the word "traditional." I interpret the phrase "mai nā kūpuna mai" as *what comes from the ancestors into this time*. The phrase does not suggest an antithesis, for example "modern" versus "traditional." Conceptually, mai nā kūpuna mai can be interpreted to mean that as generations pass, more knowledge can be passed down from the ancestors to the succeeding generations. The process is open-ended and collective; it is intergenerational and always expanding. Clearly, its implications are more open than suggested by the word "traditional."

THE HAWAIIAN KINGDOM—MADE IN HAWAIʻI

The following chapters demonstrate that the Hawaiian Kingdom was a *Hawaiian* creation. Even prior to contact with foreigners, ʻŌiwi had developed an ancient

kind of statecraft. This was the foundation for the Hawaiian Kingdom. Aliʻi were strategic in their adaptations and were active agents in appropriating laws, protocols, and technologies.

I will show that the material effects of colonialism on the Hawaiian Islands occur only after the illegal overthrow of Liliʻuokalani in 1893. This is consistent with the loss of power through the severing of established ties to the mōʻī, the loss of language due to its official removal from schools in 1896 by the "Republic of Hawaiʻi," and the loss of access to land through the Land Act of 1895. That these critical events did not occur with an aboriginal monarch at the head of government demonstrates that prior to 1893, the Hawaiian Kingdom stood against imperialism and protected the interests of aliʻi, natives, and foreign-born subjects loyal to the crown.

By the late 1800s the Hawaiian Kingdom had secured a seat among the family of nations and had been formally recognized as being politically independent. The kingdom had entered into as many as nineteen different treaties with nations such as France, Britain, Belgium, Hungary, Germany, Japan, and the United States. The Hawaiian Kingdom also had diplomatic representation in most European countries around the world and had developed a thriving literary community at home, as evidenced by the publication of dozens of Hawaiian languages newspapers. By the 1890s the Hawaiian Kingdom had birthed a renaissance of Hawaiian culture, science, and religion, the repercussions of which are still felt today.

The kingdom was a vessel of potential. Some of this potential was fully realized, such as a hospital with free services for natives and the maintenance of Hawaiian place names and land divisions throughout the kingdom period. The country's promise for future generations was to be secured by bilingually educated youth who had been in state-sponsored schools, some of which would accept government sponsorship to study abroad in colleges in France, Britain, Italy, and the United States.

Undoubtedly progressive in many ways, the Hawaiian Kingdom, however, was not a perfect institution. Like other nation-states, it facilitated the spread of capitalism, depleted natural resources, and taxed its subjects. Tragic events occurred throughout its existence. It imported immigrants to make up the laboring class, at times privileged males over females, and imprisoned innocent people. The citizenry of the kingdom occasionally had conflicting interests and differing opinions about desired outcomes. And yet, the Hawaiian Kingdom is the only country that ʻŌiwi have ever had, and it remains a symbol of Hawaiian

nationalism for many Hawaiians today.



FIGURE 1

The Hawaiian Kingdom flag was an important symbol in celebrating Lā Kūʻokoʻa, Hawaiian Independence Day.[11] The quoted phrase could be translated as, "The beautiful flag of Hawaiʻi, long may it continue to fly." *Hawaiʻi State Archives*

2 | INDIGENOUS HAWAIIAN STATECRAFT

> 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.[1]
>
> *Now we know the place where Kaulu was born and also the places he visited prior to his return to Hawai'i. In his travels he exhausted 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.*
>
> JONAH KŪHIŌ KALANIANA'OLE

The passage above was written entirely in Hawaiian and comes from an obscure mo'olelo found in the Kalaniana'ole Collection at the Hawai'i State Archives. This excerpt speaks of Kaulu, the famed 'Ōiwi navigator who visited the distant lands of the Pacific, Asia, and Europe generations prior to Cook's arrival in the Hawaiian Islands in 1778. This information advances the possibility that 'Ōiwi may have discovered the haole, not the other way around.[2]

The passage also suggests that 'Ōiwi were exploring, navigating vast seas, and engaging and negotiating with other cultures with the expansion of Polynesian navigation. If that were all this passage contributed to 'Ōiwi history and identity, its gift would be substantial, but this particular mo'olelo adds an additional layer of surprise, because it was handwritten in pencil on the back of what appears to be a draft law of the Territory of Hawai'i.[3]

As I envision it, sometime between 1903 and 1905, Jonah Kūhiō Kalaniana'ole, the great-grandson of Kaumuali'i and heir to the throne of the Hawaiian Kingdom, hānai of Queen Kapi'olani, former political prisoner of the "Republic," and newly elected congressman of the "Territory of Hawai'i," picked up a draft of what later became the Hawai'i Organic Act, flipped the paper over and began to write, in Hawaiian, a detailed mo'olelo about the beginnings of government and the ali'i structure in Ka Pae 'Āina (an ancient

name for Hawai‘i). Kūhiō was demonstrating his faith in the epistemologies of his ancestors even as he sat in an office in Washington DC as a nonvoting member of Congress. Euro-American scholars of this time likely would have dismissed this mo‘olelo of Kaulu. Kūhiō, on the other hand, would have had no reservations about the content or the validity of this particular portion of traditional knowledge.

Like Kūhiō’s mo‘olelo, this chapter deals with Hawaiian governance and the major structures of the ‘Ōiwi system i ka wā kahiko (in ancient times). I trace the rise of the mō‘ī (supreme chief who rules an island), the development of the ‘aha ali‘i (council of chiefs), the establishment of palena (place boundaries), and the redistribution of lands through a kālai‘āina (land carving). The institutions of the aha ali‘i, mō‘ī, palena, and kālai‘āina order both lands and society by creating a centralized government, establishing a system of place boundaries that protected and regulated resources, and redistributing lands and their resources among ali‘i (chiefs) and maka‘āinana (commoners). These structures constitute pre-European indigenous Hawaiian “statecraft,” a system of bounding lands and resources under chiefly authority. Furthermore, the existence of the aupuni (government) in ancient Hawaiian society enabled the Hawaiian Kingdom to create a nation-state by modifying existing structures rather than replacing or erasing the ancient forms of governance, chiefly rule, and land management.

The structures of ‘aha ali‘i, mō‘ī, palena, and kālai‘āina organized rule, society, and land in ways that are similar to those of nation-states. They were not, however, secular political institutions. A weaving of the material, metaphysical, and genealogical created these structures, and while it may be difficult to treat these seemingly separate bodies of knowledge as a unity, an explanation that attempts to separate these strands—to unweave the lei—will fail to grasp the totality of these structures.

Mana is a Hawaiian concept that incorporates material, metaphysical, and genealogical characteristics. Translated as “supernatural power” as well as “official power or authority,”[4] mana informed nearly every aspect of ‘Ōiwi society i ka wā kahiko. One received mana primarily through one’s genealogy. In other words, the mana of one’s ancestors is inherited by living descendants.

Mana also can be gained through metaphysical means—the acquiring of particular gods or pule (prayers). For example, the god Kūkā‘ilimoku, represented as a physical entity, was passed to Kamehameha upon the death of his uncle Kalani‘ōpu‘u, granting greater access to mana.[5] As Kēhaunani Abad explains, 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 Aliʻi."[6]

In both physical and metaphysical terms, mana played a central role in society in ancient times. It established one's rank as an aliʻi rather than a makaʻāinana and determined the gradations of rank within aliʻi. Mana also played a critical role in the establishment of the mōʻī.

EVOLUTION OF MŌʻĪ

Kauaʻi o Manokalanipō	Kauaʻi of the great chief Manokalanipō
Oʻahu o Kākuhihewa	Oʻahu of the great chief Kākuhihewa
Lānaʻi a Kaululāʻau	Lānaʻi of the chief Kaululāʻau
Nā hono a Piʻilani	The bays of the great chief Piʻilani (a poetic reference to Maui)
Ka moku o Keawe	The island of the great chief Keawe (a poetic reference to Hawaiʻi Island)

The stories of aliʻi are infused in the geography of Ka Pae ʻĀina Hawaiʻi. Names of famed chiefs echo in the refrains of countless songs, praising deeds and peoples long past, while continuing to be sources of pride for the kamaʻāina of the islands. ʻŌiwi society evolved from rule by the ʻaha aliʻi or by a chief of a particular district, to the consolidation of power by one chief over an entire island. Generations prior to European arrival in the Hawaiian Islands, mōʻī such as Kalaunuiohua had attempted to extend their rule throughout the archipelago.

The mōʻī, or chief who controls an island, has often been translated as "king." I believe the origins of mōʻī stem from ʻŌiwi history itself and are not a Hawaiianization of a European concept. The word may be a merger of two words: moʻo, which in this case refers to "succession, series, especially a genealogical line, lineage," and ʻī, which here refers to "supreme, great, best."[7] A possible translation of mōʻī, then, would be "a succession of the supreme." More commonly, mōʻī is translated as "a sovereign, one in whom is supreme authority."[8]

Some usages subtly distinguish between the term "aliʻi nui" (high-ranking chief) and mōʻī. In nearly all cases, a mōʻī would be an aliʻi nui, but an aliʻi nui is not necessarily also a mōʻī. In ancient times, aliʻi nui meant that a particular chief "was the most powerful chief on that island for the time being."[9] The progression from the concept of aliʻi nui to mōʻī was somewhat linear, but the

actual origin of the term mōʻī is ambiguous. Abad suggests that it may have been a part of the secret language of the ʻaha aliʻi, a language not understood by commoners.[10]

There are some paradoxical writings on the origin of the term mōʻī. The Pukuʻi and Elbert dictionary states that "according to J. F. G. Stokes, the word mōʻī, king, is of recent origin and was first in print in 1832. . . . The term mōʻī was apparently not used in the Fornander legends collected in the 1860s."[11] But Fornander himself had written that "the word Moi appears in the legends and Meles, indicating that the chief who bore that title was, by some constitutional or prescriptive right, acknowledged as the suzerain lord of his island."[12] Fornander theorized that the position of mōʻī developed in Hawaiʻi as a result of changes taking place during the voyaging periods when there was much interaction between Hawaiʻi and other islands in the Pacific, as the mele relate.[13] Prior to the "migratory" period, Fornander suggests, the word mōʻī did not appear in the moʻolelo and genealogy of the aliʻi. King Kalākaua noted that the position of mōʻī was instituted by the "newcomers from the south."[14]

From a spiritual perspective, the mōʻī was a physical manifestation of the akua; from a material perspective, the position was a centralizing political force in the ancient Hawaiian governmental structure. Some mōʻī were known for initiating great works of peace and prosperity that made lands more productive and communities more bountiful. Other mōʻī were known to inspire and unify an entire island for purposes of defense or offense. An offensive campaign, however, was less usual and therefore required an exceptionally charismatic "moi of more than common ability and force of character to induce his chiefs to join him in an aggressive war upon another island."[15]

Kūhiō's moʻolelo describes some of the events in Hawaiʻi during the voyaging periods, when there was a mixing of Polynesian bloodlines and political systems. The migrations of people from Borabora were occurring from the time of Paumakuakalani to Keliʻikalola. The moʻolelo estimates the dates to be between 600 and 1200 AD.[16] During this period, some genealogical lines of the koa (warriors) and aliʻi became intertwined:

> 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.[17]
>
> *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.

Kūhiō credits Heleipawa, the son of Kapawa, with the creation of the aliʻi system of governance on Maui.[18] Kapawa was also the first aliʻi to be buried in ʻĪao Valley, the famous resting place of the Oʻahu and Maui chiefs.

Figure 2.1 is a portion of what is known as the Kumuhonua genealogy, which shows the generations from Ulu to Heleipawa, the father of Kapawa.[19]

This genealogy was published in the Hawaiian-language newspaper *Ka Nonanona* (fig. 2.2) on October 25, 1842, and again on April 20, 1896, in *Ka Makaainana*, where the author warned the reader, "Aole hoi e kakauia ana keia i mea kilohi wale iho no—*The genealogy is not something to be taken lightly or read in passing*—aka, i mea na ka hanauna hou e hoomaopopo iho ai ma ka hoopaa ana ma ka puuwai, a maopopo ka moolelo o na kupuna o Hawaii nei—*It is recorded to enable future generations of ʻŌiwi to memorize in the heart and understand the true history and genealogy of Hawaiʻi.*"[20]

The publishing of aliʻi genealogies, which established descent from the akua (gods), was one way to demonstrate the mana of aliʻi. It also revealed a continuous line of rule from akua into the contemporary era—drawing upon Hawaiian antiquity while at the same time showing movement and progression. And since the aliʻi genealogies included portions of the genealogy of all ʻŌiwi, they also provided a foundation for a Hawaiian national identity. Even early Hawaiian-language newspapers such as *Ka Nonanona*—which published materials from 1841 to 1845 and, as Noenoe Silva points out, was somewhat "controlled by the missionaries"[21]—advanced more than just missionary ethics. *Ka Nonanona* also drew on traditional forms of recalling history, such as the Kumuhonua genealogy, thereby documenting early forms of Hawaiian nationalism through its native contributors such as Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau.

	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	KOOKOOKUMAILANI	HULUMANAILANI

FIGURE 2.1

Portion of the Kumuhonua genealogy, from Kii to Heleipawa. Gaining entrance into the ʻaha aliʻi required tracing one's ancestry to the chiefs Ulu and Nanaulu. *Kamakau, "Ke kuauhau,"* 1842; Ka Makaainana, "*Mookuauhau alii,"* 1896



1842.] KA NONANONA. 49

Ke kuauhau no na Kupuna kahiko loa mai o Hawaii nei, a hiki mai ia Wakea. Mai ia Wakea mai a hiki mai i keia manawa a kakou e noho nei, i mea e maopopo ai i keia hanauna; a ia hanauna aku ia hanauna aku.

Kane.	Wahine.	Keiki.
O Kumuhonua.	O Haloiho,	O Ahukai.
O Ahukai.	O Hotchuna,	O Kapili.
O Kapili.	O Alenainai,	O Kawakupua.
O Kawakupua.	O Helonciluna,	O Kawakahiko.
O Kawakahiko.	O Kahohnia,	O Kahikolupa.
O Kahikolupa.	O Lukaua,	O Kahikoleikau.
O Kahikoleikau.	O Kupomakaikaelone,	O Kahikoleiulu.
O Kahikoleiulu.	O Kanonakaikaelone,	O Kahikoleihonua.
O Kahikoleihonua.	O Haakeakeau,	O Haakeakoulauluni.
O Haakeakoulaulaia.	O Kanoinkeakanioe,	O Kupo.
O Kupo.	O Lanikupo,	O Nahaeikekua.
O Nahaeikekua.	O Hanailuna,	O Keakenui.
O Keakenui,	O Lahaemanu.	O Kahianahinakii.
O Kahianahinakiinkea,	O Luanahinakiipapa,	O Koluanahinakii.
O Koluanahinakii,	O Hanahina,	Limanahinakii.
O Limanahinakii,	O Onohinakii,	O Hikunnahina.
O Aikuanohina,	O Waluanahina,	O Iwahina.
O Iwahina,	O Lohanakiipapa,	O Wulauhilaninui.
O Wulauhilaninui,	O Owe,	O Kahiko.
O Kahiko I,	O Kapulanakekau,	O Wakea.
O Wakea,	O Papa, / O Hoohokukalani,	O Hoohokukalani. / O Haloa.
O Haloa,	O Hinaumanouluae,	O Owaia.
O Owaia,	O Huhune,	O Hinanalo.
O Ainanalo,	O Haunui,	O Nanakaihili.
O Nanakaihili,	O Haulani,	O Wailoa.
O Wailoa,	O Hikawaoopuninaea,	O Kio.
O Kio,	O Kainole,	O Ole.
O Ole,	O Hai,	O Pupue.
O Pupue,	O Kamukele,	O Manaku.
O Manaku,	O Hikohaale,	O Kahiko II.
O Kahiko II,	O Kaea,	O Luanui.
O Luanui I,	O Kowaamaukele,	O Kii.
O Kii,	O Hinakaula,	O Ulu. / O Nanaulu.
O Nanaulu,	O Ulukaoe,	O Nanamea.
O Nanamea,	O Puia,	O Pohekeulu.
O Ulu,	O Kapunuu,	O Naua. / O Kapulani. / O Nanaie.
O Nanaie,	O Kahaumokuloia,	O Nanilani.
O Nanailani,	O Hinakinau,	O Waikulani.
O Waikulani,	O Kekauilani,	O Kuheleimoana.
O Kuheleimoana,	O Mapunaianala,	O Konohiki.
O Konohiki,	O Hikaululena,	O Wawana.
O Wawana,	O Hinamahuia,	O Akalana.
O Akalana,	O Hinakawea,	O Mauimua. / O Mauihope. / O Mauikiiki. / O Mauiakalana.

FIGURE 2.2
Example of ancient moʻokūʻauhau (genealogy) printed in the newspaper *Ka Nonanona*. *Kamakau, "Ke kuauhau,"* 1842

Another foundational work for understanding the Aupuni Kahiko by a contemporary of Kamakau is *Ka Moolelo Hawaii,* written in the mid-1840s by a former student of the Lahainaluna Seminary, Davida Malo. Born in 1795 to a father who served in Kamehameha's court and army, Malo was raised in the

household of the famed aliʻi Kuakini and came to understand indigenous Hawaiian chiefly society through his daily life in the court. Figure 2.3 illustrates Malo's account of the Aupuni Kahiko, which was thought of as a body ("ke kino maoli o ke aupuni") by the ancients ("pela ka manao o ka poe kahiko i hana ai").[22] Malo uses the term aliʻi nui rather than mōʻī, perhaps because he is giving a general description of the administrative structure.[23]

The ʻŌiwi body politic is a union of the structures of governance and a stratification of governmental administration within the body. The aliʻi nui serves as the head of governance, and the head functions best when working in harmony with the other parts of the body. That governance was thought of in these terms is of great significance when trying to understand the modification of this system. Since these structures of governance were thought of in both abstract and highly material terms, it made the system more open to change and adjustments. Governance could be modified and new political positions created while still maintaining the metaphor of the body, and thus society as a whole. Furthermore, modifications of these positions occurred even prior to the arrival of Europeans in the Hawaiian Islands; Malo's recounting of how social governance was anciently conceived offers important insights into the continuity of indigenous political perspectives.

Haho a me ka ʻAha Aliʻi: Haho and the Council of Chiefs

The ʻaha aliʻi was an important creation that legitimized the aliʻi structure. Chief Haho, the son of Paumakua of Maui, is credited with its development.[24] The ʻaha aliʻi established a chiefly pedigree among chiefs by asserting a common ancestral line that individuals needed to trace their genealogy to. Only those who could demonstrate the authenticity of their lineage back to the chiefs Ulu or Nanaulu (see fig. 2.1) could enter into the circle of the ʻaha aliʻi. Although there were well-understood gradations of rank and kapu between members, each chief had a somewhat equal seat at the table within the ʻaha aliʻi. The separation between aliʻi and makaʻāinana, however, was clear. Kalākaua notes that those in the ʻaha aliʻi solely possessed the right to "wear the insignia of their rank, the feather wreath (lei-hulu), the feather cape (ahu ula), and the ivory clasp (palaoa); and their canoes might be painted red and bear a pennon."[25] They also had access to a language designed to be known only by chiefs.[26]

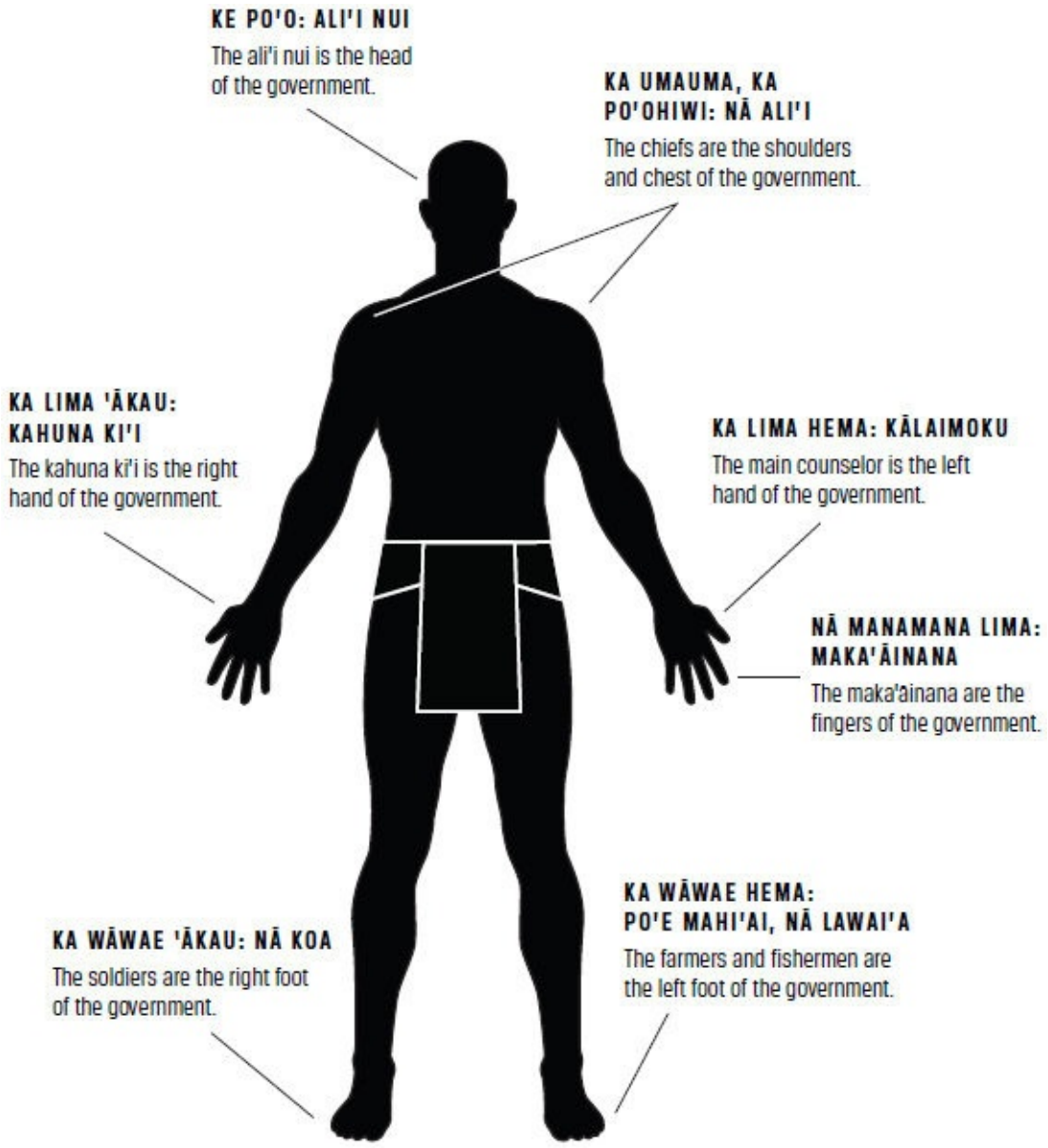


FIGURE 2.3
Ke kino maoli o ke aupuni: Governance of the Hawaiian body politic from an ʻŌiwi perspective.
Illustration by Mozaic Design, based on the author's interpretation of Malo, Ka Moʻolelo Hawaiʻi, *103*

The development of the ʻaha aliʻi distinguished those with lengthy generational ties to Ka Pae ʻĀina from others in the Pacific who were migrating there and may have been of aliʻi class in their previous homeland. Or, as Fornander puts it, the ʻaha aliʻi arose "as a protection of the native aristocracy against foreign pretenders, and as a broader line of demarcation between the nobility and the commonality."[27]

Kamakau also discusses the ʻaha aliʻi in an article in the Hawaiian-language

newspaper, *Ke Au Okoa*, but in a way that differs slightly from the explanation given by Kalākaua and Fornander. Previous to Haho, Hawai‘i Island was in a state of disrepair because the maka‘āinana had risen above the chiefs.[28] Where Kamakau differs from Kalākaua and Fornander is his claim that it was the maka‘āinana themselves who sought out Haho to rule as an ali‘i over their island.

> Nolaila, huli mai la na makaainana o Hawaii i alii no lakou a loaa ke’lii i Oahu, e hoonoho maluna o ko lakou aupuni, oia o Haholani ke keiki a Paumakua, ka moopuna a Huanuikalalailai, a oia hoi keia o Haholani a Huamakua, ua komo ka makuakane a me ke kupunakane iloko o ka inoa hookahi. Maloko o ka aha kapu alii, ua akaka na’lii a me na makaainana, a o ka aha kapu alii ka hoailona nana e hoike akaka ke kuleana oiaio o ke’lii a me ka makaainana.[29]
>
> *Therefore, the maka‘āinana (commoners) of Hawai‘i Island sought out a chief for themselves and they received a chief on O‘ahu, 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 father’s and grandfather’s names. Within the ‘aha kapu ali‘i (the sacred cords of the ali‘i), it was easily recognizable who was a chief and who was a maka‘āinana, the sacred cord of the chiefs would symbolize the responsibility between chiefs and maka‘āinana.*

Figure 2.4 is a continuation of the Kumuhonua genealogy showing the eighteen generations from Heleipawa to Haho,[30] the chief credited with establishing the ‘aha ali‘i.

Most Hawaiian sources affirm that Haho, the son of Paumakua of Maui Island lineage, is the founder of the ‘aha ali‘i. Establishing the ‘aha ali‘i began the progression toward the development of a mō‘ī. Though it is difficult to pinpoint the exact moment or generation when this development occurred, the Kumuhonua genealogy, and the mo‘olelo surrounding the chief Kalaunuiohua, provide an early example of a mō‘ī who was clearly established.

Kalaunuiohua: Supreme Chief in the ‘Aha Ali‘i

The Kumuhonua genealogy shows Haho being born sixty-five generations after Kumuhonua. Given that Haho established the ʻaha aliʻi, it is likely that the concept of mōʻī evolved sometime in the nineteen generations between Haho and Kalaunuiohua.[31] The arrival of Pili (seventy-third generation) from the southern islands and the establishment of his family's rule over Hawaiʻi Island are other significant events in this moʻolelo.[32] It is clear that by the time of Kalaunuiohua, there had emerged mōʻī in the islands.[33] Figure 2.5 lists the generations leading up to Kalaunuiohua.

Kalaunuiohua represented a genealogical linkage of the southern and northern islands of Ka Pae ʻĀina, for he is a descendant of the Ulu–Pili line of Hawaiʻi Island as well as the Nanaulu–Maweke line of Kauaʻi and Oʻahu.[34] Whether or not Kalaunuiohua was the first aliʻi to consolidate rule over all of Hawaiʻi Island, he is well known for being the first aliʻi who attempted to rule over the entire chain. Kalākaua writes that after bringing "all the districts of Hawaii under his control, Kalaunui entertained the ambitious design of uniting the several islands of the archipelago under one government."[35]

	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

FIGURE 2.4

Portion of the Kumuhonua genealogy, from Heleipawa to Haho. The ʻaha aliʻi was established by Haho (of Maui). *Kamakau, "Ke kuauhau," 1842;* Ka Makaainana, *"Mookuauhau alii," 1896*

	KĀNE (MAN)	WAHINE (WOMAN)	KEIKI (CHILD)
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	KANALOA KUMUOKALANI LAAIKIAHUALANI KALAHUMOKU HUANUIMAKANALENALE
79.	KANALOA	MAKOANI	KALAPANAKUIOIOMOA
80.	HUANUIMAKANALENALE	KUMUOKALANI	KELIIOKAPOLOHAINA
81.	KALAHUMOKU	LAAMEA	IIKIALAAMEA
82.	IIKIALAAMEA	KALAMEA	HAUAKALAMA KAMANAWAKALAMEA
83.	KALAPANAKUIOIOMOA	MAKEAMAKAMAIHANI	KAHAIMOELEAIKAAI- KAPUKUPOU
84.	KAHAIMOELEAIKAAI- KAUKUPOU	KAPOAKAULUKAILAA	KALAUNUIOHUA
85.	KALAUNUIOHUA	KAHEKA	KUAIWA

FIGURE 2.5

Portion of the Kumuhonua genealogy from Haho to Kalaunuiohua, who sought to unite the Hawaiian Islands under one government. *Kamakau, "Ke kuauhau," 1842;* Ka Makaainana, *"Mookuauhau alii," 1896*

Accounts differ about Kalaunuiohua's actions toward other chiefs while on his conquest. Fornander says that he took the mōʻī of other islands as captives following their defeat.[36] Malo notes that upon conquering Maui, Kalaunuiohua did not kill Kamaluohua, the aliʻi of Maui, but spared him to serve as kiaʻāina (governor) under his rule: "Aole nae i pepehi ia o Kamaluohua, hoola ia no i Kiaaina no Maui malalo mai o Kala[u]nuiohua."[37] Such an action was an early

precursor of Kamehameha's establishing kia'āina over the islands he defeated.

According to tradition, Kalaunuiohua is the first ali'i who nearly consolidated rule over the entire archipelago of the Hawaiian Islands. He defeated Kamaluohua on Maui, Kahokuohua on Moloka'i, and Huapouleilei on O'ahu.[38] Although Kalaunuiohua was defeated by the Kaua'i mō'ī, Kūkona, and therefore unsuccessful in unifying Ka Pae 'Āina, the importance of this attempt should not be underestimated. His consolidation of authority over Hawai'i Island, and his efforts to gather the islands of the archipelago under one political entity, demonstrate that a unified Ka Pae 'Āina had evolved as an 'Ōiwi concept prior to the arrival of Europeans. Clearly, Kalaunuiohua was a mō'ī. Abad argues that the actions of Kalaunuiohua may have played a critical role in the development of governance and rule in subsequent generations: "Significantly, the generations of ali'i nui following Kalaunuiohua's attack undertook major economic and political changes across the islands."[39]

Kalaunuiohua's attempt not only had important political consequences for ruling mō'ī across the entire archipelago, but also changed the concept of mō'ī. Within the eventual structure of the 'aha ali'i, one could neither rise higher than the genealogical source from which one sprang nor fall from the accepted rank, regardless of loss of lands or political failure.[40]

While still being intimately tied to the 'aha ali'i, however, the concept of mō'ī was freed from some of these limitations. Begun as a means for distinguishing ali'i from maka'āinana, over time, the 'aha ali'i developed into a structure that created a pool of chiefs who could be recognized as legitimate rulers should they rise to power. In other words, for one to become mō'ī, one had to be recognized by the 'aha ali'i. But 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, and wohi—determined by the genealogy of a particular ali'i—the office of mō'ī potentially could have been held by someone from any of these ranks.[41] Conversely, while the office of the mō'ī consolidated power within one of the members of the 'aha ali'i, it was also true that no chief could rise to mō'ī without the aid of the 'aha ali'i, or at least some members of it.

As the concept of mō'ī developed between the generations of Haho and Kalaunuiohua, traditional structures such as the 'aha ali'i were in a gradual state of movement and change. The emergence of the concept of mō'ī also might have led to other significant changes through the ordering and bounding of the land. Earlier structures of governance were affected by establishing a mō'ī. An aupuni centralized under the authority of a mō'ī within the council of chiefs would have

different ways of organizing ʻāina than would an aupuni governed by a semi-independent group of chiefs within the ʻaha aliʻi.

PALENA—"PLACE BOUNDARIES" AND AHUPUAʻA

Two concepts intimately related to the office of mōʻī are palena and kālaiʻāina. Andrews translates the word palena as "pale and ana, a dividing off. A border or boundary. A dividing line between two parts or places."[42] It also might be translated as a "protected place."[43] In this section I describe some of the palena on the land, also termed palena ʻāina. I translate the term with the phrase "place-boundaries." The tension between the words *place* and *boundary* helps us understand the Hawaiian concept of palena. It is a particular type of boundary, one created in a specific context, which defines a place that has unique functions.

In the ʻŌiwi system of old, palena created places—spaces of attachment and access to both the metaphysical and physical worlds. They delineated the resource access of makaʻāinana and aliʻi on the ground, literally connecting people to the material and spiritual resources of these places.[44] Palena were cataloged and maintained visually and cognitively, and were passed on orally from generation to generation by inhabitants knowledgeable about the place.

Palena of ahupuaʻa 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 circling an entire island, primarily near the shoreline section) would intersect with the palena of ahupuaʻa. Palena did not necessarily govern access, but rather resources, while delineating place. The palena of ahupuaʻa (a land division smaller than a moku) had functions for both the makaʻāinana and the aliʻi. Palena produced greater productivity over the land, greater control of the mōʻī over his or her territoriality, and more sustained placial relationships to land for makaʻāinana.

Emplacing the ʻĀina

"Ahupuaʻa system" is a contemporary phrase used to describe ʻŌiwi resource management in ancient times. An ahupuaʻa is one of several important land divisions, such as moku and ʻili, "emplaced" by ʻŌiwi people of old. According to Kamakau, the ʻāina was *not* divided in early Hawaiʻi:

> 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 iliaina, 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.[45]
>
> *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.*

Based on Kamakau’s insights, one can imagine that prior to the development of the ‘aha ali‘i, lands likely would have been bound by the immediate authority of a particular chief or, in other cases, an ‘ohana (family). Boundaries would have been dynamic and subject to the agreements of neighboring ali‘i or families.

As the lands became filled with people, however, static boundaries were emplaced and divisions were defined. It is widely accepted that before diseases were introduced through Cook’s contact with Hawai‘i, Ka Pae ‘Āina had a large population. For example, an early Hawaiian Kingdom surveyor, C. J. Lyons, wrote that the islands had been “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 evidences of such population are unmistakable.”[46] Estimates of the population near the time of Cook’s arrival in Ka Pae ‘Āina range from four hundred thousand (Cook)[47] to eight hundred thousand (Stannard).[48] Providing for a large population primarily through agriculture and aquaculture meant that the land had to be well defined and structured. Order was produced through palena, which bounded areas and resources by establishing a series of land divisions. As the population reached a critical mass, political structures evolved to create and define land use and access to resources.

Mā‘ilikūkahi: Boundaries and Abundance

One ali‘i noted for precise implementation of palena was Mā‘ilikūkahi, the son of Kūkahiaililani (k) and Kokalola (w) of the Maweke and Paumakua families.[49] Tradition remembers the reign of this mō‘ī of O‘ahu as one of peace and

abundance. The ʻaha aliʻi chose Māʻilikūkahi as mōʻī after the removal and death of the previous mōʻī, Haka.[50] Māʻilikūkahi's reign over Oʻahu occurred shortly after Kalaunuiohua's conquest of the mōʻī Huapouleilei and the conquest of Oʻahu. The succession of rule went from Huapouleilei to Haka to Māʻilikūkahi.[51] Discussing Māʻilikūkahi at length, Kūhiō wrote

> 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 iʻa 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-ahu-puaa. . . . Haawi aku la o Mailikukahi i ka aina i na Makaainana a pau loa a puni o Oahu.[52]
>
> *Prior to the reign of Māʻilikūkahi the land was in a state of confusion. It was not clearly understood what was an ahupuaʻa and what was an [ʻili] kū ʻāina. Māʻilikūkahi divided Oʻahu into six moku. Therefore, Māʻilikūkahi ordered the chiefs, the servicemen, the overseers, and the makaʻāinana (commoners) to cultivate all the lands of Oʻahu, the fishponds, the ahupuaʻa, the ʻili ʻāina, and the moʻo ʻāina. He established [each of] the high chiefs in [one of] the six moku. Then he established the aliʻi over the moku and those over the ahupuaʻa. . . . Māʻilikūkahi also gave lands to each of the makaʻāinana throughout all of Oʻahu.*

Scholars such as Fornander and Kamakau join Kūhiō in crediting Māʻilikūkahi with establishing palena on Oʻahu.[53] Whether Māʻilikūkahi created the complex system of palena for Oʻahu or streamlined the existing system, the palena he emplaced were clearly productive and welcomed by the ʻaha aliʻi and makaʻāinana alike, for his great works and peaceful reign have been long remembered. Aliʻi on other islands implemented similar systems. Kakaʻalaneo is said to have established a derivative system with the aid of his kahuna, Kālaihaohia,[54] and so did the mōʻī ʻUmi on Hawaiʻi Island.[55] Manokalanipō, the son of Kūkona, the Kauaʻi Island mōʻī who defeated Kalaunuiohua, also conducted great works of agriculture and irrigation.[56]

The development of the concept of mōʻī also may have played a significant

role in the precise implementation of palena over the land. A mōʻī who consolidated rule with the support of the ʻaha aliʻi would create centralized governance, enabling palena to be established through that central authority. In situations where the governance was not centralized, establishing boundaries would require neighboring chiefs to agree and would always be subject to changes in their mutual agreement. Centralized governance likely played a role in the territoriality of palena as well. Since mōʻī such as Māʻilikūkahi and others are famed for reorganizing or refining labor and land divisions in ways that made lands more bountiful, it is clear that these adaptations were accepted and appreciated by the ʻaha aliʻi as well as the makaʻāinana. Whether the invasion of Kalaunuiohua was the catalyst for these administrative changes, as Abad suggests,[57] or whether they can be credited to the sheer brilliance of mōʻī such as Māʻilikūkahi, or whether these modifications resulted from a combination of both factors, the divisions instituted at this time period still appear on land titles, on maps, and in moʻolelo today.[58]

LAND TERMS

The following section discusses basic ʻŌiwi land terms such as moku, kalana, ʻokana, ahupuaʻa, and ʻili. Established by mōʻī such as Māʻilikūkahi, these land divisions demonstrate that the ancient Hawaiian system was highly centralized, inscribing order over the land in ways that enabled the later Hawaiian Kingdom to build upon the secure foundation of these existing structures. For example, in the Māhele of 1848 (see Chapter Five), lands were awarded in accordance with their ancient place names and divisions.

It should be kept in mind that palena were not mapped on paper during the time of Māʻilikūkahi, but maintained on the ground and in the minds of makaʻāinana and aliʻi. I use maps produced in the Hawaiian Kingdom to show that rather than being erased or dissolved, many divisions emplaced by mōʻī such as Māʻilikūkahi were maintained and mapped in the kingdom. These hybrid maps document the transitioning of the ancient land system into the Hawaiian nation-state and the preservation of much indigenous knowledge of place.

Moku

Mokupuni, or the larger islands, like Kauaʻi, Oʻahu, Maui, Molokaʻi, and

Hawai‘i Island, were first subdivided into moku-o-loko or moku.[59] Moku are the base divisions. The islands of O‘ahu and Hawai‘i have six moku districts, while Kaua‘i has five, and Maui has the most, with twelve (fig. 2.6). Moku divisions are the base division of an island and are composed of multiple ahupua‘a.

Moku divisions can vary greatly in size and shape, as well as from island to island. Sometimes moku can even cross the ocean to include smaller islands as a part of the division. Though not visible in figure 2.6, the moku of Kahikinui on Maui includes the island of Kaho‘olawe.

Kalana and ‘Okana

There is often confusion about the terms kalana and ‘okana. Some scholars write that kalana and ‘okana divisions represent the same kind of division as that of moku and are therefore used interchangeably.[60] One trusted source, the Buke Mahele,[61] is consistent with this interpretation, listing the divisions as ranging from mokupuni, to kalana, to ahupua‘a, to specific ‘āina (fig. 2.7).

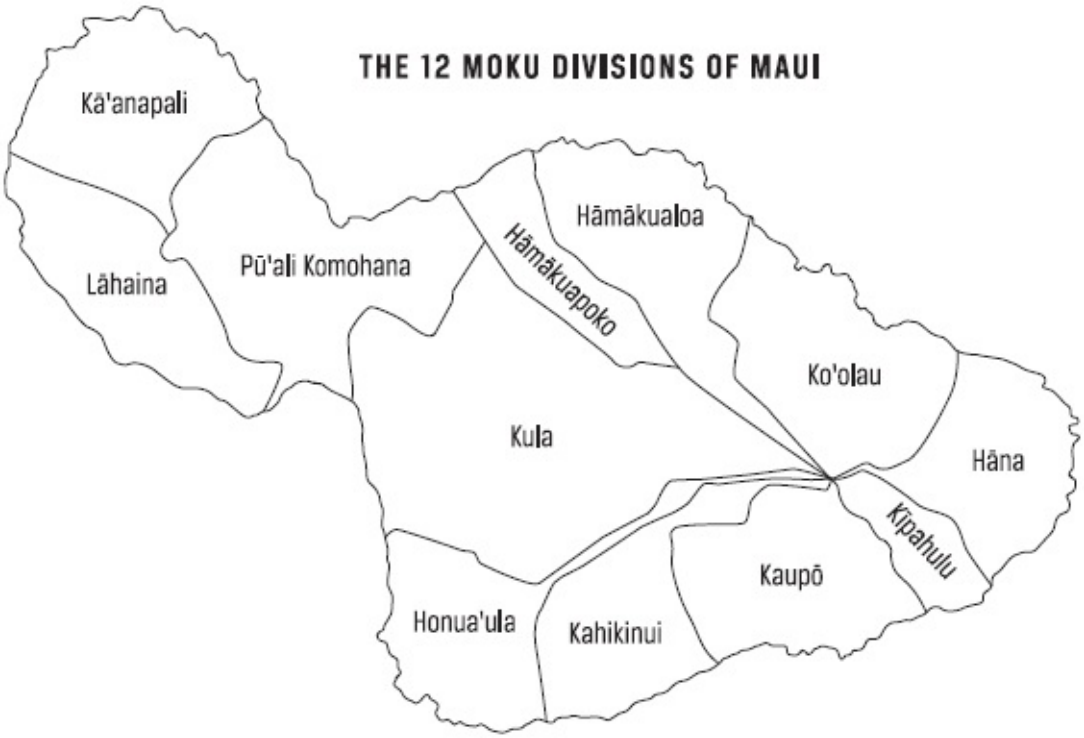


FIGURE 2.6
The island of Maui has twelve moku divisions. The moku designated as Pū‘ali Komohana is also known as Wailuku. *Illustration by Mozaic Design, based on the author’s original rendering*

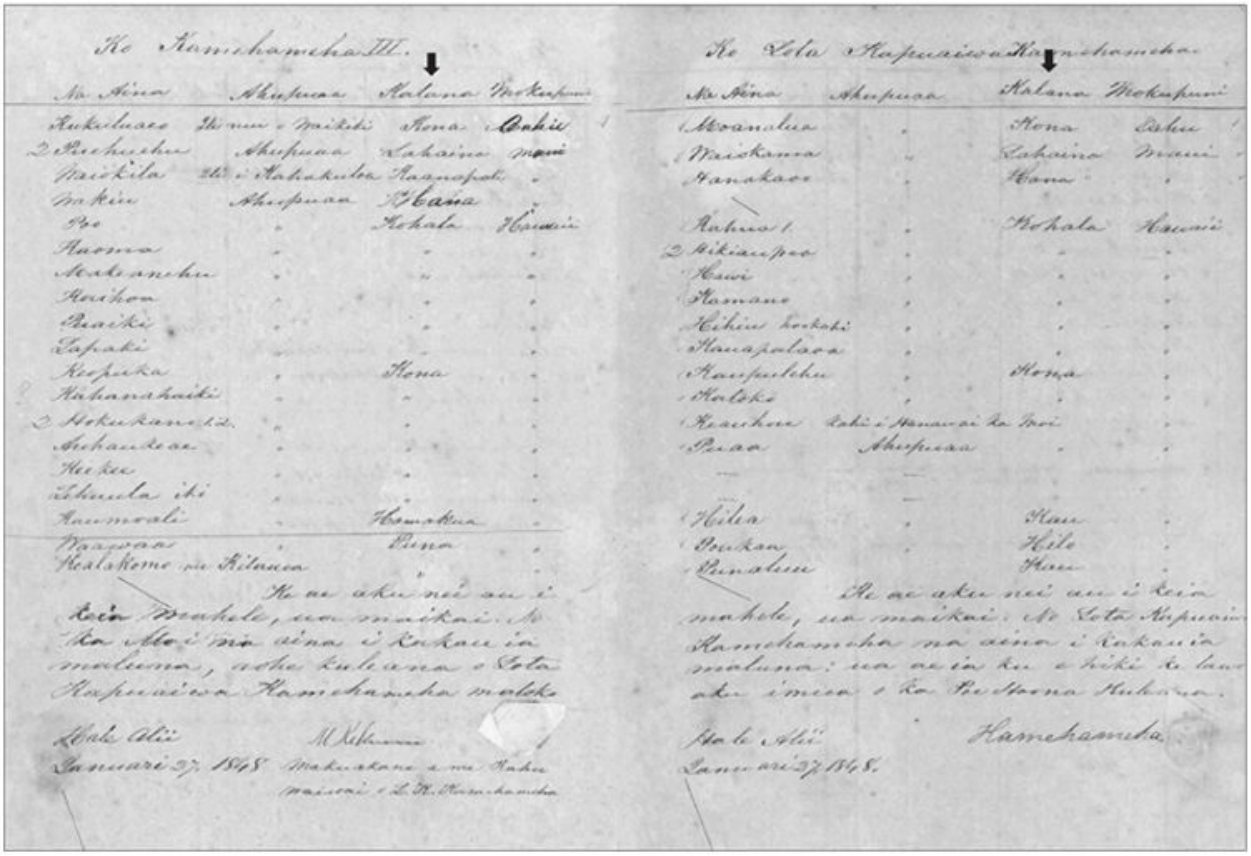


FIGURE 2.7
Kalana divisions are commonly referred to in the Buke Mahele (as indicated with arrows). *Kauikeaouli et al., Buke Kakau Paa no ka Mahele Aina [Buke Mahele], 1848*

Though kalana divisions here are synonymous with what many call moku divisions today, it is not clear if kalana divisions are the same as ‘okana divisions. However, some sources list ‘okana as being divisions *separate* from moku divisions. For example, in the Hawaiian Ethnographic Notes (HEN) Index at the Bishop Museum Archives, Mary Kawena Pukui translated a Hawaiian-language newspaper article pertaining to Hawai‘i Island and ‘okana divisions as follows:

> Okana. In olden times Kona was divided into twelve 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.[62]

According to this article, on Hawai‘i Island there were ‘okana divisions smaller than a moku division but often larger than an ahupua‘a. As further Hawaiian-language sources emerge, scholars may be able to piece together a clearer picture of the similarities and differences between moku, kalana, and ‘okana.

Ahupua‘a

As described by Malo and Kamakau, the scale of ahupua‘a is smaller than that of moku, kalana, and ‘okana, but larger than that of ‘ili (although a few of the largest ‘ili many have had a greater acreage than the smallest ahupua‘a).[63] Ahupua‘a were of critical importance to the annual Makahiki procession of the god Lono, when tribute was collected and spiritual rejuvenation was bestowed upon 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) made from kukui wood (a physical manifestation of Lono). Ho‘okupu (tributes to the akua) would be made and collected at this site.

An early account by Curtis Lyons placed primary importance upon the ahupua‘a division:

> The *unit* of land, 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.[64]

While Lyons’s article clearly distinguished between variations in ahupua‘a and discussed the interrelationships between ahupua‘a and other divisions, the same often cannot be said of subsequent explanations. Derivative interpretations of Lyons’s work seem to focus exclusively on ahupua‘a rather than attempting to understand the system as a whole. Some contemporary usages of the word

ahupuaʻa have further distorted its meaning by equating it with "watershed." Simplifying an ʻŌiwi land division in this way by making it synonymous with a contemporary scientific concept not only misrepresents the diversity of ahupuaʻa (many of which are not watersheds), but also deculturizes ahupuaʻa and removes the Hawaiian-ness from the equation. Similarly, Bruce Braun has critiqued modern usages of the term "nature" for creating a space "emptied of human inhabitants who might lay claim to the land."[65] Once a space has been cleared of native culture and attachment, its voice becomes that of the detached scientist and the citizen-of-the-world environmentalist.

Ahupuaʻa are diverse and complex divisions, ranging in size, shape, and geography. Some ahupuaʻa are bounded by mountain ridges and peaks, such as many of the ahupuaʻa within the Koʻolaupoko moku of Oʻahu Island (fig. 2.8).

Other ahupuaʻa on Oʻahu, however, are extremely broad and consume multiple ridgelines. As Lyons explains, "On Oahu, the ahupuaa seems to have been oftentimes 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 forty thousand acres on the east slope of the Waianae mountains."[66]

Unlike the extended ahupuaʻa on Oʻahu, parts of Hawaiʻi Island contain long and narrow ahupuaʻa, including Makanikahio and Waiāpuka in North Kohala. Sections in North Kona also have a number of long, narrow ahupuaʻa, such as Makaula (fig. 2.9). Hawaiʻi Island also has several ahupuaʻa with narrow coastal sections and large acreages of land that actually cut off other ahupuaʻa on their inland ma uka (mountain) portion—the ahupuaʻa of Kaʻohe in Hāmākua. The high ma uka regions of Hawaiʻi Island are claimed by a small handful of ahupuaʻa that include Humuʻula, Kaʻohe, Keauhou, Kapāpala, and Kahuku.

On Lānaʻi and Molokaʻi, some ahupuaʻa extend across the island from a fishery up into the mountains and down to the adjacent fishery[67] (fig. 2.10).

The range and variation of the palena of ahupuaʻa are demonstrations of the complex ways ʻŌiwi understood and ordered the ʻāina to make society more productive. The diversity of palena—which were created by akua and cared for by kanaka—allowed ʻŌiwi to create land systems that supported greater populations than are present on all islands (other than Oʻahu) today.

Since the palena of ahupuaʻa defined resource access, they usually extended into the ocean. Testimonies in the Boundary Commission and in cases of the Hawaiian Kingdom Supreme Court state that if people were to go beyond the palena of their ahupuaʻa when gathering a resource, they would have to give that

resource to the konohiki (manager) or to the common people of that ahupuaʻa.[68] On the other hand, people had access to nearly all the resources within the palena of their ahupuaʻa, which was a major reason for palena being well known.

ʻŌlelo noʻeau (Hawaiian wise sayings) often commented on the inhabitants of particular places—whether by island, moku, ahupuaʻa, or ʻili—noting certain characteristics or practices. "Kalaoa ʻai pōʻeleʻele," for example, was often said in reference to the eating practices of the inhabitants of the ahupuaʻa of Kalaoa in Hilo.[69] The palena of ahupuaʻa were also attached to the spiritual realm and were integral to the Mahakiki procession. As Malo explains,

> Ma ka wa e hele mai ai ke akua a ku mai i ke ahu ma ka palena oia ahupuaʻa.[70]
>
> *At the time that the god comes, the god stops at the ahu on the boundary of that particular ahupuaʻa.*

Important sites for the hoʻokupu collection each year, ahupuaʻa were also units that organized resources that inhabitants had kuleana or rights to. In some places, however, divisions such as ʻili also defined resource use and access in ways that may have crossed ahupuaʻa palena to extend into multiple places.

ʻIli, ʻIli Kūpono, and ʻIli Lele

ʻIli are possibly the most complex land division because they have the greatest range in size, function, and composition. Though ʻili were subdivisions of ahupuaʻa (fig. 2.11)—some larger ahupuaʻa had thirty to forty ʻili independently named and marked by ʻiwi or the palena of ʻili[71]—some smaller ahupuaʻa had no ʻili. There were three types: the ʻili of the ahupuaʻa, the ʻili kūpono, and the ʻili lele.

The ʻili of the ahupuaʻa were inhabited by makaʻāinana of the particular ahupuaʻa 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.'"[72] Such ʻili were held under the tribute of the aliʻi ʻai ahupuaʻa (the aliʻi in legitimate control of the ahupuaʻa). These aliʻi had kuleana, or rights to a portion of the resources

in the entire ahupuaʻa.

But ʻili were also places to those who inhabited them and often were named for a particular moʻolelo associated with them. I have spoken with Hawaiian kūpuna who refer to their place of origin by ʻili name rather than by ahupuaʻa. The rights to use and cultivate ʻili were maintained in families.[73]

ʻIli kūpono are divisions that existed outside the jurisdiction of the aliʻi who was in control of the ahupuaʻa, requiring the inhabitants to pay a small labor tax. Most importantly, ʻili kūpono would not be redistributed upon the aliʻi's death. Lyons writes that the "ili kupono . . . 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."[74] As shown in figure 2.12, the ahupuaʻa of Waimea on Hawaiʻi Island included the large ʻili kūpono of Waikoloa.

ʻIli lele, which are most prominent on Oʻahu, are the most complicated land division. Lele translates as "to jump" or "to fly;" ʻili lele jump or fly across other boundaries to make up their entire composition. They would be composed of several distinct sections of lands and fisheries grouped together to form one unit. Often ʻili lele included a mountain section, a wetland section, and a fishery. Lyons describes the following example of ʻili lele of Punahou on Oʻahu: "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."[75] This example illustrates the intricacy of ʻili lele divisions.

Because of the complex system of palena that ʻŌiwi created in the indigenous Hawaiian land system, the Hawaiian Kingdom modified and built on the existing land system. Preserving ʻŌiwi knowledge of place, Hawaiian Kingdom maps often relied on kamaʻāina, or native testimony. As the Hawaiian Kingdom Supreme Court held, "It is apparent that no survey, even one founded on good information, can be anything more than secondary evidence when it has been proved to have been so founded, and can be no evidence in itself without proof that it is the expression of original kamaʻaina [native] direction."[76]

The range of ʻŌiwi land divisions points to some of the complexities of the geopolitical structures and territoriality emplaced over the land in ancient times. Chiefs such as Māʻilikūkahi are famed for creating these divisions, which ordered and made lands more productive. Such divisions may not have occurred had rule not been consolidated under one mōʻī. Establishing agreeable

boundaries among groups of equally ranked competing chiefs would have been difficult; however, if all chiefs yield to one supreme chief for land holdings, then he or she had the authority to set legitimate boundaries. A kālaiʻāina was the process of land redistribution by a mōʻī to the chiefs of the ʻaha aliʻi. Having palena and a mōʻī allowed for a single aliʻi to grant lands to chiefs, whose boundaries were then understood.

KĀLAIʻĀINA: THE POLITICS OF LAND REDISTRIBUTION

Conducted at the beginning of the reign of a new mōʻī, a kālaiʻāina was a critical event that would principally define that reign. Given the range and complexity of ʻŌiwi land divisions, such a redistribution was no small task. Following the death of the previous mōʻī, all lands awarded in the previous reign would revert to the new mōʻī, who would then redistribute the lands with the aid of an adviser, the kālaimoku.[77] This relatively uncertain portion of a mōʻī's reign could lead to rebellion, since the mōʻī had to care for supporters as well as possible rivals when awarding lands. Tradition has shown a poorly executed kālaiʻāina could result in war if the division did not satisfy all the chiefs of the ʻaha aliʻi. For example, the poorly executed kālaiʻāina of the mōʻī Kīwalaʻō, under the direction of Keawemauhili, created the situation that allowed for Kamehameha's rise to power on Hawaiʻi Island.[78]

The degree to which palena were established and known prior to each kālaiʻāina played a critical role in the success of such a distribution. The divisions accomplished by mōʻī such as Māʻilikūkahi were respected and maintained by the ʻaha aliʻi and makaʻāinana in the generations following him.[79] All of the previously mentioned land divisions—moku, kalana, ʻokana, ahupuaʻa, and possibly ʻili—would have been redistributed in a kālaiʻāina. Though all lands were redistributed, the rights over those lands would change to a lesser extent for makaʻāinana families who continued to live on their lands with similar rights throughout multiple kālaiʻāina, while the rights of individual chiefs and mōʻī could change with each kālaiʻāina. Figures 2.13 and 2.14 depict the vast divisions of an entire island. This 1885 map of Maui includes ahupuaʻa and moku divisions.

The mōʻī's selection of the kālaimoku (see fig. 2.3) was crucial to conducting the kālaiʻāina. As one of the most important advisers to the mōʻī, the kālaimoku would meet secretly to collect the genealogies of every chief who

might be awarded lands in the kālaiʻāina.[80] After the genealogies had been gathered, a hale nauā would be built.[81] A wall was built around it, and the mōʻī went inside the hale nauā with close relatives and those skilled in genealogies. Outside the wall around the hale nauā stood two guards. According to Malo, to pass the guards and receive entrance into the hale nauā, individuals would need to convince those inside the house of the pedigree of their lineage.

> Ma ka wa e komo mai 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, alaila, hai mai ua kanaka la, na mea wau o mea koʻu makua.
>
> Alaila, ninau hou ia, ua kanaka la, o wai ka makua o kou makua naua, alaila hai mai oia, o mea ka makua, o koʻu makua o koʻu 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 koʻu 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.[82]
>
> *At the time one would enter into the house of the aliʻi, those outside would kāhea (call out), "Here comes so and so, entering," and then those inside would call out, "Whom do you belong to? Who are your parents?" and then that person would call out, "I belong to so and so, and my parents are . . ."*
>
> *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 are 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 who were in the hale nauā with the aliʻi could see the connection between the person trying to enter and the aliʻi, that person was allowed to enter.*

When all eligible persons had entered into the hale nauā, lands were awarded in accordance with an aliʻi's relationship with the mōʻī and the will of the kālaimoku. In this house, among a group of friendly and competing chiefs, the process of a kālaiʻāina played out. There is a clear relationship between the act of a kālaiʻāina and the ʻaha aliʻi. Malo writes that a kālaiʻāina took place in a hale nauā; nauā is also the term Fornander uses to describe how one entered into the ʻaha aliʻi. For a chief to be received into the ʻaha aliʻi and to enter into its privileges, his genealogy first had to be validated. A chief desiring to be recognized by the ʻaha aliʻi would have to "recite his Naua, his pedigree and connections." The ʻaha aliʻi was a "watchful Committee on Nobility . . . whom no pretensions could dazzle, no imposture deceive."[83]

The similarities between Malo's and Fornander's descriptions arise because they are explaining closely associated processes. The only difference was that the ʻaha aliʻi allowed one to be considered a chief, but to receive land in a kālaiʻāina, an aliʻi would not only have to be a part of the ʻaha aliʻi, but also be connected to the particular mōʻī through a genealogical strand.

Palena are key in the process of a kālaiʻāina, because without preestablished boundaries over the lands being redistributed, it would be nearly impossible to appease all the aliʻi, and each kālaiʻāina would result in conflict. The chiefs who entered into the hale nauā understood and accepted that the lands being awarded were bounded according to tradition. Otherwise, one chief could argue that Puna extended into Hāmākua, which would eliminate the entire moku of Hilo. For this reason, there was a great deal of protocol, structure, and order in the process of a kālaiʻāina, and palena emplaced on the land by mōʻī like Māʻilikūkahi often made a kālaiʻāina possible. The hybridity of these structures—how these divisions would be built on and modified to create the Hawaiian Kingdom—will be addressed in future chapters.

ʻŌIWI GOVERNANCE

This chapter has outlined the connections between the concepts of ʻaha aliʻi, mōʻī, palena, and kālaiʻāina, and has proposed that these concepts constitute an indigenous ʻŌiwi statecraft that ordered land and legitimized rule. The office of the mōʻī made the clear and precise establishment of palena possible, which in turn made a kālaiʻāina possible.

When taken together, the structures of the ʻaha aliʻi, mōʻī, palena, and

kālaiʻāina are evidence of an organized society and land system arranged to maintain and extract resources. Once we understand these pre-European structures, the creation of the Hawaiian Kingdom begins to look less like a European imposition and more like a modification, by Hawaiian aliʻi, of existing Hawaiian structures. To understand this transformation more fully, there must be an accurate knowledge base of aliʻi structures in ancient times. Without this foundation, scholarship is left simply to trace the spread of European ideals without taking into consideration the intricacies of place, and how knowledge becomes situated in places.[84]

Prior to the arrival of Europeans, a complex system of governance was operating in Hawaiʻi with many of the makings of a prestate and monarchy. Mōʻī such as Kalaunuiohua were attempting to consolidate rule over multiple islands, society was stratified by the ʻaha aliʻi and kālaiʻāina, and a complex territoriality existed over the land in the form of palena.

The ʻāina and the divisions created by aliʻi to mālama their lands and people had a profound impact on ʻŌiwi leadership and the values that a pono aliʻi would embody. By all accounts, ʻāina is the elder and kanaka the junior. This perspective allowed aliʻi to develop systems to best mālama the ʻāina and people. Ensuring that the ʻāina would be productive and cared for materially and spiritually was a kuleana of the kanaka, one that allowed for innovation and intricate divisions of land. Many of these divisions continue to be known today and are the artifacts of a once intensely populated, independent, and sustainable society.

We have yet to understand the intimacy of each of our winds and rains. We are only beginning to uncover the vast wealth of place-based knowledge and wisdom that this land system can teach us about survival—and *abundance*—in these islands. The tremendous archive of records that offer insight into the indigenous Hawaiian land system may be a unique and not easily matched archive for those interested in indigenous geography and resource management. Initiatives led by aliʻi in the Hawaiian Kingdom—mapping lands, reforming land tenure, and gathering oral testimonies—also bridged an earlier system of knowledge that for many indigenous peoples is now lost.

In this twenty-first century, where we feed from the bounties of other lands and more than 85 percent of Hawaiʻi's food is imported into our islands, it is sobering to think that our kūpuna fed more people through ingenuity and the labor of their hands than we do today with all of our "modern" amenities. As we continue to voyage toward an uncertain future, let us recall the great navigator

Kaulu, the lands he traversed, the shores he visited, and the peoples he brought together. Let us voyage i mua, forward.

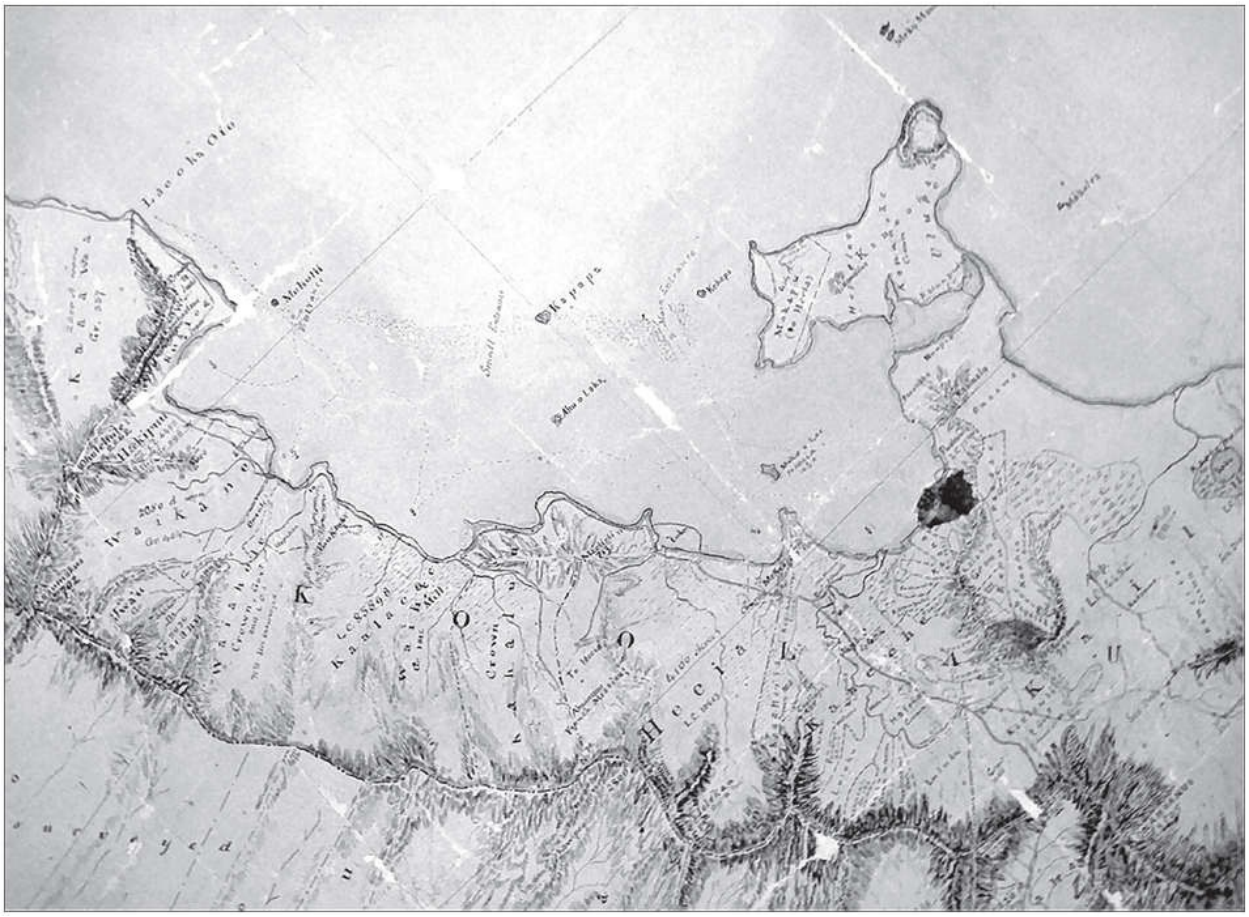


FIGURE 2.8
Koʻolaupoko, a moku on Oʻahu, contains many ahupuaʻa that follow ridgelines, often corresponding to watersheds. *Lyons, "Oʻahu," Hawaiian Government Survey, 1876*



FIGURE 2.9
North Kona is known for its many narrow ahupua‘a. *Alexander, Emerson, and Dodge, “North Kona,” Hawaiian Government Survey, 1891*

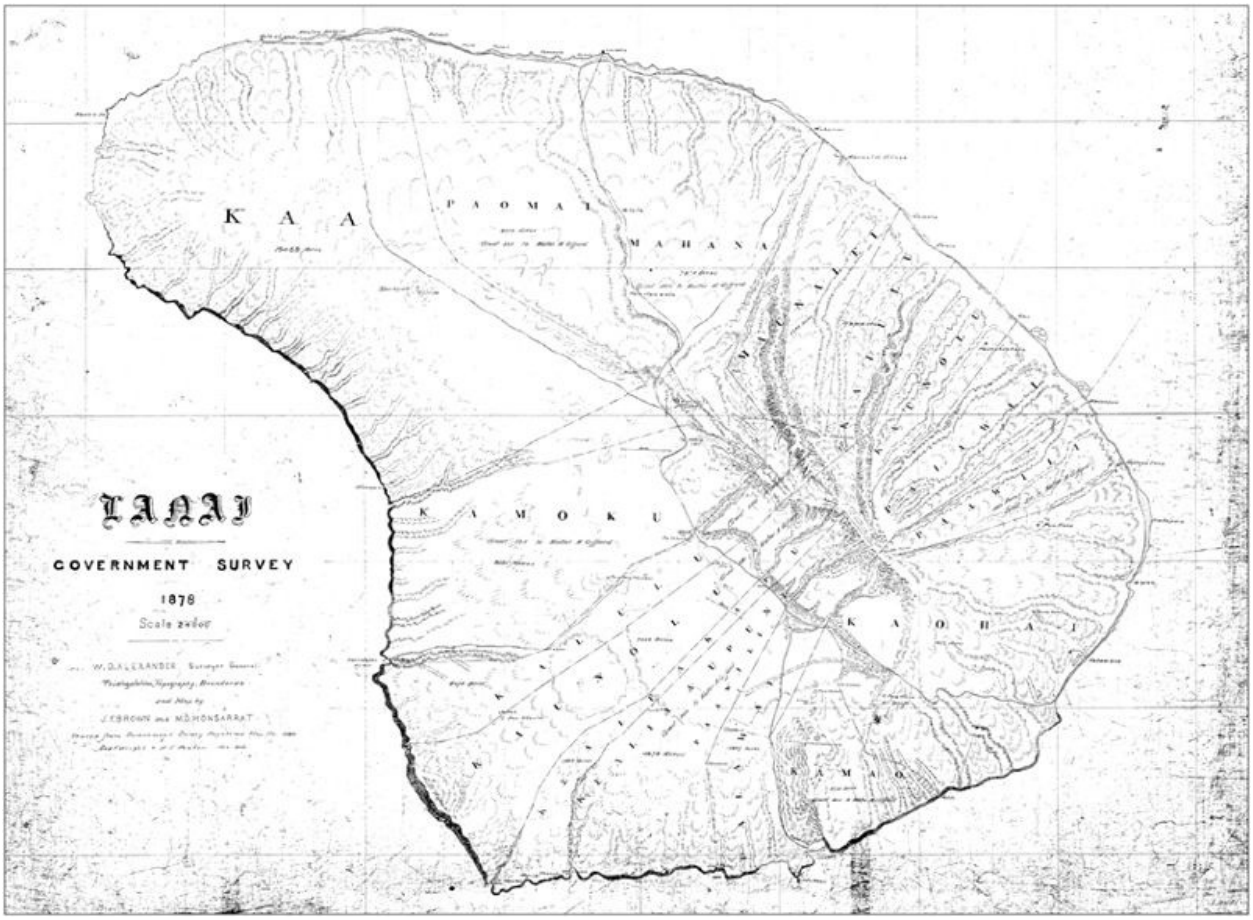


FIGURE 2.10

On Lānaʻi, ahupuaʻa such as Kaunolu, Kalulu, and Pālāwai span the entire width of the island, from one coast to another. *Alexander, Monsarrat, and Brown, "Lānaʻi," Hawaiian Government Survey, 1878*

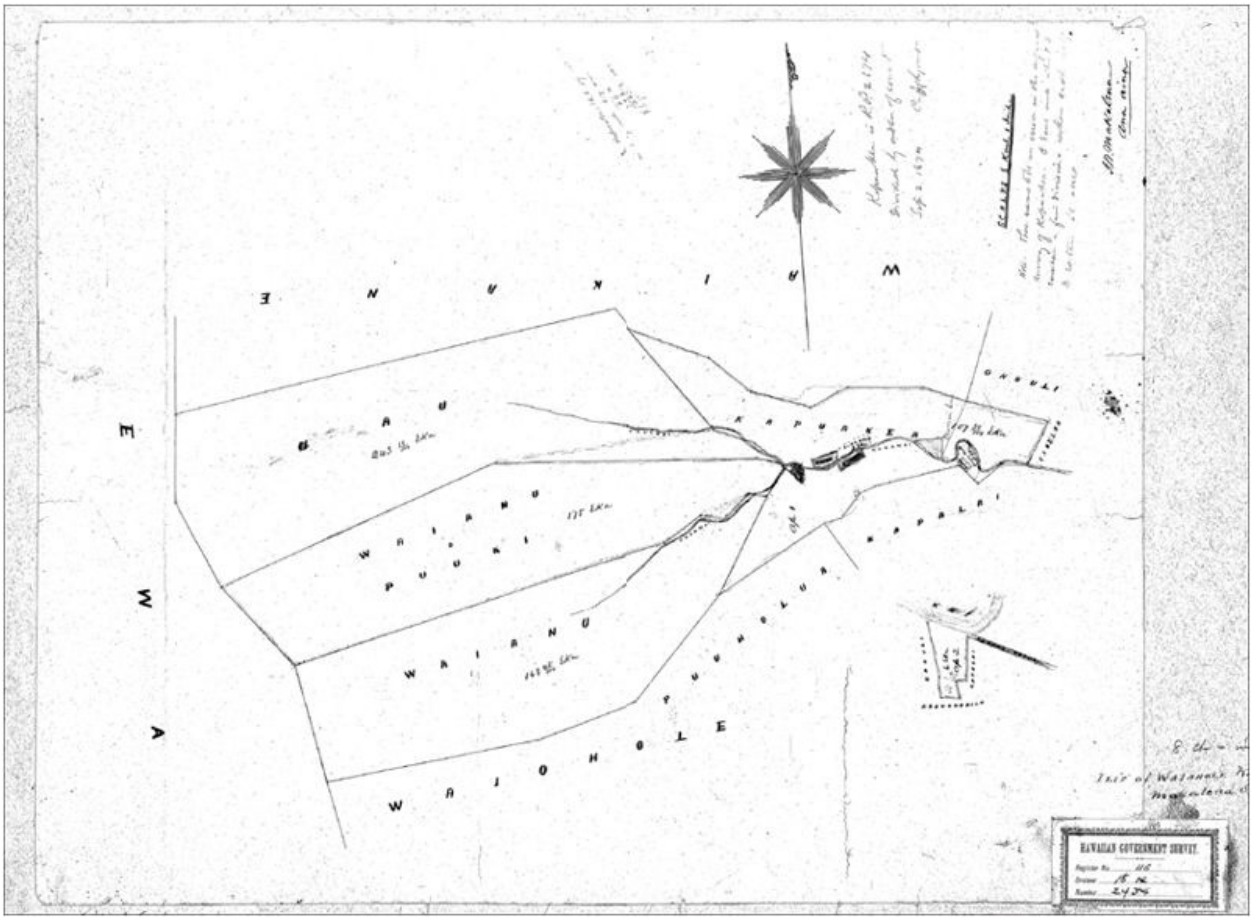


FIGURE 2.11
Waiāhole, an ahupua‘a on O‘ahu, has multiple ‘ili divisions. *Makalena, “Ilis of Waiahole,” Hawaiian Government Survey, ca. 1860*

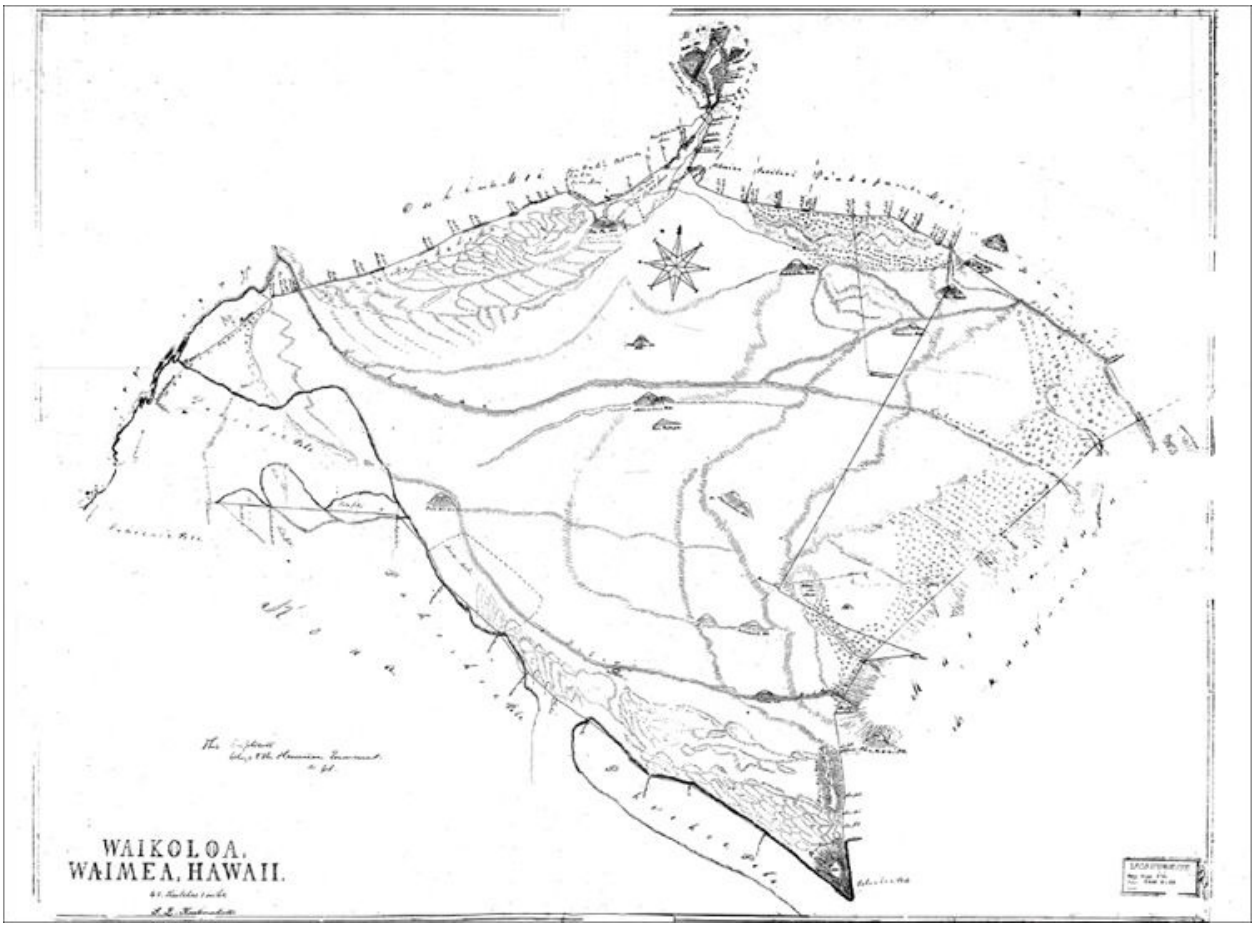


FIGURE 2.12

FIGURE 2.12 Waikoloa is an ʻili kūpono of the Waimea ahupuaʻa on Hawaiʻi Island. *Kaelemakule, "Waikoloa," Hawaiian Government Survey, 1859*

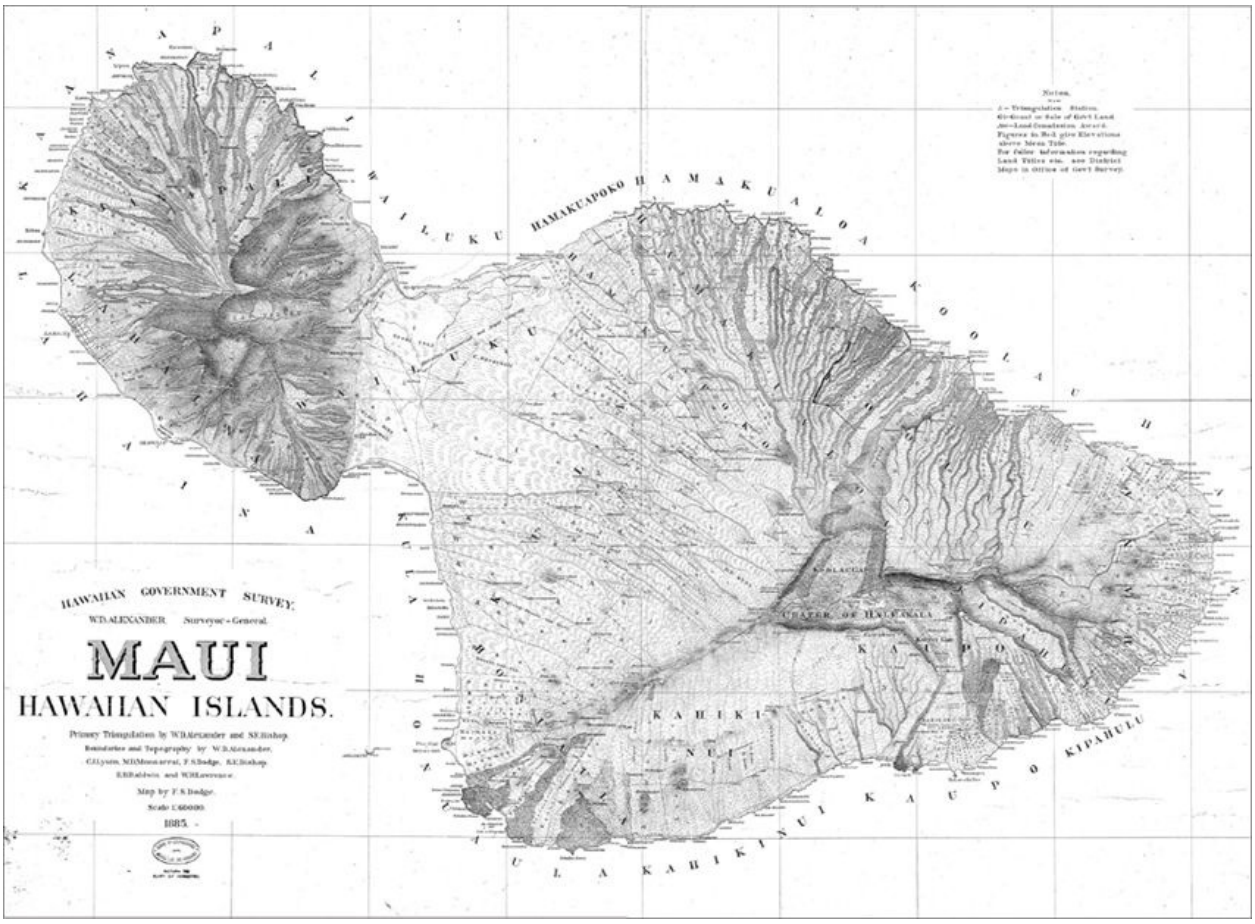


FIGURE 2.13

Moku and ahupua‘a divisions on Maui. *Alexander, Bishop, and Dodge, “Maui,” Hawaiian Government Survey, 1885*



FIGURE 2.14

Closeup of eastern Maui, showing the moku of Hāna and some of its ahupua‘a divisions. *Alexander, Bishop, and Dodge, “Maui,” Hawaiian Government Survey, 1885*

3 | ALIʻI DIPLOMACY ON THE WORLD STAGE

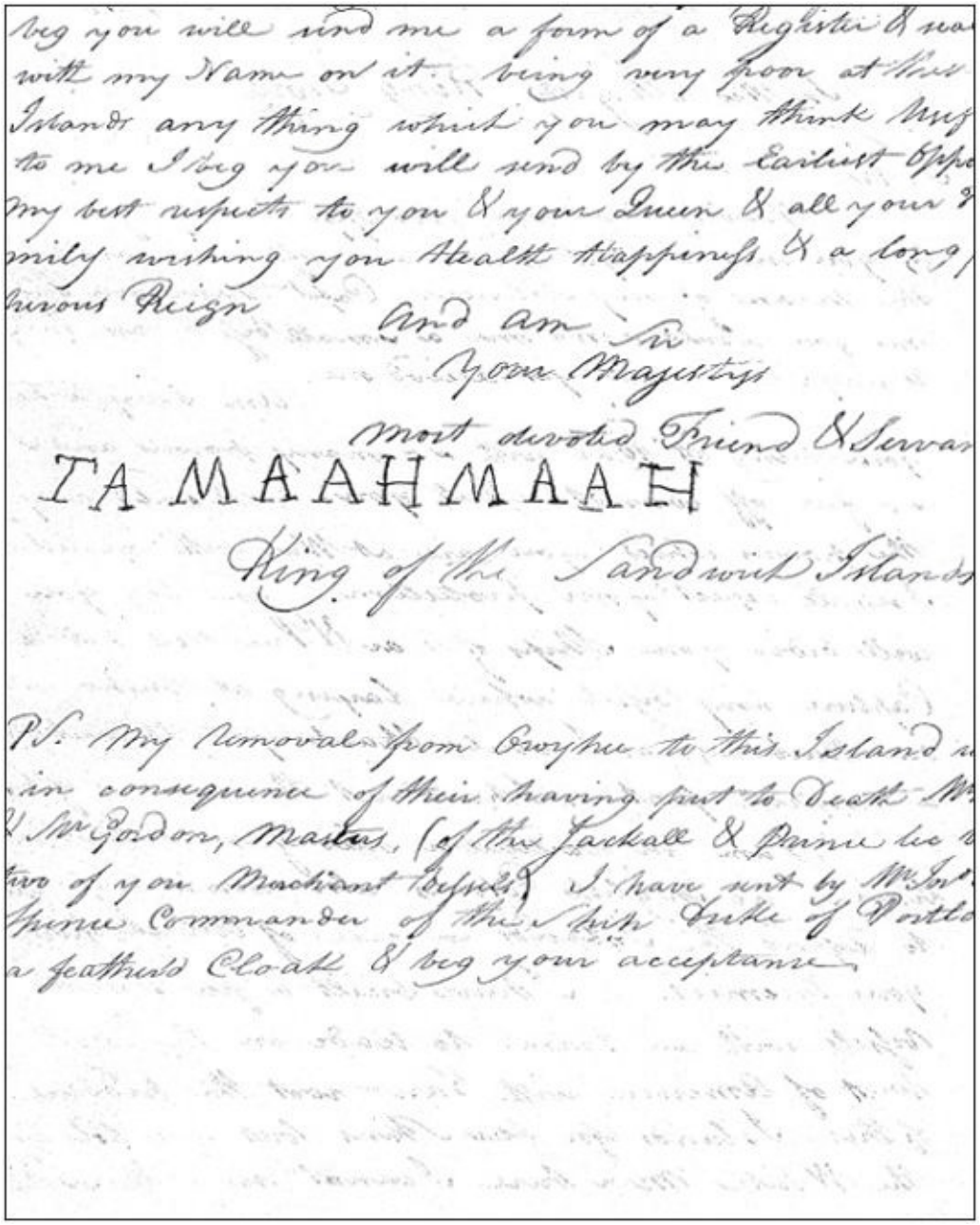
> I love you all dearly. . . . When we obtain that which will be of great benefit to us, then we will return.[1]
>
> LIHOLIHO

The name TAMAAHMAAH appears in block capital letters across the back page of a letter to King George III dated March 3, 1810.[2] Since the letter was written in English, Kamehameha apparently had commissioned someone who had an idea of how to address British sovereigns to draft the correspondence. Figure 3.1 shows that the penmanship of the text differs greatly from that of the signature. Creases suggest that the 7″ x 5″ letter had been folded into a square of about 2 ½ inches—perhaps so it would easily fit into a coat pocket, or between the pages of an unknown captain's logbook. Somehow it traveled over seven thousand miles, from the shores of Oʻahu to Windsor Castle, a royal residence of the British sovereign for more than nine hundred years. The letter is in the care of the Royal Archives at Windsor Castle.

As I excitedly made my way up what felt like the endless steps of the Round Tower to the research desks to see for myself the first direct written correspondence between a Hawaiian mōʻī and a British sovereign, I thought about the strategy of Kamehameha and the mōʻī who followed in dealing with the outside world—something we might call "aliʻi diplomacy." Although Kamehameha never saw the rulers and governments of other countries, he knew about their representations: flags, sea captains, cannons. These impressions, and his knowledge of indigenous Hawaiian politics, led him to attempt to create alliances with the unseen rulers of foreign lands.

If diplomacy can be defined as the art of dealing with the sovereign other (or the other sovereign), Kamehameha I, and the mōʻī who followed, tried to master this art. Aliʻi sought to ally Hawaiʻi with powerful nations and to master foreign

protocols of rule and governance while maintaining Hawaiian control over the Hawaiian Islands. Through such diplomacy, ali‘i sought to implant knowledge of the Hawaiian Kingdom’s existence in the minds of the world’s elite class and to establish Hawaiian sovereignty over the islands as a global fact.


beg you will send me a form of a Register & sea
with my Name on it. being very poor at this
Island any thing whitst you may think usef
to me I beg you will send by this Earliest Oppo
my best respects to you & your Queen & all your F
mily wishing you Health Happiness & a long
urous Reign
And am Sir
Your Majestys
most devoted Friend & Servan
TA MAAHMAAH
King of the Sandwich Islands

P.S. My removal from Owyhee to this Island w
in consequence of their having put to Death Mr
J. Mr Gordon, Master, of the Jackall & Prince Lee a
two of your Merchant Vessels. I have sent by Mr Jon
Prime Commander of the Ship Duke of Portla
a feathred Cloak & beg your acceptance

FIGURE 3.1
Signature on letter from King Kamehameha to King George III. *Kamehameha, Royal Archives, 1810*

Rather than being overwhelmed by a wave of foreigners, ali‘i were engaging

them at every step during the formation of the Hawaiian Kingdom. Diplomacy was a strategy for gaining international allies and warding off threats against the ali‘i’s sovereignty over the islands. Foreigners became subjects who aided the Hawaiian sovereigns’ agenda to integrate Hawaiian and international protocols when dealing with the rulers and officials of other nations. Exchanging gifts was a means for sovereigns to acknowledge each other’s rule and culture. Kamehameha offered George III ancient symbols of royalty, such as ‘ahu‘ula (feather cloak); in return, he received a British red coat laced in gold and adorned with gold buttons and stars. Though undoubtedly different, these two highly stratified societies and elaborate protocols were recognized and accepted by the rulers of both nations.

PAUMAKUA AND EARLY ENGAGEMENTS WITH HAOLE

According to Hawaiian tradition, numerous ‘Ōiwi and haole engagements took place prior to Captain Cook’s arrival in 1778. Kamakau offers a detailed description of the first white foreigners, who arrived in Kailua and Kāne‘ohe in the time of Auanini, twenty-five to thirty generations before Cook.[3] The ship was named Ulupana, and Mololani was the captain. His wife Mālaea accompanied him, and other men on board were named Olomana, Aniani, and Holokamakani.[4] Kamakau also discusses the famed ‘Ōiwi navigator, Paumakua. The grandson of Auanini, he is noted for visiting foreign lands, then bringing back to O‘ahu three haole priests, named Ka‘eka‘e, Maliu, and Malela.[5] Kamakau’s writing therefore suggests that Cook did not necessarily astonish the native population with a god-like arrival on the scene, but rather appeared as one in a series of foreigners. Or, as Noenoe Silva puts it, Kamakau was “purposefully disrupting the story told by haole that Cook appeared magically and suddenly as a unique phenomenon,” and that Kamakau’s way of recording the events “deliberately contested haole historiographic methods.”[6]

For Kamakau, Kamehameha is the center of the mo‘olelo; the multiple arrivals of foreigners, and eventually Cook, are simply events of significance within the larger story. In this way, Kamakau challenges the unequal power relationships that arise from the idea that Cook was the first European in the Hawaiian Islands and was received as a god. Gananath Obeyesekere has argued that the image of Cook as a god was created by Europeans as a symbol and a foretelling of European conquest in the Pacific.[7] Cook’s reception as a god by

Hawaiians conforms to a “myth model,” which attributes irrational and childlike behavior to natives, and the opposite to Europeans.

Like Obeyesekere, I do not think Hawaiians in the late eighteenth century assumed Cook to be the god Lono. Rather, he was perceived and treated diplomatically, as a representative of someone of great mana. Diplomacy was present on both sides at first. But when the negotiations went sour, ʻŌiwi resorted to force, and Cook was killed. This result could have occurred to any person, whether foreign or native, who represented someone of mana. Because ʻŌiwi diplomacy since the ʻaha aliʻi had included metaphysical notions of mana and protocol, Cook—or many of the Westerners who have written about him—may have taken these gestures as signs that he was seen as something other than human. From an ʻŌiwi perspective, though, he was encountered diplomatically. For example, Kamehameha and his companion Kekūhaupiʻo clearly did not see Cook and his men as gods. They sailed on Cook’s vessel and even spent a night on board without fear, and with many benefits. As Stephen Desha writes:

> Ua lilo kēlā huakaʻi a lāua i luna o kēlā moku i kēlā manawa i mea hoʻonaʻauao pū mai iā lāua i kēlā manawa a e lilo ai hoʻi i mea kōkua nui mai ma hope mai i ka manawa e alakaʻi ana ʻo Kamehameha i kona pūʻali koa no ka naʻi aupuni kaulana ma ia hope mai, a ua lilo pū nō hoʻi i mea na Kekūhaupiʻo e hoʻomaopopo pū ai i nā ʻano o nā mea kaua o nā haole.[8]
>
> *That particular voyage on the ship became a means for them to gain knowledge that 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 Kekūhaupiʻo to come to recognize the differing weapons of the foreigners.*

Kamehameha and Kekūhaupiʻo did not see Cook as anything supernatural, but rather as a person who possessed knowledge that they might gain and use for their own purposes. Kamehameha’s experiences on Cook’s ship, and his early recognition of the tools of the haole, are the first of many interactions he would have with haole and the haole world throughout his lifetime.

KAMEHAMEHA I

Many high-ranking aliʻi gathered in Kokoiki in the Kohala district of Hawaiʻi Island to await the canoe of the aliʻi Kekuʻiapoiwa, who was preparing to give birth to a child who would later be named Kamehameha.[9] He had been prophesied to cause the downfall of the current chiefs and to ascend to heights of power previously unattained. At this gathering prior to Kamehameha's birth, one prominent aliʻi of the time said, "E ʻōʻū ka maka o ka wauke ʻoi ʻōpiopio—Pinch the tip of the young mulberry shoot."[10]

The kaona, or layered meaning behind this phrase, is to do away with the young chief before he can become strong. Kamehameha was born into tumultuous times. Because of threats to his life, his kahu (guardian) carried him away in the middle of the night to the back country of North Kohala, in an ahupuaʻa named ʻĀwini, where he was raised in hiding. When he grew into adolescence, Kamehameha returned from the brush and joined the court of the mōʻī Alapaʻi Nui, and later Kalaniʻōpuʻu. Kamehameha became a trusted and important member of his uncle Kalaniʻōpuʻu's court and fought alongside the mōʻī in the invasions of Maui.

In April 1782, the mōʻī Kalaniʻōpuʻu passed away,[11] leaving to his son, Kīwalaʻō, the right to rule, and to his nephew, Kamehameha, the responsibility for the akua (god) Kūkāʻilimoku. Generations earlier on Hawaiʻi Island, the same honor had been given to the chief ʻUmi, who eventually came to rule, even though that right had been granted to his half-brother Hākau. Because of this historical precedent, Kalaniʻōpuʻu perhaps intended for his nephew Kamehameha to rise up and oppose his son. Kīwalaʻō was killed shortly after Kalaniʻōpuʻu's death, and the island of Hawaiʻi was then broken up into separate chiefdoms ruled by three adversarial chiefs—Kamehameha, Keawemauhili, and Keōuakūʻahuʻula.

A Hawaiian Contact Zone—Captives, Advisers, and Allegiance

During this period of instability, numerous foreign ships were arriving and departing from the Hawaiian Islands. The *Eleanora*, the ship of the fierce sea captain Simon Metcalf, had been anchored off the shores of Olowalu, Maui, in 1790.[12] Metcalf's name would forever be associated with Olowalu and with one of the most heinous events in Hawaiian history. A skiff was stolen by the chief Kaʻōpūiki in the late hours of the night, and the next day Metcalf ordered his men to fire on a crowd of more than a hundred unsuspecting ʻŌiwi.[13] This

massacre was called Kalolopahū (bursts brains) because when the bodies were pulled ashore, their heads had been split open by the cannon fire.[14] The *Eleanora* then made its way from Maui to Kaʻawaloa on Hawaiʻi Island. When Metcalf ordered his men to go ashore to collect water, one man who wandered inland was seized by Kamehameha and not allowed to return to the ship. Through this series of events, Kamehameha acquired John Young, the boatswain of Captain Metcalf. Young, however, was not the only foreign captive who later became a trusted adviser to Kamehameha. Through a very similar set of events, Isaac Davis was also taken captive and later offered to Kamehameha by Kameʻeiamoku.[15]

As Hawaiʻi increasingly became a contact zone during this period,[16] engagements between European ship captains and aliʻi often escalated into violence. It is difficult, however, to say which group was dominant or marginalized, as the balance of power shifted frequently from the haole to ʻŌiwi. Kamehameha won most of these early engagements. Kuykendall notes that Kamehameha "had foreigners in his service, some of them being trusted confidential advisers, but they were always his servants, never his masters; his was the better mind and the stronger will."[17]

Capturing Young and Davis eventually granted Kamehameha valuable knowledge about the outside world, but turning captives into advisers was not easy. Kamehameha took good care of these foreigners to gain their allegiance. An immediate strategy was to hoʻowahine (marry) these foreigners to aliʻi wahine of fairly high-ranking lineage.[18] These unions produced hapa-haole children who created a familial link between the foreigners and the existing aliʻi system led by Kamehameha. Becoming parents changed foreigners' positions. As time passed, Kamehameha also granted lands to both Davis and Young for their trusted service. While they likely still thought of themselves as British, family and property complicated their relations to Hawaiʻi. Finally, their identities were also shaped by their ties to the accomplishments of Kamehameha.

By 1819, John Young was probably seventy years of age.[19] No longer known as John Young, he was called John Young ʻOlohana, or simply ʻOlohana. He had fought under Kamehameha in many battles on Hawaiʻi and Maui and had fathered six hapa-haole children with the chiefesses Kaoanaeha (the niece of Kamehameha) and Namokuelua. In an 1819 interview, ʻOlohana describes the tensions in his political identity as a British subject and an influential person of Hawaiʻi. Speaking about the uncertain reign of Kamehameha's young heir Liholiho, he told 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.[20]

'Olohana here clearly acknowledges the sovereign authority of Kamehameha and his line, but he also recalls the land of his birth. Over the years, 'Olohana could have returned home to Britain, but he never left Hawai'i. After forty-six years of residence, he passed away at the age of ninety-three in Honolulu. His body was placed outside the Royal Mausoleum.[21]

The seventy-year old 'Olohana had been changed by his experiences in the islands. At some point after his capture, while he loyally served Kamehameha and fathered Hawaiian children, he began to see himself as a part of Kamehameha's kingdom. No longer a British subject captured by Kamehameha, he was the husband of a chiefess and the father of hapa-haole ali'i. He referred to Kamehameha as "the king" (fig. 3.2), and he had become so committed to the Hawaiian government that he expressed his contempt to Captain Freycinet about the lack of British communication with the islands: "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."[22] Freycinet was referring to the 1816 official response to Kamehameha's 1810 letter to King George III, which promised a ship from Britain. 'Olohana's anger stems from how much time has passed without the arrival of the vessel.

'Olohana's complex *betweeness* as a British-Hawaiian subject appears clearly in this situation. A ship built by the British navy specifically for King Kamehameha would be a powerful announcement to other imperial countries of a relationship between Britain and Hawai'i. Given the geopolitical events taking place in the late eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries, isolation was not an option. Like the rulers of non-European nations such as Japan and Siam,[23] Kamehameha had two ways of attaining knowledge of the political structures and protocols of other countries: sending Hawaiians abroad, and bringing haole into 'Ōiwi political structures such as the 'aha ali'i. For Kamehameha, the latter option provided immediate results, and loyal foreigners like John Young

‘Olohana not only supplied valuable insights into foreign politics and governance, but also helped to further Kamehameha’s position as the sovereign ruler of Hawai‘i.

‘Olohana’s references to Kamehameha as “the king” demonstrate loyalty. Perhaps even more striking, however, is that ‘Olohana’s journal entry (fig. 3.2) mentions having a traditional feather cloak, or ‘ahu‘ula made for Kamehameha —a symbol of mana anciently established through the ‘aha ali‘i.

International Negotiations: The Hawaiian-British Alliance

By all accounts, Kamehameha was an impressive man and courageous leader known for great deeds, magnificent works, and for his caring for those of high and low stature.[24] Even Kuykendall, who is rarely complimentary of Hawaiian ali‘i, wrote, “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.”[25] Kamehameha’s charisma and character enabled him to win the support of his elder chiefs such as Keaweaheulu, Kamanawa, Kame‘eiamoku, and Kekūhaupi‘o, and to gain the allegiance of foreigners, such as Young, Davis, and Captain George Vancouver. Kamehameha and Vancouver were known to have developed a friendly and productive relationship.[26]

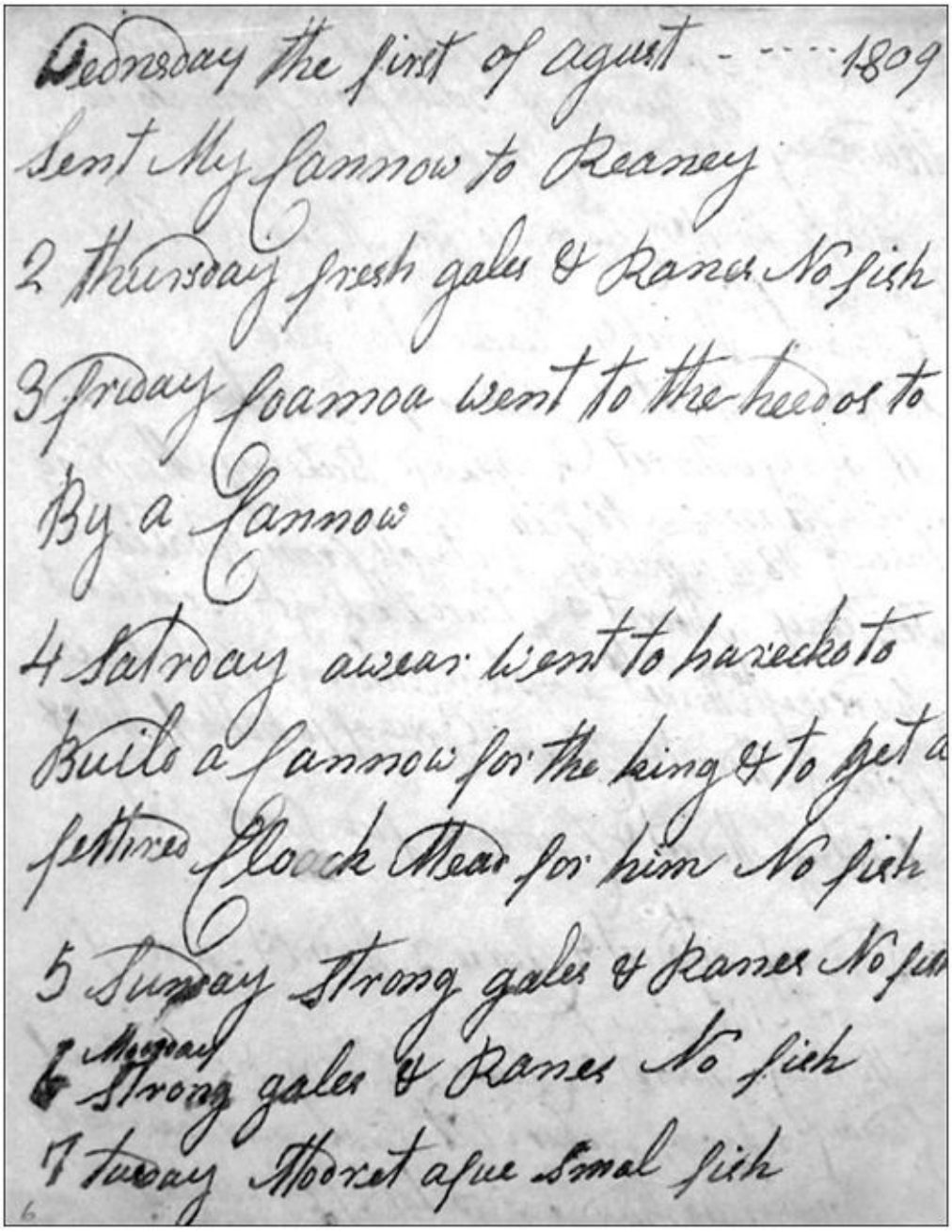

Wednsday the first of agust - - - - 1809
Sent My Cannow to Reaney
2 thursday fresh gales & Rane No fish
3 fryday Coanoa went to the heeos to
By a Cannow
4 Satrday awear went to barecke to
Build a Cannow for the king & to get a
fethers Cock Mear for him No fish
5 Sunday Strong gales & Rane No fi
6 Monday
Strong gales & Rane No fish
7 tuesday Moret afue Smal fish

FIGURE 3.2
Reference to Kamehameha as “the king” in John Young ‘Olohana’s journal. *Young, “Journal,” 1809*

One meeting in particular has provoked much speculation about the political relationship between Hawai‘i and Britain. On February 25, 1794, the mō‘ī and the captain entered into what Vancouver called a voluntary “cession” of Hawai‘i Island to Britain. It is difficult to determine the exact intentions of Kamehameha in this meeting. Kuykendall notes that there are conflicting accounts.[27] Kamakau writes that Kamehameha was requesting Britain to be an ally in case of attack

from another European power,[28] and a recent scholar has similarly called it an alliance and not a cession.[29] Fornander addressed the matter this way:

> 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.[30]

Regardless of the understanding, no British-Hawaiian cession took place. But the correspondence between the mōʻī Kamehameha and British authorities demonstrates that he was actively negotiating to protect his dominions from European imperial powers. By attempting to align Hawaiʻi with Britain, the world's most powerful country at the time, Kamehameha sought to preserve his rule over Hawaiʻi and to deter other powers from taking possession of any part of the archipelago. In his letter to King George III, King Kamehameha requested a vessel, bunting,[31] and brass guns. He wanted to make the ports of Hawaiʻi neutral in British wars. He wrote, "Should any of the powers you are at war with molest me I shall expect your protection" (fig. 3.3). The letter also shows that Kamehameha was eager to establish trade routes between Hawaiʻi and the Northwest coast of America. He was already building ships to trade taro root for fur skins, and he wanted to receive a register to sail there.

It is not clear whom Kamehameha commissioned to write the letter. The correspondence did not actually reach George III, who was ill at the time. Instead, the letter was received by his regent, the prince of Wales, who accepted the feather cloak and ordered that a reply be written. On April 30, 1812, the earl of Liverpool thanked Kamehameha for his gift and wrote:

> 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, than by relieving the wants of such British Subjects as may arrive at the Islands over which You Govern and may stand in need of Your assistance.[32]

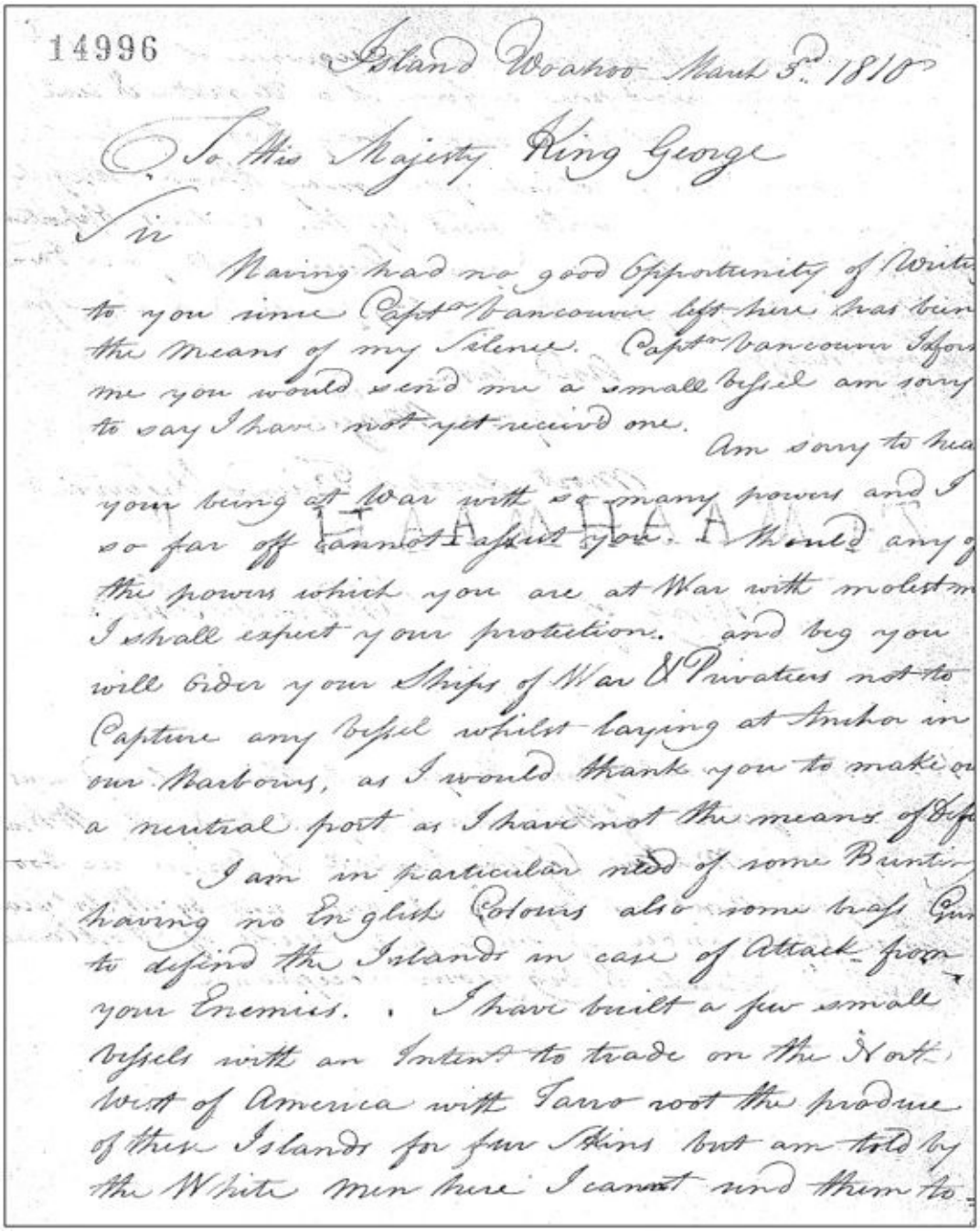
An alignment with Britain could be successful only if it provided something for both parties. Kamehameha wanted a guarantee of Britain's protection from other colonial powers; the British desired a port in the middle of the Pacific where their subjects could be provisioned and assured safety. In any case, it must have been widely known that a relationship existed between Britain and the "Sandwich Islands." In 1819, Captain Freycinet described a discussion he had with King Liholiho: "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."[33]

Unification and Progeny

By 1795, Kamehameha had consolidated rule over the islands through a series of conquests from Hawai‘i to O‘ahu. Gunpowder had changed warfare significantly. Even prior to Kamehameha's conquest, each mō‘ī had acquired cannons, muskets, and foreign vessels. After inheriting Kahekili's former kingdom, Kalanikūpule controlled all of the islands except Hawai‘i and Kaua‘i. He too had foreign vessels, weapons, and sailors.[34] Kamehameha, however, proved the most effective in combining traditional war canoes and weaponry with foreign ships, cannons, and muskets. He defeated Kalanikūpule on Maui and O‘ahu, and also confirmed his rule over all of Hawai‘i Island.

In 1796, Kamehameha stationed his warriors on the west coast of O‘ahu and prepared to invade Kaua‘i.[35] He was unsuccessful. After two failed attempts at invasions, he instead acquired Kaua‘i through an 1810 treaty with Kaumuali‘i, the mō‘ī of Kaua‘i. This agreement allowed Kaumuali‘i to continue to rule on Kaua‘i under the sovereign authority of Kamehameha.[36] By consolidating rule over the entire archipelago, Kamehameha had succeeded where many ali‘i before him had failed. A unified island group had been envisioned by earlier ali‘i such as Kalaunuiohua. Kamehameha's fulfillment of this vision changed rule in the islands significantly. His conquest allowed ‘Ōiwi to present a united front to

ward off imperial and colonial threats. He would spend the next nine years establishing trade with other countries, fending off foreign attempts at acquiring parts of Hawai‘i, and preparing his son Liholiho and nephew Kekuaokalani to rule in the future.



14996

Island Woahoo March 5th 1818

To His Majesty King George

Sir

Having had no good Opportunity of Writing to you since Capt.n Vancouver left hire that being the means of my Silence. Capt.n 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. I 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 one a neutral port as I have not the means of Defence

I am in particular need of some Bunting having no English Colours also some brass Guns 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 Taro root the produce of these Islands for fur Skins but am told by the White Men here I cannot send them to

FIGURE 3.3

First page of letter from King Kamehameha to King George III. *Kamehameha, Royal Archives, 1810*

LIHOLIHO

Kamehameha and his retinue were returning from Oʻahu to Hawaiʻi Island. As their ship rose and fell between trough and wave crests, Kamehameha turned to his fourteen-year-old son and told him that he would be heir to his kingdom, but that his cousin, Kekuaokalani, would have the god Kūkāʻilimoku.[37] By separating the right to rule from the possession of the god, Kamehameha was following the precedent not only of his uncle Kalaniʻōpuʻu, but also of the great aliʻi Līloa. It is not clear if Kamehameha wished to continue the tradition of the possessor of Kūkāʻilimoku eventually becoming mōʻī, but by keeping Liholiho close to him from a very young age, and carefully preparing him for rule, Kamehameha seems to have wanted Liholiho to reign after his own time came to an end.[38]

Liholiho was the firstborn child of Keōpūolani and Kamehameha. His piko (navel cord) was cut at Kaipalaoa[39] and, along with his ʻiewe (afterbirth), was cared for in the ahupuaʻa of Kalaoa in Hilo. This practice is significant in Hawaiian tradition because it links individuals to their ancestors and to the ʻāina. Liholiho was said to be a child who listened to the words of his teachers, and he was taught to observe the gods at the age of five.[40] Since he was raised around and traveled with Kamehameha, he had direct, firsthand knowledge of the governance and protocols of the time.

Of nīʻaupiʻo rank, Liholiho was treated as an akua (god) on earth.[41] Surrounded by protocol and kapu, his involvement even with other keiki was guarded. Kamakau writes about the life of Daniela Papa ʻĪʻī being spared after an interaction with the young aliʻi because Liholiho desired him as a playmate.[42] Daniela's cousin, John Papa ʻĪʻī, served under Liholiho and his successors and was a member of the Privy Council.[43]

Nā Hoahānau: Cousins and the ʻAi Kapu

Liholiho's reign began in the midst of turbulence in 1819. No mōʻī prior to Kamehameha had consolidated rule over all of Ka Pae ʻĀina. His father's gift to Liholiho was the privilege and the responsibility of managing an entire kingdom, composed of competing aliʻi, makaʻāinana, and foreign interests. What Kamehameha had conquered through determination, industriousness, and unquestioned authority, Liholiho had to maintain through relationships, negotiations, and alliances. In a sense, he had a task comparable to his father's

conquest of the entire archipelago. Kamehameha's rise to power took roughly twenty-five years. As he gradually consolidated his rule, he learned from mistakes and refined techniques along the way. Liholiho did not have to conquer competing chiefs, but he did have to make them accept his authority. He did not, however, have twenty-five years to gain their loyalty; rather, he had a period of few weeks.

The ʻai noa was a crucial event at the onset of Liholiho's reign. Occurring prior to the arrival of American missionaries, it was the refusal by Kaʻahumanu (wife of Kamehameha and hānai mother of Liholiho) and a select group of aliʻi to live under the ancient system that divided men and women in eating, worship, and in certain labor functions. This system was known as the ʻai kapu. The moʻolelo related to the ʻai kapu and ʻai noa illustrate the complex negotiations facing Liholiho prior to the arrival of the Protestant missionaries.

Upon the death of Kamehameha in Kailua, Kona, Liholiho left for Kawaihae in the district of Kohala, as it was customary that the heir would depart from the district where the previous mōʻī had passed.[44] Liholiho met his cousin Kekuaokalani at Kawaihae, where the two awaited the bones of Kamehameha to be cared for by Hoapili and Hoʻolulu.[45] The cousins received word that some aliʻi in Kailua wished to continue to live without the kapu on eating, which, as was customary, had been lifted for a time upon the death of Kamehameha.[46] This created a dangerous tension, because it called into question the practice, established for generations, that men and women ate and worshipped in separate places. When the iwi of Kamehameha had been cared for and hidden, Kaʻahumanu[47] sent a messenger to request that Liholiho return to Kailua and meet with the aliʻi residing there. According to Kamakau, Kekuaokalani reminded Liholiho of the kauoha (orders) of Kamehameha:

> ʻElua wale nō kāua i kauoha ʻia, ʻo ke aupuni ka iā ʻoe, ʻo ke akua koʻu kauoha. E nānā aku hoʻi au iā ʻoe, a e nānā mai hoʻi ʻoe iaʻu.[48]
>
> *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.*

Heeding the advice of Kekuaokalani, who warned him against taking part in the breaking of the kapu, Liholiho initially refused to return to Kailua. When the messenger returned to Kailua without Liholiho, Kaʻahumanu quickly sent

another messenger, who informed Liholiho that those aliʻi in Kailua were planning to have a meeting to discuss the wealth of Kamehameha, and that his attendance was necessary. Liholiho again consulted Kekuaokalani, who answered by saying,

> E noho nō kāua; he ʻai nō ko uka, he iʻa nō ko kai; a i kiʻi hou mai ou kahu, he alo nō he alo, makaʻu wale ka make i ka nāhelehele.[49]
>
> *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 Kaʻahumanu], let us stand side by side, and they shall fear death in the brush.*

Liholiho disregarded his cousin's counsel and agreed to return to Kailua to meet with Kaʻahumanu and the other aliʻi. Liholiho did, however, promise Kekuaokalani that he would refuse to eat freely with the aliʻi wahine. But in a maneuver of stunning political calculation and audacity, upon Liholiho's arrival in Kailua on May 21, 1819,[50] Kaʻahumanu, alongside the ʻaha aliʻi, proclaimed the twenty-one-year-old son of Kamehameha to be king, *with herself as the kuhina nui, to rule beside him*. The young king agreed to share the rule with Kaʻahumanu, prayers were offered, and he was formally established as mōʻī.

Liholiho's dress on this occasion is significant, because it reflects the ways in which he was appropriating both British and Hawaiian symbols of royalty and power. According to Kamakau,

> Puka maila hoʻi ka Mōʻī Liholiho Kamehameha II me ka hanohano nui. Ua ʻaʻahu ʻo ia i ke kapa aliʻi mai Beritania mai, he ʻaʻahu ʻulaʻula, ua hoʻonani ʻia me nā mea gula, a he mau hōkū gula hoʻi ma luna, a he pāpale mahiole ma kona poʻo, i uhi ʻia hoʻi e ka noe o ka ʻaʻahu hulu mamo i hana noʻiau ʻia e ka poʻe loea ʻuo kahu ʻahuʻula.[51]
>
> *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 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 symbols of royalty and distinction described by Kamakau reflect the hybrid

Euro-Hawaiian dress that some aliʻi were wearing at the time. Liholiho presented himself as a ruler in both Hawaiian and European terms, asserting his leadership on a global scale. The English red coat had accompanied the 1812 letter to Kamehameha sent by the earl of Liverpool. By putting it on, Liholiho was declaring his rule on an international scale. Showing his connection with foreign powers announced that he was the heir to his father's powers. The British coat's color was likely of significance to Liholiho as well, since for many generations ʻŌiwi had considered red as a symbol of high aliʻi lineage. A fiery red coat combined with an ahuʻula and mahiʻole—there could not have been a more fitting combination for a mōʻī whose full name was Kalaninuikualiholihoikekapu—the great chief with the burning back kapu.

When the formal ceremony began, Liholiho's mother, Keōpūolani, enticed him to break the eating kapu. He refused to eat food with her and returned to Kekuaokalani at Kawaihae, where he found his cousin in worship. Deeply moved by Kekuaokalani's piety, Liholiho and his men joined him on the heiau of Puʻukoholā, where they re-established the ʻai kapu and, in celebration, took to drinking rum.[52] Liholiho therefore must have intended for the kapu system to remain in force; otherwise, he would not have joined his cousin in worship. But soon Liholiho's mind would be changed, and he formally removed the kapu from Hawaiʻi.

Hawaiian–Anglo Exchanges

After Liholiho's reunion with Kekuaokalani, the *Uranie*, a French ship, arrived off the coast of Kawaihae on August 12, 1819.[53] In the midst of a voyage around the world, Captain Freycinet hoped to gather provisions. Liholiho had received word a few days earlier in Kealakekua and was prepared for the vessel's arrival in Kawaihae. Aliʻi understood the importance of flags as symbols of nations and identified the vessel as being of French origin. Captain Freycinet was met outside of Kawaihae by a large double-hulled canoe carrying Kalaimoku and M. Rives, his French interpreter for Liholiho.[54] Freycinet's encounter with the newly established mōʻī on the shore left a memorable impression:

> 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 principal 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.[55]

The red coats and capes signaled to the French captain that Liholiho was the king and that his country was protected on multiple levels, including by Britain.

Liholiho invited Freycinet into a hale (house), where they discussed provisions through M. Rives. Liholiho agreed to supply Freycinet and acquired his sword, offering a spear in exchange. Freycinet also requested a visit with the widow of Kamehameha, Kaʻahumanu. When Freycinet entered the women's house with M. Rives, however, Liholiho followed Hawaiian custom and remained outside the hale. Freycinet was inwardly irritated by the lack of attention Kaʻahumanu paid him. He also noted that it was difficult to have a conversation, because Kaʻahumanu and the other women were lying on the floor flat on their stomachs, smoking pipes and eating pieces of watermelon. Kaʻahumanu offered the watermelon to Freycinet, and he obliged and ate with the women. But when the food was offered to the interpreter, Freycinet noted that "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."[56]

This encounter suggests that haole residents also were following the ʻai kapu custom. The abstinence of M. Rives and the unnamed Anglo-American testifies to their acculturation into the Hawaiian society of the time and offers a glimpse into the *betweenness* of their identity. Although we can never know what they practiced in the privacy of their homes, under the eye of the chiefs, these haole clearly observed Hawaiian custom. Similar to Liholiho's wearing of the British red coat, refusing to eat food in the women's hale shows that these haole were portraying themselves—and possibly saw themselves—as part of a society they had not been born into but whose customs they had learned to advance their status.

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

Freycinet's arrival was also the catalyst for the first known Christian baptism in the Hawaiian Islands. Though his account is quite different from that of Kamakau,[57] both speak about the baptism of Kalanimoku on Freycinet's ship. Freycinet describes Kalanimoku as deeply desiring the baptism, while Kamakau writes that Kalanimoku was baptized because John Young ʻOlohana explained to him that the priest on the *Uranie* was the priest of foreign countries.[58] Both perspectives suggest that Kalanimoku was seeking to acquire the mana of a foreign god as a means to grow his mana and give him any possible edge over rival chiefs.[59]

Why would Kalanimoku want to do this? One explanation is to elevate his status above that of Kekuaokalani, who posed a threat to the interests and control of Kaʻahumanu and Kalanimoku. For example, Kekuaokalani adamantly refused Kaʻahumanu's request that the chiefs no longer live under the ʻai kapu, and he openly exhorted Liholiho not to allow them to continue to break the kapu. However, Kamehameha, in his transferring of the god Kūkāʻilimoku, had positioned Liholiho as a leader of government and outside the influence of Kaʻahumanu, Kalanimoku, and their Maui cousins. Kekuaokalani, as the son of Kamehameha's brother Keliʻimaikaʻi, had no genealogical connection to Kaʻahumanu or to Liholiho's birth mother, Keōpūolani.

Although Kekuaokalani had encouraged Liholiho to refuse to break the kapu they had reestablished in Kawaihae, Liholiho finally gave in to the will of Kaʻahumanu and Keōpūolani on August 15, 1819, following the departure of the *Uranie* from Hawaiʻi Island. He took part in eating food cooked by women and eventually removed the ʻai kapu from all of the islands of the archipelago.[60] Kekuaokalani was furious.[61] When two chiefs were sent to bring him to Kailua, he refused to obey and told them to take back word that

> Kekuaokalani, the last high-priest, it may be, of Hawaii, is prepared to die in defence of the gods to 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 than willing to hide his disappointment in the grave! . . . We are proud of our blood . . . but who but the gods made kings of our ancestors?[62]

Kekuaokalani left little doubt that the disagreements over the ʻai kapu would culminate in violence. The battle of Kuamoʻo ensued in the Kona district of Hawaiʻi. Liholiho did not attend; instead, Kalanimoku and his forces—who were

far more numerous and had the use of most of Kamehameha's weaponry—faced Kekuaokalani and his small group of warriors. Kekuaokalani is remembered for having fought with tremendous courage with his wahine Manono at his side.[63] First shot in the leg, he continued to fight valiantly until he received a fatal musket shot to the head. Manono witnessed his collapse, and as his body lay on the lava fields, she picked up his spear and leapt into battle. Chanting, "Kō aloha lā ea, kō aloha lā ea, mālama kō aloha—your aloha, your aloha, keep your aloha,"[64] her spirit rejuvenated Kekuaokalani's warriors until she too was laid to rest at Kuamoʻo, sealing Kalanimoku's victory.

Why was Liholiho absent from the battle? Perhaps because of his aloha for his cousin, or his lack of true support for the abolishment of the ʻai kapu. Or perhaps it was a strategy to protect his life. If he had died fighting against the aliʻi who had Kūkāʻilimoku, as had the aliʻi nui Hākau and Kīwalaʻō before him, the entire archipelago could have fallen into political chaos.

The abolition of the kapu was a unique occurrence that has puzzled many scholars of Hawaiian history.[65] After its abandonment in 1819, Hawaiʻi was for a time without a state religion. I believe a major reason for Kaʻahumanu's action was to marginalize Kekuaokalani, if not remove him entirely, from the circle of chiefs. His inheritance of Kūkāʻilimoku, compounded by his lack of genealogical and political connection to Kaʻahumanu, was a serious threat to her own political interests.

Less than a year after the battle of Kuamoʻo, on March 30, 1820, the first ship carrying New England missionaries was spotted off the coast of Kawaihae.[66] Among the passengers were Thomas Hopu, William Kanui, John Honoliʻi, and George Humehume, the aliʻi son of Kaumualiʻi on Kauaʻi. The Hawaiians had been attending Cornwall School in Connecticut with another prominent Hawaiian scholar, ʻŌpūkahaʻia. Though they had left Hawaiʻi individually and for different reasons, each had found his way to Cornwall, a school famed for teaching Christianity to native students. Its stated mission was "the education of heathen youth . . . that they may be qualified to become missionaries, schoolmasters, interpreters, physicians, or surgeons, among the heathen nations . . ."[67]

Following their experiences abroad and at Cornwall, Thomas Hopu and George Humehume had returned home, where they became instrumental in convincing the aliʻi in 1820 to let the missionaries stay in Hawaiʻi and offer their teaching.[68]

Literacy as an ʻŌiwi Tool

There was considerable thought about what to do with the American missionaries when they first arrived. Liholiho convened the ʻaha aliʻi and foreign advisers in Kailua, Kona, to discuss whether or not to allow the missionaries to stay in Hawaiʻi.[69] At one point, one of Liholiho's advisers told the missionaries, "The mōʻī does not want you here, you can stay for a very brief time, but then you must leave for somewhere else."[70] After a few more days of discussion, though, Liholiho and the council decided to let the missionaries stay for a year, with the provision that if their work was good, they would be allowed to remain. The aliʻi clearly recognized potential problems, and Liholiho largely dictated the terms of the initial engagement. Kamakau describes the difficulties this way:

> Ua noʻonoʻo nui nō nā aliʻi me ke akahele, no ko lākou makaʻu nui i ia manawa i nā haole i noho kūʻokoʻa mai i loko o kēia aupuni, o lilo lākou i mau mea keʻakeʻa i ka pono o ka lāhui. ʻAʻole i pilikiʻa i nā haole i noho mai i ke ʻano mahuka wale ma ka ʻāina, ua lilo lākou i poʻe kauā lawelawe na nā aliʻi.[71]
>
> *The chiefs greatly considered this decision with caution, for they had much apprehension at this time 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 the decision, Hiram Bingham took up residence on Oʻahu and began to teach a few students. Liholiho was soon impressed with the students' abilities —presumably at reading and writing—and he sent some of his wives and the young chiefs to learn English from the missionaries,[72] including Kahuhu, John ʻĪʻī, Haʻalilio, and the heir to the throne, Kauikeaouli.[73] These chiefs learned quickly.

By April 1823, a second wave of missionaries had arrived, including William Richards, a man who would become a prominent figure in Hawaiian history.[74] Though work soon began on formalizing a Hawaiian written language, the first formal attempt at producing a Hawaiian grammar and alphabet was made in 1814 by ʻŌpūkahaʻia while he was attending the Cornwall School.[75] He had learned to read and write in English while attending Yale College, and

although he initially rejected Christianity, he eventually converted.[76] ʻŌpūkahaʻia began to desire to translate the Bible into his native tongue, and he is credited with teaching himself to read Hebrew to facilitate the translation of the Old Testament into Hawaiian.[77] Some of his letters and his journal were published in *Memoirs of Henry Obookiah*, which records his interest in language:

Summer 1814

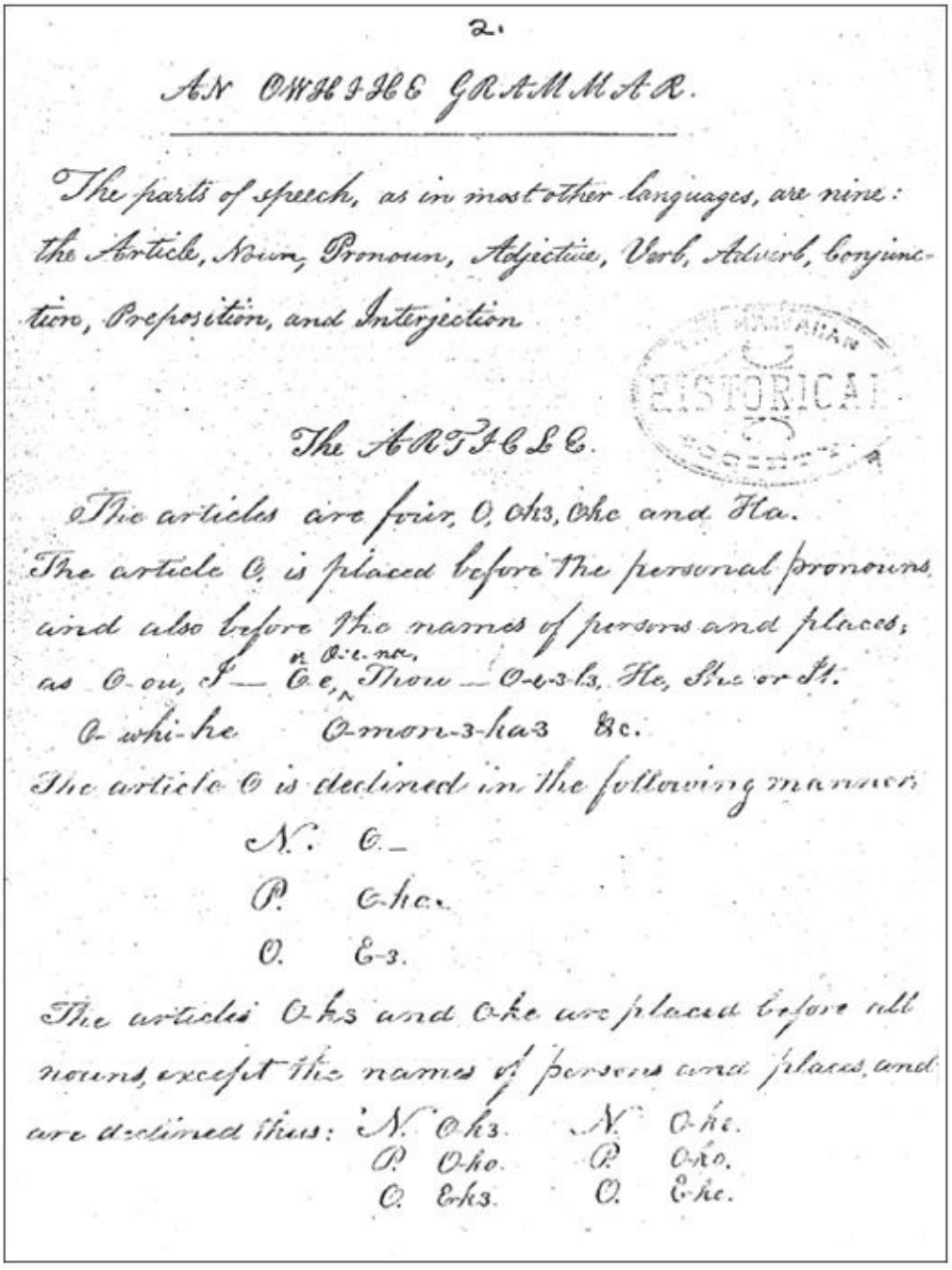
> I went to live with [the Rev. Mr. Harvey, of Goshen] and studied geography and mathematics. And a part of the time was trying to translate a few verses of the Scriptures into my own language; and in making a kind of spelling-book, taking the English alphabet, and giving different names and different sounds—(for this language was not written language.) I spent some time in making a kind of spelling-book, dictionary, grammar, etc.[78]

Goshen, 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 Owhyhee language. I found I could do it very correctly.[79]

The missionaries used an adaptation of ʻŌpūkahaʻia's grammar for about two years.[80] His work provided a foundation for further developing a written Hawaiian language (fig. 3.4). And although ʻŌpūkahaʻia had passed away earlier in New England and had not returned to Hawaiʻi with the missionaries, it is significant that a Native Hawaiian was integral in the creation of a writing system for the Hawaiian language.[81] According to Schütz, ʻŌpūkahaʻia had a "profound effect on Hawaii and the Hawaiian language."[82]

By 1823, as the missionaries were developing a consistent written form for Hawaiian,[83] many aliʻi began to take tutors into their homes to learn to read and write. Literacy spread rapidly throughout all the islands, and from moku to ahupuaʻa.[84] The written word must have been attractive to a population who had memorized oral accounts of history, genealogy, and mythology. Silva notes that from the aliʻi perspective, literacy was "the technology that would allow them new ways to communicate with each other."[85] Liholiho was so impressed with his new ability to write that he sent a letter to a Tahitian acquaintance (fig. 3.5).



2.

AN OWHIHE GRAMMAR.

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

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The ARTICLE.

The articles are four, O, Oks, Oke and Ka.

The article O, is placed before the personal pronouns and also before the names of persons and places; as O-ou, I — O-e, Thou — O-ia, He, She or It.

O-whi-he O-mon-a-ka &c.

The article O is declined in the following manner

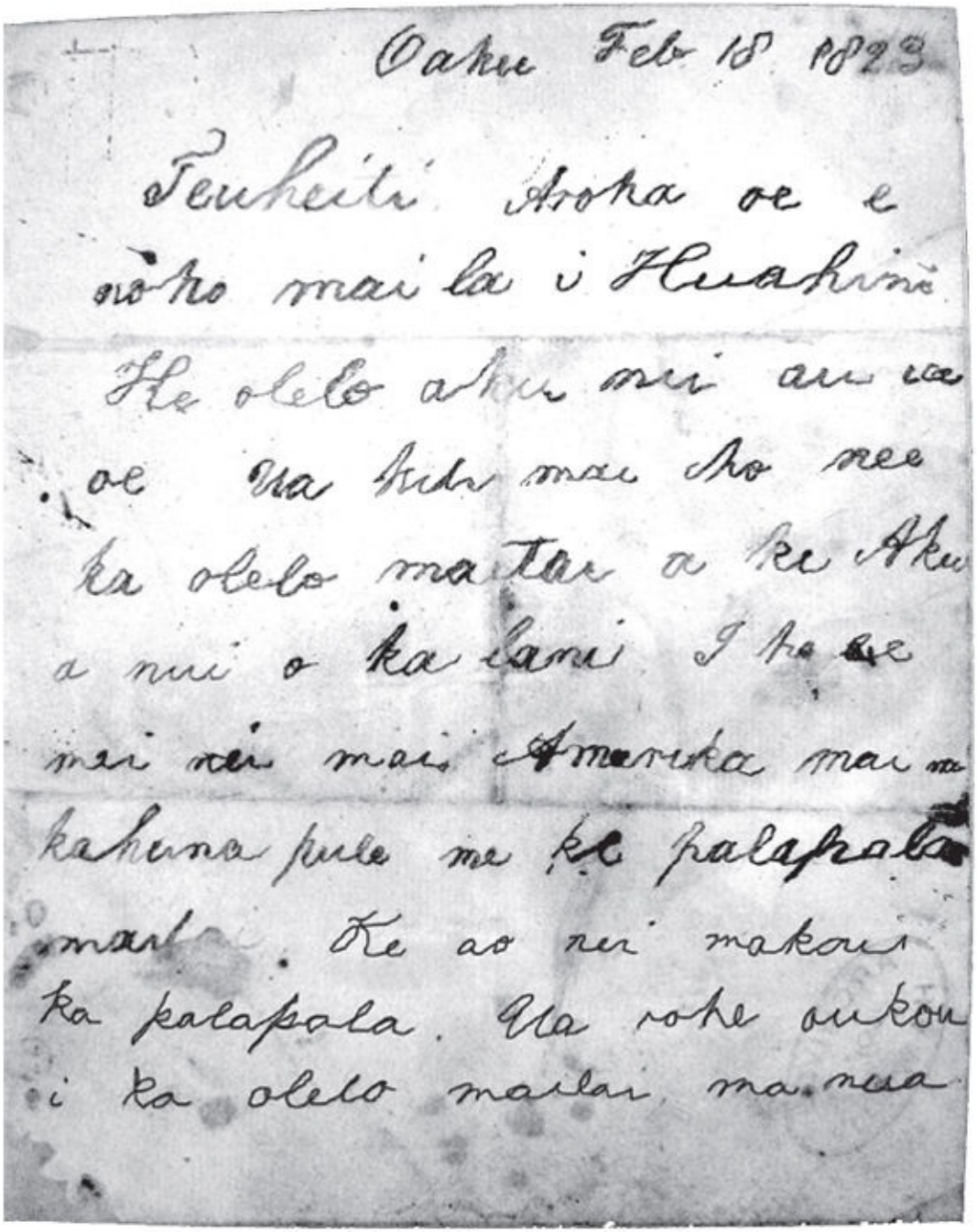
N. O-
P. O-ko.
O. O-a.

The articles Oks and Oke are placed before all nouns, except the names of persons and places, and are declined thus:

N. Oks.	N. Oke.
P. Oko.	P. Oko.
O. Oka.	O. Oke.

FIGURE 3.4

"An Owhihe Grammar," based on the work of Henry ʻŌpūkahaʻia. *Ruggles, Mission Houses Museum, n.d.*


Oahu Feb 18 1823

Teuheiti Aroha oe e
no ho mai la i Huahine
He olelo aku nei au ia
oe na Iehu mai ko nee
ka olelo mai au a ke Aku
a nui o ka lani I ho ae
nei nei mai Amerika mai na
kahuna pule me ke palapala
mai la. Ke ao nei makaui
ka palapala. Ua ohe aukou
i ka olelo mailai na nea

FIGURE 3.5
One of the few surviving letters written by Liholiho. *Liholiho, Correspondence with Teuheiti, Hawai'i State Archives, 1823*

A portion of the letter is translated 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 . . .[86]

Rihoriho

While the aliʻi were keen to learn to read and write, they were not as willing to adopt Christian beliefs and practices. For example, Hiram Bingham often followed Liholiho around, persistently attempting to convert him. One day, when Bingham was pleading with Liholiho to stop living a life of pleasure, the mōʻī is said to have replied, "'Elima oʻu makahiki i koe, a laila, huli au i kanaka maikaʻi—Just five more years and then I shall become a good [Christian] man."[87]

Liholiho was not the only ʻŌiwi who playfully tested the missionaries. Upon the death of Kahekilikeʻeaumoku, Bingham prepared to conduct a Christian funeral service in his honor. But Kuakini had taken the body the night before to be buried. Bingham therefore conducted the service over an empty coffin, causing some aliʻi to question the power of the haole akua.[88] After all, if Bingham's god did not tell him the body was not in the coffin, how powerful could he really be?

The English translation of this passage in *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaiʻi* gives a different impression from Kamakau's original. The original states, "Ahu nō hoʻi kupanaha ʻo ua mea e hoʻomaloka o ka ʻaiā, e hōʻole ana, ʻaʻohe akua—This was quite strange that they would openly challenge and refuse that [Bingham] possessed a god."[89] The *Ruling Chiefs* translators rendered the sentence as, "How ignorant are the ungodly who say there is no God."[90] Some ʻŌiwi were skeptical and cautious about the mana of the foreign akua. Other ʻŌiwi, however, became ardent converts to the Christian religion. ʻŌpūkahaʻia, for example, embraced the Christian god and attempted to distance himself from his previous moral attachments.

In short, accepting or denying the foreign god was to be decided by each individual, even as society as a whole embraced the technology of the written word. Aliʻi were selectively appropriating the written word and, to an extent, Christianity itself, in ways that suited their own interests.

Helena i Londana—The Journey to England

Following the death of Liholiho's mother Keōpūolani in September 1823, he

called together the ʻaha aliʻi to discuss his visit to England.[91] This decision was influenced by the arrival of a ship in 1822 that had been commissioned for Kamehameha I by the prince of Wales,[92] a gift to the mōʻī that would be used as a warship to protect against foreign invasion. Since the relationship between Britain and the Hawaiian Kingdom, while productive, was sporadic and could be strengthened, Liholiho may have wanted to confirm the alliance by meeting with the king of Britain face to face.

Up till this point, Liholiho's only means of acquiring knowledge about other countries had been through his limited experience with foreigners, the descriptions of his advisers, and through vessels, emblems, flags, and other representations of nationhood. By voyaging to England, Liholiho could make personal a foreign world he knew largely through the experiences of others. Similarly, Liholiho may have wanted to learn of the governments, industries, and civil societies of other countries, and to negotiate alliances with leaders Kamehameha I had never met directly. In this sense, the trip would be an extension of his father's attempts at foreign relations. It also would be the first diplomatic mission of its kind by an ʻŌiwi.

Prior to departing for London, Liholiho had traveled to Kauaʻi and met with Kaumualiʻi, who had agreed to join Kamehameha's kingdom voluntarily in 1810. Liholiho was therefore already investigating the state of his kingdom's alliances internally. An expedition to England would be a way of determining the state of his nation's alliances internationally. By traveling and meeting King George IV, Liholiho planned to personally secure a Hawaiian–English relationship.

Even Hiram Bingham believed that the mōʻī wanted to have "his political and commercial knowledge promoted, his alliances strengthened, and some special favor from King George secured to himself as a brother monarch."[93] That Liholiho saw King George as a "brother monarch" suggests what he thought such a meeting could accomplish. And in fact, Liholiho and his retinue were treated royally while in London, indicating that this brotherhood of monarchs was in some way recognized by the British as well.

Liholiho stood to gain a great deal from this trip. However, all accounts agree that the voyage was somewhat daring. It required an unwavering confidence in his own authority, given that a leader who strays from his nation for too long could return to his nation to find his rule usurped. In preparation for the voyage, Liholiho assembled some of his closest advisers and chiefs and made plans for the continuity of governance in his absence. He proclaimed his

younger brother regent. If Liholiho did not return, Kauikeaouli would become the legitimate mōʻī.[94]

Liholiho, Queen Kamāmalu, and his ʻaha aliʻi departed on November 27, 1823, from Honolulu,[95] where thousands gathered to bid them farewell.[96] In a passage with an unusually sympathetic tone, Bingham described the people's response:

> They could not, of course, tell what might probably befall their king and his company, in whom many were interested as relatives, nor whether they should be likely to see them again; nor whether the government could stand unshaken without a present king, to whom all acknowledged allegiance. They, like ancient Asiatics, lifted up their voice and wept. That parting scene was touching, even to strangers.[97]

The party reached London on the moon of Lāʻaukūkahi on the eighteenth day of Kaʻaona (May 18, 1824). Upon landfall the party boarded a carriage to the Osborne Hotel. Liholiho continued to keep track of time as his ancestors had—by the phases of the moon. He wrote home to the aliʻi about his trip and the treatment of his party. Figure 3.6 is a reproduction of his letter; the English translation is provided below.[98]

1824

Kamahoe Muwa

To Paalua, Kaakumu and younger brother,

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 will be of great benefit to us, then we will return.
>
> Aloha
> Iolani

Though the aliʻi were in a European country thousands of miles away from their tropical home, their royalty was recognized by the British king. The British secretary of foreign affairs, George Canning,[99] had appointed the Honorable Frederick Gerald Byng to care for the needs of King Liholiho, Queen Kamāmalu, and their retinue.[100] Liholiho wrote that they had everything they desired, as Byng had provided the entire retinue with the fashionable dress of the day. By the time the aliʻi finally returned home on the *Blonde*, the estimated the charges for all of the needs of the aliʻi totaled £5,400—a significant amount for the time.[101] Byng waited on the aliʻi hand and foot. He equipped Kamāmalu in the most fashionable attire, attended to her toilette, and formed her hair in the French style.[102] Byng noted that King Liholiho and Boki were also very extravagant in dress. He provided all of the aliʻi with servants and took them on a tour of London, including a trip to the theater.[103]

To his closest friends, though, Byng described his duty with some resentment. The aliʻi were quite demanding, and they had worn him out. In letters written to the earl of Granville, Byng often referred to King Liholiho and his retinue as his “Black Family” or his “Black Children”[104] and reflected on his assignment:

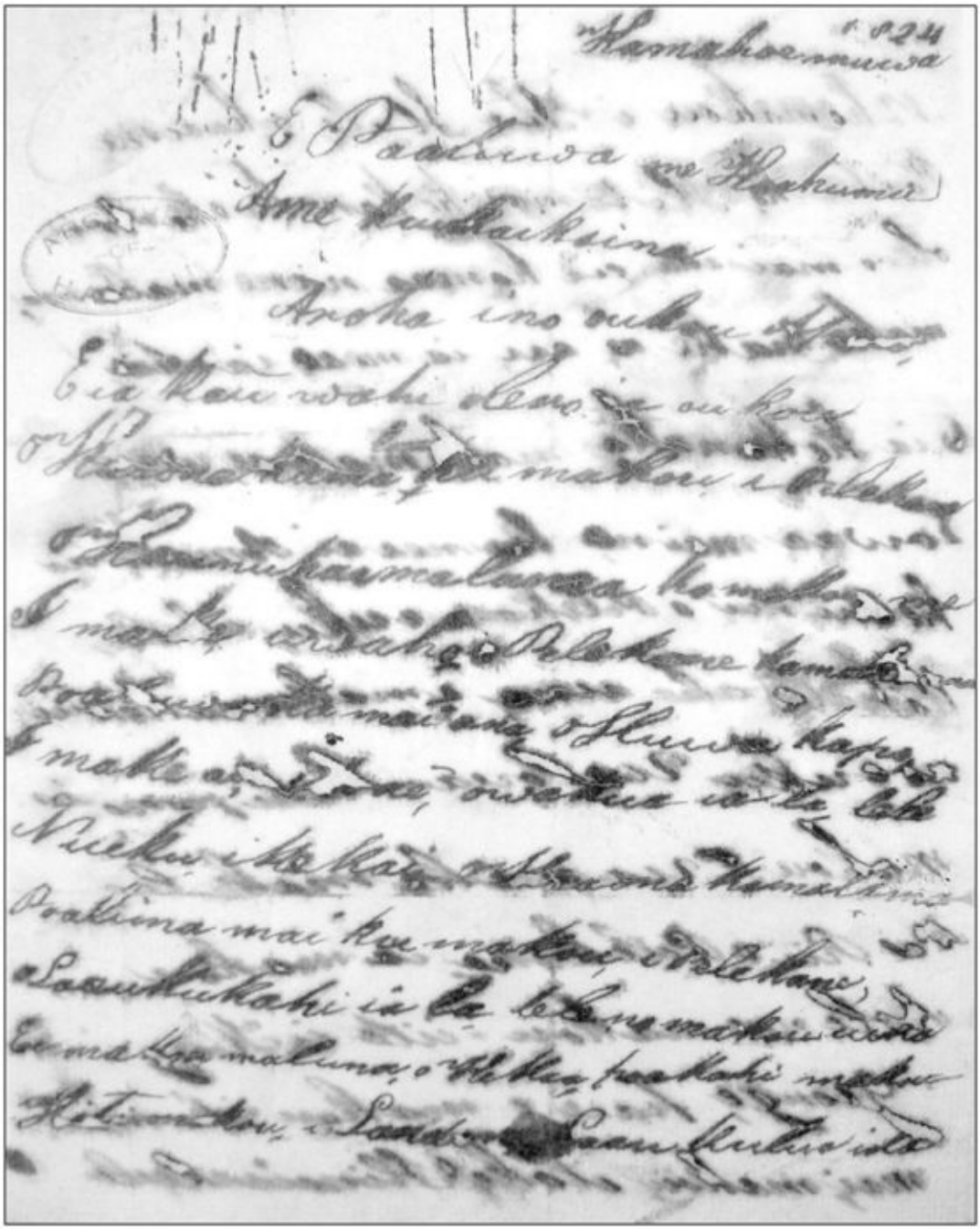


FIGURE 3.6
When writing from London, Liholiho noted dates and times according to Hawaiian moon phases. *Liholiho, Correspondence with Paalua, Kaakumu, and Kauikeaouli, Hawai'i State Archives, 1824*

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 so 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.[105]

Race and class collide in Byng's sentiments. When King George IV and his secretary of state recognized the aliʻi as royalty, Byng's obligations to his own class position required him to accept the aliʻi as not being "undisciplined people of colour," but of a superior class to himself. He was not happy with his assignment but, like a sergeant who grudgingly administers the orders of a superior, Byng fulfilled his duties as host to his "Black Family." At least in this particular instance, class had trumped race.

Still, recognition of the high status of Liholiho and his entourage could not protect them against foreign diseases. Within one month of their arrival, Byng wrote that King George IV had arranged a meeting with King Liholiho and his retinue, but that nearly all of the aliʻi were sick with the measles.[106] Liholiho and Kamāmalu received the highest quality of healthcare, as King George dispatched his personal doctors to treat the Hawaiian party.[107] Still, Queen Kamāmalu passed on July 8, 1824.[108] In a letter written sometime after June 22, Byng noted that Liholiho was out of danger.[109] However, Liholiho's condition worsened after the death of Kamāmalu, and he too expired in a foreign land on July 14.[110]

Following a meeting with King George IV at Windsor Castle, the remaining aliʻi and the bodies of King Liholiho and Queen Kamāmalu returned to Hawaiʻi. On September 14, 1824, "in pursuance of the King's pleasure as signified by Mr. Secretary Canning,"[111] the captain of the *Blonde*, Lord Byron, was ordered to return the bodies of King Liholiho and Queen Kamāmalu to their homeland. This dispatch also told Byron to take great care of the remaining aliʻi on their voyage home:

> You will treat the aforementioned attendants, 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.[112]

Of the twelve who had departed from Honolulu months earlier, five had died, and Rives had returned to France. Only six Hawaiians made it back home alive.[113]

When the *Blonde* anchored in Māmala Bay on May 4, 1825, the aliʻi and makaʻāinana realized that Liholiho and Kamāmalu had returned without their lives. The lamenting could be heard through all the levels of the heavens.[114] When the mourning period had ceased, Kauikeaouli was proclaimed mōʻī by Boki, one of the trip's survivors.

Children of Warriors

The untimely death of Liholiho was an unfortunate and sad event in Hawaiian history. Some have seen his voyage to London as ill-planned and even whimsical;[115] I see it as a thoughtful and well-planned undertaking to gain valuable knowledge of the outside world and to further the alliances of the Hawaiian Kingdom. The intentions of Liholiho's undertaking can perhaps be better understood when one considers the people Liholiho chose to accompany him on the trip, and by examining what happened at the meeting of Boki and King George IV following the Hawaiian King's untimely demise.

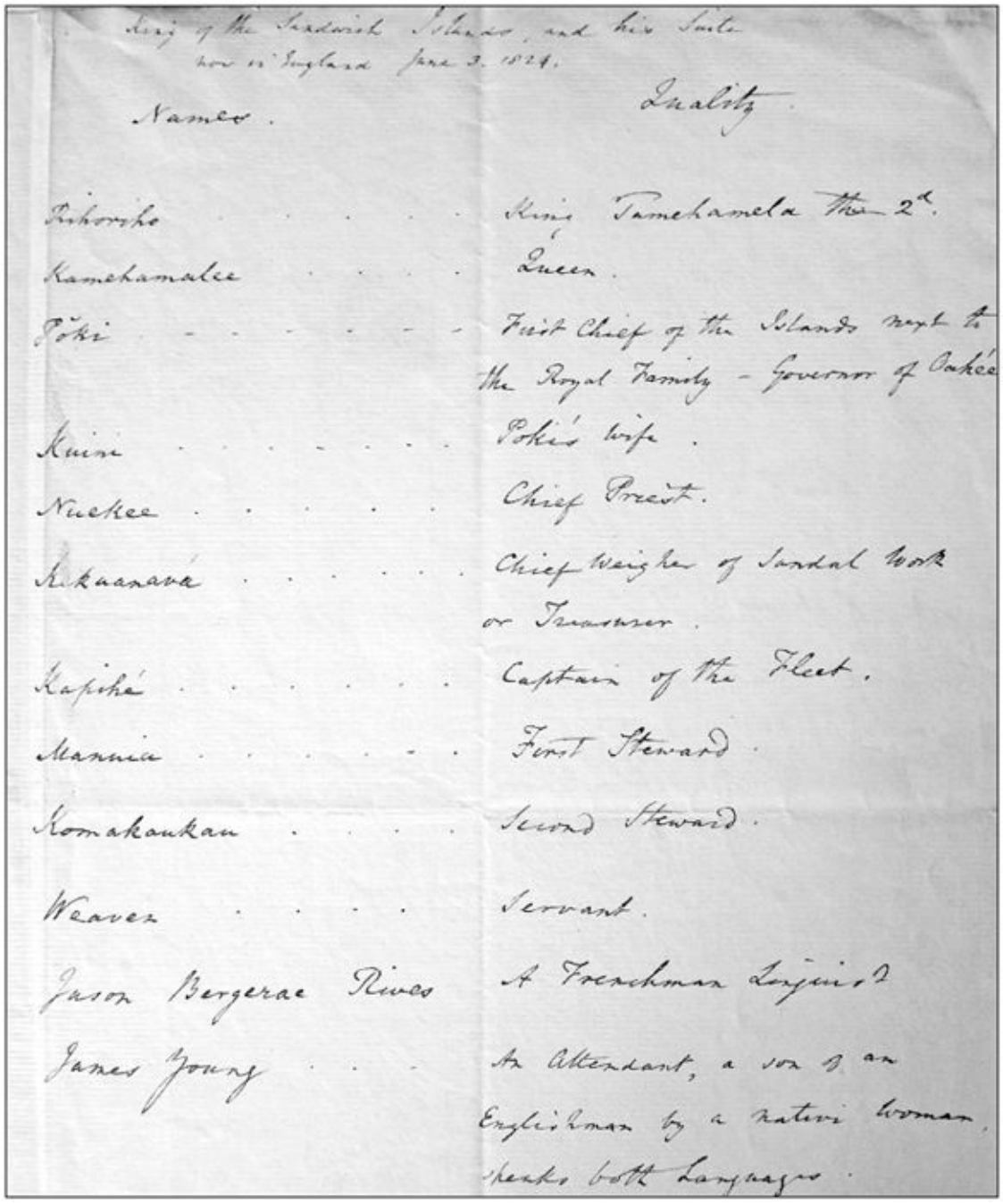
Although many aliʻi had wished to make the trip, Liholiho chose eleven people to accompany him to London:[116]

1. **KAMĀMALU**
   Liholiho's favorite wife
2. **BOKI**
   Uncle of Liholiho and governor of Oʻahu
3. **LILIHA**
   Boki's wife and daughter of Hoapili, a close confidant of Kamehameha
4. **KAULUHAIMALAMA**
   Son of Kekūhapiʻo, a close adviser of Kamehameha
5. **MANUIA**
   Son of Kaulunae
6. **KEKŪANĀOʻA**
   Son of Nāhiʻōleʻa, who fought alongside Kamehameha
7. **NĀIHEKUKUI**
   Son of Hanakahi
8. **NĀUKANA**
   Son of Kamanawa, a close adviser to Kamehameha
9. **NĀʻAIWEUWEU**
   Son of Kekumuʻino
10. **JAMES YOUNG KĀNEHOA**
    Son of John Young ʻOlohana

11. JOHN RIVES
Frenchman who had acted as Liholiho’s translator when Captain Freycinet visited Hawai‘i in 1819

Two are high-ranking female ali‘i—Liliha and Kamāmalu. Boki and Kekūanāo‘a had fought alongside Kamehameha in the conquest of the islands. Others were sons of his father’s closest advisers. In a sense, then, the voyage was a continuation of his father’s policies. Liholiho chose these people not only because of their high rank and key positions in government, but also because he could trust them to support his father’s policies, now his own. Liholiho also took with him James Young Kānehoa, the son of John Young ‘Olohana, and John Rives, which allowed Liholiho to converse in both the English and French languages.

Figure 3.7 is from a letter written by Sir Henry Ellis on June 3, 1824, informing British officials of who was in Liholiho’s retinue and what positions they held.[117] “Nuekee” (rendered as “Nāukana” by Kamakau) appears as the “Chief Priest.” It is not clear what kind of priest Nāukana was; certainly the missionaries, such as Bingham, did not mention Liholiho taking a priest of any kind with him. Was Nāukana a Christian? Or, was he perhaps a representative of the Hawaiian priestly order who somehow survived the battle of Kuamo‘o in 1819?



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

Names.	Quality.
Rihoriho	King Tamehameha the 2d.
Kamehamalee	Queen.
Pōki	First Chief of the Islands next to the Royal Family - Governor of Oahee
Kuini	Poki's wife.
Nuckee	Chief Priest.
Kekaaaaua	Chief Weigher of Sandal Wood or Treasurer.
Kapiké	Captain of the Fleet.
Manuia	First Steward.
Komakaukau	Second Steward.
Weaver	Servant.
Jason Bergerac Rives	A Frenchman Linguist
James Young	An Attendant, a son of an Englishman by a native woman, speaks both Languages.

FIGURE 3.7
List of Liholiho's entourage for his voyage to London. *Ellis, London Metropolitan Archives, 1824*

Meeting with King George IV

Meeting with King George IV was of primary importance to Liholiho. A face-to-face encounter with the king who influenced the majority of the world at that

time could have provided Liholiho with a powerful international ally. On May 25, 1824, shortly after the aliʻi had arrived in London, Byng wrote that Liholiho had come to England to "do homage & to give presents to his Master George 4th & the real drift is Security against the Russians of whom they tire in continual dread."[118] Byng's insights confirm that Liholiho's visit was primarily to secure the protection of Hawaiʻi against foreign invaders. Pitting one European power against another, Liholiho was cunningly using the threat of Russian influence not only to secure British protection against possible foreign invasion of the islands, but also as a means to further cultivate the Hawaiian–British alliance.

Russia had dabbled in Hawaiian affairs intermitantly since Kamehameha I had his warriors expel a group that had settled and raised a Russian flag near Honolulu harbor.[119] Kaumualiʻi, the aliʻi of Kauaʻi, also had attempted an alliance with Russia to challenge the authority of Kamehameha. Kaumualiʻi's plans for the alliance failed, and he too had expelled the group of Russians from Kauaʻi by June 1817.[120] In truth, Russian intrusion was never truly menacing to Hawaiʻi. However, neither King George nor Byng understood the true state of affairs in the islands, and the prospect of another European nation expanding influence in the Pacific was enough to assure British support of Hawaiʻi.

Thus, Liholiho's mission to meet his brother monarch displayed a high level of diplomatic prowess. Unfortunately, the two monarchs never met, but the culminating event of Liholiho's mission was fulfilled by the surviving aliʻi of his retinue.

On September 11, 1824, Boki, Liliha, Kekūanāoʻa, James Young Kānehoa, and Kapihe met with King George IV at Windsor Castle.[121] Boki assumed the responsibility of speaking with the king through James Young Kānehoa.[122] According to Byng, the king spoke with them for about twenty minutes.[123] Years later, when Mataio Kekūanāoʻa, the father of Alexander Liholiho and Lota Kapuāiwa, testified in the Hawaiian Kingdom Privy Council on February 28, 1850, about this meeting, he noted that he and James Young Kānehoa were the only remaining survivors of the meeting. Kekūanāoʻa mentioned an important aspect about the primary reason for Liholiho's going to visit London:

> The King [George] then asked Boki,
>
> *What was the business on which you and your King came to this 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 thus—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 foreigners 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 within your Kingdom, it is not for me to regard. They are with yourselves. Return and say to the King, to Kaʻahumanu and to Kalaimoku, I will watch over your country, I will not take possession of it for mine, but I will watch over it, lest evils should come from others to the Kingdom. I therefore will watch over him agreeably to those ancient words.[124]

The aliʻi who accompanied Liholiho on his journey to England had therefore acquired a verbal agreement between King George IV and the Hawaiian Kingdom that Great Britain would protect them from any outside threats to their sovereignty and their lands. The discussion between Kamehameha and Vancouver in 1794 had not been forgotten. But Kekūanāoʻa's account differs from Vancouver's by leaving the aliʻi in control over their lands while securing protection from possible foreign invasion.

In this regard, the Hawaiian aliʻi in the 1820s were doing what they had been doing for generations in the ʻaha aliʻi—making alliances and exhibiting agency. Perhaps similar alliances had been sought during the time of the famed ʻŌiwi navigator Kaulu, but these new alliances were undeniably more complex, including leaders with different cultures, and requiring rulers to navigate vast oceans and learn the customs of different nations. But the means of securing these alliances are similar: understand the protocols and symbols of nobility, be of a royal lineage, and foster personable relationships. Referring to the ancient Hawaiian system, Fornander wrote, "Among the members of the Aha-Alii it was not unusual that two young men adopted 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."[125]

Liholiho was the first mōʻī to travel to foreign lands to examine an unfamiliar culture, society, and governmental system. But his actions were part of an established pattern of Hawaiian leadership and diplomacy. Liholiho's purpose was to forge an alliance with a global chief—something similar, in form, to the protocols practiced in the ʻaha aliʻi. While in London, Hawaiian aliʻi used traditional symbols of royalty as ways of displaying their own mana and prestige. They did this partially by acquiring symbols from other cultures and by giving gifts of great significance and symbolism to their fellow sovereigns. On one occasion, Byng was surprised when presented with some kind of featherwork clothing and told he "was to appear in them."[126] But actually the aliʻi had been offering gifts to British royalty and diplomats since the time of Kamehameha. In fact, an 1812 letter from the prince of Wales formally thanked Kamehameha for the "feather cloak."[127] It should therefore not be surprising that the aliʻi expected Byng to make use of his gift, which was not presented as a relic, but as a living symbol of aliʻi status and mana. Byng may have been indifferent to the gifts of the aliʻi, but other foreign elites recognized the symbolism, which may have influenced the British king's acceptance of the aliʻi while in his country.

In the letter Liholiho wrote to the prominent aliʻi in Hawaiʻi just days prior to his death (fig. 3.6), he closed with these words: "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, then we will return."[128] In this sense, Liholiho's visit to London was a success. Though he and his beloved wife lost their lives, the trip secured the verbal protection of Great Britain to guard against foreign takeover. Liholiho had known that he might not return; this was why he conducted a council with the aliʻi and proclaimed his brother Kauikeaouli his heir. His father, Kamehameha, had likewise sacrificed a great deal during roughly twenty-five years of attempts at consolidating rule, including the loss of countless lives. Liholiho sacrificed himself and five of his closest companions to ensure the independence of his country and its inhabitants.

Until recently, much scholarship has failed to note the lasting effects of Liholiho's voyage to London in protecting Hawaiian independence and paving a path for future Hawaiian aliʻi to visit England and the British monarchs. For example, Daws gives the impression that the British found the aliʻi comical, and his account is full of disparaging quotations. For example, "King George was

less than willing to submit to a social meeting with Liholiho and Kamāmalu, that ‘pair of d—d cannibals,’ as he was heard to call them.”[129]

But from my perspective, Liholiho’s voyage is a strategic accomplishment for the preservation of the Hawaiian Kingdom. Liholiho and his dying companions can be considered martyrs for Hawaiian independence—possessors of daring spirits—reminiscent of early aliʻi like Paumakua, who navigated vast oceans seeking good fortune and meeting with foreigners in their own lands.

HE KEIKI MA KE ALO—COMPLEX IDENTITIES AND NEGOTIATIONS

This chapter has examined early aliʻi and haole engagements through the moʻolelo of Kamehameha and Liholiho, focusing on the complex identities produced when two cultures came into contact. I have also discussed several kinds of negotiations that individuals within the differing cultures engaged in when attempting to adapt to and manipulate foreign protocols. By making use of Hawaiian language and other original source material, I have revealed some of the issues the aliʻi were resolving through their own means and for their own ends, evidencing that Kamehameha’s and Liholiho’s early ‘Ōiwi engagements with Europeans were rational, appropriate, and diplomatic.

Liholiho’s story is admirable given the state of the kingdom he had inherited. Unlike many previous aliʻi, Liholiho was raised in the presence of his father, who prepared him at an early age to guide the kingdom into the next generation. Liholiho played a major part in one of the most significant events in ‘Ōiwi history, the abolition of the ‘ai kapu in 1819. Only four years later, he would be the first mōʻī to visit a foreign nation on a diplomatic mission. Had Liholiho not visited England to obtain protection for the Hawaiian Kingdom, independence may not have survived as long as it did. He established a friendly relationship between Hawaiʻi and Britain that would last, with some difficulties, for more than seventy years until the formal US occupation beginning in 1898. Liholiho also ensured that knowledge of the European world through aliʻi eyes would return to Hawaiʻi. His voyage and diplomatic mission created a precedent for future aliʻi to follow. He was the first in a lei of aliʻi who would visit the other countries of the world.

The next chapter continues my examination of complex identities and negotiations that arose between aliʻi and haole. These encounters took place when the Hawaiian Kingdom was struggling to find its way in an expanding

world. Threats against the existence of the kingdom were no less fierce, as outside countries became more aggressive. And since the aliʻi borrowed from European-influenced political and legal systems to create the Hawaiian Kingdom, this period was an era of intense negotiation.

As leaders of uncommon aptitude and ability, Hawaiian aliʻi like Kauikeaouli, Kalākaua, and Alexander Liholiho stood for their people and rose to the challenge of their times.

4 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.[1]
>
> HENRY JOHN TEMPLE

Hawaiian land concepts are key to understanding the modification of traditional structures by the aliʻi in the kingdom. Prior to the arrival of Europeans, ʻŌiwi had developed complex political structures that not only governed society but also were embodied in the land. These ancient structures were not abandoned; rather, they were reformed in ways that can be understood as "modifying traditions."

The methods used by Hawaiian aliʻi were forward-looking and may not have been easily understood by outsiders. The quoted passage at the beginning of this chapter was written on October 16, 1848, by Henry John Temple (Viscount Palmerston), the foreign officer of Britain. It is an excerpt from his letter to William Miller, the British consul stationed in the Hawaiian Kingdom, in response to Miller's frustrations with Hawaiian Kingdom land laws. Temple's remarks point to the duality of establishment of the Hawaiian Kingdom. In one sense, aliʻi were borrowing from European models to modify and codify existing political structures. But in another sense, the Hawaiian Kingdom "modernized" to gain respect in the international community and, therefore, to have a better chance of directing its own destiny. As the aliʻi learned and mastered the forms of European and American law, they implemented certain structures as a method for controlling Europeans within the kingdom and, to a lesser extent, for restricting foreign interference in the islands.

The reformation of the legal and political practices of the Hawaiian Kingdom has commonly been seen as a gradual imposition of Euro-American values and alien perspectives that constrained and confused aliʻi.[2] This chapter, however,

argues that law was neither imposed on aliʻi, nor beyond their comprehension. Law was understood by the aliʻi and appropriated selectively to further their own ends.

APPROPRIATION OF LAW

Law offered many practical advantages for aliʻi.[3] For example, law allowed a nation to stand as a theoretical equal in diplomatic negotiations with a country of superior military power. Law could set semiautonomous regulations within the defined boundaries of one's nation. Embracing the concept of law could also keep foreign powers from using their military strength to assume control over a "lawless" nation and population. For a nation without infantry, naval vessels, and steel, law was a tool that could be manipulated nonviolently to maintain effective control domestically while decreasing the likelihood of external intervention.

The aliʻi were actively involved in the creation of laws. As early as the mid-1820s, the Hawaiian Kingdom was publishing legal proclamations, and the first formal body of laws was codified as a Kumu Kānāwai (literally, "source of laws") in 1839. Only after 1893, following the US-sponsored illegal overthrow of Queen Liliʻuokalani, was a law enacted that had not been authorized by a mōʻī or kuhina nui.[4] 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 United States—suggests that prior to 1893, aliʻi were making laws in their own interests.

KAUIKEAOULI

Kauikeaouli was born on March 17, 1814, to his father, Kamehameha, and his mother, Keōpūolani,[5] an aliʻi of extremely high-ranking lineage through Oʻahu and Maui aliʻi. It is said that these aliʻi were "he poʻe aliʻi kapu, a ua like me ke akua"—*they were aliʻi of high lineage who were very sacred, they were like gods.*[6]

Kauikeaouli had a challenging entry into the world. Thought to be dead at birth, it was not until the kāula (prophet) Kaikioʻewa attended to Kauikeaouli that he began to move his limbs and cry. Because of these events, Kaikioʻewa became the kahu (guardian) of Kauikeaouli and took him to be raised in ʻOʻoma,

Kona.[7] 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.

Kauikeaouli began his reign in 1825 when he was eight years old, following the death of his brother, Liholiho, in London. Kauikeaouli would not actually rule until he had matured.[8] In the interim, the kingdom was largely controlled by Kaʻahumanu, who became a strong Christian and, according to Osorio, instituted "a system of laws based on Christian morality and behavior known as prohibitionary or sumptuary laws."[9] Many of these laws appeared in the form of proclamation notices, often written in English and Hawaiian. Published in Honolulu on large poster board, laws were appearing as early as 1822, when Liholiho issued such a notice (fig. 4.1) prior to his voyage to London.[10]

The power of such laws must have been apparent to mōʻī like Liholiho. Without such prior notice, a ship captain could have grounds for firing upon or intimidating the aliʻi if a foreign sailor were seized for disruptive behavior. With the publication of a notice, however, the aliʻi declared his authority before foreign captains might feel obliged to act.

It is difficult to gather information about the scope of laws initiated prior to 1839 because such laws have not been compiled. From the examples I have found, it appears that many of these laws regulated the behavior of foreigners and, to a lesser extent, that of the makaʻāinana. Laws prohibited murder and theft, abolished rum, restricted nonmonogamous sexual relations, and established numerous regulations for foreign vessels and sailors.

One early law dealt with foreigners who cohabited with Hawaiian women (fig. 4.2). Foreigners were prohibited from leaving their wives without leaving a bond with the government—presumably because of the prevalence of foreigners who were fathering children and departing from the islands.

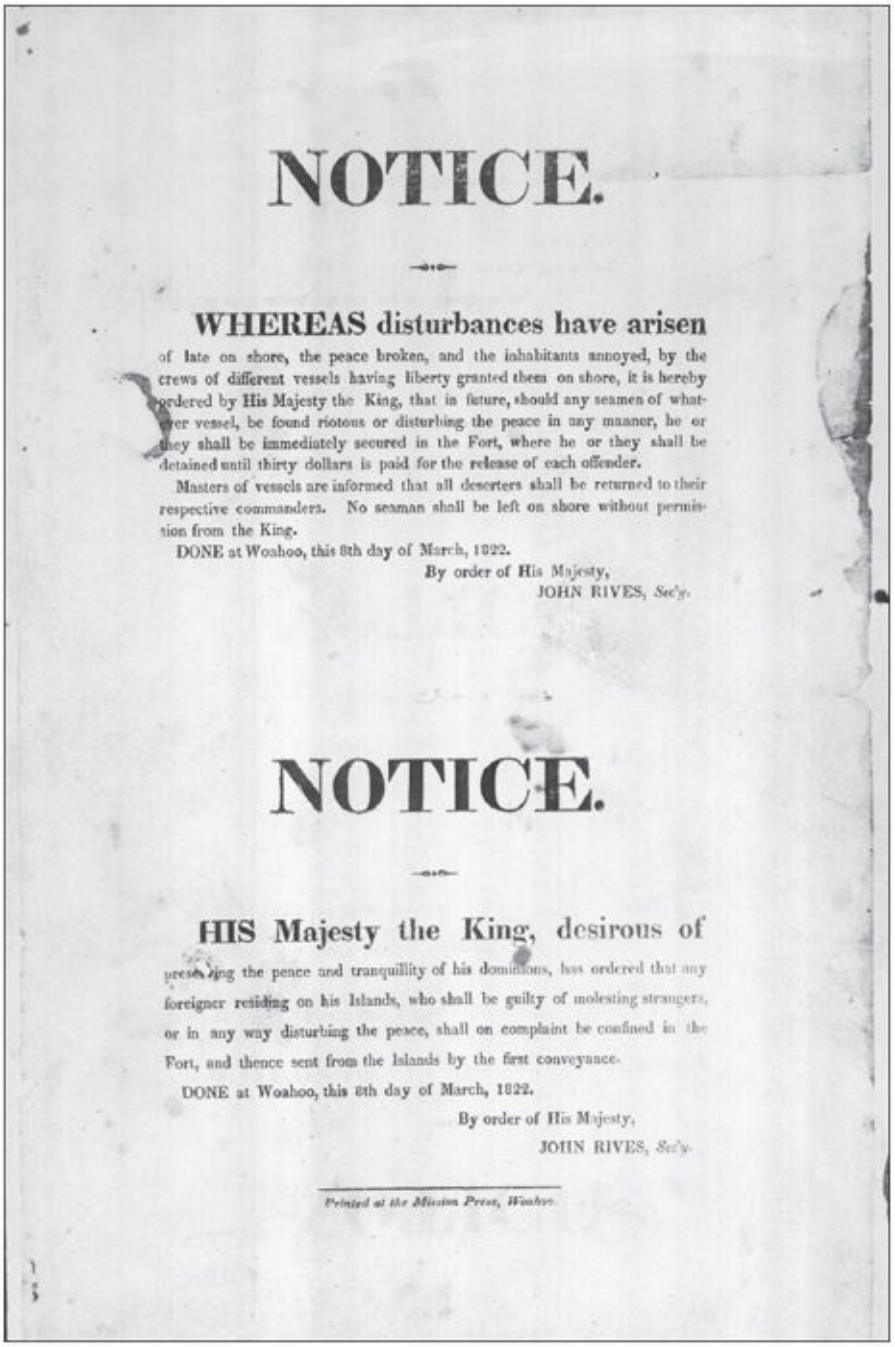
> Be it known, that men from foreign lands who cohabit with women of these lands shall become subjects of these lands and shall live under the protection of this government. And if these foreigners should consider returning to their homelands during the lifetime of their wife, they are forbidden to do 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 is not bound by this law. However, if he speaks cunningly and says he will leave his wife and then return to Hawaii, 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 also may 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 2½ 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 3½ years 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 woman 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.[11]

Aliʻi understood that law was a means to control foreigners and to protect aliʻi authority within their dominions. The steady appropriation of laws also allowed aliʻi to craft an environment where chiefly authority could become national authority. No longer bound by regional fidelity or ethnic ties, aliʻi who used law governed those within their territory, regardless of race, class, or genealogy. Law also was a means for collecting tribute from foreigners. Figure 4.3 depicts a law regulating ports and imposing duties on foreigners, which was signed into law by Kalanimoku, the kālaimoku,[12] or Hawaiian Kingdom minister of state,[13] on June 2, 1825.

Aliʻi also used law as a method for limiting the influx of the infectious diseases, which were causing a rapid decline in the aboriginal Hawaiian population. The aliʻi and the Hawaiian Kingdom were in a difficult situation. Since the islands' ports often were frequented by whalers, merchants, and military vessels, to deny privileges to all vessels entering Hawaiian waters would risk angering the three major commercial powers of the time: Britain, France, and the United States. Mōʻī Kamehameha and Liholiho already had promised to care for British subjects within their dominion, so Hawaiʻi was required to accept them. But this policy, if held exclusively, would likely anger France and

the United States. Furthermore, many ali‘i were actively involved in promoting international trade; an absolute ban on the entry of foreign vessels would be contrary to their own economic interests.



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.

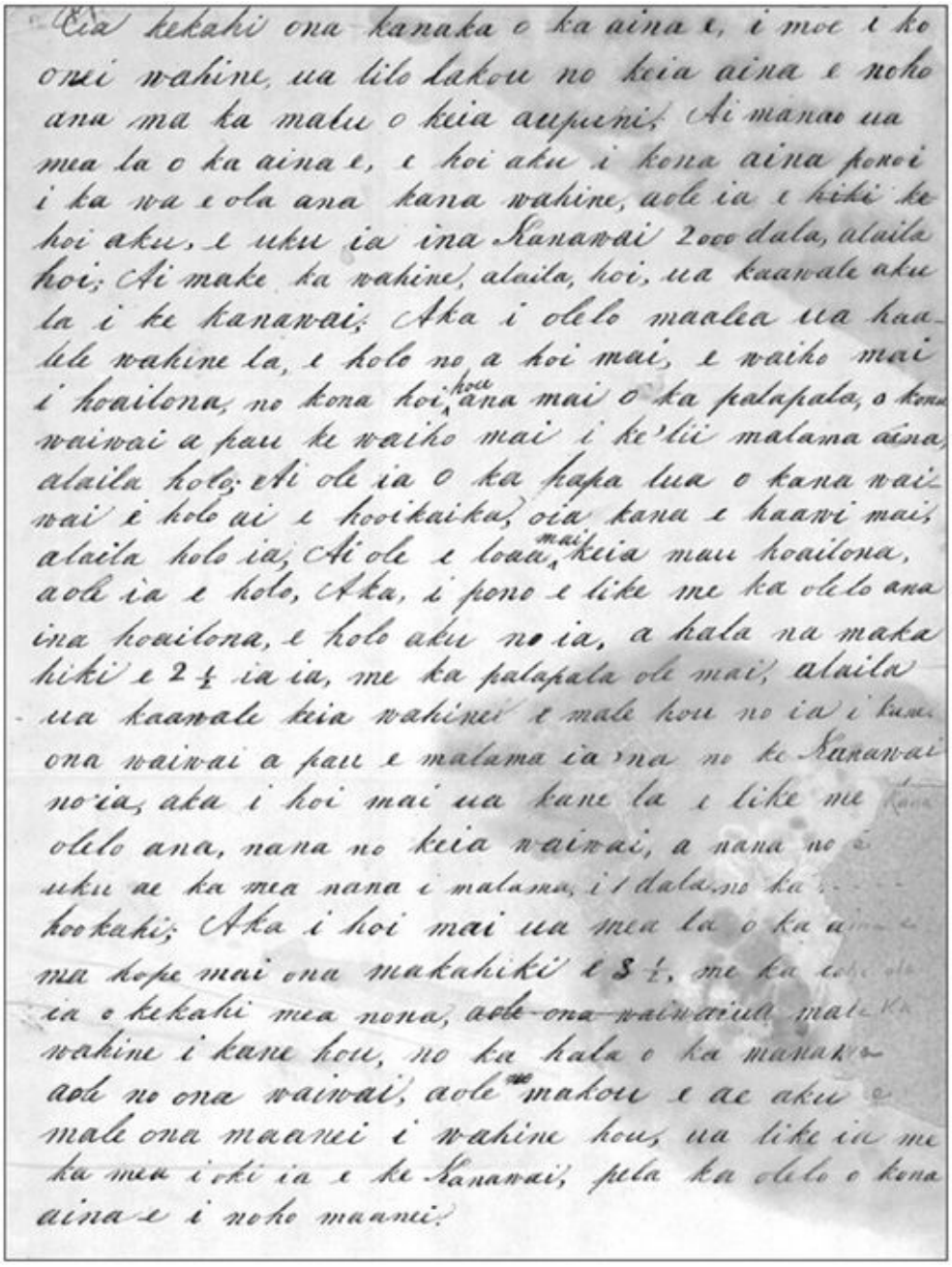
HIS Majesty the King, desirous of preserving the peace and tranquillity of his dominions, has ordered that any foreigner residing on his Islands, who shall be guilty of molesting strangers, or in any way disturbing the peace, shall on complaint be confined in the Fort, and thence sent from the Islands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

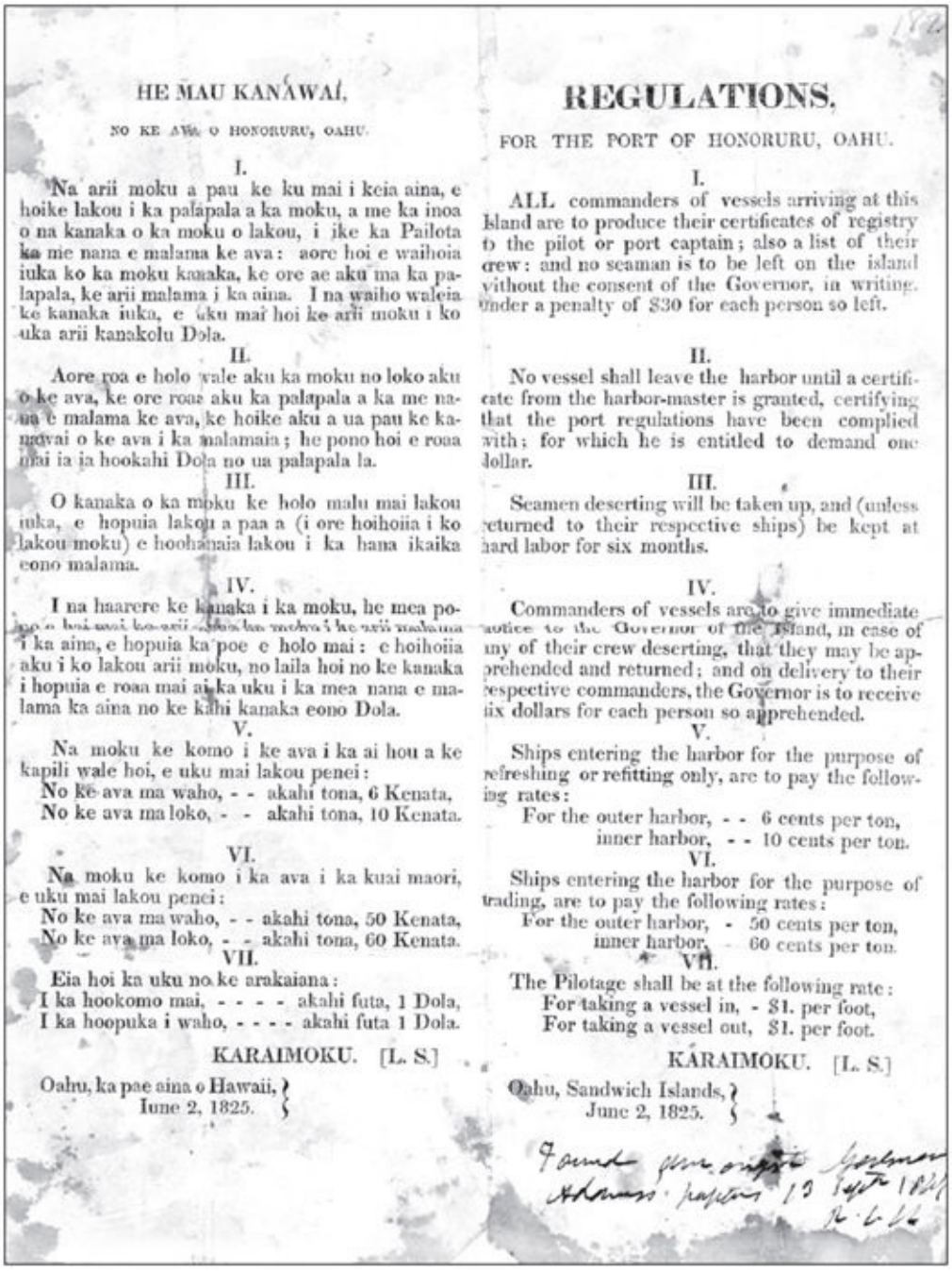
FIGURE 4.1
Notice of Hawaiian law against disturbing the peace, enacted by Liholiho. *Liholiho, Notice, Hawai‘i State Archives, 1822*



Eia kekahi ona kanaka o ka aina e, i moe i ko onei wahine, ua lilo lakou no keia aina e noho ana ma ka malu o keia aupuni. Ai manao ua mea la o ka aina e, e hoi aku i kona aina pono i ka wa e ola ana kana wahine, aole ia e hiki ke hoi aku, e uku ia ina Kanawai 2000 dala, alaila hoi; Ai make ka wahine, alaila, hoi, ua kaawale aku la i ke kanawai; Aka i olelo maalea ua kaa-kane wahine la, e holo no a hoi mai, e waiho mai i hoailona, no kona hoi, hoe ana mai o ka palapala, o kona waiwai a pau ke waiho mai i ke'lii malama aina, alaila holo; Ai ole ia o ka papa lua o kana wai-wai i holo ai e hooikaika, oia kana e kaawi mai, alaila holo ia; Ai ole e loaa mai keia mau hoailona, aole ia e holo, Aka, i pono e like me ka olelo ana ina hoailona, e holo aku no ia, a hala na maka hiki e 2 ½ ia ia, me ka palapala ole mai, alaila ua kaawale keia wahinei e male hou no ia i kana ona waiwai a pau e malama ia 'na no ke Kanawai no'ia, aka i hoi mai ua kane la e like me kana olelo ana, nana no keia waiwai, a nana no e uku ae ka mea nana i malama, i dala no ka hookahi; Aka i hoi mai ua mea la o ka aina ma kope mai ona makahiki 3 ½, me ka ole ia o kekahi mea nona, aole ona waiwaiua male ka wahine i kane hou, no ka hala o ka manawa aole no ona waiwai, aole makou e ae aku e male ona maanei i wahine hou, ua like ia me ka mea i oki ia e ke Kanawai, pela ka olelo o kona aina e i noho maanei.

FIGURE 4.2

Draft Hawaiian law regarding foreigners with Hawaiian wives, enacted by Liholiho. *Liholiho, Draft law, Hawai'i State Archives, n.d.*



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 kanakolu Dola.

II.

Aore roa e holo wale aku ka moku no loko aku o ke ava, ke ore roa aku ka palapala a ka me nana e malama ke ava, ke hoike aku a ua pau ke kanawai o ke ava i ka malamaia; he pono hoi e roaa mai ia ia hookahi Dola no ua palapala la.

III.

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

IV.

I na haarere ke kanaka i ka moku, he mea po[illegible] i ka aina, e hopuia ka poe e holo mai: e hoihoiia 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 kahi 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 arakaiana:

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

KARAIMOKU. [L. S.]

Oahu, ka pae aina o Hawaii,
Iune 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.

FIGURE 4.3

Hawaiian law regulating activities at Honolulu Harbor, enacted by Kalanimoku. *Kalanimoku, "He mau kanawai," Hawai'i State Archives, 1825*

If the mōʻī could not keep foreign vessels from visiting Hawaiian ports, he could put pressure on the captains, navigators, and sailors of visiting ships to carefully inspect their crew for diseases and impose severe measures on those who did not comply. Figure 4.4 is the Hawaiian-language version of a law

designed to keep smallpox out of the kingdom.[14] The first part is directed toward navigators who were boarding vessels headed for the Hawaiian Islands; the second part relates to quarantining ships on their arrival.

A Law Regarding Smallpox

Pilots,

We are informing you that you are forbidden to board any ship departing from the Pacific Northwest, from California, and from any other lands without first investigating whether or not there has been smallpox or any other infectious disease. If you find that there has been a case of an infectious disease in the past forty-two 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.

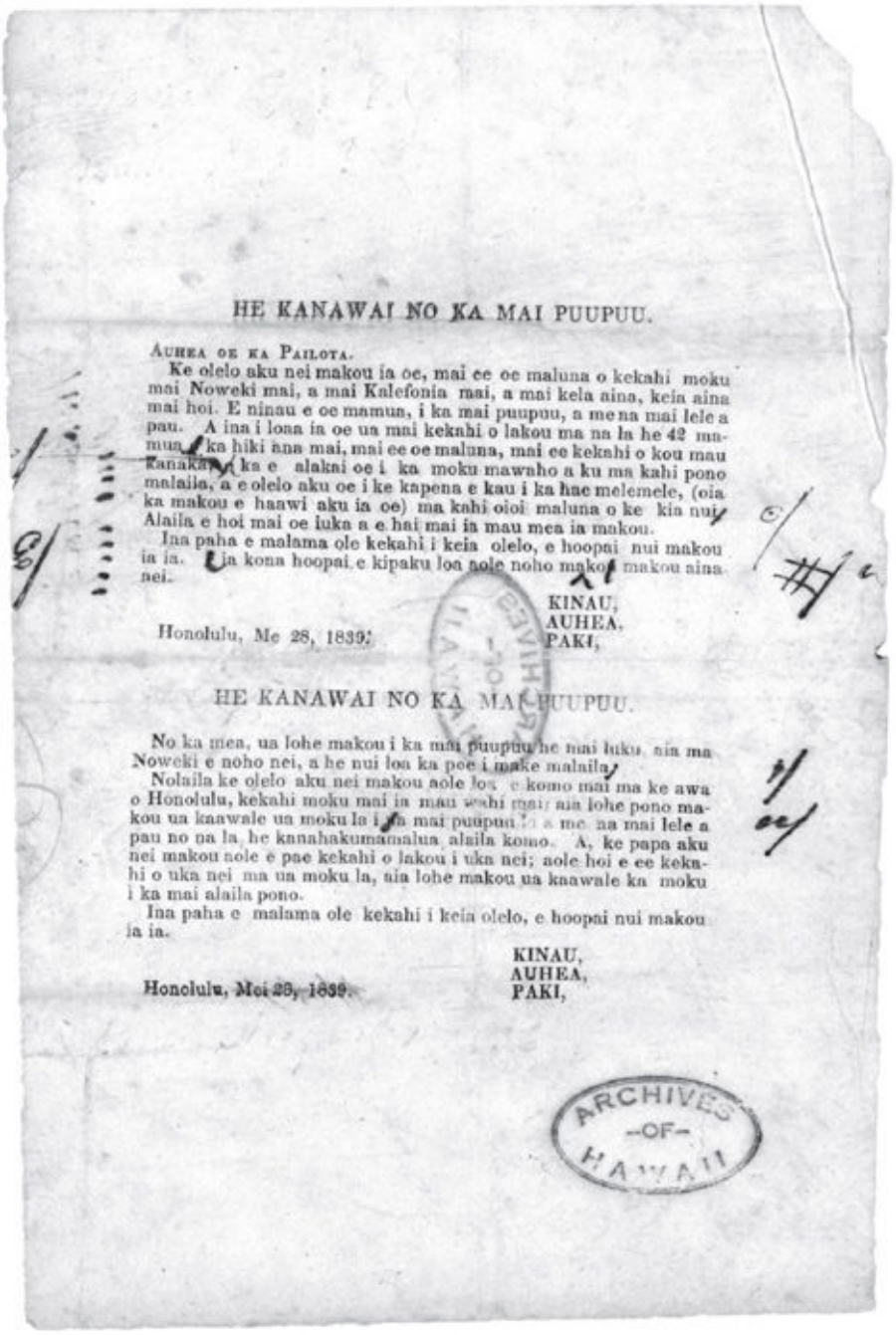
Should anyone choose not to follow these orders they will be severely punished and banished from these islands.

Kinau

Honolulu, May 28, 1839

Auhea

Paki



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, 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 luka 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 luku, 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; aia 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.

ARCHIVES -OF- HAWAII

FIGURE 4.4
Hawaiian law relating to smallpox, enacted by Kīnaʻu. *Kinau, "He kanawai," Hawai'i State Archives, 1839*

A Law Regarding Smallpox

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

> We therefore make known 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 smallpox or any other infectious disease for at least forty-two 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 choose to neglect these laws, they shall be severely punished.
>
> Kinau
>
> Honolulu, May 28, 1839 Auhea
>
> Paki

This proclamation was responding to a known outbreak in the Pacific Northwest and California, but other laws also sought to prevent the influx of infectious diseases into the Hawaiian Islands. Given the severe decline in the native population between 1778 and 1890, these laws clearly failed to prevent the entry and outbreak of foreign disease, despite the sustained efforts of each mōʻī.[15] Attempts to deploy law as a method for addressing epidemics and depopulation demonstrate that the mōʻī and other Hawaiian leaders were appropriating law to achieve their own ends.

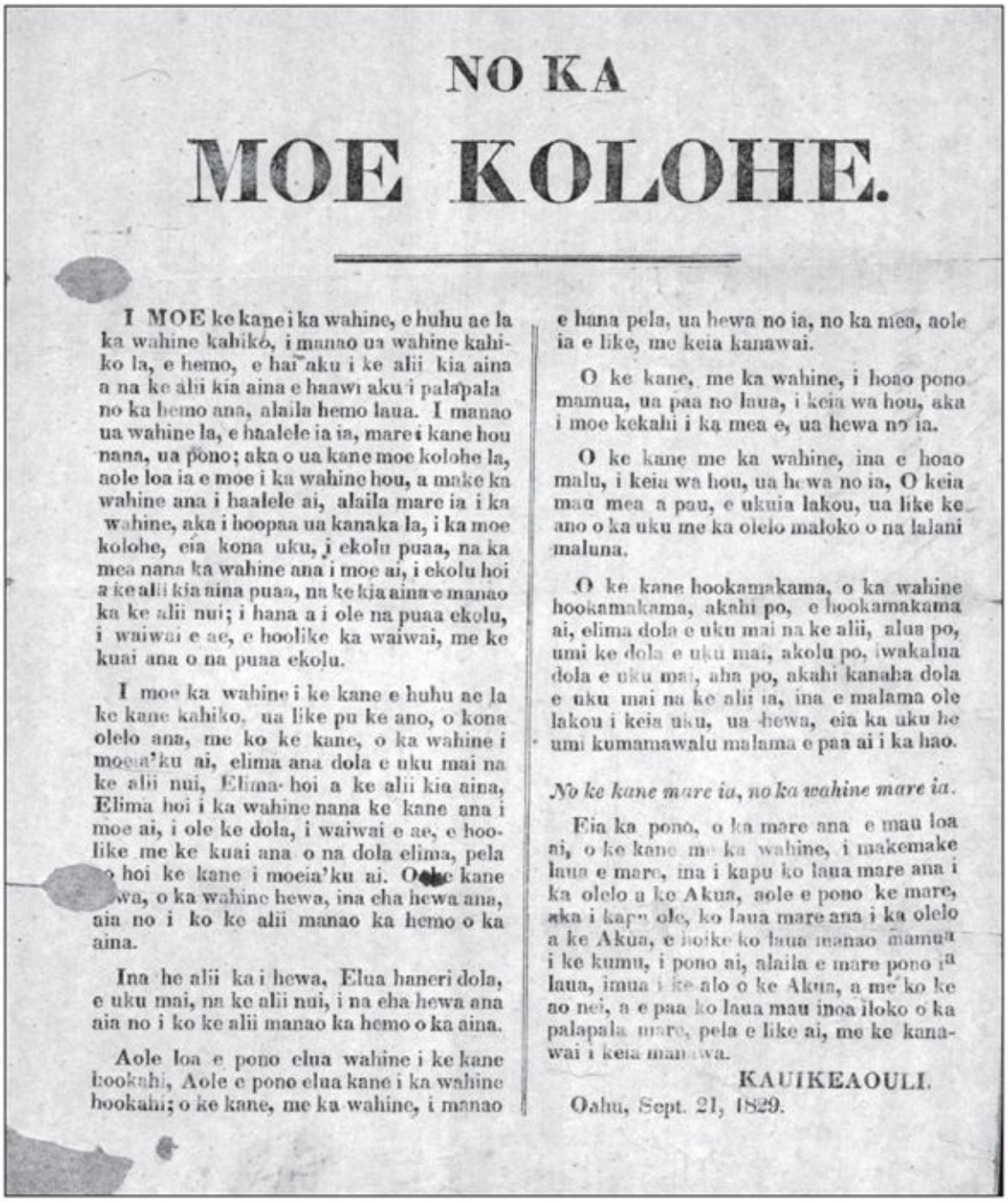
Other laws proclaimed in this period inhibited the behavior of ʻŌiwi in ways that had not been practiced in the times of Kamehameha I and Liholiho. Many laws proclaimed by Kaʻahumanu during her reign as kuhina nui reflect her newly assumed Christian ethics and behavior. One law regulated sexual relationships and made intercourse out of wedlock illegal. Such laws have been offered as evidence of the missionaries' influence on the aliʻi, but they also attest to Kaʻahumanu's own agency in extending Christian doctrine throughout the islands.[16] While many laws outlawed earlier ʻŌiwi ethical behaviors, Kaʻahumanu's leading role in imposing Christian morality on the islands was a means of advancing her own political agenda, even though she was not a mōʻī. Figure 4.5 is a proclamation forbidding polygamous sexual relationships. It was signed by Kauikeaouli in 1829.[17]

Kaʻahumanu's leadership closely aligned the laws of the early kingdom with Christian ethics. Although the Battle of Kuamoʻo had long ended the ʻai kapu,

not all aliʻi were supportive of Christian ethics, and many aliʻi openly challenged Kaʻahumanu and her Christian policies. Liholiho himself never converted to Christianity and once rebutted Hiram Bingham's pleas for him to follow the ways of the Christian God by saying, "I am God myself. What the hell! Get out of my house."[18]

In ways similar to his brother, Kauikeaouli also rebelled against Christian ethics. Following the death of Kaʻahumanu in 1832, the nineteen-year-old mōʻī reinstated aspects of Hawaiian traditional culture by taking an aikāne and considering a union with his sister.[19] Even prior to Kaʻahumanu's death, her Christian policies were openly challenged by a faction of traditionalist aliʻi led by Kauikeaouli's kahu, Boki, and Liliha.[20] Some even went as far as to call for the assassination of Kaʻahumanu: "E kaha i ka ʻōpū o Kaʻahumanu, a e ʻoki i ke poʻo"—*let us slice her stomach from end to end and remove her head*.[21]

In 1830, clashes in perceptions of what was pono behavior reached a climax with the incident of Pahikaua, a failed war against Kaʻahumanu and the Christian aliʻi faction.[22] The aliʻi were in the process of negotiating to what degree they would appropriate Christian values into policy, but consensus was not achieved and each aliʻi was left to find his own way. A critical blow was dealt to Boki and 429 aliʻi and makaʻāinana traditionalists, who went on a sandalwood expedition to New Hebrides and never returned.[23] By 1839, even Kauikeaouli seemed to accept some Christian ethics.



NO KA

MOE KOLOHE.

I MOE ke kane i ka wahine, e huhu ae la ka wahine kahiko, i manao ua wahine kahiko la, e hemo, e hai aku i ke alii kia aina a na ke alii kia aina e haawi aku i palapala no ka hemo ana, alaila hemo laua. I manao ua wahine la, e haalele ia ia, mare i kane hou nana, ua pono; aka o ua kane moe kolohe la, aole loa ia e moe i ka wahine hou, a make ka wahine ana i haalele ai, alaila mare ia i ka wahine, aka i hoopaa ua kanaka la, i ka moe kolohe, eia kona uku, i ekolu puaa, na ka mea nana ka wahine ana i moe ai, i ekolu hoi a ke alii kia aina puaa, na ke kia aina e manao ka ke alii nui; i hana a i ole na puaa ekolu, i waiwai e ae, e hoolike ka waiwai, me ke kuai ana o na puaa ekolu.

I moe ka wahine i ke kane e huhu ae la ke kane kahiko, ua like pu ke ano, o kona olelo ana, me ko ke kane, o ka wahine i moeia'ku ai, elima ana dola e uku mai na ke alii nui, Elima hoi a ke alii kia aina, Elima hoi i ka wahine nana ke kane ana i moe ai, i ole ke dola, i waiwai e ae, e hoolike me ke kuai ana o na dola elima, pela no hoi ke kane i moeia'ku ai. O ke kane hewa, o ka wahine hewa, ina eha hewa ana, aia no i ko ke alii manao ka hemo o ka aina.

Ina he alii ka i hewa, Elua haneri dola, e uku mai, na ke alii nui, i na eha hewa ana aia no i ko ke alii manao ka hemo o ka aina.

Aole loa e pono elua wahine i ke kane hookahi, Aole e pono elua kane i ka wahine hookahi; o ke kane, me ka wahine, i manao e hana pela, ua hewa no ia, no ka mea, aole ia e like, me keia kanawai.

O ke kane, me ka wahine, i hoao pono mamua, ua paa no laua, i keia wa hou, aka i moe kekahi i ka mea e, ua hewa no ia.

O ke kane me ka wahine, ina e hoao malu, i keia wa hou, ua hewa no ia, O keia mau mea a pau, e ukuia lakou, ua like ke ano o ka uku me ka olelo maloko o na lalani maluna.

O ke kane hookamakama, o ka wahine hookamakama, akahi po, e hookamakama ai, elima dola e uku mai na ke alii, alua po, umi ke dola e uku mai, akolu po, iwakalua dola e uku mai, aha po, akahi kanaha dola e uku mai na ke alii ia, ina e malama ole lakou i keia uku, ua hewa, eia ka uku he umi kumamawalu malama e paa ai i ka hao.

No ke kane mare ia, no ka wahine mare ia.

Eia ka pono, o ka mare ana e mau loa ai, o ke kane me ka wahine, i makemake laua e mare, ina i kapu ko laua mare ana i ka olelo a ke Akua, aole e pono ke mare, aka i kapu ole, ko laua mare ana i ka olelo a ke Akua, e hoike ko laua manao mamua i ke kumu, i pono ai, alaila e mare pono ia laua, imua i ke alo o ke Akua, a me ko ke ao nei, a e paa ko laua mau inoa iloko o ka palapala mare, pela e like ai, me ke kanawai i keia manawa.

KAUIKEAOULI.

Oahu, Sept. 21, 1829.

FIGURE 4.5
Hawaiian law relating to sexual relationships, enacted by Kauikeaouli. *Kauikeaouli, "No ka moe kolohe," Hawai'i State Archives, 1829*

HE KUMU KĀNĀWAI I KAU 'IA MA 1839: THE SOURCE OF LAWS, 1839

On June 7, 1839, Kauikeaouli enacted the first formal body of written laws. Kamakau notes that laws had existed in the ancient system of government, such as in the time of the celebrated chief Kūali‘i.[24] The concept of law, therefore, was not foreign to the ali‘i.

The 1839 body of laws was one of the first ali‘i attempts to use *written* law to define the relationship between Hawaiian classes. Before 1839, Hawaiian written laws had largely regulated taxation, trade, and engagements with foreigners. The laws in 1839 began to codify relationships between ali‘i and maka‘āinana (native subjects) and are categorized under two headings: Kumu Kānāwai (Source of Law, or Constitution) and Ke Kānāwai Ho‘oponopono Waiwai (Law Regulating Taxation, Property, and the Rights of Classes). Kumu Kānāwai literally means “source of law,” and this section has been called a Declaration of Rights. It begins with a biblical reference (Acts 17:26), confirming the acceptance of some Christian doctrines by the ali‘i of the time.

> Ua hana mai ke Akua i na lahuikanaka a pau i ke koko hookahi, e noho like lakou ma ka honua nei me ke kuikahi, a me ka pomaikai.
>
> *God hath made of one blood all nations of men, to dwell on the face of the earth in unity and blessedness.*[25]

While this quotation suggests the Christian God to be the source of all law, a later passage seeks to define the origin of the ali‘i class in a way that would have been accepted in pre-Christian times—that the ali‘i were created by Akua (God).

> Na ke Akua mai no hoi ka oihana Alii, a me ka noho Alii ana i mea e malu ai.
>
> *God has established the class of chiefs and the right of chiefs to rule to provide peace and protection.*[26]

I have offered a rather ornate translation of this section to suggest the range of interpretations the ali‘i may have intended when crafting the document. If so, the passage above articulates a principle that had been held for generations in Hawai‘i: The ali‘i were granted their authority through their lineage and through Akua.

Although the Akua referred to is the Christian God—and therefore markedly different to those previously worshiped—the essence of Kauikeaouli’s statement is that the ali‘i were established by Akua. The acceptance of Christianity by

ʻŌiwi did not therefore imply an acceptance of the universal equality of man, nor did it extinguish chiefly authority. Rather, it provided the aliʻi with a further metaphysical validation of what they already believed.

It is important to offer multiple perspectives on the various kānāwai of 1839 because it was authored in the Hawaiian language, and the aliʻi were actively involved in its creation and design. An analysis of these early laws demonstrates that the aliʻi, even as they drew on political ideas taught to them by their recently hired adviser, William Richards,[27] also were also producing and legitimizing their authority through codifying law. That these aliʻi were changing due to their encounters with foreigners and new ideas is certain, but it must not be forgotten that they were still aliʻi. They alone held the kuleana of guiding and governing society as they saw fit.

Juri Mykkänen has suggested that because the success of the missionary program and the teaching of literacy depended so heavily on the support of the chiefs, in many ways the mission was subservient to the aliʻi.[28] The missionaries recognized this. Following Kaʻahumanu's death on June 5, 1832, Kauikeaouli established the Makahonu policy and no longer required makaʻāinana to attend Christian churches.[29] Sheldon Dibble, a prominent missionary, 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."[30]

Empowering the Mōʻī

The Kumu Kānāwai of 1839 also added a great deal to the authority of the mōʻī. The final paragraph warns chiefs who refuse to obey this edict:

> 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.
>
> *Whatever chiefs 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, officers, and all land agents.*[31]

This edict endowed Kauikeaouli with formidable powers. Possibly for the first time, a mōʻī could extinguish the nobility of an aliʻi. In earlier times aliʻi

occasionally took each other's lives, but those practices had ended by 1839. The power claimed by Kauikeaouli may therefore have allowed him to solidify his authority through a means other than warfare. Although not overly restrictive on any particular class, and apparently based on the ethical standards of the time, the Kumu Kānāwai was an effective tool of coercion that required chiefs to obey the laws of Kauikeaouli.

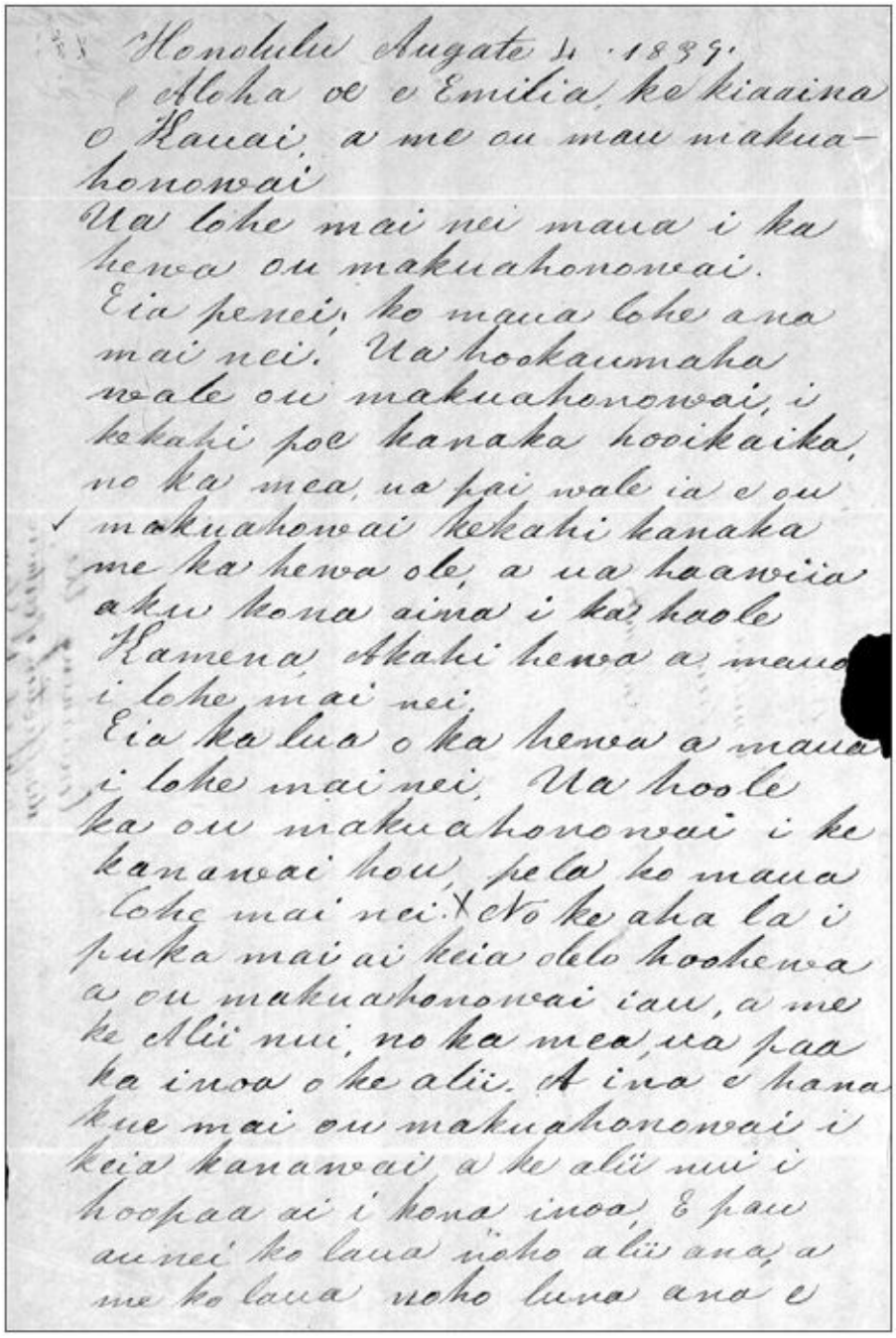
These laws were used by the mōʻī. In a letter dated August 4, 1839, a member of Kauikeaouli's council wrote that the in-laws of the kiaʻāina, or governor of Kauaʻi, had been disregarding the law and unjustly punishing hoaʻāina (native subjects). The punishment Kauikeaouli threatened was grounded by law. These aliʻi were warned that they would lose their status as aliʻi if they continued to disregard the law (fig. 4.6).

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 aliʻi 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 stated by the laws. Here is your last chance; you must abide by the laws and not according to yor own discretion.[32]



Honolulu Augate 1. 1839.
Aloha oe e Emilia, ke kiaaina
o Kauai, a me ou mau makua-
honowai
Ua lohe mai nei mana i ka
hewa ou makuahonowai.
Eia penei, ko mana lohe ana
mai nei. Ua hookaumaha
nui ole ou makuahonowai, i
kekahi poe kanaka hooikaika,
no ka mea, ua pai wale ia e ou
makuahonowai kekahi kanaka
me ka hewa ole, a ua haawiia
aku kona aina i ka haole
Kamena, Akahi hewa a mana
i lohe mai nei.
Eia ka lua o ka hewa a mana
i lohe mai nei, Ua hoole
ka ou makuahonowai i ke
kanawai hou, pela ko mana
lohe mai nei. Eto ke aha la i
puka mai ai keia olelo hookewa
a ou makuahonowai iau, a me
ke Alii nui, no ka mea, ua paa
ka inoa o ke alii. A ina e hana
kue mai ou makuahonowai i
keia kanawai a ke alii nui i
hoopaa ai i kona inoa, E pau
au nei ko lana noho alii ana, a
me ko lana noho luna ana e

FIGURE 4.6
Letter from Kauikeaouli's council to Emilia Keaweamahi. *"Hawaiian Chiefs," Hawai'i State Archives, 1839*

Ke Kānāwai Hoʻoponopono Waiwai: Laws Organizing Wealth

Ke Kānāwai Hoʻoponopono Waiwai (laws organizing wealth), the second

section of the 1839 laws, began the process of codifying ancient relationships between hoaʻāina and konohiki (chiefs, land managers) and between those of the aliʻi class. There are thirteen sections and seven subsections:

1. No ka auhau o ke kino
2. No ka auhau o ka aina
3. No ka noa ana o ke kai
4. No na kai kapu
5. No na koele
6. No ka poe hana a me ka poe hana ole
7. No na kiaaina a me na konohiki
8. Ka hana a na alii i ka makahiki mua
9. Ka hana a ka poe luna auhau
10. Ka hana a na wahine
11. No ka hana ana i na mea hou
12. No ka ili ana aku o ka aina i ka hooilina
13. No ka mahele wai

I. Auhau o ka makahiki mua
II. Ka hana a na alii
III. No na konohiki
IV. No na luna i koho hou ia
V. Na mea kapu o ke kuahiwi
VI. No ka pili ana o ke kanawai
VII. Ahaolelo na na alii

* * *

1. *Poll tax*

2. *Land tax*
3. *Open divisions of the ocean given to subjects*
4. *Divisions of the ocean [and resources] kept for the king*
5. *Relating to work tax*
6. *Relating to landlords and tenants*
7. *Relating to governors and land managers*
8. *Relating to the goals of laws in the first year*
9. *Relating to collection of taxes*
10. *Relating to the work of women*
11. *Relating to business following this law*
12. *Relating to inheritance of lands by heirs*
13. *Relating to water given to all for irrigation*

I. *Relating to taxes in this present year*
II. *Relating to the rights of chiefs*
III. *Relating to the land managers*
IV. *Relating to new officers*
V. *Relating to kapu items from the mountains*
VI. *Relating to administering law*
VII. *Relating to the council of nobles*[33]

Throughout the twenty-four pages of these laws, Kauikeaouli sought to regulate and codify the relationship between the aliʻi and the hoaʻāina. These laws sought to protect hoaʻāina from abuses of power and were critical of aliʻi who excessively burdened hoaʻāina. Following the death of Kamehameha I, for example, sandalwood passed from his personal control and came to be owned by the chiefs individually. At that time, chiefs may have overburdened the hoaʻāina.[34] These new laws were designed in part to aid in protecting hoaʻāina from such chiefs.

Law as Imposition?

Colonialist interpretations of the Hawaiian Kingdom have generally concluded that law was imposed on aliʻi by missionary advisers such as Richards, thus minimizing the role of aliʻi in accepting, creating, and legitimizing law. Such interpretations tend to overlook situations when aliʻi used their knowledge of law—gained through advisers and experience—to create something new by codifying Hawaiian customary law.

For example, in referring to the 1839 body of laws, Jon Osorio states, "Ultimate responsibility for the maintenance of the land and the people in Hawaiʻi passed from the ancient line of Aliʻi and the gods they represented to the newer and much less understood authority of law."[35] While it is correct that law represented a major change, Osorio does not discuss how much the aliʻi actually understood their usage of law or the possibility that laws protecting the hoaʻāina from potentially abusive chiefs may have been welcomed, particularly following the excesses of the sandalwood trade.

Similarly, Sally Engle Merry writes, "During the brief period from 1825 to 1850 the Kingdom of Hawaiʻi 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."[36] In stating, "was transformed" rather than perhaps "the aliʻi transformed," Merry implies a reform imposed by forces unknown, glossing over the purposeful involvement of the aliʻi in the transformation. Merry's classification of the laws of 1839 as "Anglo-American" is also problematic. While some laws were based on such common law, others just as clearly were based on Hawaiian custom and ancient structure.

Contrary to what Merry and Osorio suggest, the aliʻi were selective in their adaptations and were instrumental in the establishment of the Hawaiian Kingdom. The Kānāwai of 1839 are evidence of deliberate decision-making by Hawaiian aliʻi, who created a new system of government by modifying existing structures and by negotiating European legal forms. The outcome was neither completely Anglo-American nor "traditionally" Hawaiian. Rather, it was a combination of both.

Codifying Existing Indigenous Structure

The sections of the 1839 laws that address natural resource divisions and land

inheritance offer additional examples of how the aliʻi used law to codify existing indigenous structure. In sections three and twelve of the laws of 1839, the government proclaimed that resources and land are owned jointly by three classes—the mōʻī, the aliʻi, and the makaʻāinana.

All the fisheries of the kingdom were divided among these three classes. One example of makaʻāinana receiving resources is when Kauikeaouli designated, "O ke kai o kilo hee; O ke kai lu hee; O ke kai malolo; O ka moana" (the ʻōkilo heʻe grounds, the lūheʻe grounds, and the mālolo grounds of the ocean).[37] No precedent in Anglo-American law exists for offering the kiloheʻe grounds to the people. Furthermore, this codifying of Hawaiian divisions of fisheries can be easily overlooked by scholars unfamiliar with the complex ʻŌiwi resource divisions and palena. These ancient fishing grounds were intimately known by the makaʻāinana and the chiefs of the time and provide strong evidence of how knowledge of traditional resources was transferred into the codified structure of the Hawaiian Kingdom. When Kauikeaouli takes for himself fisheries on each island, such as those of Kālia, Keʻehi, and Kapapa on Oʻahu, among others, he is also codifying into law the ancient rights of the mōʻī to fisheries and their resources.[38]

Section 12 (relating to inheritance of lands by heirs) states that an inheritor must pay a one-third interest to the mōʻī in land, provided that there is more than one parcel of land. One-third of the lands controlled by one's ancestor must therefore revert to the mōʻī—a concept that resembles the kālaiʻāina redistribution of land (see Chapter 2). Of significance is the legal 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. According to the 1839 laws, all the landed and marine property in the kingdom was owned jointly by the mōʻī, the aliʻi, and the makaʻāinana. Rather than asserting that all rights to land were vested in the king, the law affirmed that these rights were vested in these three classes—an assumption consistent with indigenous Hawaiian custom and practice. These principles are articulated even more clearly in the 1840 Constitution:

> Eia ke ano o ka noho ana o na'lii a me ka hooponopono ana i ka aina. 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'lii, a o Kamehameha no ko lakou poo nana e olelo i ka aina.
>
> *The origin of the present government, and system of polity, is as follows.*

> *Kamehameha I, was the founder of the kingdom, and to him belonged all the land from one end of the Islands to the other, though it was not his own private property. It belonged to the chiefs and people in common, of whom Kamehameha I was the head, and had the management of the landed property.*[39]

In 1846, the Land Commission further articulated the land rights vested in the king, the chiefs, and native subjects.[40] From the earliest codification of law in 1839, however, ʻāina was conceived of as jointly "owned" through the shared interests of these three classes, thereby reflecting ancient Hawaiian land tenure principles.

Why were these laws proclaimed? Who was involved in their composition? These questions are of central importance when considering the agency of the aliʻi in the establishment of the Hawaiian Kingdom. Section 8 of the laws of 1839 indicates that Kauikeaouli was using law to re-create a state of harmony that had existed previously in the kingdom:

> O ka imi i ka pono a oi'ku mamua o ka malu a'u i lohe ai no keia pae aina, ia Kamehameha I, 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, nolaila mai ke kaumaha i hana ole ai ka poe hana, a i ilihune loa'i ke aupuni. . . .[41]
>
> Oia ka hana a na'lii 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 mahiai ai, a e imi i waiwei no lakou.
>
> *To seek even greater justice and peace than what 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 makaʻāinana, 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 consider 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.

Kauikeaouli was attempting to use law specifically to restore the state of pono (secured harmony) that had existed in the later years of his father's reign. The law of Māmalahoa, proclaimed by Kamehameha to protect maka'āinana as they traveled throughout the kingdom, is explicitly referred to. It is also clear from this passage that Kauikeaouli desires to place people back on the 'āina and to encourage them to farm and cultivate the land.

The problems Kauikeaouli was trying to remedy are evident when one considers the rapid depopulation of the Hawaiian Islands. The population in Kamehameha's time was nearly 800,000,[42] and by 1836 it had fallen to 107,954.[43] Kauikeaouli would have been aware of the monumental challenge of doing the work of the previous generations with a workforce that had been reduced by 85 percent. Even in early times, however, when the Hawaiian population had not yet been affected by the influx of foreign disease, it was not uncommon for a mō'ī to encourage industry in the people. Desha has noted that Kamehameha returned from his conquest of O'ahu to a state of famine in Kona. He then encouraged the hoa'āina to labor and cultivate the soil.[44] Kauikeaouli was therefore using the law to encourage cultivation and industry over his lands in ways that were consistent with the chiefs of old.

Boaza Mahune, the King's Kanaka

Who actually wrote the Kumu Kānāwai and the laws of 1839? A report in the *Hawaiian Spectator* of that year notes that the author was Boaza Mahune, a student of Lahainaluna, under the supervision of Kauikeaouli. The process of writing and revising was recorded as follows:

> 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. In the first instance he 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 rewrite 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 their third and last reading, after which the king inquired of the chiefs if they approved, and after their saying, yes, he replied, "I also approve," and then rose and in their presence suffixed his name.[45]

According to this record, these laws were not imposed on the aliʻi. The aliʻi were detailed, cautious, and selective in their formulation of the laws. Mahune went through multiple revisions before the laws conformed to the wishes of the chiefs and the mōʻī. Clearly, the aliʻi were *creating* law—cautiously determining the appropriate content and designing the laws to account for their own considerations and reservations—to produce a pono state for society.

There are differing accounts about the actual authorship of these laws. Kameʻeleihiwa questions whether the laws were written by Boaza Mahune, noting that according to Kamakau, the Kumu Kānāwai was drawn up by Richards.[46] But Richards's own report states that the laws were written by Mahune.[47] In any case, all accounts agree that the aliʻi met on a number of occasions to shape the laws, demonstrating the direct involvement on aliʻi in creating written Hawaiian law and their selective appropriation of Euro-American law for their own purposes.

1840 KUMU KĀNĀWAI—THE CONSTITUTION OF 1840

On October 8, 1840, Kauikeaouli and the kuhina nui, Kekāuluohi, signed the Kumu Kānāwai o ka Makahiki 1840, the Constitution of 1840.[48] It begins with the Kumu Kānāwai of 1839, plus a paragraph enabling aliʻi who may have been deposed of their rights as chiefs for not following the law to be reinstated—provided they had changed their conduct.[49]

The Constitution of 1840 and the laws of 1839 were written in Hawaiian and only later translated into English, making the Hawaiian versions the original sources. Reliance on the English texts may undermine analysis and lead scholars to gloss over, or miss entirely, aspects of traditional governance embedded in these early records. The Hawaiian sources provide us with the best insights into

what the aliʻi were attempting to transform and how they viewed this change in relation to older systems of governance.[50]

A constitution is the foundational document of a country, and the Constitution of 1840 changed the function of society in Hawaiʻi. It separated the powers of government into the executive, legislative, and judicial branches—although the mōʻī and kuhina nui also sat on the Supreme Court, with four appointed members. The executive branch was composed of the mōʻī and kuhina nui, representing little change from the earlier forms of governance. The legislative branch was composed of two parts. "The House of Nobles," or "na Alii malalo o ke Alii Nui," the Chiefs under the King,[51] were some of the highest-ranking and closest advisers to Kauikeaouli. These aliʻi were listed by name in the Constitution, which stated that the admittance of any other member must be made known by law. The aliʻi composing this body in 1840 were Hoapiliwahine, Kuakini, Kekauʻōnohi, Kahekili, Pākī, Konia, Keohokālole, Leleiōhoku, Kekūanāoʻa, Kealiʻiahonui, Kanaʻina, Keoni ʻĪʻī, Keoni Ana, and Haʻalilio. The House of Nobles was therefore a modification of the ʻaha aliʻi—the body of closely related, variously ranked aliʻi who advised the mōʻī in years prior.

Shift in Power

The second part of the legislative branch represented the greatest shift in power. According to the Constitution, the "Poe i Kohoia," the Elected People or the "Representative Body,"[52] would be chosen through the will of the people, and no law should be passed without their consent. Kamakau, though known for his praise of the ancient Hawaiian system of governance, also elaborated 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 ʻo 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 kūpono ʻole, a ʻo ia ka pomaikaʻi o nā aupuni kumukānāwai.[53]

> *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 Hawai‘i, 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 appraisal of the advantages of constitutional governments, which in principle provide the masses with representation in government and protection against abuses by powerful elite groups. In the years following 1840, maka‘āinana made use of constitutional government by learning to petition. Some petitions were against specific konohiki who were taking more resources from an ahupua‘a than permitted by law. Others asked the government to adopt a certain policy. For example, one called for prohibiting foreigners from becoming subjects.[54] These petitions demonstrate that some maka‘āinana were voicing their concerns to ali‘i—a practice that contrasts with ancient times when maka‘āinana seemed to have no say in ali‘i governmental decisions. To that extent, maka‘āinana had accepted some of the benefits of constitutional government.

Ownership of Land

One important segment of the Constitution of 1840 deals with the ownership of land. The Constitution of 1840 served to codify the ancient land rights held by the mō‘ī, ali‘i, and maka‘āinana within the structure of a kālai‘āina. In a kālai‘āina, the mō‘ī awarded lands, but they were not the mō‘ī's sole property; the maka‘āinana also had rights to their ‘ili, mo‘o ‘āina, paukū ‘āina, kīhāpai, and to other resources within their ahupua‘a.[55]

The handling of land ownership is evidence of the ali‘i building the kingdom through a refinement of ancient structures. By defining and codifying in law the existence of the vested rights of three classes of Hawaiians in the lands of the kingdom, Kauikeaouli was reaffirming in the relatively new governmental system that which was held traditionally in practice. ‘Āina remains fundamental

for kānaka today, and this appropriation and adaptation of Anglo-American law to reflect earlier relationships to land demonstrates aliʻi agency in using law for their own purposes.

The Hawaiian Constitution of 1840 affirms kānaka's vested rights to land, providing a legal foundation for mōʻī, aliʻi, and makaʻāinana to acquire allodial title to land. Still, there is much dispute in Hawaiʻi today over whether makaʻāinana possess a legal right to the "ceded lands." For example, in 2009 the Lingle administration appealed a case in the United States Supreme court (Hawaii v Office of Hawaiian Affairs) by taking the position that while ʻŌiwi have a moral claim to the ceded lands, "they don't have a legal claim."[56] The Constitution of 1840, however, certainly established makaʻāinana's vested rights in the lands of the Hawaiian Kingdom.

As with the 1839 laws, multiple sources show that ʻŌiwi were directly engaged in writing and revising the kingdom's constitutions. Work by David Forbes has led scholars like Malcolm Nāea Chun to credit Davida Malo with "developing the 1840 Constitution."[57] Kamakau wrote that the 1840 Constitution was compiled by William Richards, with Boaza Mahune representing Kauikeaouli as mōʻī and Iona Kāpena representing Kīnaʻu, the kuhina nui.[58] These two advisers likely added and removed content to assure that the Constitution would be acceptable to the mōʻī and kuhina nui. Kamakau provides their qualifications by noting that the mōʻī and kuhina nui had already chosen them to prepare the laws of 1839.

Despite these efforts, the Constitution still had problems and required ongoing revision. On April 4, 1841, Mataio Kekūanāoʻa, a powerful aliʻi within the House of Nobles, described this process to Mahune.

> Lahaina 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 . . .[59]
>
> *Lahaina April 4/[18]41*

Greetings 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 Lahaina.

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.

As suggested in their correspondence, aliʻi such as Boaza Mahune and Kekūanāoʻa recognized the potential problems arising from inexact language in laws, anticipated the possible consequences and revised the laws according to their own needs.[60]

TOWARD HAWAIIAN INDEPENDENCE

William Richards arrived in Hawaiʻi in 1823 as part of the second company from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Many years later, Kauikeaouli offered Richards six hundred dollars a year to instruct and advise him about important matters of business.[61] Richards may have not been the first choice. Kameʻeleihiwa writes that the aliʻi had been searching for someone to educate them on the foreign world as early as 1836, but being "unable to find anyone else outside of the Calvinist mission, they settled on Richards."[62] The aliʻi wanted someone who could offer them knowledge and who had excellent skills in the Hawaiian language.

On July 3, 1838, Richards became a teacher and adviser to the mōʻī; on the same day, he resigned from the mission.[63] Richards began to lecture to Kauikeaouli and the other aliʻi about political economy. He had translated the work of Wayland, Lay, and Newman. To supplement his lectures he created a book entitled *No Ke Kalaiaina,* which was printed and copyrighted by the chiefs. Richards's lectures likely had an effect, since some of the major governmental reforms took place following his initial lectures in 1838.

It must be kept in mind, however, that the aliʻi were seeking knowledge of foreign governments and political theories to understand the power and practices of the outside world. They would then be able to use this knowledge to reform their own society and secure their own sovereignty over their lands. Placed in this context, Richards's departure from the mission and his lectures to the aliʻi

were largely the result of their agency. The aliʻi were already fluent in earlier Hawaiian structures of government and would not have required tutoring on the nature of ancient chiefly knowledge. By acquiring Richards, they were gaining knowledge of how other countries were governed as part of a larger plan to conduct politics on the international level so that Hawaiʻi would be respected by foreign nations.

Like Kamehameha's acquisition of John Young, Kauikeaouli's acquisition of Richards offered him distinct political advantages—that is, if Richards could be trusted. Though Richards left the mission to become an employee of the aliʻi, varying degrees of benevolence and self-interest played a role in his decision. His description of Kauikeaouli in 1838 was less than favorable: "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."[64] Perhaps this sentiment is related to the fact that for a number of years, Kauikeaouli had refused to accept Christianity. He had taken his sister Nāhiʻenaʻena as a wife and was attempting to live under the old akua,[65] actions that were appalling to the mission and Richards.

Paradox and Negotiation

The early relationship between Richards and Kauikeaouli was full of paradox and negotiation. Though critical of Kauikeaouli in his report to the mission, Richards used caution when speaking directly with the chiefs. "I have said scarcely nothing to the king and chiefs respecting the existing evils or defects in the government," he wrote, "except as the subject has come up naturally and almost necessarily while discussing established principles of Political Economy."[66]

When analyzing the writings of those who had been a part of the mission, it is important to identify whom the document is written for. Missionaries were often extremely critical of the aliʻi in letters to the mission, but their actions on the ground often required them to behave otherwise. People like Richards—whether out of choice or necessity—had to show respect to the aliʻi; otherwise, they likely would have been removed from their positions.

As time passed Richards, or "Rikeke," became a trusted adviser to Kauikeaouli and, on July 18, 1842, Richards left the kingdom on assignment as an assistant to the ambassador Timoteo Haʻalilio.[67] They had both been made ministers plenipotentiary, authorizing them to negotiate Hawaiʻi's status with the

diplomats of other nations.[68] Their mission was to secure Hawai‘i’s independence from colonial rule. Having become familiar with the history of other native peoples around the globe, Kauikeaouli wanted to gain recognition of Hawai‘i as a sovereign state as a way to prevent its acquisition by the colonial powers of the day. Eventually, Ha‘alilio and Richards met with representatives of the governments of the United States, France, and Britain and were aided by the governor of the Hudson’s Bay Company in North America, Sir George Simpson.[69]

Travels and Travails of Ha‘alilio and Richards

Kamakau records that Ha‘alilio and Richards traversed Mexico on the backs of mules, enduring extremities of terrain, weather, and hunger (ho‘omanawanui ho‘i i ka pōloli) on their way toward the United States.[70] When they finally reached Washington DC, the Hawaiian envoys had difficulty meeting with US President Tyler, as his secretary of state was less than enthusiastic about the mission.

Hawaiian diplomacy often required representatives of the Hawaiian Kingdom to play off the competing interests of Great Britain, France, and the United States, and the Hawaiian delegation used such a measure to their advantage. With stunning audacity and tact, Ha‘alilio and Richards manufactured and dispensed a rumor among the members of Congress that if the United States did not recognize the independence of the Kingdom of Hawai‘i, the Hawaiian delegates were prepared to place the islands under formal British protection, “or have them become part of the British empire.”[71] As this gossip made its way through the hallways of the Senate and into the White House, the buzz created a change of tone in Washington. To the delight of Ha‘alilio and Richards, President Tyler soon agreed to a meeting and shortly afterward sent a message to Congress, stating that the United States seeks “no exclusive control over the Hawaiian government, but is content with its independent existence, and anxiously wishes for its security and prosperity.”[72] Tyler’s response did not explicitly recognize Hawai‘i as an independent and sovereign state. However, his message was a positive step toward a formal declaration.

Along with these successes, Ha‘alilio and Richards also began to experience the realities of American bigotry and racial intolerance. When they were traveling on the steamer *The Globe* en route from New York to New Haven, the

American racial gaze fixed itself upon Haʻalilio. The Hawaiian envoys were preparing for lunch when an employee provided Richards with two different meal tickets: one for himself, and one for "his servant." Richards was quick to inform the employee that his traveling companion was not his servant, but no "less than one of the highest and most powerful lords of the Sandwich Kingdom, and the ambassador to the government of the United States." Rather haughtily, the surprised employee replied that he had little knowledge of diplomacy, "but that he knows how to distinguish white from black," and that Haʻalilio must therefore dine with the servants or "he would not have lunch at all."[73] Richards, having failed to change the perception of the employee, chose to eat with Haʻalilio and other people of color in the "servants" dining quarters.

Richards's loyalty to Haʻalilio is remarkable but not entirely surprising. Many Christians were opposed to American racial segregation and slavery. Schools such as Yale College, which ʻŌpūkahaʻia had attended some twenty years earlier, had begun to integrate the races—though on a very limited scale.[74] But Richards's actions demonstrate more than his particular Christian ethic and worldview. He had come to Hawaiʻi as an American missionary, but he returned to the United States as a Hawaiian national. Richards's challenge to the systematic racism of his own homeland represents a nationalistic shift in his identity. He may have gone to Hawaiʻi on a quest to mold ʻŌiwi into "noble savages," but he returned to America with a broader perspective in the service of the aliʻi. His in-depth knowledge of Hawaiian chiefly protocols informed his understanding of his position and duty as a Hawaiian national to Haʻalilio. Since he could not change American racist practices, perhaps the next best thing would be to follow Hawaiian protocol while in America. While William Richards the missionary could have politely explained to his ʻŌiwi companion that American customs dictated that the two would have to meet up after dinner, William Richards the Hawaiian national chose otherwise. Furthermore, had Kauikeaouli learned that Richards had passed Haʻalilio off as a servant, there would have been serious questions to answer back in Honolulu.

Short-lived British Rule

Ironically, during Haʻalilio's and Richards's travels to secure Hawaiʻi's independence, the Hawaiian Kingdom was seized as a protectorate by a zealous British consul named Richard Charlton. This unlawful act introduced a level of

urgency in the diplomatic undertaking of Haʻalilio and Richards. The very existence of the Hawaiian Kingdom now depended on their success. “Aloha no hoi makou e noho nei me ke kulou aku a me he kulou mai kekahi a me kekahi o ke ano o ko makou noho ana e noho nei na Alii o Beritania—We are living pitifully with our heads bowing to others in our present situation living under British rule,” a prominent member of the House of Nobles, Paulo Kanoa, wrote to Haʻalilio and Richards. “Ke kali nei makou ia olua i ka pono o ko olua hele ana, oia ko makou manao nui—We are anxiously awaiting the two of you and the success of your trip, that is our main concern.”[75] According to the Kumuhonua genealogy, aliʻi had controlled the political affairs of the islands since the earliest of times. Now, for the first time, ʻŌiwi were subjected to the reality and indignity of foreign rule.

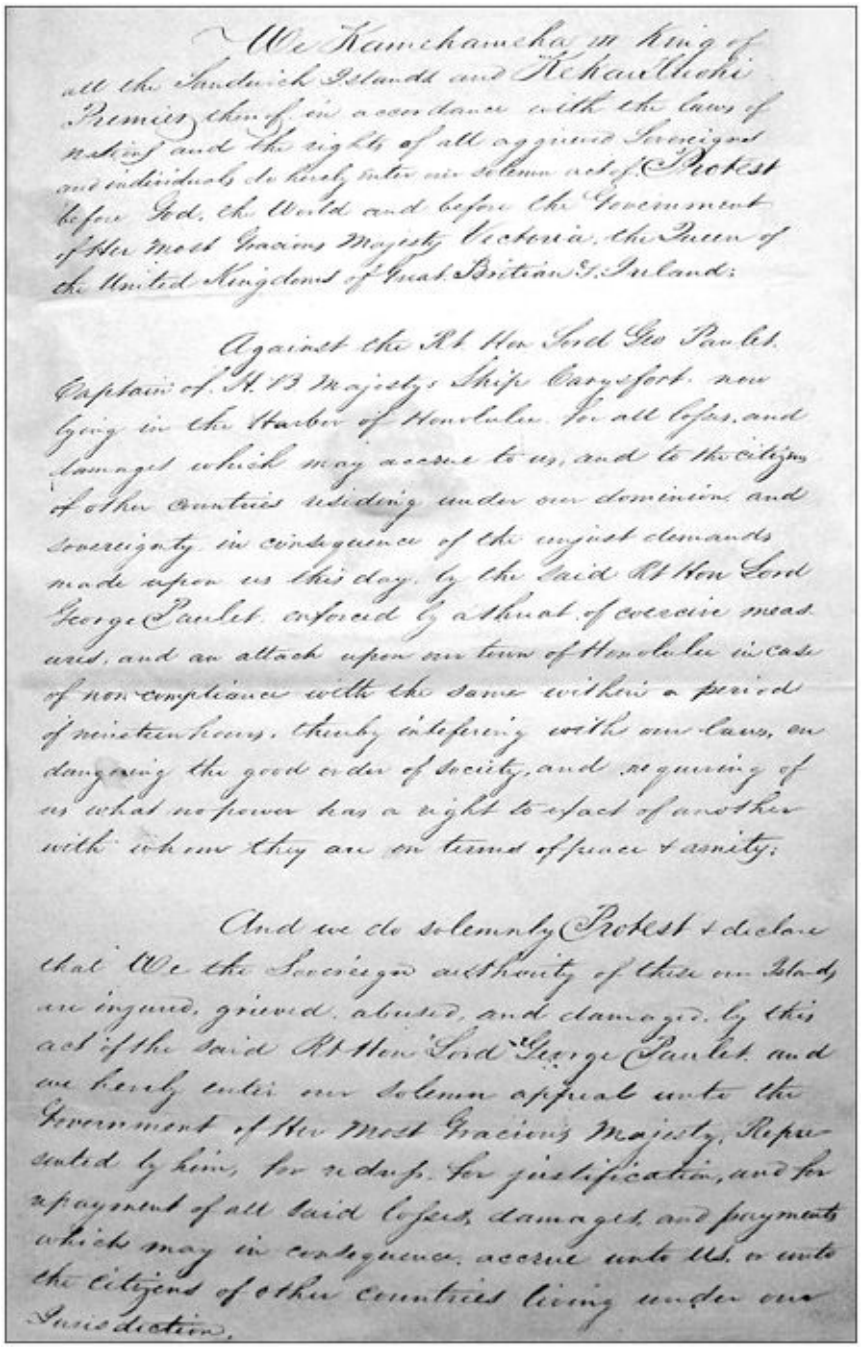
Hawaiʻi had been taken over by representatives of the British government under the command of Admiral Lord George Paulet, who had arrived on February 10, 1843.[76] Hawaiian aliʻi were quick to respond. Eight days after the arrival of Paulet, Mōʻī Kauikeaouli and Kuhina Nui Kekāuluohi composed a formal protest to Queen Victoria of Britain. Having an understanding of the international rules and diplomacy of the day, they dispatched both a Hawaiian and an English version of the protest to British officials. Figures 4.7 and 4.8 are pages from the English translation of the protest, which articulated the theories of political economy that the aliʻi had learned from Richards.

Using Euro-American notions of law as a tool for maintaining their nation’s independence from powerful countries that had been actively colonizing elsewhere, and by deploying the rhetoric of states and principles of jurisprudence in the protest, Kauikeaouli and Kekāuluohi appealed to the accepted rational characteristics of governance while also manipulating the rulers of other countries:

> 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 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 and Ireland.[77]

Lā Hoʻihoʻi Ea: Sovereignty Restored

Shortly following the receipt of this protest and a subsequent protest authored on March 10, which called for the British sovereign to “e hoihoi mai i ka ea o ka aina — return the sovereignty of the land,”[78] Queen Victoria ordered Admiral Richard Thomas to Hawai‘i, where Hawaiian sovereignty was formally restored on July 31, 1843.[79] Under the name of Lā Ho‘iho‘i Ea (Sovereignty Restoration Day), July 31 became a nationally celebrated holiday in the kingdom.



We Kamehameha III King of all the Sandwich Islands and Kekauluohi 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.M Majesty's Ship Carysfort now lying in the Harbor of Honolulu for all loses 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 loses, damages and payments which may in consequence accrue unto Us, or unto the citizens of other countries living under our Jurisdiction.

FIGURE 4.7
Protest of Kauikeaouli and Kekāuluohi against Britain's unauthorized takeover of the Hawaiian Kingdom. *Kauikeaouli and Kekāuluohi, Protests, United Kingdom National Archives, 1843*

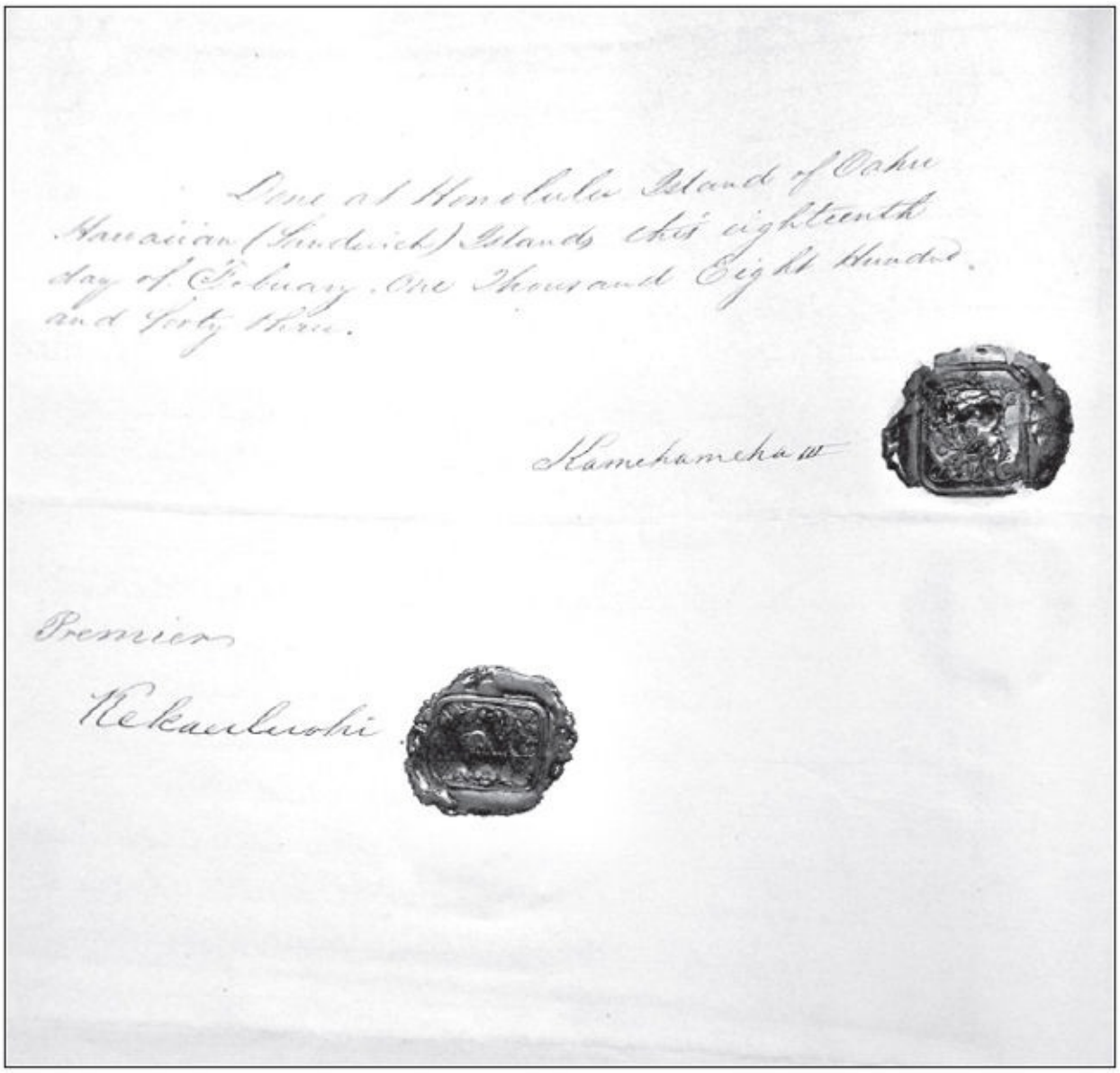


FIGURE 4.8
Signatures of Kauikeaouli and Kekāuluohi on the protest against Britain's unauthorized takeover of the Hawaiian Kingdom. *Kauikeaouli and Kekāuluohi, Protests, United Kingdom National Archives, 1843*

Haʻalilio and Richards contributed significantly toward freeing Hawaiʻi from British rule. They sent numerous letters to British officials, acting in conjunction with the Hawaiian representative who delivered this protest to British officials, the Honorable James F. B. Marshall.[80]

Lā Kūʻokoʻa: Hawaiian Independence

Even after the crisis of British occupation of the islands had ended, the quest for formal recognition of independence remained. As early as April 1843, the Foreign Office of Great Britain had drafted a letter acknowledging that "her Majesty's government are willing and have determined to recognize the independence of the Sandwich Islands,"[81] and on November 28, 1843, the Hawaiian Kingdom was recognized as a sovereign and independent state (fig. 4.9 and 4.10). This day would be known as Lā Kūʻokoʻa, or Hawaiian Independence Day, and celebrated as a national holiday in the Hawaiian Kingdom. At the time of recognition, Richards and Haʻalilio were in France, where they received word that the French and British governments would enter into a formal joint declaration, making their efforts a success.

In his personal journal on Sunday, December 10, 1843, Richards wrote:

> 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 [his wife] and for which I have been so long laboring is triumphantly finished—yes, done not for a few years merely, but for all time. In case the nation shows itself to be worthy of what it is Declared to be, an Independent State.[82]

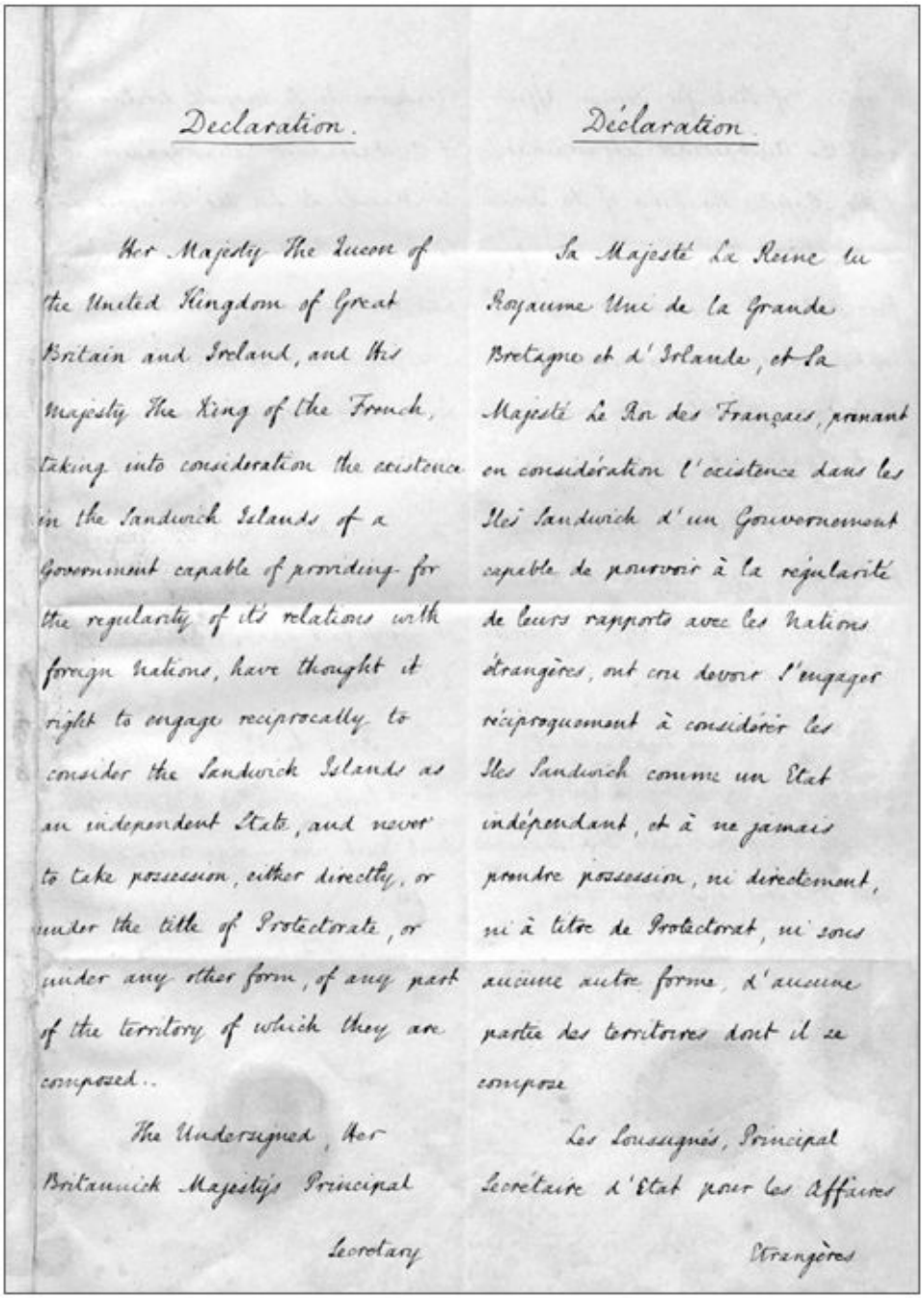
Richards's understanding of the significance of this act is demonstrated by his stating that Hawaiʻi would be independent "for all time." Recognition of Hawaiʻi's independence was not a matter of months or years; in theory, it meant that unless Hawaiʻi ceded itself to another country through treaty, its independence would be respected.

There would have been great anticipation for the Hawaiian envoys to return home and be welcomed by cheers and chants of aloha from their countrymen. But Timoteo Haʻalilio, who had endured bouts of sickness throughout the entire trip, would not survive. On December 3, 1844, he died on a ship while returning to Hawaiʻi. Haʻalilio, much like Liholiho and those of his retinue who passed away in a foreign land while on a diplomatic endeavor, is remembered as a martyr for Hawaiian nationalism. Richards wrote that a few days prior to his death, Haʻalilio turned to him to say,

> E ke Makua aole oe i ae mai i koʻu makemake e ike hou i koʻu aina hanau, a me koʻu mau makamaka malaila. Mai hoole mai oe i koʻu

> makemake e ike koʻu Aupuni, a me na makamaka oʻu e noho la malaila.[83]
>
> *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 country and the beloved friends who reside there.*

William Richards himself passed away three years later on November 7, 1847. His remains were placed in the cemetery of the Waiola Church, near the tombs of Kaʻahumanu, Keōpūolani, and Kaumualiʻi. The plaque on his tombstone describes his work in the mission, his service to Kauikeaouli while in government, and his role in the diplomatic efforts to secure Hawaiian independence. Richards arrived as a missionary but ultimately became an active part of the Hawaiian Kingdom government. Unlike John Young, he did not marry a Hawaiian wife, but he did experience a shift in identity. His journal entry quoted above shows that he had become a Hawaiian national and an advocate for Hawaiian independence. In this sense, he was a supporter of his country and mōʻī in a period of political tribulation—and triumph.



Declaration.

Her Majesty The Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and His Majesty The King of the French, taking into consideration the existence in the Sandwich Islands of a Government capable of providing for the regularity of its relations with foreign Nations, have thought it right to engage reciprocally to consider the Sandwich Islands as an independent State, and never to take possession, either directly, or under the title of Protectorate, or under any other form, of any part of the territory of which they are composed.

The Undersigned, Her Britannick Majesty's Principal Secretary

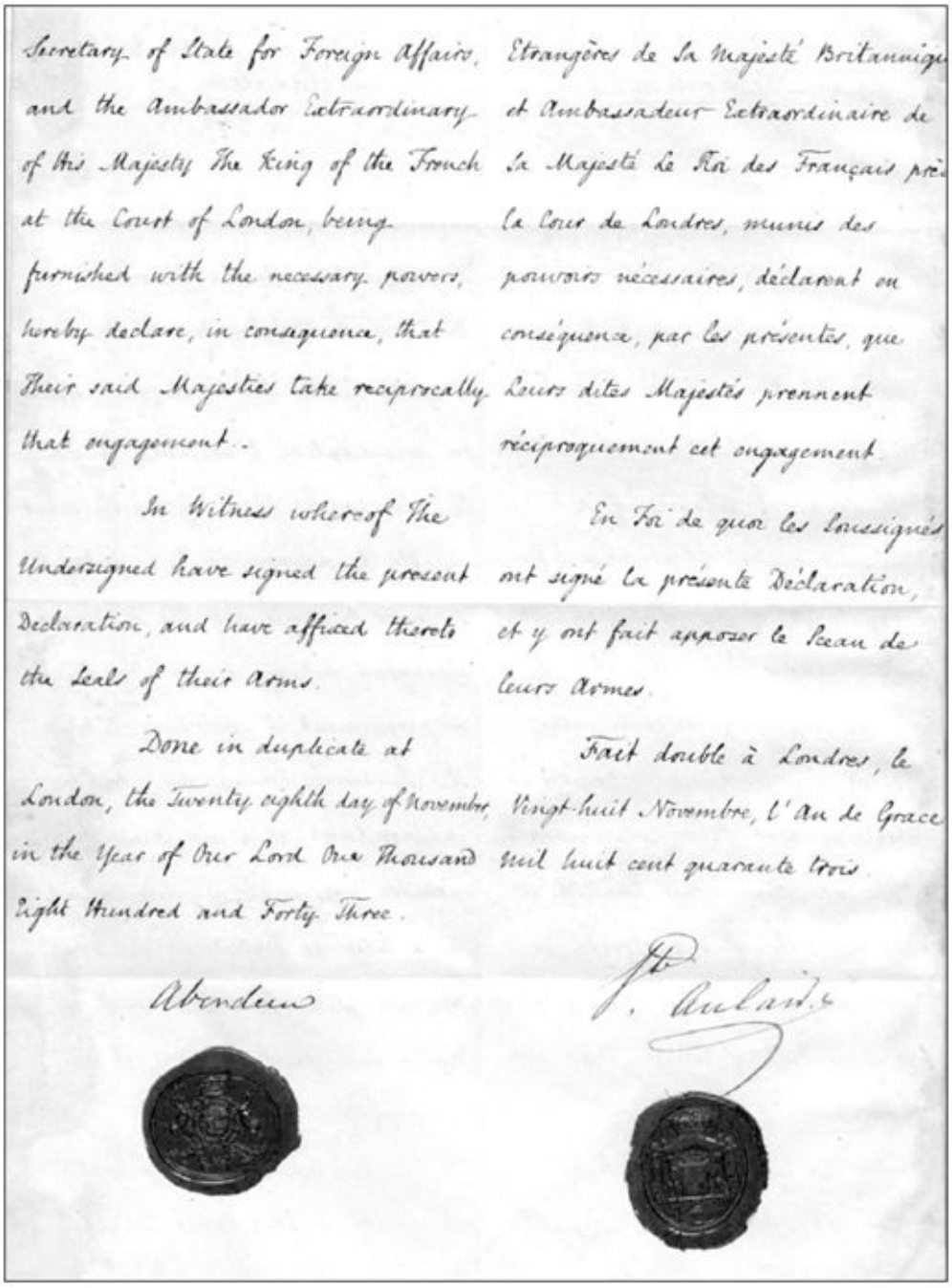
Déclaration.

Sa Majesté La Reine du Royaume Uni de la Grande Bretagne et d'Irlande, et Sa Majesté Le Roi des Français, prenant en considération l'existence dans les Iles Sandwich d'un Gouvernement capable de pourvoir à la régularité de leurs rapports avec les Nations étrangères, ont cru devoir s'engager réciproquement à considérer les Iles Sandwich comme un Etat indépendant, et à ne jamais prendre possession, ni directement, ni à titre de Protectorat, ni sous aucune autre forme, d'aucune partie des territoires dont il se compose.

Les Soussignés, Principal Secrétaire d'Etat pour les Affaires Etrangères

FIGURE 4.9

Joint declaration by Great Britain and France, recognizing the Hawaiian Kingdom as an independent state.
Foreign Office of Great Britain, United Kingdom National Archives, 1843



Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and the Ambassador Extraordinary of His Majesty The King of the French at the Court of London, being furnished with the necessary powers, hereby declare, in consequence, that Their said Majesties take reciprocally that engagement.

In Witness whereof The Undersigned have signed the present Declaration, and have affixed thereto the Seals of their Arms.

Done in duplicate at London, the Twenty eighth day of November, in the Year of Our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty Three.

Aberdeen

Etrangères de Sa Majesté Britannique et Ambassadeur Extraordinaire de Sa Majesté Le Roi des Français près la Cour de Londres, munis des pouvoirs nécessaires, déclarent en conséquence, par les présentes, que Leurs dites Majestés prennent réciproquement cet engagement.

En Foi de quoi les Soussignés ont signé la présente Déclaration, et y ont fait apposer le Sceau de Leurs Armes.

Fait double à Londres, le Vingt-huit Novembre, l'An de Grace mil huit cent quarante trois.

FIGURE 4.10
Signature page of a joint declaration by Great Britain and France, recognizing the Hawaiian Kingdom as an independent state. *Foreign Office of Great Britain, United Kingdom National Archives, 1843*

THE MĀHELE OF 1848: A MEANS TO SECURE ʻŌIWI RIGHTS

The Māhele of 1848 was a division of nearly all the lands in the Hawaiian

Kingdom. There had been private ownership of land prior to the Māhele, but only in a few select cases where an individual had acquired title through deed, oral or written, granted by either the mōʻī or kuhina nui. The Constitution of 1840 affirmed that only these two offices could convey allodial title.

The Land Commission was established on December 10, 1845, to investigate the claims of those who had acquired title prior to 1845.[84] These claims were either verified or rejected, and the government then placed them on—or took them from—the list of the lands that would be divided in the Māhele of 1848. The Māhele was an instrument that began to settle the constitutionally granted vested rights of three groups in the dominium[85] of the kingdom—mōʻī, aliʻi, and the makaʻāinana. To privatize the land system, these rights needed to be settled because the Declaration of Rights and Laws of 1839 and the Constitution of 1840 both codified the concept that the lands of the kingdom were jointly owned by these three groups—though with differing degrees of interest. In reference to the principles of the Māhele, Lyons noted, "The theory which 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."[86]

In a meeting held on December 18, 1847, the Privy Council[87] discussed the purpose of the Māhele and the process by which the divisions would occur. The council passed a resolution stating that "it has become necessary to the prosperity of our kingdom and the proper physical, mental and moral improvement of our People that the undivided rights, at present existing in the lands of our kingdom, shall be separated and distinctly defined."[88] The Māhele—which established distinct land bases for the mōʻī, the government, and the chiefs and ultimately made large-scale private ownership possible—was nevertheless still subject to the rights of makaʻāinana to make their claims for land. One way to conceptualize this principle is to imagine all the Hawaiian ʻāina as a cake with three distinct layers. The Māhele was the instrument to remove the layers of the king and chiefs, leaving the makaʻāinana layer in perpetuity.

Following the Māhele of 1848, the only people whose interest in the lands remained undefined were these native tenants. This would be addressed in the Kuleana Act of 1850. Those of the hoaʻāina class who did not divide out their interests continued to possess, in perpetuity, an undivided right in the dominium until they divided their interest and acquired a freehold title, whenever they desired a division.[89] Davianna McGregor writes, "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 ahupua‘a, and each island.”[90]

Recent scholarship views the Māhele as the “single most critical dismemberment of Hawaiian society.”[91] Many scholars describe it as a means of dispossession for most native subjects of the Hawaiian Kingdom.[92] The statistic commonly cited as evidence for this dispossession is that maka‘āinana were awarded only 28,000 acres as a result of the Māhele. This statistic is for kuleana awards only; it does not include government grants acquired as a result of section 4 of the Kuleana Act of 1850, nor does it take into account that native tenants continued to possess the right to divide out their interest in the dominium.[93]

In *Aloha Betrayed*, Noenoe Silva suggests that previously accepted understandings of the Māhele may need to be reanalyzed: “Keanu Sai . . . 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.”[94] *The Hawaiian Annual* of *1896* reports that 667,317.41 acres of government grants had been awarded by 1893. Looking through the index reveals the predictable names of large landowners who used the lands for sugar. But the names of many native subjects also appear, who may have purchased lands at reduced rates under the Kuleana Act.[95]

Though it might be impossible to have a final, authoritative accounting for the exact acreage of Government Lands acquired by maka‘āinana, Donovan Preza has offered valuable statistics and has approximated that 167,290 acres were purchased by maka‘āinana between the years of 1850 and 1893.[96] Coupled with the 28,658 acres of ‘āina also acquired as a result of the Kuleana Act, we now know that maka‘āinana acquired as much as 195,948 acres of ‘āina as a result of the Māhele process. These numbers, along with the concept that the vested rights of ‘Ōiwi in ‘āina are meant to exist in perpetuity, are grounds to rethink the results of the Māhele. In fact, the Māhele process may have secured ‘Ōiwi rights as well as title to lands rather than being a means of severing traditional relationships to ‘āina.

Comparing Māhele and Kālai‘āina

In the most basic sense, the Māhele of 1848 created three separate land bases. The first was for 252 ali‘i and konohiki,[97] the second was for the government,

and the third was for the mōʻī. All lands given to aliʻi since the time of Kamehameha I, but not in fee, reverted to Kauikeaouli, who then redistributed the lands in accordance with his own will—usually determined by the recipient's relationship to Kamehameha I.

Figure 4.11 is an image of pages 115–16 of the Buke Mahele. The left column, "Ko Kamehameha III," lists the lands returned to the mōʻī; the right column lists the lands given back to the particular chief by Kauikeaouli. Similar to a kālaiʻāina, then, in the Māhele of 1848, lands reverted to the mōʻī and were then redistributed. These lands also were awarded solely by place name, as they were in a traditional kālaiʻāina. In the Buke Mahele, lands were named in descending order, from island, to kalana, to ahupuaʻa, to ʻili. Because the Buke Mahele referred to places and divisions, traditional knowledge of names and boundaries was preserved, because these became the source of title. One highly significant difference between the Māhele of 1848 and a traditional kālaiʻāina, however, was that the Māhele would be the last kālaiʻāina, because it granted aliʻi fee-title to their lands.

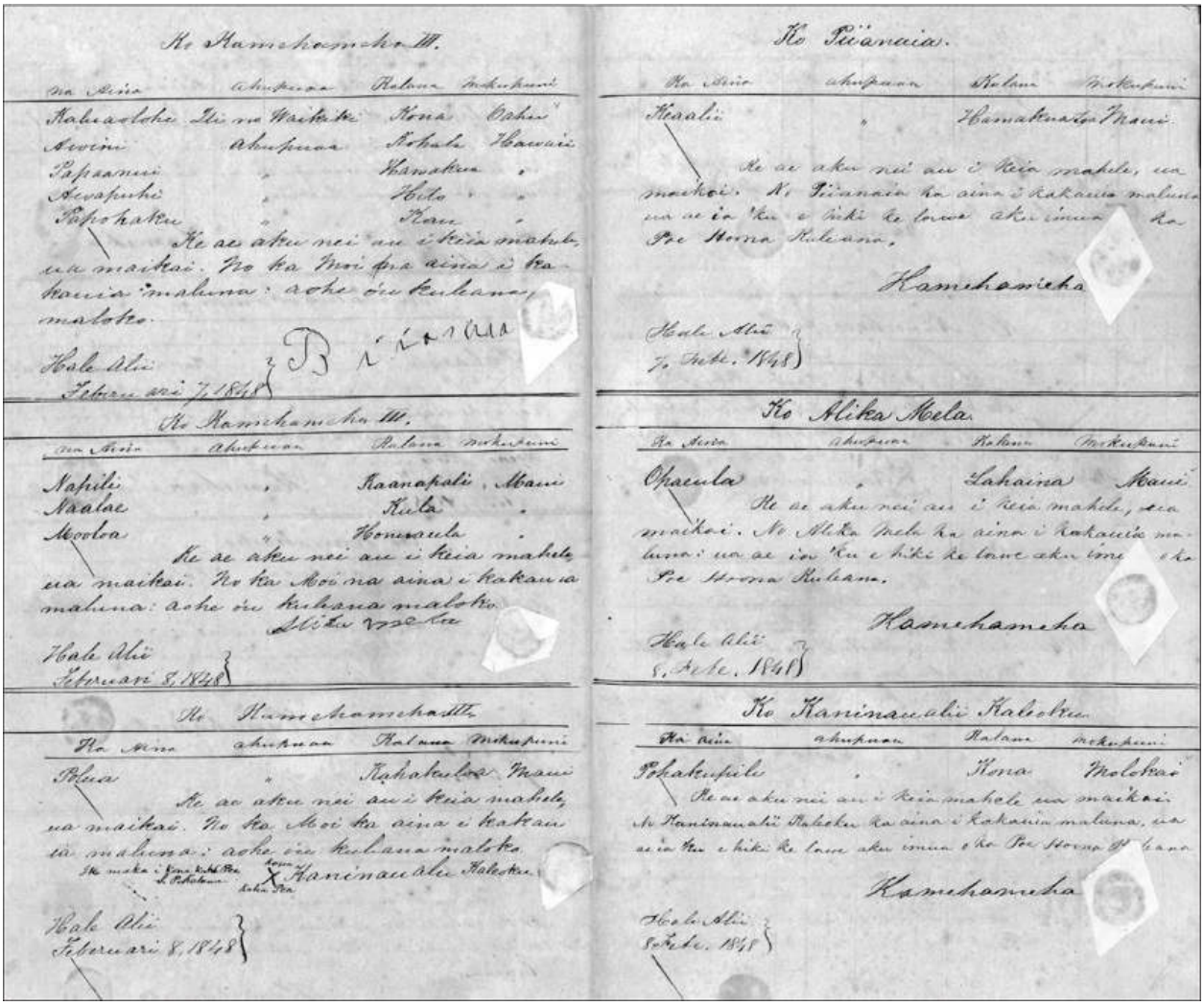
The Māhele was therefore a hybrid initiative—similar to a kālaiʻāina in its participants and in the way the lands were distributed, but different because the title provided to the recipient was subject to the rights of native tenants. Perhaps the biggest difference is that the Māhele was to be the final kālaiʻāina. ʻĀina conveyed through the Māhele allowed a chief to take the award to the Land Commission, where the title would be validated. These awards enabled chiefs to gain allodial or fee-simple title upon payment of a commutation, which extinguished the government's interest in those lands. Once the government's interest in ʻāina was removed, chiefs could then receive a Royal Patent that confirmed fee-simple ownership of the ʻāina, which continued to be "subject to the rights of native tenants." This process meant that even fee-simple allodial title to ʻāina was a hybrid kind of private property, one that continued to have a condition on title that was to provide for makaʻāinana, as was consistent with early Hawaiian custom.

Lands also were given to the government in this division (fig. 4.12). 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 lands that Kauikeaouli retained for himself and his heirs. The right side of the image, titled "Ko Ke Aupuni," represents the lands retained for the government.

On page 224 of the Buke Mahele, Kauikeaouli places his signature and lists a reason for his initiating of the Māhele of 1848. In this section he lists the lands

reserved for himself and his heirs in perpetuity. These lands later become referred to as the Crown Lands.

> 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 koʻu makemake maoli no, a ua hoolilo a me ka hookaawale mau loa aku i na ʼlii a me na kanaka, ka nui o koʻu aina Alii, e pono ai a e pomaikai ai ke Aupuni Hawaii, no laila ma keia palapala, ke hookoe nei au noʻu iho a no koʻu poʻe hooilina a me koʻu poʻe hope a mau loa aku na aina oʻu 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 noʻu a no koʻu poe hooilina a me na hope oʻu a mau loa, he waiwai ponoi noʻu aole mea e ae.
>
> Kauia koʻu inoa a me kuu Sila ma ka Hale Alii i keia la 8 o Maraki 1848.
>
> Kamehameha[98]
>
> *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 blessings 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*



Ke Kamehameha III.

Na Aina	Ahupuaa	Kalana	Mokupuni
Kahuaolelo	Ili na Waiakea	Hilo	Hawaii
Aeviini	Ahupuaa	Kohala	Hawaii
Papaamui	"	Hamakua	"
Aewapuhi	"	Hilo	"
Popohakeu	"	Kau	"

Ke ae aku nei au i Keia mahele, na maikai. No ka Moi pa aina i kakauia maluna: aole oia kuleana, malalo.

Hale Alii
Februari 7, 1848

Ke Kamehameha III.

Na Aina	Ahupuaa	Kalana	Mokupuni
Napili	"	Kaanapali	Maui
Naalae	"	Kula	"
Moolua	"	Honuaula	"

Ke ae aku nei au i Keia mahele, na maikai. No ka Moi no aina i kakauia maluna: aole oia kuleana malalo.

Hale Alii
Februari 8, 1848

Ke Kamehameha III.

Ka Aina	ahupuaa	Kalana	Mokupuni
Pulua	"	Kahakuloa	Maui

Ke ae aku nei au i Keia mahele, na maikai. No ka Moi no aina i kakauia maluna: aole oia kuleana malalo.

Ke make o Kanaina Wahine Pio i Pohakuloa — Koma X Kanimauahi Aliiwahine Pio

Hale Alii
Februari 8, 1848

Ke Kauikeaouli.

Ka Aina	ahupuaa	Kalana	Mokupuni
Kaalii	"	Hamakuapoko	Maui

Ke ae aku nei au i Keia mahele, na maikai. No Kauikeaouli ka aina i kakauia maluna, na ia oia e hiki ke lawe aku imua o ka Pae Aina Kuleana.

Kamehameha

Hale Alii
7. Feb. 1848

Ke Alika Mela.

Ka Aina	Ahupuaa	Kalana	Mokupuni
Opaeula	"	Lahaina	Maui

Ke ae aku nei au i Keia mahele, na maikai. No Alika Mela ka aina i kakauia maluna: na ia oia e hiki ke lawe aku imua o ka Pae Aina Kuleana.

Kamehameha

Hale Alii
8. Feb. 1848

Ke Kaninauahi Kaiokiu.

Ka Aina	ahupuaa	Kalana	Mokupuni
Pohakupili	"	Kona	Molokai

Ke ae aku nei au i Keia mahele na maikai. No Kaninauahi Kaiokiu ka aina i kakauia maluna, na ia oia e hiki ke lawe aku imua o ka Pae Aina Kuleana.

Kamehameha

Hale Alii
8 Feb. 1848

FIGURE 4.11

Excerpt from the Buke Mahele. The left-hand page (115) lists lands returned to Kauikeaouli; the right-hand page (116) indicates lands that Kauikeaouli gave to other ali'i. *Kauikeaouli et al., Buke Kakau Paa no ka Mahele Aina [Buke Mahele], 1848*

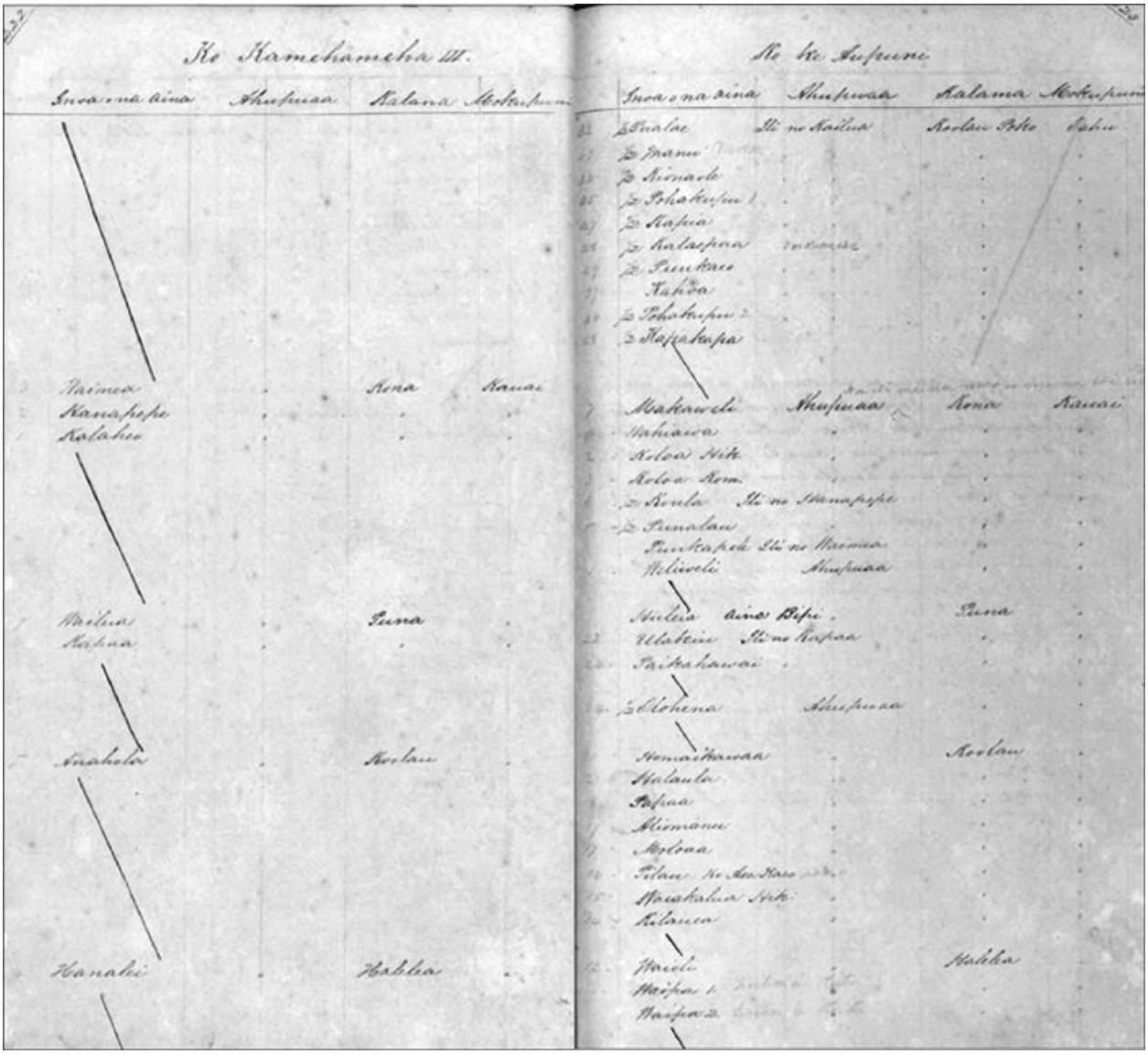


FIGURE 4.12
Excerpt from the Buke Mahele. The left-hand page (222) shows lands retained for Kauikeaouli and his heirs; the right-hand page (223) shows lands that Kauikeaouli gave to the government. *Kauikeaouli et al., Buke Kakau Paa no ka Mahele Aina [Buke Mahele], 1848*

Following the Māhele of 1848, there were several discussions in the Privy Council regarding the issue of hoa‘āina rights to land. On December 21, 1849, a resolution was passed in the Privy Council “that fee Simple titles, free of commutation be and are hereby granted to all native tenants, who occupy and improve any portions of any government land, for the land they so occupy and improve and whose claims to said lands shall be recognized as genuine by the Land Commission.” This resolution also set aside portions of Government Lands on each island to sell to natives who were not “furnished with sufficient lands,”

lots between one and fifty acres at a minimum price of 50 cents per acre.[99]

Through the Māhele, Kauikeaouli and the chiefs were seeking to refine the ancient system of land tenure. Throughout this transition, the Privy Council frequently discussed and debated the methods and the land rights of each of the classes. Ancient relationships, such as those of the hakuone and kōʻele, where makaʻāinana provided occasional labor duties to chiefs, were being transformed.

Aliʻi were aware of some potential consequences of this. On one occasion, when a member of the Privy Council, Richard Armstrong, submitted an application to purchase a parcel of land on Oʻahu "with the old feudal rights of labour from the native," his request was denied, "because he wants to buy the labor of the people."[100] The chiefs frequently discussed their own ability to acquire allodial title to the lands they were awarded in the Māhele, because the king and other members of the Privy Council wanted to be sure the land rights of makaʻāinana were respected. On one occasion the chief Charles Kanaʻina had requested to "postpone all this resolution respecting the common people and give us the chiefs an Allodial title to our lands; afterwards we will settle the claims of the people."[101]

Eventually the members of the Privy Council reached common ground and demonstrated their faith in the institutions they had been so actively creating since the early 1840s. This occurred when it was agreed that a third of the lands awarded in the Māhele to the chiefs would be taken for the government, thus removing the one-third government interest for commutation and allowing the minister of the interior to grant fee-simple titles to the konohiki, without specifying the lands that belong to the makaʻāinana, *"provided that it be done according to law"*[102] (emphasis added). Aliʻi had recognized the authority of the laws they had produced and legitimized. By yielding their individual apprehensions to the authority of the laws that they themselves enacted, these aliʻi were confirming their confidence in the function of law as a foundation for society.

Kuleana Act of 1850: Derivative of Hawaiian Custom

Kauikeaouli signed the Kuleana Act into law on August 6, 1850. This law allowed makaʻāinana the opportunity to acquire fee-simple title to their lands free of commutation. Section 4 of this act allowed the makaʻāinana to purchase Government Lands at reduced rates, and section 7 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.[103]

These provisions of the Kuleana Act derive from Hawaiian custom and cannot be said to have their origin in Anglo-American law. Because the aliʻi codified these ancient resource use rights into law, remnants of them survived under US occupation. Some "access rights" are still regarded as valid even under Hawaiʻi state law,[104] making private property law in Hawaiʻi different from that of other American states.

Hybrid Laws

Both the Kuleana Act and the Māhele can be seen as hybrid laws created through the authority of Kauikeaouli and the aliʻi of his time. In response to the depopulation of ʻŌiwi and the increasing pull of urban areas as a place to live and work, these laws attempted to get makaʻāinana back on the land by granting them title to lands, so that cultivation might again thrive. Kamehameha IV commented on these ideas in a speech given on January 5, 1856.

> 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."[105]

While attempting to empower the makaʻāinana to return to being cultivators of the land, the appropriation of private property by the aliʻi also allowed for large government tax revenues and safeguarded national interests, since private property was respected by the European and American nations. And because lands were awarded according to their ancient name and division, the Māhele and the Kuleana Act also preserved many place names and ancient knowledge about place.

The Māhele and the Kuleana Act therefore perpetuated and codified many traditional Hawaiian relationships between people and property. The Māhele process can be viewed as a process that protected Hawaiian interests in three main ways: (1) by awarding lands "subject to the rights of native tenants," (2) by codifying ancient place names and divisions, and (3) by institutionalizing traditional ahupuaʻa resource rights into law through the sections of the Kuleana Act. One could argue—perhaps from the perspective of the foreigner and those unloyal to the crown—that the problem with the Māhele was that it went too far in protecting Hawaiian national interest and that it did not go far enough in allowing lands to be completely removed from Hawaiian control. From the author's perspective, however, it can be said that the Māhele allowed Hawaiian control of lands to remain in place for the forty-five years leading up to 1893. The extreme shift in laws and land ownership implemented by the provisional government is discussed in Chapter Five.

SELECTIVE APPROPRIATION

This chapter has focused on the establishment of the Hawaiian Kingdom as a nation-state. I have offered examples of aliʻi agency through the appropriation of law, religion, and politics. I have argued that aliʻi were selectively deploying the concepts, tools, and protocols of Euro-America for their own ends. I have demonstrated how law and diplomacy were tools of the aliʻi for regulating and manipulating their own subjects and foreigners, while extending their international influence.

The early examples of laws proclaimed in the Hawaiian Kingdom illustrate the enticing aspects of law, which enabled aliʻi to infuse their authority over foreigners. Later reforms such as the laws of 1839, the Constitution of 1840, and the Māhele of 1848, are examples of aliʻi using law to modify such traditions as the mōʻī, palena, kālaiʻāina, and the ʻaha aliʻi.

In short, this chapter demonstrates that aliʻi were negotiating and appropriating law and other tools of governance for their own means. The aliʻi were active agents in navigating the future course for their people in an increasingly complicated and politically hazardous world. The kingdom changed not because of imposed colonial prowess, but through the selective appropriation of aspects of European governance, politics, and law.

I accept that certain missionaries had differing amounts of influence on the

aliʻi at various points in Hawaiʻi's history. In my categorization, however, the aliʻi were always the more powerful agents within their own dominions. Kauikeaouli, Liholiho, Kamehameha I, and those ancient aliʻi who composed the ʻaha aliʻi used diplomacy to create alliances with other rulers to maintain their own position and further the interests of their people.

Kauikeaouli was born a nīʻaupiʻo chief of the highest rank, with a kapu that few had ever possessed. As a child he witnessed the fall of the ʻai kapu and had firsthand knowledge of the ancient system of aliʻi through his kahu, Boki and Liliha. Kauikeaouli's reign began with the death of his elder brother in London. In the early years of his rule, he was counseled by the likes of Boki, Kekūanāoʻa, and James Young Kānehoa, who were survivors of that early diplomatic mission. Later he would send his own diplomats, Haʻalilio and Richards, on an extended journey abroad to secure the recognition of the Hawaiian Kingdom as an independent state. He enacted the first Constitution, formalized the land system, and achieved official recognition of the independence of Hawaiʻi. When other nations in the Pacific were being claimed by the maritime powers of the day, Kauikeaouli manipulated those powers against each other to assure his nation's independence. In this respect, his rule can be categorized as a successful and prolonged exercise of aliʻi agency and ʻŌiwi leadership.

5 ALIʻI EDUCATION AND GOVERNANCE

> 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.[1]
>
> ALEXANDER LIHOLIHO

The quote above—written to Kauikeaouli by Prince Alexander Liholiho when he was just nine years old—suggests a high level of inquisitiveness and maturity for someone so young. Like his grandfather, Kamehameha I, the young aliʻi drew his mana from his accomplished genealogy; however, unlike his grandfather, Alexander Liholiho grew up during the emergence of the Hawaiian Kingdom as a nation-state.

As part of the process of modifying traditions, Alexander Liholiho and the other keiki aliʻi (aliʻi children) were educated at a private school designed specifically for children of the chiefs. The keiki aliʻi were taught both Hawaiian and Euro-American protocols and were then internationalized through various trips to European and Asian countries. When these highly educated children later became monarchs, they governed in ways that directly challenged their former missionary teachers, not only by emphasizing indigenous traditions, but also by seeking to expand international alliances with countries other than the United States.

This chapter examines critical moments in the reigns of Alexander Liholiho (Kamehameha IV), Lota Kapuāiwa (Kamehameha V), and David Kalākaua (Hawaiʻi's last king), beginning with their early education at the Kula Keiki Aliʻi (Chiefs' Children's School). Established in 1840 to educate such children exclusively, and funded through a legislative act of the kingdom, the school was neither traditionally Hawaiian nor controlled by the American mission. American missionaries criticized the school because of its disregard of Protestant

ethics relating to the equality of man. Some Hawaiians criticized the Kula Keiki Aliʻi for breaking with traditional schooling practices. By providing the keiki aliʻi segregated access to a formal Euro-American education, the Kula Keiki Aliʻi was a hybrid institution that functioned as a centerpiece of the Hawaiian Kingdom. But it was not the only means by which these keiki aliʻi came to understand the world.

As teenagers, Alexander Liholiho and Lota Kapuāiwa traveled to the United States, England, and France from 1849 to 1850. During these expeditions the young aliʻi met with diplomats and government officials and gathered firsthand knowledge of Euro-American society and governance. King Kalākaua is well known for his voyage around the world in 1881. Of particular interest in this analysis are Kalākaua's visits to Japan and Siam, where he was entertained by the emperors of these emerging, independent states that were neither European nor colonized.

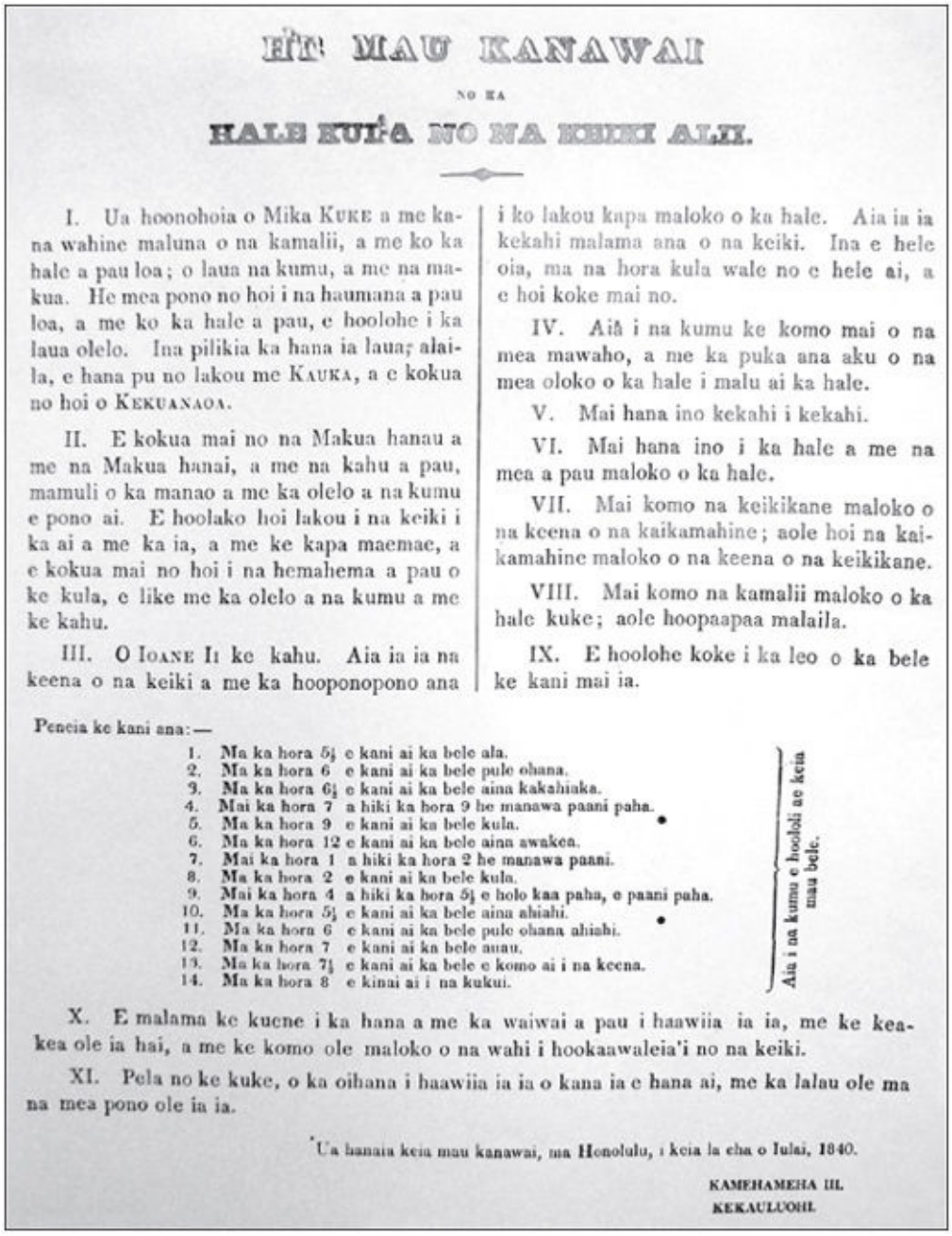
Alexander Liholiho, Lota Kapuāiwa, and Kalākaua all returned from their diplomatic travels with new perspectives about the practices and possibilities of nationalism. They then implemented these ideas in ways that changed and reinforced their rule over Hawaiʻi. This chapter affirms that aliʻi went to foreign lands for their own purposes and on their own terms, returning to Hawaiʻi resolute in their commitment to preserve Hawaiian independence and cultural integrity.

KULA KEIKI ALIʻI—EDUCATION OF THE CHIEFS' CHILDREN

By the late 1830s, Kauikeaouli had decided that the younger generation needed to supplement their traditional education from kahu (guardians) with formal learning from the Euro-American tradition. The decision to create a school for the keiki aliʻi was put into motion on June 1, 1839, when Kauikeaouli and other prominent aliʻi made written requests that Mr. and Mrs. Amos Starr Cooke become teachers for the children of the aliʻi.[2] Following these formal requests, on July 4, 1840, Kauikeaouli and Kekāuluohi passed a law forming the Kula Keiki Aliʻi (fig. 5.1).[3] The purpose of the school was to educate the aliʻi children in arithmetic, geography, European languages, and Euro-American protocols, and to prepare them to be rulers in an expanding world.

Not all aliʻi were enthusiastic about the school. In fact, many kahu of the keiki aliʻi rejected the proposition that the children should be placed in the care

of the Cookes. One of the strongest opponents was Alexander Liholiho's principal kahu, Kalauwalu, who took him to Maui so he could not attend the school.[4] Following the death of Kalauwalu, however, Liholiho—accompanied by thirty kahu—was brought to the school under the orders of Kauikeaouli.[5]



HE MAU KANAWAI

NO KA

HALE KUAʻA 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. Aiâ 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.

Penei 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 hoololi 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 eha o Iulai, 1840.

KAMEHAMEHA III.
KEKAULUOHI.

FIGURE 5.1
Hawaiian laws relating to the Chiefs' Children's School in Honolulu. *Kauikeaouli and Kekāuluohi, "He mau kanawai," Hawai'i State Archives, 1840*

To prepare these high-ranking aliʻi children to rule on a global scale, the school was to instruct them in Euro-American knowledge systems and protocol. But the keiki aliʻi were also introduced to missionary discipline. Amos Cooke wrote that the "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."[6] The school was therefore a contested space, as the Cookes, the keiki, and their kahu struggled considerably.

On at least one occasion, however, the Cookes found support for their attempts to "discipline" the keiki aliʻi. Governor Kekūanāoʻa was the father of several keiki at the school, including Alexander Liholiho, Moses Kekūāiwa, Lota Kapuāiwa, and Victoria Kamāmalu. He was sympathetic to the school's goals and strongly supported his children's attendance. As one of the companions of Liholiho on his voyage to London, Kekūanāoʻa had firsthand knowledge of the foreign world, which probably accounts for his support of the goals of the school and the Cookes. At one point he wrote to Amos 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."[7]

A School Divided

Many members of the American mission community, on the other hand, disapproved of the Cookes for agreeing to the terms demanded by the aliʻi—namely, that the school would be only for children of royal lineage. An American missionary, Edward Bailey, who ran a school on Maui, wrote the following to Amos Cooke:

> 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![8]

The new school was therefore a hybrid structure that challenged certain missionary ethics while disrupting ʻŌiwi relationships between kahu and keiki. The chiefs were willing to subject their keiki to some kinds of discipline in return for gaining valuable knowledge about foreign ways. The Cookes were willing to accept, for a fee, the established authority of the aliʻi, including the mana of their genealogies, which gave their children the right to rule and be educated apart from the hoaʻāina, or commoners. Even the school's landscape emphasized its hybrid nature. A Western-style schoolhouse with a total of seventeen rooms—including a dining room, kitchen, large schoolroom, and living quarters—sat next to a hale pili, or Hawaiian grass house, which the children and their kahu used as a comfortable place of refuge in the schoolyard.[9]

The school succeeded in providing the aliʻi children with a formal Euro-American education. They learned history, arithmetic, geography (a few of them even learned to survey), English grammar, religion, geometry, algebra, moral science, ancient Greek and Roman history, bookkeeping, trigonometry, and natural philosophy. Keiki aliʻi of both sexes learned virtually the same subjects.[10] On April 8, 1843, Cooke wrote the following:

> 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.[11]

Pioneers of Global Education

One goal of the school was to teach the keiki aliʻi to conduct themselves comfortably with the rulers and dignitaries of other countries. The Cookes taught the aliʻi children to be multilingual to prepare them for their future positions of power. As a result, the students primarily studied in English and learned other foreign languages as well. In an 1843 letter to Kauikeaouli, Alexander Liholiho wrote, "We want to have the time come when we shall have the English Language perfectly, then we shall study other languages."[12]

This points to a key insight about the school's mission: it was not to *Americanize* the students, but rather to *internationalize* them. The foresight of Kauikeaouli and the other aliʻi to have these aliʻi children educated about the protocols, knowledge systems, and languages of other countries demonstrates a desire to engage with the outside world as a part of moving the country forward. The chiefs understood that for the Hawaiian nation to survive, the future rulers needed to be prepared to rule in a new world. That the aliʻi managed to have two members of the American mission abandon their ecclesiastical duties to educate an elite class—in opposition to missionary inclinations—attests to the Cooke's selective acceptance of Hawaiian structures of governance and reflects a high degree of chiefly authority and agency on the part of Hawaiian aliʻi.

Agency in the Classroom

The role of native agency often is underestimated in historical research. For example, in Linda Menton's thorough investigation of the Chiefs' Children's School, she states that the Cookes "set about creating a physical and psychological environment designed to transform their royal charges into Christian and 'civilized' aliʻi."[13] This matches with the accounts found in the Cookes's journals. But when Menton also notes that the 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,"[14] she misses an opportunity to describe how these keiki aliʻi selectively appropriated what was offered to them at the school. Just as Liholiho and many other aliʻi had done during the mission's early years, these keiki aliʻi willingly accepted the secular knowledge the Cookes offered but had reservations about the spiritual guidance. When Menton assesses the accomplishments and failures of the school, she concludes that the Cookes had successfully, in accordance with Euro-American standards, turned the keiki into articulate, educated youths who were knowledgeable of foreign protocol. But, "by the missionaries' own standards, they had failed. Even though their students were nominal Christians, at least under the duress 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."[15]

Menton does not offer any conclusions about the choices the aliʻi children might have been making during their time at the Kula Keiki Aliʻi. Like

Liholiho's use of the palapala (as discussed in Chapter 3), these children eagerly internalized the knowledge that would better prepare them for rule in an expanding world. From this perspective, one might conclude that the "failure" of the school is also a success, in that the keiki aliʻi resisted the teachings of the Cookes they deemed of less significance.[16]

A Royal Gathering

Figure 5.2 provides a roster of the keiki aliʻi who attended the school in 1844. Among the attendees were five future mōʻī: Alexander Liholiho, Lota Kapuāiwa, William Lunalilo, David Kalākaua, and Liliʻuokalani. The days would begin with the aliʻi being catered to by their kahu. Lota Kapuāiwa wrote the following in a journal entry dated June 3, 1844:

> 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.[17]

In fact, the keiki aliʻi were frequently visited at the school by the mōʻī, the queen, the kuhina nui, members of government, and their kahu. The societal significance of the keiki aliʻi also was acknowledged through frequent visits by diplomats and the numerous salutes and salutations by foreign officials and naval vessels. According to Menton, the Cookes were never "able to isolate [the keiki aliʻi] from the influence of the larger community and from the influence of the indigenous culture," because "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."[18]

The Kula Keiki Aliʻi was not often fondly remembered by its pupils. The kingdom's last queen, Liliʻuokalani, wrote, "When I recall the instances in which we were sent hungry to bed, it seems to me that [the Cookes] failed to remember that we were growing children."[19]

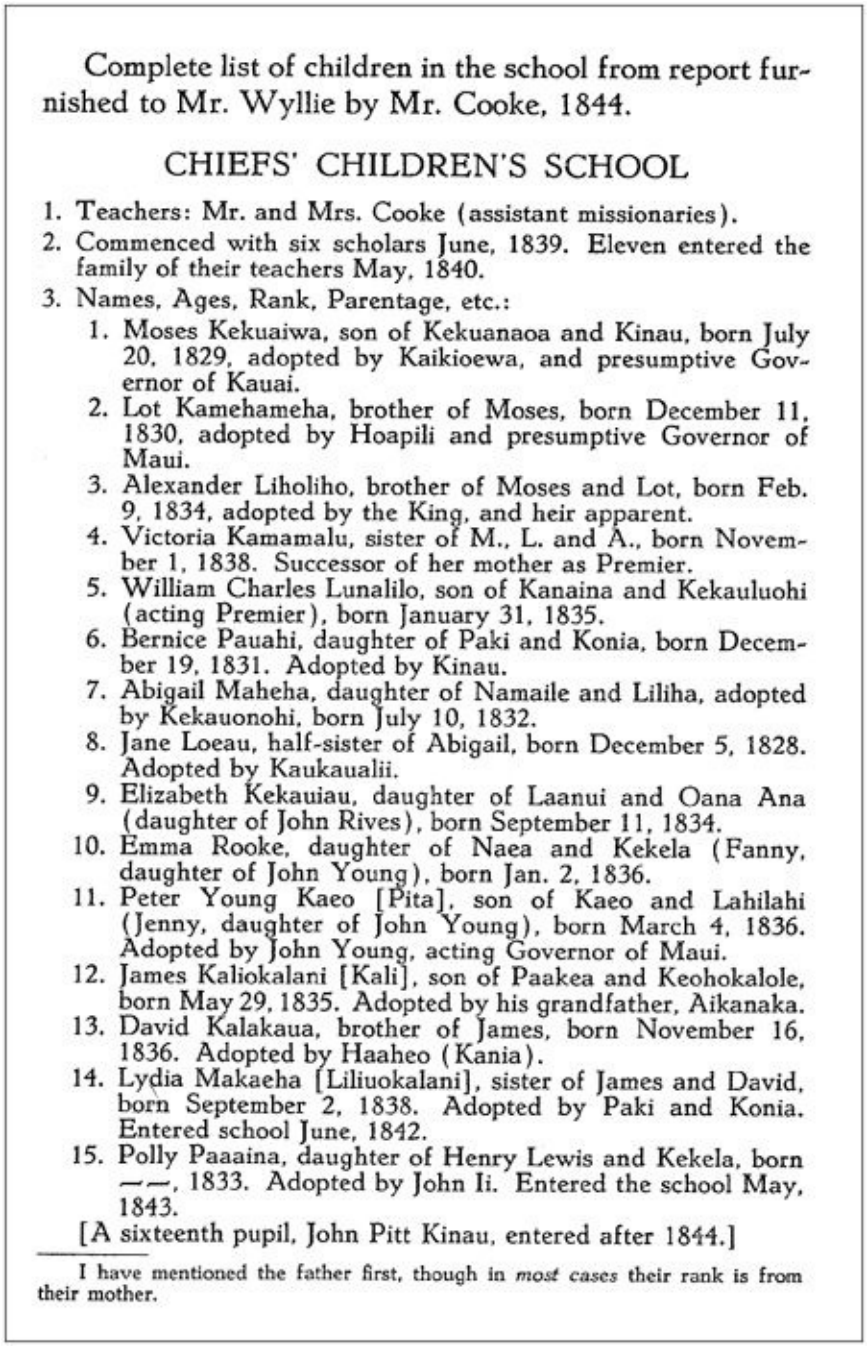
The Chiefs' Children's School was a space of betweenness that provided the keiki aliʻi with early access to Euro-American knowledge systems. Renamed the Royal School in 1846, the school began to decline in significance and opened its doors to commoners and haole by 1851. The building, which was eventually

moved to Queen Emma Street near the base of Puʻuowaina in Honolulu and now is run according to US educational standards committed to "leave no child behind," stands as a strange reminder of Hawaiʻi's past.

THE PRINCES IN BRITAIN, FRANCE AND THE UNITED STATES

Alexander Liholiho and Lota Kapuāiwa were the grandsons of Kamehameha I. Their mother was Kīnaʻu, the high-ranking daughter of Kamehameha I, who held the office of kuhina nui during the reigns of Liholiho and the early part of Kauikeaouli. Their father was the esteemed Mataio Kekūanāoʻa, the governor of Oʻahu and one of Liholiho's retinue in London. Born on February 9, 1834, Alexander Liholiho became the hānai (a Hawaiian cultural practice somewhat like adoption) son of Kauikeaouli and heir to the throne of the Hawaiian Kingdom. The traditional practice of hānai was respected and cherished by ʻŌiwi but may not have been understood or accepted by others, as suggested by a letter to Kauikeaouli dated December 28, 1840:

> 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 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[20]



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.

FIGURE 5.2

List of all the ali‘i students enrolled at the Hawaiian Chiefs’ Children’s School in Honolulu. *Cooke*, Hawaiian Chiefs’ Children’s School, *1970*

As a young student, Alexander Liholiho composed many letters for his hānai father. The example above is an indication of how Alexander, as a seven-year-old, understood his connection to Kauikeaouli. Others—presumably his schoolteachers—had suggested he refer to the king as “uncle,” but Alexander’s

choice to begin the letter with “Dear Father” and close with “Your Son” demonstrates filial devotion, confidence, and deference to tradition. Hānai was common among other aliʻi families. For example, Liliʻuokalani was the hānai of Konia, the mother of Bernice Pauahi Bishop.[21]

Resisting Imperial Aggression

Being raised among families of power and influence, the young aliʻi would be expected to develop skills in diplomacy and savoir-faire. These skills were needed with greater urgency in the 1840s as Hawaiʻi tried to maintain its sovereignty in the midst of repeated imperial aggression, such as when Guillaume Patrick Dillon, an overzealous French consul, began causing problems in 1848 by elevating “small difficulties into diplomatic issues.”[22] Dillon’s persistent and unsanctioned efforts to augment France’s commercial interests in Honolulu were compounded by the arrival of two French warships in 1849, under the command of Rear Admiral Legoarant de Tromelin.[23]

In response to the mounting tension, Kauikeaouli proposed to send Gerrit P. Judd on a diplomatic trip to France to negotiate a new treaty and to recover monetary damages sustained by the acts of De Tromelin and Dillon, who had ordered French troops to seize the Oʻahu barracks. This tense situation created an opportunity for furthering the practical education of the young princes Alexander Liholiho and Lota Kapuāiwa. Through formal resolutions, the Privy Council confirmed that Dr. Judd and the princes would travel together to England, France, and the United States.[24]

Kauikeaouli’s initiative to send Alexander Liholiho and Lota Kapuāiwa abroad can be seen as an extension of Liholiho’s earlier policy of establishing aliʻi connections with the royalty of other countries. This move was also a significant step in preparing the next generation of mōʻī to be leaders in the international arena.

At the time of their departure, Alexander Liholiho was fifteen years old; Lota Kapuāiwa was eighteen. They had learned about Euro-American history at school and had considerable book knowledge about the histories of Britain, France, and the United States. They had listened to the lectures of William Richards about his and Haʻalilio’s diplomatic travels abroad.[25] They also had met many leaders and foreign officials who had visited Hawaiʻi. Traveling to a foreign land, however, would allow them to have firsthand experience in

meeting high-ranking foreign officials with whom they might be negotiating future agreements as rulers.

The group departed from Honolulu Harbor on September 11, 1849. While at sea, Lota Kapuāiwa spent his time buried in study. He read through *The Pathfinder* by James Fenimore Cooper, a widely popular novel of the time. He read a seminal work of French history by Adolphe Thiers, which the young prince called *Their Consulate and Empire of Napoleon* in his journal. He also read through the official government correspondence to "know something about the mission we are going."[26]

Expanding the Circle of Influence

The delegation met with high officials in each of the countries they visited. They were honored at lavish dinner parties by senior state officials, offered seats in the finest opera houses, and given guided tours of royal residences. In France, the young princes had regular language and fencing lessons. They also met with the first president of the French Republic, Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte. The young princes spent hours touring French museums and sites. Between trips to the Louvre and the Musée national de la Marine, Alexander wrote that he "had the honor of seating myself in the throne of Charlemagne."[27] In London, the party did not meet with the queen because she was expecting the birth of a child. They did, however, see Prince Albert at Buckingham Palace and received a royal tour of Windsor Castle. Alexander discussed the meeting with Prince Albert in his journal:

> 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 principal 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.[28]

The interactions with Prince Albert and other high government officials in Britain, France, and the United States gave Alexander Liholiho and Lota Kapuāiwa insights into the complexities of international politics and the sociocultural differences of these countries. The trip also strengthened their own confidence as aliʻi, as they asserted their high standing in other countries, presented themselves as capable agents of rule over Hawaiʻi, and linked themselves to the global elite. Though Liholiho died before meeting with a British sovereign, Boki's meeting with King George IV was of critical importance for Hawaiian–British relations (see Chapter 3).

Alexander Liholiho's meeting with Prince Albert also had a lasting effect. Years later, Alexander Liholiho gave his child the English name of Albert, and the baby prince would have Queen Victoria as a godmother.[29] The success of previous Hawaiian diplomatic trips to London also was apparent to Alexander and Lota. They often met officials who fondly recalled meeting Liholiho and his retinue, as well as William Richards and Haʻalilo.

The journals of Alexander Liholiho and Lota Kapuāiwa demonstrate their familiarity with history, art, and mathematics. They also display the development of the princes' worldly training and education. They soon were familiar enough with European artistic culture to make critical judgments. Following their frequent attendance of operas in London and Paris, for instance, Alexander Liholiho gave the following assessment of a performance they saw in Boston: "The Opera was badly sustained in all its parts. We came home much disappointed."[30] One evening in France the two young princes went to see a Spanish giant, and they were amazed by his stature. Alexander's fascination with mathematics comes through in the following account:

> 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.[31]

Upon departing from Europe, the party traveled to the East Coast of the United States where they visited Boston, Philadelphia, New York, and Washington. In Washington they were invited to attend the President's Levee,[32] where they met President Taylor and many members of Congress and the Senate. Alexander

Liholiho was unimpressed: “At a quarter past ten we withdrew from what they called a Brilliant Reception—ha! ha! ha!”[33]

Disappointed at the Americans

Throughout their tour of the United States, Alexander Liholiho wrote of his dislike of the country and its culture. His views were doubtless influenced by an event that occurred just days after the president’s reception. The entourage was on a train to New York, and the conductor told Alexander Liholiho to leave his seat because of his skin color. The following excerpt of Alexander Liholiho’s journal provides his account of what happened and his appraisal of Americans.

> 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.[34]

This glimpse into the mind of Alexander Liholiho reveals a well-traveled,

sophisticated, and confident young man who knew his place in the world. When he was personally affronted by American racism, he defiantly grabbed the conductor's arm and directly questioned the man's intentions and actions. In terms of culture and civility, Alexander Liholiho found the Americans distinctly inferior to the French, the British, and the Hawaiians. For the two princes, America appeared to be a country of commoners. As Lota Kapuāiwa put it, "They are great people the Americans, always picking others business but their own."[35]

With the exception of the train incident, the aliʻi and Judd were lionized throughout their travels and arrived back in Hawaiʻi on September 9, 1850. The princes returned home with a knowledge of foreign lands that far surpassed that of their contemporaries—and the vast majority of the world's citizens. The young aliʻi had dined and danced with the highest classes, become acquainted with the rulers and royalty of the world's three most powerful countries, and gained valuable knowledge about the distinct differences in culture and social structure in each nation.

Such perceptions and experiences would play a role the princes' future decisions as mōʻī. Visual representations of history at Westminster Abbey, the British Museum, and the Louvre also had a profound impact on the young aliʻi's conceptions of heritage and cultural production. As Kuykendall noted:

> They had 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.[36]

This affinity for Britain, and the princes' distaste for American culture and society, significantly shaped their policies as mōʻī. The next section describes some of these policies, including the effort to distance the Hawaiian Kingdom from the American Protestant missionaries through the establishment of the Church of England in the islands.

REFORMING CHRISTIANITY

After returning to Hawai‘i in early 1852, Alexander Liholiho became a member of the Privy Council of the Hawaiian Kingdom, where he soon emerged as the most trusted and important influence on Kauikeaouli.[37] On September 5, 1853, Alexander Liholiho became president of the Privy Council, announced his brother Lota Kapuāiwa would be the new kuhina nui, and named a new cabinet.[38] The very next day, Alexander Liholiho’s father, Kekūanāo‘a, replaced Dr. Judd as the commissioner of health. Judd, not long after returning to Hawai‘i from his diplomatic trip with the princes, had lost the trust of the ali‘i because of his mishandling of a smallpox outbreak in Honolulu. Alexander Liholiho’s role in removing Judd is significant because it illustrates how the authority and mana of ali‘i could be used to remove a haole member of government who had fallen out of favor.

As heir to the throne, Alexander Liholiho would inherit all of the lands that came to the mō‘ī as a result of the Māhele, since Kauikeaouli had stated that these would belong to himself and his heirs in perpetuity.[39] The management of these lands would supply the new mō‘ī with his personal wealth, since his office did not come with a salary. These lands later came to be called the “Crown Lands.” They were the exclusive property of the mō‘ī and were subject to the rights of native tenants. Later, during the reign of Lota Kapuāiwa, these lands were made inalienable through legislation passed on January 3, 1865.[40]

Annexation Nixed

Upon Alexander Liholiho’s ascent to the position of mō‘ī as Kamehameha IV, on December 15, 1854, one of his first actions was to nullify a proposed treaty of annexation between the United States and the Hawaiian Kingdom.[41] This treaty had been under negotiation but was never ratified by either nation.[42] Alexander Liholiho’s shelving of the treaty demonstrates his desire to maintain the Hawaiian Kingdom’s independence. Alexander Liholiho took another important step toward solidifying independence by appointing his brother, Lota, as the secretary of war, and by calling for greater appropriations from the legislature to supply this office with the funds necessary for defending Hawaiian independence. By burying the prospect of US annexation and attempting to build a capable defense force, Alexander Liholiho was distinguishing his reign as one that promoted Hawaiian interests with little concern about American responses.

Alexander Liholiho also sought to move the ali‘i away from the ethics of the

Protestant missionaries and lead the ruling family toward the Church of England. Years after an Episcopal Church had been established in Hawai‘i at the request of Alexander Liholiho, Lota Kapuāiwa wrote to Queen Emma about the motives behind this move:

> 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 by 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.[43]

Former students of the Chiefs' Children's School who had traveled to England and attended services of the Episcopal Church were attracted by its liberalism—at least compared with the American Protestantism they had been exposed to. They also liked the Episcopal Church's acceptance of aristocracy. Kuykendall noted that Alexander Liholiho "believed the doctrines and ritual of that church to be more compatible with monarchical government than those . . . already established in his kingdom."[44]

Creating Distance from the American Protestants

Alexander Liholiho's introduction of the Episcopal Church into Hawai‘i took some delicacy. Though he saw it as a political opportunity to distance himself from the American Protestants—and he used the government-run newspaper and its editor, Abraham Fornander, to support his positions—he did so in ways that would not be too forceful or frequent. Or, as Fornander wrote to Alexander Liholiho, "You do not want me to hammer the [American] Missionaries too hard or too often."[45]

On December 5, 1859, the Hawaiian consul in Britain was asked to approach officials of the Church of England with an appeal from the king and queen to establish an Episcopal Chapel in Honolulu.[46] A request for a particular kind of bishop was also included. Minister of Foreign Affairs Wyllie wrote, "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."[47]

This request is a tactful attempt by Alexander Liholiho to secure a bishop who would help change the socioreligious landscape of Honolulu. By July 25, 1860, a committee of the Church of England passed a resolution to establish a church in the Hawaiian Islands (fig. 5.3).[48] Alexander Liholiho then wrote a letter directly to Queen Victoria of Britain to expedite this resolution:

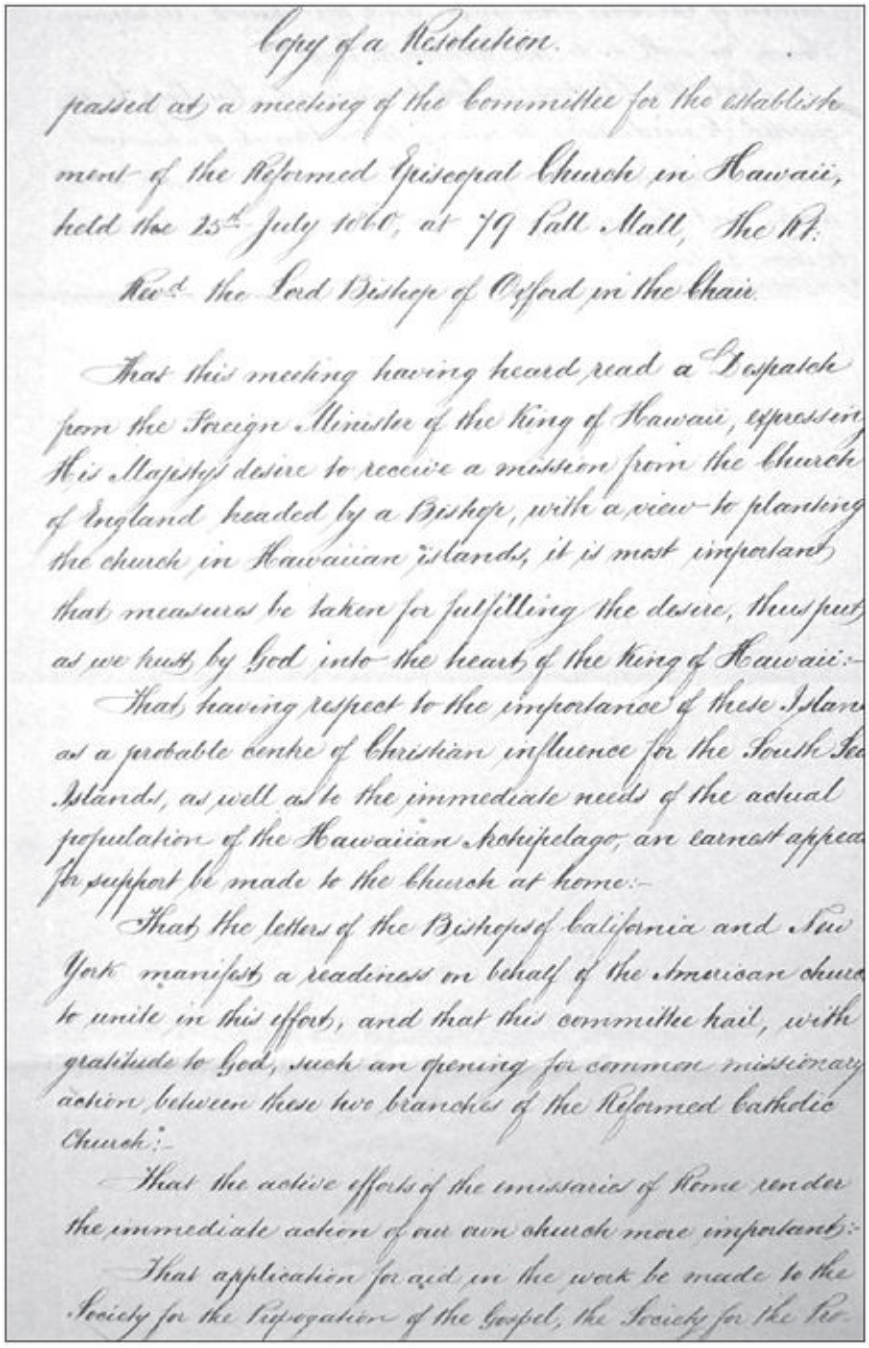
> I approach Your Majesty with this letter for the purpose of requesting Your Majesty's approval of the establishment of the Anglican Episcopal Church within my Dominions. The Lord Primate of all England has already been addressed upon the subject by my Minister for Foreign Affairs.
>
> I therefore presume upon the well known graciousness which Your Majesty has always extended to me, my Predecessor 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.[49]

This letter had an effect on the process, and Queen Victoria responded to Alexander Liholiho through a letter from Lord John Russell.[50] On October 11, 1862, Bishop Staley arrived in the Hawaiian Islands, and on the nineteenth the church was officially inaugurated. Queen Emma was baptized on October 21, and her former companions at the Chiefs' Children's School—Lota Kapuāiwa, David Kalākaua, and Lili'uokalani—would soon become members, along with many prominent figures in government.

The departure of the ruling family from worship led by American Protestant missionaries was not appreciated by the missionaries or their descendants. In fact, it was considered a betrayal and an offense against the prior works of the missionaries in the Hawaiian Islands. Earlier, in 1861, when Alexander Liholiho and Lota Kapuāiwa were seeking to reform Christianity in the Hawaiian Islands, Dr. Judd wrote, "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."[51]

Alexander Liholiho and Lota Kapuāiwa attempted to reshape and reform the political climate in the Islands through the introduction of the Church of England. The princes' ability to import the Church of England left lasting fingerprints on the wheel of government, as they steered the course of nation and worship in directions they considered to be progressive. By navigating to places removed from the American Protestant tradition, these aliʻi demonstrated they were not under the authority of American missionaries. They ruled their own minds and made use of what they knew to secure their people's independence.



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 missionaries 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-

FIGURE 5.3
Resolution by the Church of England to establish the Reformed Episcopal Church in Hawai‘i. *Church of England, “Resolution,” Hawai‘i State Archives, 1860*

THE REIGN OF LOTA KAPUĀIWA

Following Alexander Liholiho’s death in 1863, Lota Kapuāiwa became mō‘ī. He

continued to be active in the Church of England. One of the most significant events in his reign as Kamehameha V was the enactment of a new constitution in 1864, replacing the 1852 constitution that both he and his brother found problematic.[52] During Lota Kapuāiwa's nine-year reign he initiated a series of public works, including the construction of Aliʻiōlani Hale (the government building), the Royal Mausoleum, post offices, schoolhouses, an insane asylum, and the Hawaiian Hotel (presently the Royal Hawaiian).[53]

Lota Kapuāiwa was also instrumental in instituting mapping initiatives in the kingdom. These attempted to preserve ancient place boundaries; many of the maps of ancient divisions and boundaries (see Chapter 2) were produced at this time.[54] In many ways Lota Kapuāiwa's reign followed that of his brother's. He reformed the government and set about instituting changes he thought fit for a constitutional monarchy. He also sought to preserve Hawaiʻi's own traditions. According to Kuykendall, "Before he became king, [he] is said to have permitted and even encouraged the revival of some 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."[55]

During their respective reigns, Lota Kapuāiwa and Alexander Liholiho advanced their own agendas by appropriating some of the Cookes's teachings and applying what they had learned from their experiences around the world. Their success in establishing a church outside of American Protestant influence indicates that they would even appropriate Christianity for their own ends. If Alexander Liholiho and Lota Kapuāiwa are known for moving away from American Protestant ideals, another student at the Chiefs' Children's School might be said to have left missionary ethics behind. The concluding section of this chapter discusses the reign of Kalākaua, including his voyage around the world, his revival of hula and the Hale Nauā, and his attempts to use international law to protect other Pacific nations from being colonized.

KALĀKAUA

David Laʻamea Kalākaua was a confident Hawaiian and a competent ruler. Standing well over six feet tall, his policies matched the boldness of his stature as he sought to enhance the kingdom's international relations, merge elements of ancient Hawaiian culture into new forms, and demonstrate the significant role that a mōʻī could play in reforming society. He toured the world, meeting with

the rulers of the most powerful and emerging nation-states of his day, and established educational programs for sending Hawaiian youth abroad to schools in Britain, Italy, China, the United States, and Japan.[56] Branching out from the reigns of the previous mōʻī, Kalākaua heightened the nation's cultural consciousness while pushing to insure a new level of Hawaiian independence.

Iā ʻOe e ka Lā: Kalākaua in Japan and Siam

On January 19, 1881, King Kalākaua left the Hawaiian Kingdom on a diplomatic journey that would circumnavigate the globe.[57] He would be the first sovereign of any nation to accomplish this feat. When the voyage was complete, the king had visited Japan, China, Siam, Singapore, India, Egypt, Italy, England, Belgium, Austria, Spain, Portugal, France, and the United States.

Various reasons were offered for this voyage: to secure a source of immigration of similar races to marry into and help increase the declining Hawaiian population, to strengthen the Hawaiian Kingdom's diplomatic relations around the world, and to increase Hawaiʻi's knowledge about other countries for the purposes of its own governance. The actual impetus for the trip was probably a combination of each.

During his travels Kalākaua was welcomed and entertained by the rulers and highest government officials of all the countries and colonies he visited—similar to the experience of Kauikeaouli, Alexander Liholiho, and Lota Kapuāiwa. 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. What followed was 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 stem 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.[58]

Kalākaua was the first head of state to officially visit Japan after an isolationist period in Japanese history. Emperor Meiji asked him to be his guest so long as he remained in the Empire.[59] In a private meeting with the emperor, Kalākaua proposed the creation of a confederation between Hawai‘i, Japan, and the island nations of Polynesia. He envisioned a lei draped over the Pacific, an alliance in which each member nation provided protection and diplomatic representation to the others. Kalākaua also offered a marriage alliance between Hawai‘i and Japan, by proposing a union between his niece Princess Ka‘iulani and the Japanese Prince Komatzu.[60] Kalākaua’s offers were considered but never acted upon. The two sovereigns did, however, discuss a treaty that would allow the subjects of both nations to travel and trade freely with one another.[61] A great “success of the visit was an amicable treaty, which was the first to welcome Japan into the nations of the world.”[62] Kalākaua noted, “Our visit here has impressed the Japanese Authorities very much, and in my candid opinion a great success.”[63] The Japanese emperor viewed Kalākaua’s visit as symbolically important, commenting that “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.”[64]

Kalākaua gleaned much from this meeting with a brother monarch, in part because it was also a meeting between two non-Euro-American rulers. Kalākaua was fascinated with Japanese culture and tradition. He met with high Japanese officials and was greatly impressed with the Buddhist temples. In fact, he considered introducing Buddhism into the Hawaiian Kingdom and told one of his companions that he believed in reincarnation.[65] Kalākaua also saw similarities in the nations’ traditions concerning the divine origin of rulers. A traveling companion noted this shared belief “strongly affected him” and that later Kalākaua had declared, “The kings of Hawaii descended from akuas (gods), but that the missionaries had denied it.”[66]

Kalākaua 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-Chulalong Korn.[67] This king had studied European political science and literature.[68] Siam’s climate was strikingly similar to that of Hawai‘i’s, and the coconut trees made the Hawaiian party feel at home. Siam, like Hawai‘i, was in the process of engaging with an expanding world while attempting to maintain its political independence. The king of Siam and Kalākaua had many thoughtful conversations. The king of Siam was interested in how Kalākaua had learned to speak such good English, noting that although some of his subjects had lived in

England, there was no one in his court who could speak English as well as Kalākaua.[69] They discussed the traditional religions of their societies and also came to consider themselves as relatives through their Malay blood.

The two developed such a liking for one another that 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."[70] Kalākaua did enjoy a ride on the king's elephant. He visited the Royal Mausoleum, a banquet held in his honor, and he was awarded the Grand Cross Order of Siam. The meetings seem to have been stimulating exercises for both kings. On Kalākaua's departure, the king of Siam said that he too desired to visit other countries, but, "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."[71]

A New Political Consciousness

Kalākaua's meeting with the rulers of Japan and Siam shaped his political consciousness in ways that he may have not expected. Kalākaua had previously visited the United States, and he was prepared for his trips to European countries by the experiences of his predecessors. In Britain, he would be admired by Queen Victoria, who wrote, "King Kalakaua 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."[72] Clearly Kalākaua was familiar enough with European protocol to know how to make a positive impression. But his visits to Japan and Siam gave him perspective on his own experience as a non-European ruler in the nineteenth century. The complex negotiations taking place in Japan and Siam due to European imperial pressures resonated with Kalākaua and confirmed his thoughts about the importance of strengthening alliances between non-European nations. The Japanese belief in the emperors' divine origin, and the nature of Siam's traditional religions, also led Kalākaua to reconsider the traditions and culture of his own nation. Kalākaua's exposure to non-Christian religious practices within relatively harmonious societies likely encouraged him to contemplate the possibility of openly reviving traditional Hawaiian cultural practices.

After returning from his global diplomatic tour, Kalākaua had much to

ponder. He now had firsthand knowledge of world rulers and governments. A humbled yet proud Kalākaua composed “Ke Kaena a ka Mōʻī Kalākaua”—“Kalākaua’s Boast,” to express insights he had gained while visiting many of the world’s nations. Another contributing factor to his composition was the “announcement of the assassination of the Emperor of Russia has reached us by telegrams.”[73]

Ke Kaena a ka Mōʻī Kalākaua[74]

Ua kaʻahele au ma luna o ka ʻili honua me nā moana,

A ʻĪnia mamao, a me Kina kaulana;

Hōʻea i nā ʻaekai o ʻAferika, a nā palena o ʻEuropa,

A hālāwai me ka ikaika o nā ʻāina a pau;

A iaʻu i kū ai ma ka ʻaoʻao o nā poʻo aupuni,

Ka poʻe mana ma luna o ka lākou, me ka hiehie aliʻi;

Hoʻomaopopo ihola i ka ʻuku iki a nāwaliwali o koʻu,

Me koʻu noho aliʻi i hoʻokahua ʻia ma luna o kahi puʻu pele;

A ma kahi o nā miliona i hoʻokō i kā kēia mau mōʻī,

He mau tausani wale iho nō ma lalo o koʻu malu.

Akā, ke ʻupu nei loko, naʻu ke kaena hiki,

Aia he mau nani ma loko o na pōʻai o koʻu mau ʻaekai,

I ʻoi aku ka makamae i kā oʻu mau hoa mōʻī.

ʻAʻohe oʻu kumu hopo ma loko o koʻu aupuni,

He hiki ke hui me koʻu lāhui me ka weli ʻole;

ʻAʻohe makaʻu noʻu iho, me ke kiaʻi pili paʻa ʻole ʻia

A naʻu ke kaena, he momi i hoʻouna ʻia mai luna mai naʻu

Eia iaʻu ke aloha ʻoiaʻiʻo o koʻu aupuni.

King Kalākaua’s Boast

O’er land and sea I’ve made my way

To farthest India and great Cathay;
Reached Africa's shore, and Europe's strand,
And met the mighty of every land;
And as I stood by each sovereign's side,
Who ruled his realm with royal pride,
I felt how small my sway, and weak;
My throne based on a mere volcanic peak,
Where millions do these Kings obey,
Some thousands only won my sway.
And yet I feel that I may boast,
Some good within my sea-bound coast,
Richer than any of my grander peers.
That I, within my realm, need have no fears,
May mingle with my people without dread;
No fear for my unguarded head,
And boast a treasure, sent me from above
That I have indeed, my people's love.

CELEBRATION OF HERITAGE

After Kalākaua's return to Hawai‘i on October 29, 1881, he set about bringing significant social change to his kingdom. Having being lionized elsewhere, Kalākaua's roar would be heard at home: he would champion Hawaiian cultural traditions and practices in the face of American missionary ethics. His distaste for missionary Christianity appears in a letter to his sister Lili‘uokalani from Paris. Having witnessed French sophistication, Kalākaua rhetorically wondered whether or not all people were 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 so pure that the impure should make the Sunday a day of mockery, with such rubbish trash that we have so long been led to believe, it is a wonder that we have not risen any higher than the common brute.[75]

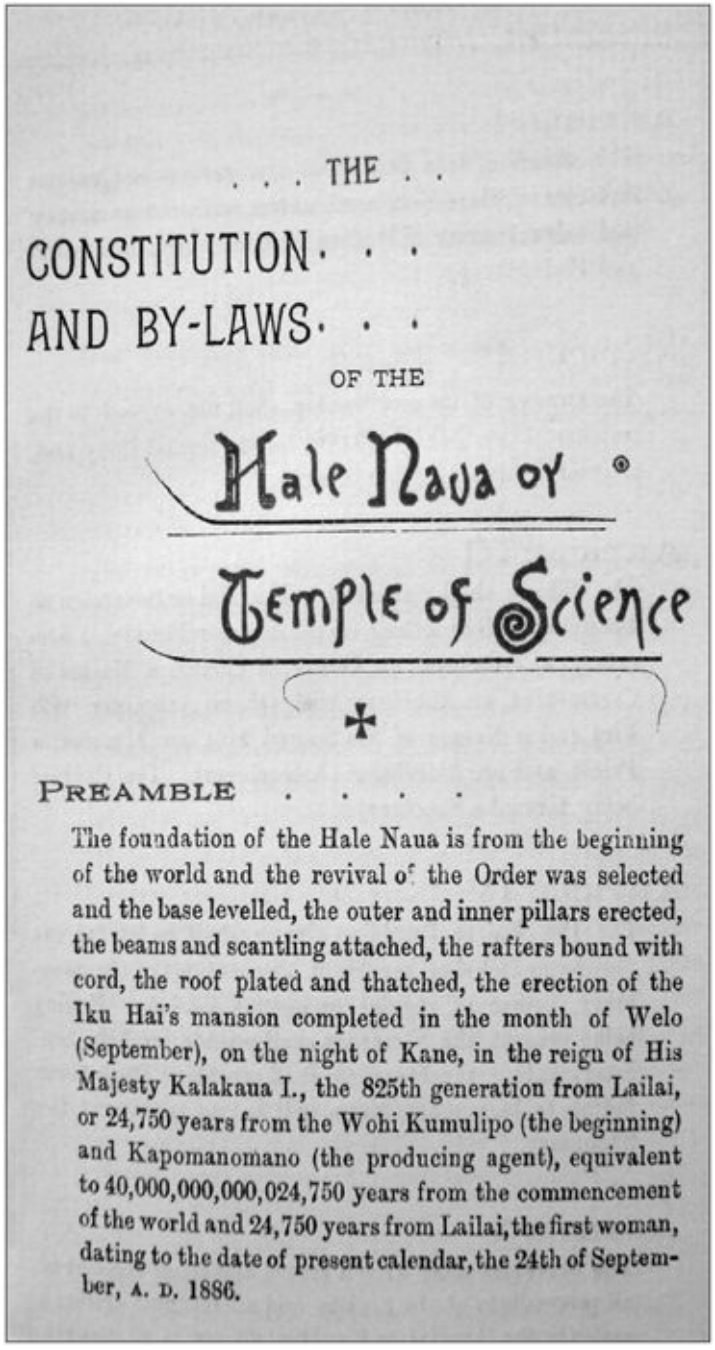
Noenoe Silva argues that Kalākaua turned to ancient Hawaiian genealogy, cosmology, and mele (songs, poems) as a means of reasserting Hawaiian traditions. He openly promoted institutions and created legislative bodies that promoted Hawaiian connections to their ancient metaphysics and tradition in ways that had not been done since Kaʻahumanu's sumptuary laws in the 1820s. Silva points to the establishment of the government-funded Papa Kūʻauhau o Nā Aliʻi Hawaiʻi (Board of Genealogies of Hawaiian Chiefs) and the Hale Nauā, a secret society that sought to reassert ancient knowledge. Together with the coronation of Kalākaua, these "enactments of tradition" undoubtedly "strengthened the identity of Kanaka Maoli as a people proud of their past and of their past achievements and made [Kalākaua] more popular, and his legacy of national pride has persisted to this day."[76] The mōʻī was instrumental in bringing back the cosmogonic creation chant that linked his genealogy to akua and the origin of the universe, the *Kumulipo*.[77] He also brought back performances of Hawaiian heritage, using them in ways that became official narratives for the nation.[78] At Kalākaua's coronation ceremony, hula was openly performed for twenty-four hours.[79]

Hale Nauā

A significant component of Kalākaua's revitalizing of traditional practices was his reestablishment of the Hale Nauā (fig. 5.4). The object of Hale Nauā was the revival of "Ancient Sciences of Hawaii in combination with the promotion and advancement of Modern Sciences, Art, Literature and Philanthropy."[80] The Hale Nauā was essential to the process of kālaiʻāina and within the ʻaha aliʻi (as noted in Chapter 2). Kalākaua was therefore drawing on both Hawaiian tradition and science to expose the inaccuracies of American Protestant teachings and to link Hawaiian knowledge to the universality of science. Or, as Silva explains, the Hale Nauā hoped to show that "science proved what they had always known."[81] The first annual address of the Hale Nauā Society given on November 26, 1887, in ʻIolani Palace, proclaims the power of these two systems of knowledge when united.[82] The subject was ancient Hawaiian navigation as practiced by

individuals like Kahaʻi and Ulu. Several sections are quoted below to give a sense of the argument.

> 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 . .

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.

FIGURE 5.4

Kalākaua reestablished the Hale Nauā as a venue to revive and practice Hawaiian cultural traditions.
Kalākaua, "Constitution and By-laws," Hawai'i State Archives, 1886

* * *

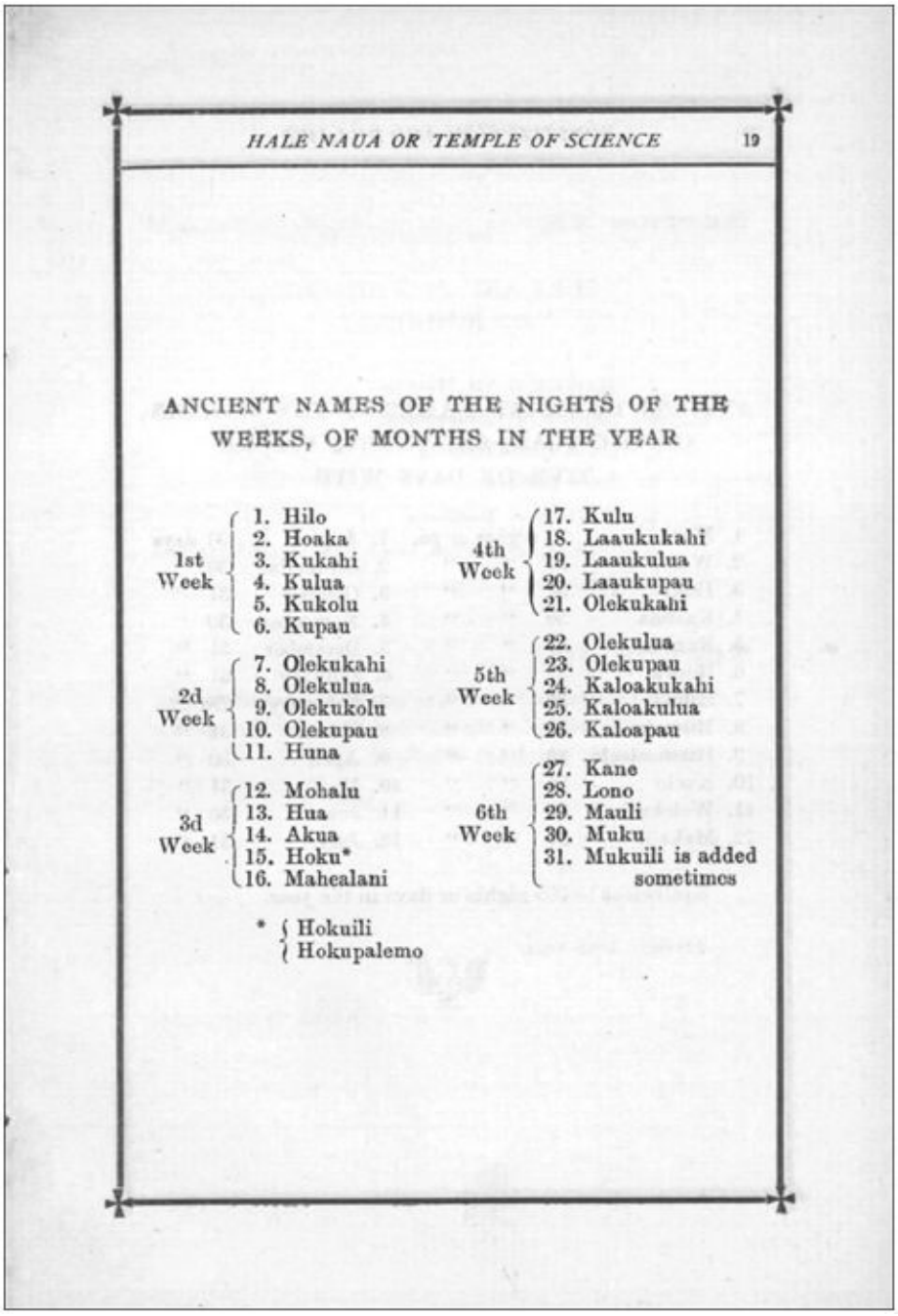
The knowledge of the ancient history of our people as viewed from the outside world, does not appear creditable and people are apt to accuse our ancestors as being a most depraved and degraded race, without any

> 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 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 mine 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 . . .[83]

Clearly the Hale Nauā was drawing on science to argue that traditional Hawaiian knowledge systems such as genealogies were more intellectually sound than missionary theology.

The Hale Nauā also promoted traditional ways of organizing time. Figure 5.5 is a portion of the Hawaiian moon calendar.

The Hale Nauā was Kalākaua's agent not only for questioning missionary perspectives but also for advancing modern forms of education while embracing heritage. Similarly, the Board of Genealogies and his coronation ceremony returned other Hawaiian traditions, such as genealogies and hula, to the forefront of Hawaiian society as symbols of Hawaiian nationalism.[84] Kalākaua's world voyage and his dialogues with rulers of other countries propelled him toward cultural production and the legitimization of heritage in Hawai'i. The revival of Hawaiian arts and sciences also demonstrated the ability of the mō'ī to act as a leader for cultural transformation and resurgence.



HALE NAUA OR TEMPLE OF SCIENCE 19

ANCIENT NAMES OF THE NIGHTS OF THE WEEKS, OF MONTHS IN THE YEAR

1st Week	1. Hilo	4th Week	17. Kulu
	2. Hoaka		18. Laaukukahi
	3. Kukahi		19. Laaukulua
	4. Kulua		20. Laaukupau
	5. Kukolu		21. Olekukahi
	6. Kupau		
2d Week	7. Olekukahi	5th Week	22. Olekulua
	8. Olekulua		23. Olekupau
	9. Olekukolu		24. Kaloakukahi
	10. Olekupau		25. Kaloakulua
	11. Huna		26. Kaloapau
3d Week	12. Mohalu	6th Week	27. Kane
	13. Hua		28. Lono
	14. Akua		29. Mauli
	15. Hoku*		30. Muku
	16. Mahealani		31. Mukuili is added sometimes

* { Hokuili
{ Hokupalemo

FIGURE 5.5

Kalākaua preserved important cultural knowledge in the Hale Nauā, such as ancient Hawaiian names of the moon phases. *Kalākaua, "Constitution and By-laws," Hawai'i State Archives, 1886*

Pan-Pacific Confederation

Between 1883 and 1887 Kalākaua sought for Polynesia to remain independent of

colonial rule. He envisioned a Pacific federation of nations under the umbrella of Hawaiian sovereignty. A possible motivation might have been the population decline in the Hawaiian Islands. Through such a confederation, the kingdom might acquire immigrants of a similar culture—a result that had been sought since the reign of Alexander Liholiho.

Kalākaua's attempt to protect Pacific Islands from European colonial rule simultaneously asserted his authority as mōʻī and at the same time stretched beyond Ka Pae ʻĀina by intervening into international relations of the time. As his minister of foreign affairs, Walter Murray Gibson, described it, "I will push for this matter, our Polynesian confederation. Hawaii has the elements and prospects of a commanding Polynesian state, Kalakaua shall be a King."[85] Perhaps as a first step toward this possibility, on August 23, 1883, in Honolulu, a formal protest of Pacific colonization by foreign powers was presented on the authority of Kalākaua and approved unanimously by his cabinet council (fig. 5.6 and 5.7). This protest was then forwarded to twenty-six sovereign states.[86]

Since the time of Kamehameha I, Hawaiian aliʻi had negotiated and created treaties with the diplomats and rulers of many countries. As a result, the independence of the Hawaiian Kingdom had been recognized and continually respected since 1843. Kalākaua, following a pattern of international diplomacy, was attempting to use Hawaiʻi's status as a sovereign state—along with years of diplomatic negotiations with Britain, France, and the United States—as means for protecting other Pacific peoples. This was a new and progressive way of employing international law, which had allowed nonsovereign territories to be colonized by states. In fact, Kalākaua's attempt is rare; it possibly is the only case from that time of an independent state appealing to international law to negate colonial practices and to counter the ambitions of those powers that had used international law to carry out their plans.

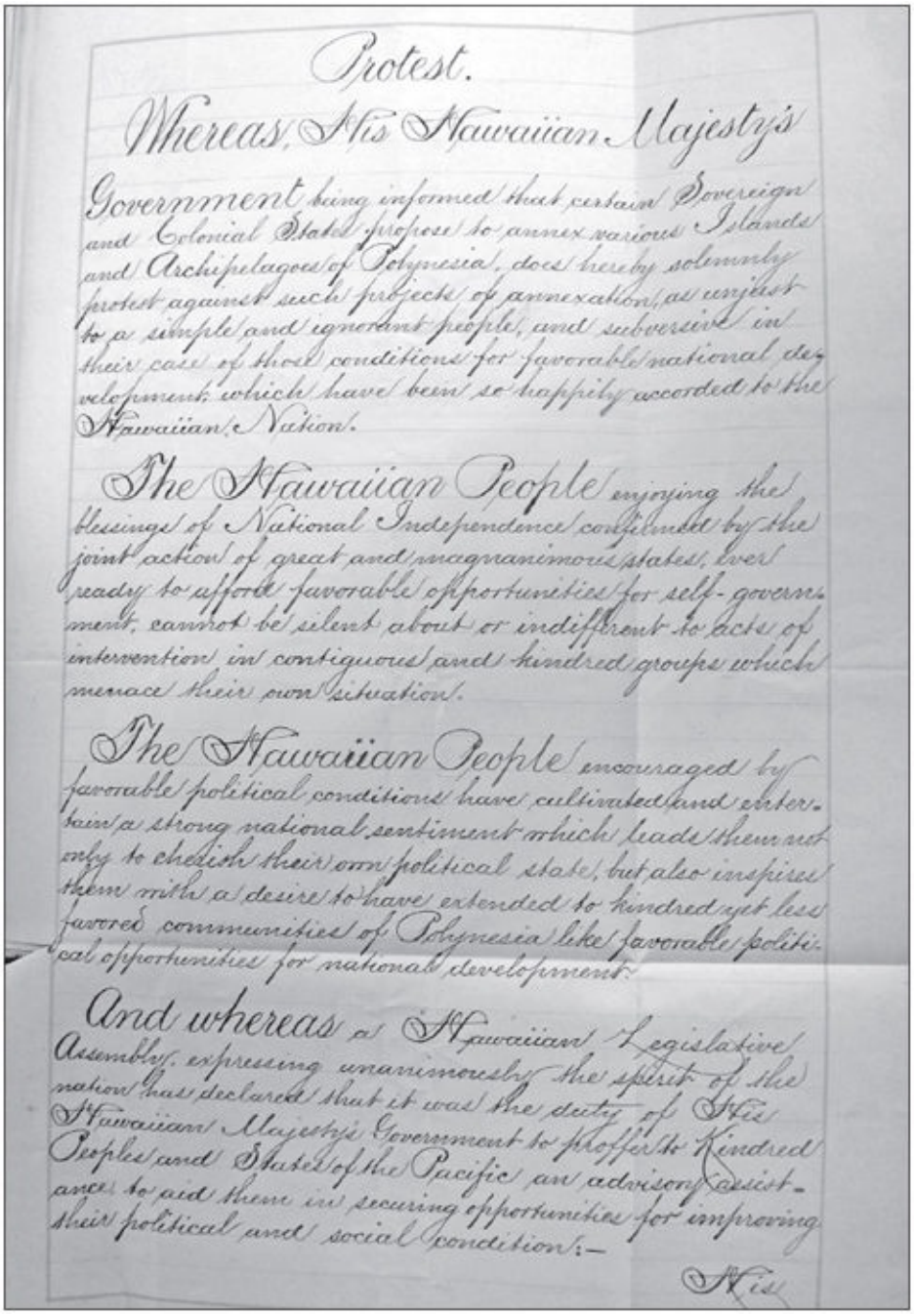
In the formal protest, Kalākaua appealed to the moral character of the "Great and Enlightened" independent states to "recognize the inalienable rights of the several native communities of Polynesia to enjoy the opportunities for progress and self-government."[87] Not surprisingly, the United States and Britain disapproved of the Hawaiian Kingdom's becoming involved in the Pacific, and through their consuls they exhorted Kalākaua not to interfere. But he refused to abandon his vision for a united Pacific.

In 1886, Kalākaua purchased a British steamer, the *Explorer*, which he converted into a gunboat renamed as *Kaimiloa* (To Search Vast Distances).[88] In 1887, when Sāmoa was on the brink of both American and German colonization,

Kalākaua ordered the *Kaimiloa* to provide support to King Malietoa, who had earlier signed a treaty of confederation with the Hawaiian Kingdom. This treaty had been proposed by Kalākaua and presented by the Hawaiian Minister Plenipotentiary John E. Bush, who had arrived in Apia on January 3, 1887, and who met publicly and in secret with the Sāmoan king. The efforts were a success: Malietoa signed the treaty and Kalākaua ratified it on March 20, 1887. The following is a translation prior to ratification:

> 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

Ultimately Kalākaua was not able to bring his vision for a unified Pacific to fruition. His protests, and the proposed political union between Sāmoa and the Hawaiian Kingdom did not stop the colonization of Sāmoa—or of the Pacific for that matter. Kalākaua's initiatives, however, should not be overlooked. He instigated coordinated and deliberate attempts in the face of Euro-American aggression in the Pacific to use international law to protect a nonsovereign territory from colonization. That Kalākaua adopted such a policy certainly indicates that he did not see himself or the Hawaiian Kingdom as colonized. In fact, he used his country's status as one of the world's few non-European, noncolonized states, to protect other Pacific peoples from being colonized.



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.

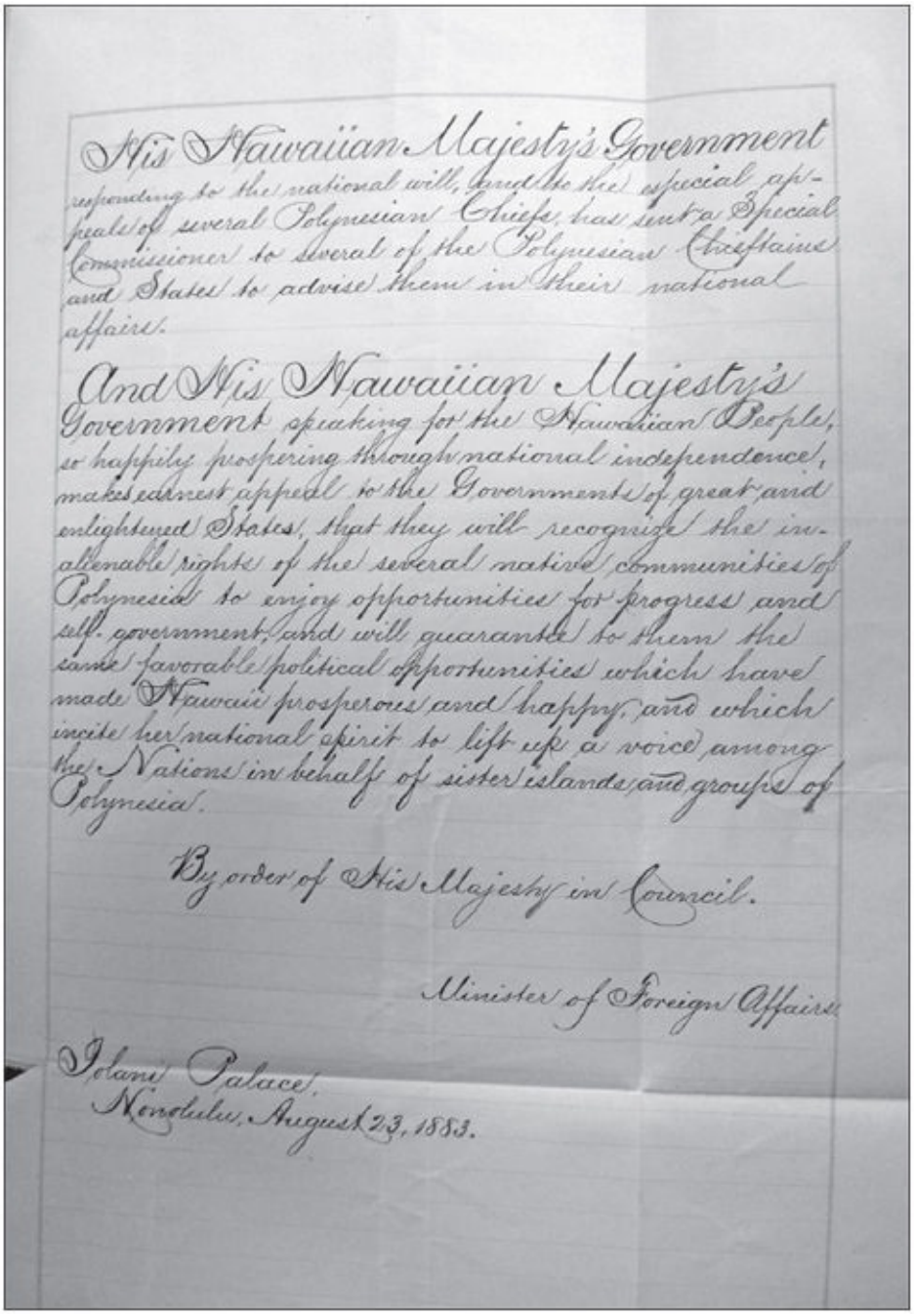
The Hawaiian People encouraged by favorable political conditions have cultivated and entertain a strong national sentiment which leads them not only to cherish their own political state, but also inspires them with a desire to have extended to kindred yet less favored communities of Polynesia like favorable 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

FIGURE 5.6

Protest of the Hawaiian Kingdom against colonization of the Pacific Islands. *Kalākaua, "Protest," United Kingdom National Archives, 1883*



His Hawaiian Majesty's Government responding to the national will, and to the special appeals of several Polynesian Chiefs, has sent a Special Commissioner to several of the Polynesian Chiefdoms 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.

FIGURE 5.7
Second page of protest of the Hawaiian Kingdom against colonization of the Pacific Islands. *Kalākaua, "Protest," United Kingdom National Archives, 1883*

Kalākaua's leadership shows that he was willing to appropriate international law selectively to advance the possibility of an independent Pacific. The notion of a unified confederation of native-ruled Pacific nation-states has yet to find sway in the twenty-first century by nations who profess to be freedom loving

and progressive. That a Hawaiian mōʻī unsuccessfully pioneered the possibility more than 120 years ago is both liberating and debilitating. It is empowering to know that a Hawaiian ruler who had met with the world's elite tried to accomplish such a noble feat. It is discouraging, however, that while the politics of countries such as the United States, France, and Britain have supposedly changed considerably since his time, Kalākaua's vision for the Pacific can still be seen by many as radical. However, the policies of King David Laʻamea Kalākaua, as well as the rejuvenation that his leadership brought to Hawaiian culture, sciences, and religion, have had lasting effects on Hawaiʻi and its people.

6 BEYOND THE OCCUPATION

> 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.[1]
>
> JAMES HAY WODEHOUSE

The mōʻī was a physical and symbolic position that linked Native Hawaiians to centuries of history and politics in Ka Pae ʻĀina. For centuries, genealogies such as the Kumuhonua and the Kumulipo celebrated the connections of ʻŌiwi people with the mōʻī, the ʻāina, and akua. The esteemed position of mōʻī, and the reciprocal aloha between chiefs and people, were never completely understood by foreigners, as reflected in the ʻōlelo noʻeau, "ʻIke nō ke aliʻi i kona kanaka, a ua ʻike nō ke kanaka i kona aliʻi," which Pukui interprets to mean, "Outsiders do not understand our relationship to our chiefs, and we do not care to discuss it with them."[2]

This book has examined aliʻi leadership and indigenous Hawaiian statecraft by exploring rule, authority, and relationships to land from antiquity through the reign of Kalākaua. I have ventured into significant segments of particular reigns to display how, and to what extent, Native Hawaiian rulers engaged with the outside world on their own terms. I have documented the ways in which the aliʻi engaged with Euro-American protocol, governance, and legal systems while modifying existing indigenous structures to establish the Hawaiian Kingdom as a nation-state with a coalescing national identity. The institutions created for this kingdom were neither "traditionally" Hawaiian nor Euro-American impositions, but rather a mixture of both—a recasting of indigenous Hawaiian structure refined by aliʻi's knowledge of the Euro-American world. For the most part, aliʻi successfully maintained Hawaiian control over the Islands. The aliʻi engaged

diplomatically with the outside world, appropriating concepts and institutions along the way, yet maintained essential aspects of their nation that were critical to preserving their identity as Hawaiians.

Even while enduring traumatic disasters such as infectious disease and the population collapse following the arrival of Cook—and despite the ongoing foreign attempts at control—the surviving aliʻi maintained their language, their political systems, and their sovereignty over the Hawaiian Islands. Tragically, the character, dignity, and diplomacy of aliʻi governance were ultimately overwhelmed by the power of an expanding US military and political interest in the Pacific. Yet, like a coconut tree that withstands hurricanes, the agency of the aliʻi and ʻŌiwi remained.

SEVERING THE OVERTHROW OF 1893

> The only guarantee of the Nation's independence
> I believe to be the existence of a Native Sovereign.[3]

On January 17, 1893, a small group of haole backed by a US consul and marines attacked the constitutional government of the Hawaiian Kingdom and its sovereign queen, Liliʻuokalani.[4] US Minister John Stevens had ordered the landing of soldiers from the USS *Boston* on January 16 and stationed them across from ʻIolani Palace and Aliʻiōlani Hale. On January 17 a committee of thirteen haole read a proclamation claiming that monarchy in the Hawaiian Islands had been abrogated and that they were the provisional government of the Islands. They received immediate recognition by Stevens as the legitimate government. Queen Liliʻuokalani was then asked to abdicate her throne, but she refused to recognize the provisional government and instead authored a formal protest to the United States, stating that she had

> Yield[ed] 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 this 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.[5]

Provisional Government: A Temporary Prospect

In the same document that sought to abrogate the Hawaiian monarchical system of government, the provisional government promised to exist only "until terms of union with the United States of America have been negotiated and agreed upon."[6]

This was not the first time Stevens had meddled in the internal affairs of the Hawaiian Kingdom. When Queen Lili'uokalani was in a bitter battle with those who had forced the 1887 Bayonet "Constitution" on Kalākaua, she tried to name a new cabinet. One British official at the time wrote, "The United States Minister [Stevens] was probably ready to land a force from the U.S. war ships now in the harbor if Her Majesty was successful."[7]

Stevens's overzealous actions agree in principle with a remark made by James Blaine, the US secretary of state at the time: "There are only three places that are of value enough to be taken. One is Hawaii."[8] The US government, and particularly members of the Harrison administration, had a keen interest in acquiring the Hawaiian Islands. As Tom Coffman explains, "It was a two-layered conspiracy that was carried out not only within Honolulu, but within the few square blocks of Capitol Hill, the State Department, and the White House."[9] In the summer of 1892, members of the group that would later instigate the overthrow met with the US secretaries of war and state, who "gave the conspirators every assurance of support."[10]

One frequently overlooked reason for American involvement in the overthrow was that the Reciprocity Treaty of 1887—and thus the exclusive use of Pearl Harbor by the United States—was set to expire in 1894. On November 20, 1892, British Consul Wodehouse wrote, "Up to the present time no steps have been taken by the U.S. government to render Pearl Harbor available for U.S. warships."[11] Overthrowing the constitutional Hawaiian Kingdom government in 1893 allowed Pearl Harbor to be developed by the US military without interference or oversight from the Hawaiian Kingdom government.

During the turmoil preceded by the overthrow, a new president was inaugurated in the United States. Shortly after taking office, President Grover

Cleveland ordered US Congressman James Blount to investigate the events surrounding the overthrow of the constitutional head of the Hawaiian Kingdom and the involvement of US officials. As a result of this investigation, in December of 1893, President Cleveland withdrew from consideration the treaty of annexation proposed by the provisional government and the former US administration and called for the restoration of Queen Lili‘uokalani.[12] This restoration did not take place and, in 1897, after another change in the US presidency, the provisional government renamed itself the “Republic of Hawai‘i” and again attempted to negotiate a treaty of annexation.

‘Ōiwi Opposition to Annexation

Groups of Hawaiian nationals mobilized to defeat the proposed treaty. Hawaiian historian Noenoe Silva has written extensively on the astute diplomacy of Queen Lili‘uokalani, the Hui Kālai‘āina, and the Hui Aloha ‘Āina in demonstrating the Hawaiian population’s disapproval of this treaty.[13] The two hui conducted large-scale petition drives, collecting the signatures of nearly forty thousand Hawaiian nationals who opposed annexation. The hui and the queen were successful. The treaty of annexation was never passed in the US Congress because it was not able to attract a two-thirds majority.

Still, the US administration pursued annexation of Hawai‘i and resorted to a domestic joint resolution in 1898, known as the “Newlands Resolution.” To this day, it remains unclear how the United States annexed a foreign country through a domestic joint resolution, since a domestic resolution is not a treaty, and its jurisdiction is within the nation-state. The legality of this action therefore continues to be debated by academics, Hawaiian organizations, and legal experts.[14]

Direct threats to Hawaiian governance and sovereignty had been underway for almost fifty years. For example, the Paulet Affair of 1843 led to a brief occupation by British forces until sovereignty was returned the Islands. In 1887, the Bayonet “Constitution” limited the authority of the mō‘ī; in fact, Kalākaua was forced at gunpoint to sign it. Written by haole members of government, the “Constitution” disenfranchised Chinese, Japanese, and Native Hawaiian voters while increasing the voting bloc of Euro-Americans and replacing the legal legislature.[15]

These confrontations, though weighty, shrivel in comparison to the lasting

effects of the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom. Aside from the prolonged depopulation of ʻŌiwi, the American-backed deposing of Queen Liliʻuokalani is the most significant shift in power with regard to the history of Hawaiʻi and, arguably, a primary cause for the troubled state of contemporary Hawaiians.

OCCUPATION AND THE FAUX-COLONIAL

The mōʻī was the embodiment of an ancient tradition of chiefly authority. The position carried with it the unique cultural relationships developed between makaʻāinana and aliʻi over nearly two thousand years. The Constitution of the kingdom required the office of mōʻī to be filled by a native of chiefly blood. When Queen Liliʻuokalani reflected on the position, she suggested that the mōʻī's prerogatives, "based upon the ancient custom and the authority of the island chiefs, were the sole guaranty of our nationality."[16] A native mōʻī provided access to mana for native nationals and royalists and protected their interests. And since mōʻī were agents of national and international influence, removing this office also meant removing the voice of Hawaiians from governance.

The overthrow attempted to sever the ancient bond between aliʻi and makaʻāinana. It was designed to remove the ancient authority of the aliʻi class, to dispossess the most powerful Native Hawaiian alive, and to break the will of the native and royalist population. The overthrow was not caused by the acceptance and use of law by mōʻī such as Kauikeaouli, nor by the reforms that Kaʻahumanu enacted on Hawaiian society in the 1820s and 1830s. In the words of US President 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.[17]

I disagree with any proposition that the overthrow was causally connected to aliʻi acceptance of law as defined by Europeans. The overthrow itself was possible only through a process that was *unlawful:* its agents conspired with representatives of the United States, thereby breaking international treaties and

disregarding the laws of nations. It was not Hawaiian acceptance of law that led to the overthrow; rather, it was the oligarchy's conspiring against the law.

Through the colonial optic, the overthrow is a culminating event—the final consolidation of American colonialism. However, my perspective views the overthrow as the beginning of the US occupation of the Hawaiian Islands. This occupation began in 1893 and was solidified by the establishment of the Territory of Hawai‘i in 1900. The statehood vote in 1959 concealed the occupation under the guise of democracy. The vote—after sixty-six years of US military presence and the drastic changes in the Islands' demography due to US immigration—was predetermined. Any scholarly work dealing with Hawaiian history from 1893 to the present must account for the radical shift in governance and power following the overthrow. Following 1893, Hawaiian society and culture were transformed; the ali‘i were no longer grappling with imperialism but with a domestic oligarchy and the beginnings of the US occupation.

The change in structure and the shift in power from a Hawaiian mō‘ī to an oligarchy of haole attorneys and businessmen was also the beginning of what I call "faux-colonial" events: quasicolonial structures and events put in place to disguise America's belligerent occupation of another sovereign state. Specific faux-colonial actions included (1) active oppression and physical violence against supporters of the mō‘ī, (2) the confiscation of a large land base with the intention of settling an Anglo-Saxon foreign population on it, and (3) the repression of Hawaiian culture, including the removal of the Hawaiian language as a medium of education in schools. These events were not colonial; they were active attempts at obliterating Hawaiian nationalism. The goal was to replace all forms of Hawaiian nationality in the population with a new identity as something similar to colonial subjects. For the oligarchy to remain in power and to accomplish its goals of fully merging the Islands with the United States, Hawaiian Kingdom nationals had to be mentally and physically dis-integrated. In the words of Samuel Damon, one of the founders of the provisional government, "If we are ever to have peace and annexation the first thing to do is to obliterate the past."[18]

Military Despotism 1893–98

Much anticipation surrounded the arrival of Congressman Blount, who had been commissioned to investigate the events surrounding the overthrow of

Lili‘uokalani. He arrived in Honolulu on March 29, 1893. Three days later, he removed US troops from active duty in guarding the provisional government (fig. 6.1) and lowered the US flag from Ali‘iōlani Hale.[19] These actions could have signaled the impending demise of the provisional government; however, the removal of US forces caused the provisional government to augment its efforts to map out a strategy for establishing what amounted to be a military despotic rule over the Hawaiian national population (fig. 6.2). Without popular support from the people—and empowered initially through the military force of the United States—the provisional government morphed into what Wodehouse described as a “Military Despotism” that “enrolled men of the lowest character.”[20] Any non-native person who supported the rule of the provisional government became a part of a military force, including large regiments of mercenaries.[21] As part of this “military craze,”[22] battalions of sharpshooters and a national guard were established. US citizens who supported the cause of expansion donated money to purchase weaponry from America as the provisional government embedded itself behind sandbags, barriers, guns, and cannons placed in front of Ali‘iōlani Hale and ‘Iolani Palace (fig. 6.3).[23]

The provisional government, backed by the US military and adamantly annexationist, had some members who called for armed resistance against American troops who attempted to restore the queen to power under the orders of President Cleveland.[24] Hawaiians, and even British subjects suspected of being loyal to the Hawaiian queen, were arrested and held without trial. Some of their actions brought about a diplomatic dispute between the British, the new and so-called “republic,” and the United States.[25] The republic investigated, spied upon, attempted to silence, and even arrested newspaper editors for publishing “seditious articles” condemning or challenging their actions.[26] Section III of a law passed on January 30, 1893—two weeks after the overthrow—specified that a “seditious intention is an intention to bring into hatred or contempt, or to excite disaffection against the provisional government.”[27] Between 1893 and 1898, government employees were investigated and interviewed for loyalty reports. Those who refused to swear an oath to the self-proclaimed “Republic of Hawai‘i” were removed from their positions.[28] The use of the word “republic” in reference to the government was merely a façade to mask the despots. The population never voted on the constitution, and the government was illegitimate. Given these facts, even Plato’s imagined “Republic,” governed by a tiny class of philosopher-kings, would be more democratic than the government in power in the Hawaiian Islands following the overthrow.

Many Hawaiians used diplomatic means and, in 1895, military measures to openly resist the policies of the provisional government. However, documented evidence of the political prowess of Hawaiian nationals was scanty in the historical record, and it was widely assumed that Hawaiians silently acquiesced to annexation. Thanks to Noenoe Silva's groundbreaking research,[29] much is now known about antiannexation sentiments of Hawaiian nationals and the formal petitions against the American occupation of the Islands.

Less, however, is known about the contacts that two major Hawaiian nationalist groups—the Hui Aloha ʻĀina and the Hui Kālaiʻāina—initiated with other countries. Members of the Hui Kālaiʻāina also informed the representatives of other independent states of Hawaiian actions against US aggression. On October 29, 1897, James Kaulia, president of Hui Aloha ʻĀina, met with Thomas Walker, acting British consul, to inform him of the petitions being submitted to the republic, the president, Congress, the people of the United States, and specifically to the US Senate. Walker later reported 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.[30]

Walker's third-party perspective on the mobilization of the Native Hawaiian population adds further documentation to Silva's work on the petition drives of the Hui Kālaiʻāina and the Hui Aloha ʻĀina. Figures 6.4 and 6.5 show the protest, titled "Memorial," that Walker was referring to. This copy made its way to the British government and now is stored in the National Archives in London.[31]



FIGURE 6.1
Even though US troops had been officially removed from their provisional government duties, the oligarchy used military tactics at ʻIolani Palace to oppose royalists who supported Queen Liliʻuokalani. *Hawaiʻi State Archives*

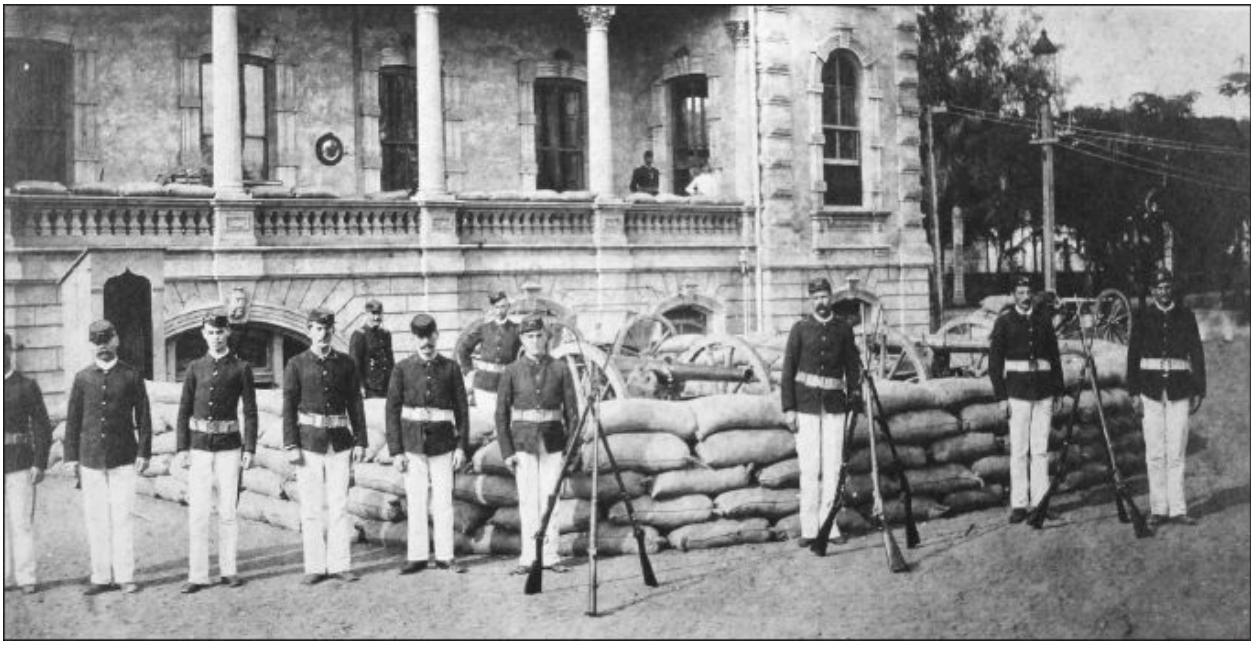
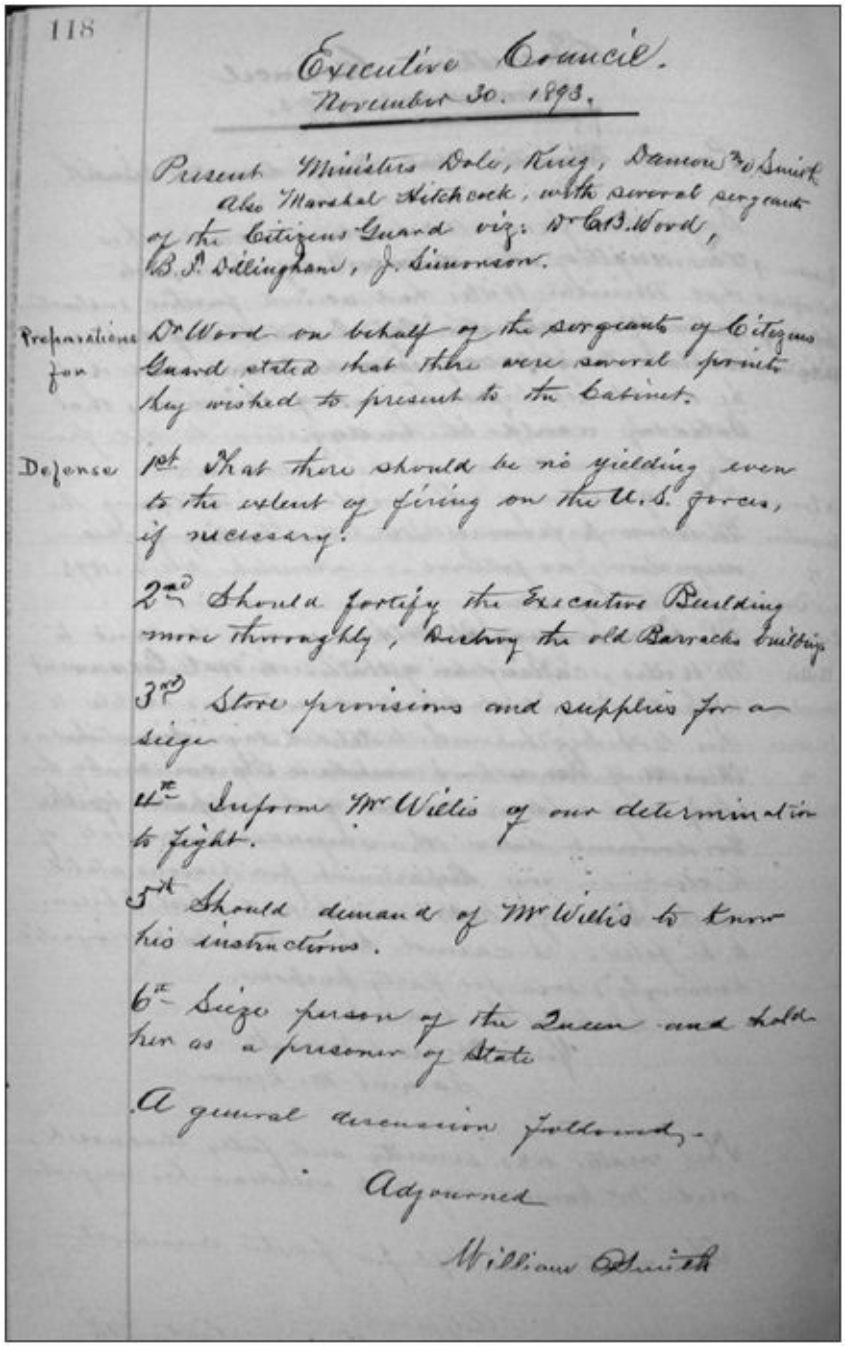


FIGURE 6.3

The US occupation of Hawai‘i intensified when members of the provisional government assumed a military posture at ‘Iolani Palace. *Hawai‘i State Archives*



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Executive Council.
November 30. 1893.

Present Ministers Dole, King, Damon & Smith also Marshal Hitchcock, with several sergeants of the Citizens Guard viz: Dr C.B. Wood, B.F. Dillingham, J. Simonson.

Preparations for Defense

Dr Wood on behalf of the sergeants of Citizens Guard stated that there were several points they wished to present to the Cabinet.

1st That there should be no yielding even to the extent of firing on the U.S. forces, if necessary.

2nd Should fortify the Executive Building more thoroughly, destroy the old Barracks building

3rd Store provisions and supplies for a siege

4th Inform Mr Willis of our determination to fight.

5th Should demand of Mr Willis to know his instructions.

6th Seize person of the Queen and hold her as a prisoner of State

A general discussion followed.

Adjourned

William O Smith

FIGURE 6.2

The Executive Council mandated to use force, if needed, even against US troops should they attempt to restore Queen Lili‘uokalani. “There should be no yielding even to the extent of firing on the U.S. forces, if necessary.” *Hawai‘i State Archives*

The document was the result of the efforts of an ad hoc committee in Honolulu that was organized to coordinate the protest against annexation. Silva notes that not much is known about the Komike o ka Lehulehu (Citizens' Committee), other than "notices in the newspapers calling for a mass meeting on October 8, 1897, to protest the annexation treaty, and a palapala hoʻopiʻi (memorial) signed by the committee members, which was approved by the public at that meeting.[32]

Walker's commentary on the public meeting indicates that Native Hawaiian groups were not alone in their opposition to annexation.

> 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.[33]

Hawaiians may have had the most at stake, since they had no other country of origin, but many non-Native Hawaiian nationals were royalists and stood against annexation.

This memorial was not the only international diplomacy being conducted by Hawaiian nationals during military state control over the Islands. Queen Liliʻuokalani also informed other independent states about the illegitimacy of the republic. On June 20, 1894, she lodged a formal protest against the provisional government and the impending republic with the British consul. She requested that the British government not recognize the republic as an independent state,[34] and her reasoning drew extensively on the Blount report and the statements of President Cleveland in his address to the US Congress in 1893.

This rarely seen document exemplifies the queen's commitment to and resourcefulness in protecting Hawaiian independence. The entire protest is not found in other sources and is printed here in its entirety.[35]

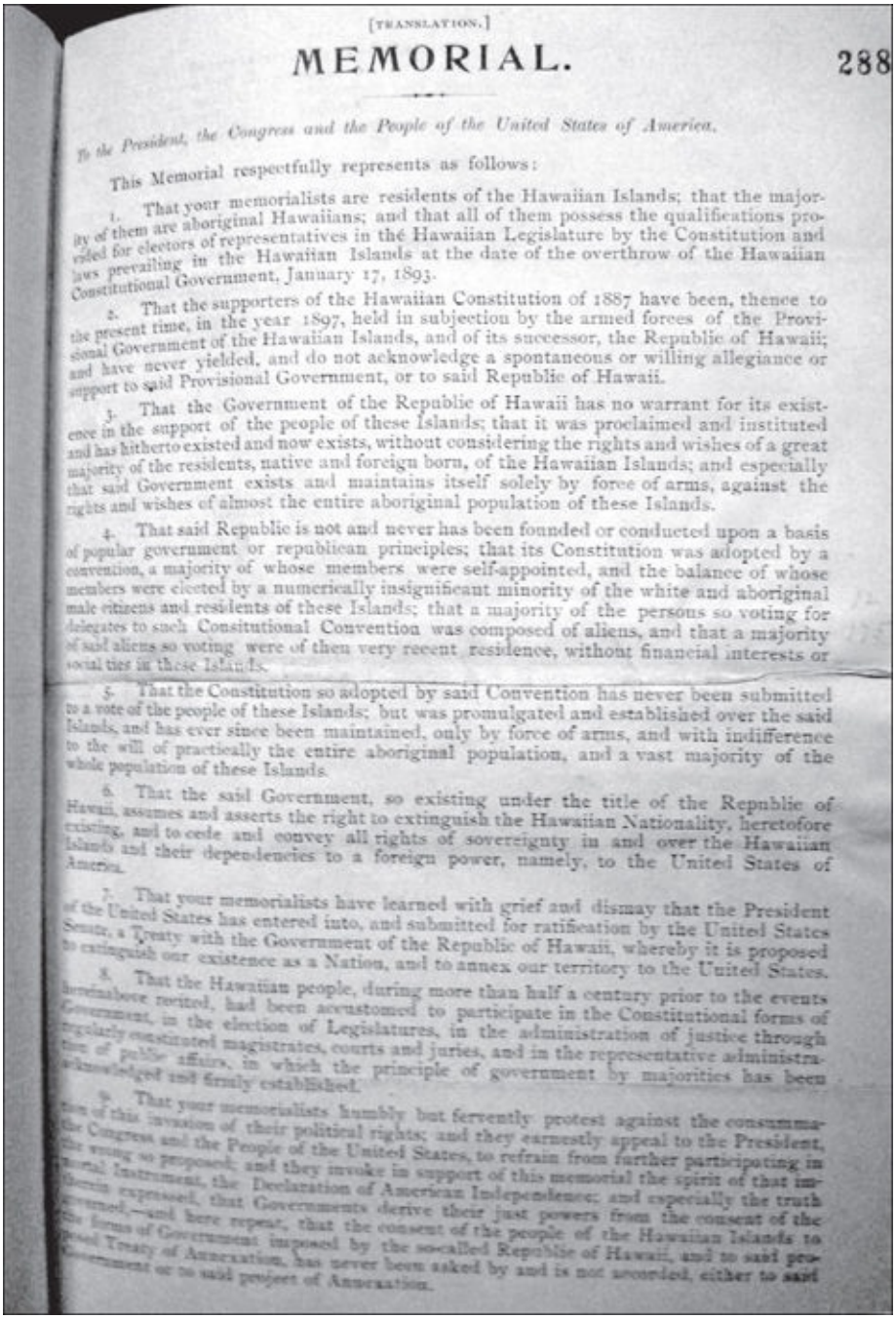
In her protest Liliʻuokalani argued that the provisional government was never a legitimate government, owing its power entirely to representatives of the United States, and existing solely for the purpose of ceding the Hawaiian Islands to the United States. Those who seized power never intended to remain

independent. Only when its hopes for annexation were not immediately gratified did the provisional government attempt to proclaim itself a “republic.” The impetus for this declaration was neither a popular revolution nor a reflection through plebiscite of the people’s will; it was simply a delay in annexation. A discussion between US Consul Albert Willis and William Smith of the provisional government confirms Lili‘uokalani’s analysis. According to Smith,

> 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 . . . He asked what we would do if we did not get it [annexation]. I replied I supposed we would try something else.[36]

Based on these opportunistic attitudes and behaviors, the change in name from the provisional government to the Republic of Hawai‘i was a necessity. In so doing, the provisional government distanced itself from the monarchy and described itself as being similar to the republic it wished to join. As Trask notes, however, had the members of the provisional government sought to accurately describe their governmental system, they would have called themselves an oligarchy.[37]

Distaste for and resistance to the republic continued to mount, peaking in a royalist uprising that led to armed conflict on January 6, 1895. Unscrupulous officials from the republic responded by arresting Queen Lili‘uokalani, who was seen as a threat to the oligarchy. As early as November 29, 1893, provisional government officials had been discussing whether to declare her a prisoner of the state.[38] They would have understood that Lili‘uokalani, a mō‘ī, was both a link to ancient Hawaiian tradition and culture and a contemporary representation of Hawaiian nationality. Her arrest was an attempt to break the will of Hawaiians and royalists who refused to concede their national identity.



[TRANSLATION.]

MEMORIAL.

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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.

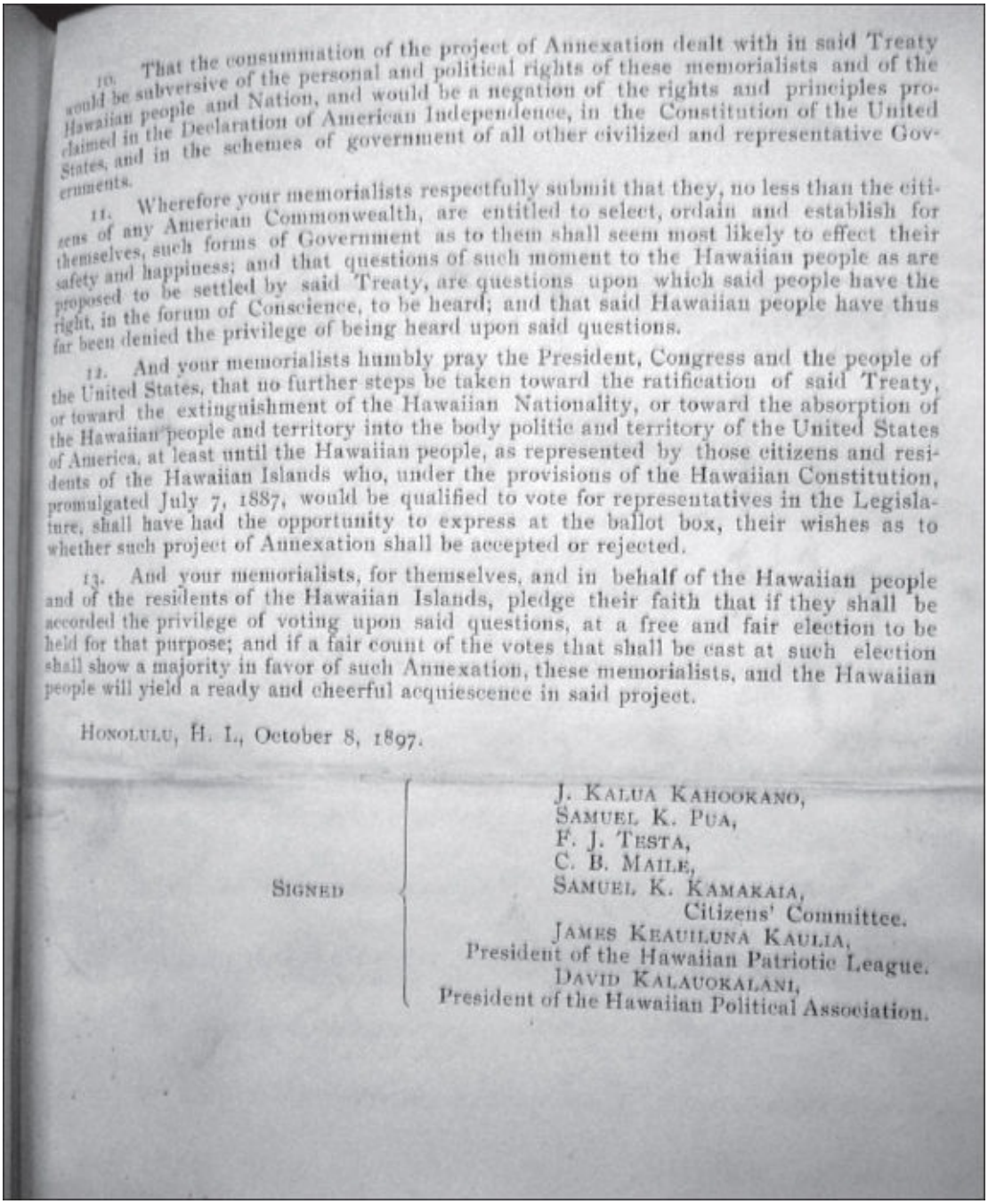
7. That your memorialists have learned with grief and dismay that the President of the United States has entered into, and submitted for ratification by the United States Senate, a Treaty with the Government of the Republic of Hawaii, whereby it is proposed to extinguish our existence as a Nation, and 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.

FIGURE 6.4

Formal protest of the Citizens' Committee urging the United States to abide by rules of democracy and not to annex Hawai'i. *Kaulia and Kalauokalani, "Memorial," United Kingdom National Archives, 1897*



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

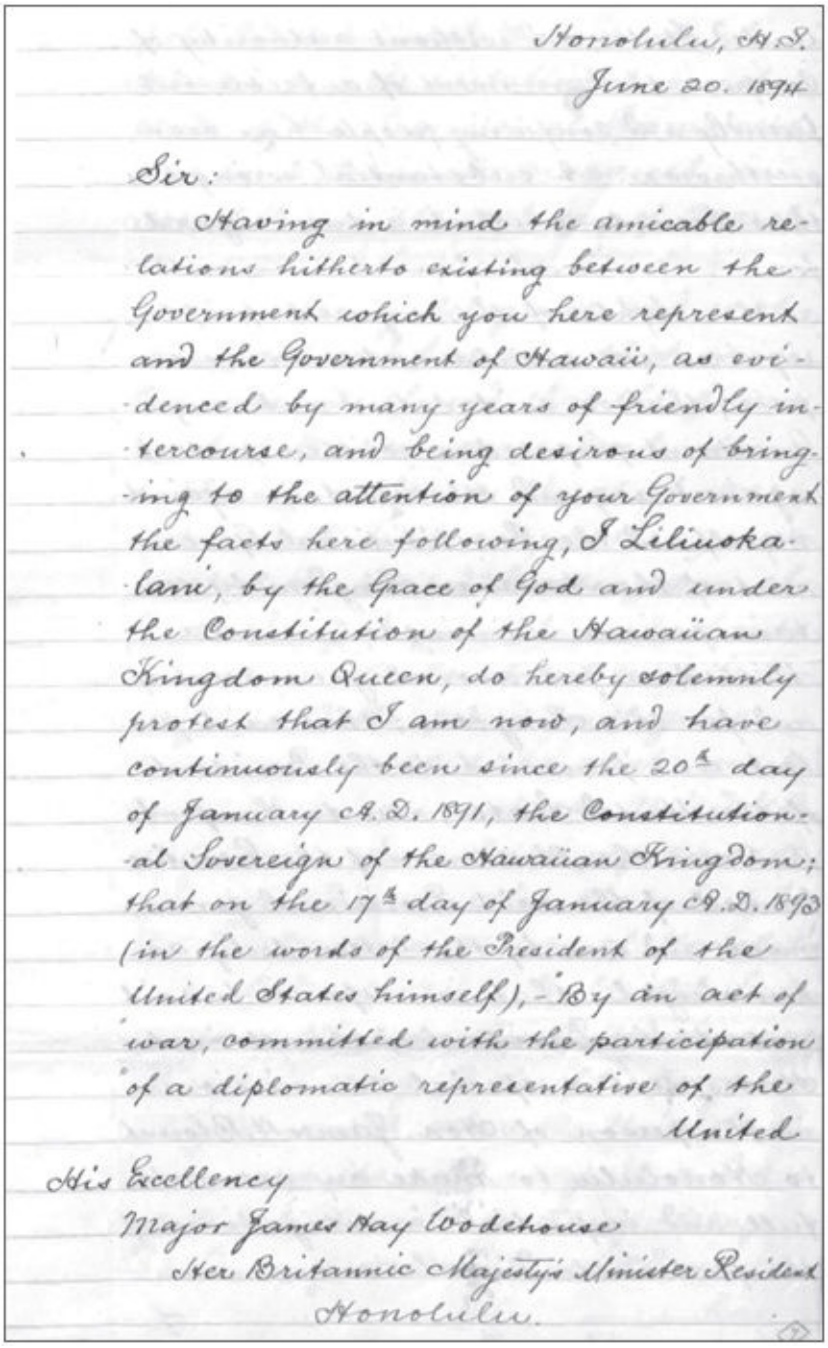
J. KALUA KAHOOKANO,
SAMUEL K. PUA,
F. J. TESTA,
C. B. MAILE,
SAMUEL K. KAMAKAIA,
Citizens' Committee.

JAMES KEAUILUNA KAULIA,
President of the Hawaiian Patriotic League.

DAVID KALAUOKALANI,
President of the Hawaiian Political Association.

FIGURE 6.5

Signature page of the Citizens' Committee antiannexation protest. The committee was led by prevailing Hawaiian leaders and included members from diverse ethnic backgrounds. October 8, 1897. *Kaulia and Kalauokalani,"Memorial," United Kingdom National Archives, 1897*



Honolulu, H.I.
June 20. 1894

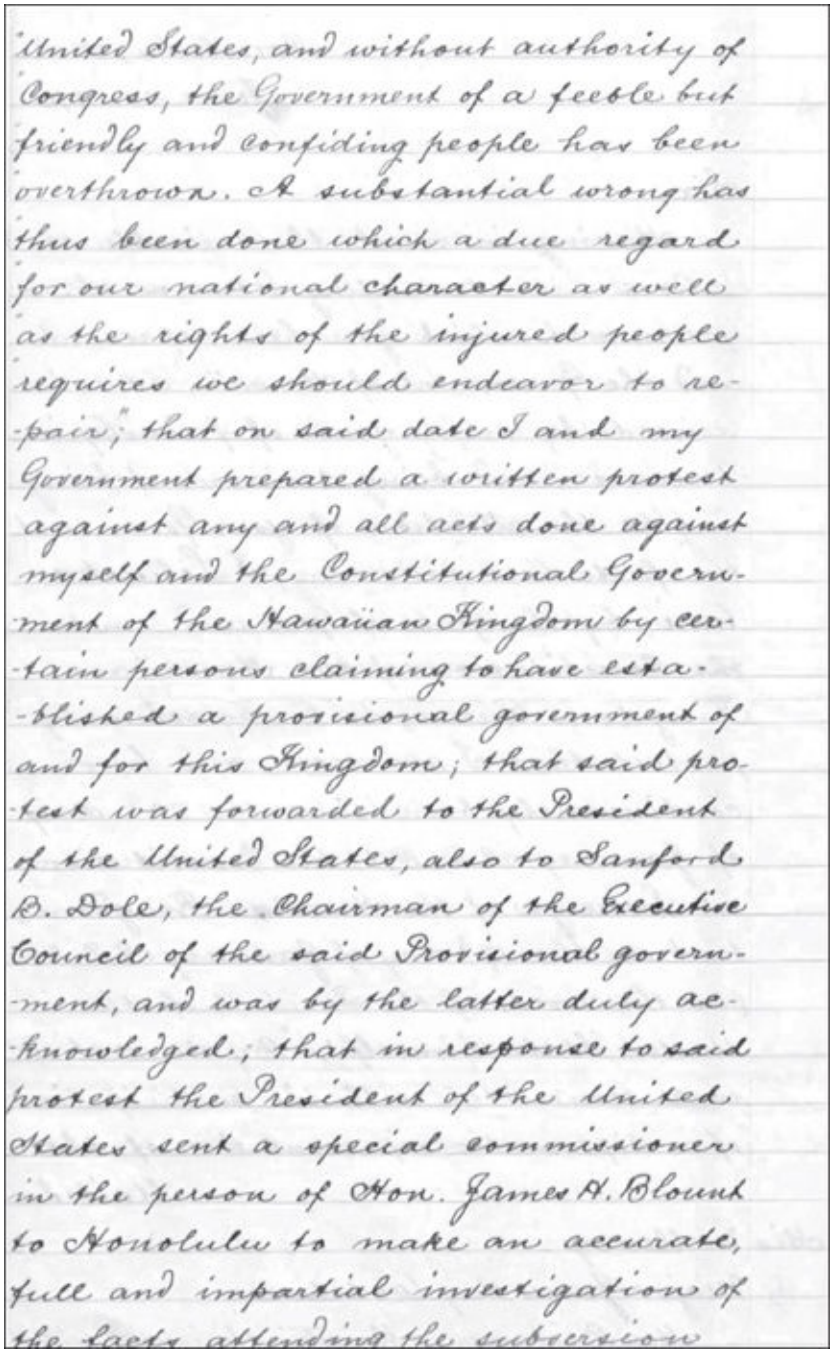
Sir:

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 Wodehouse
Her Britannic Majesty's Minister Resident
Honolulu.

FIGURE 6.6

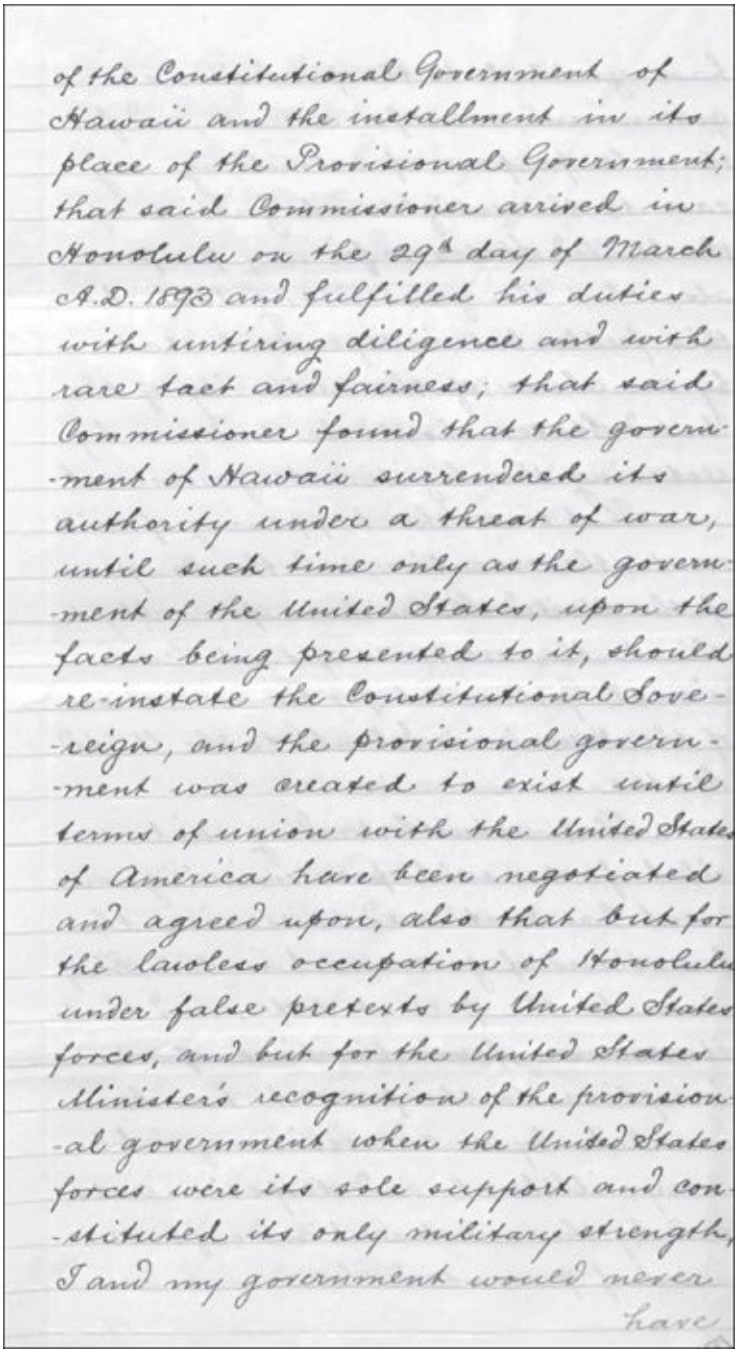
Rarely seen document of protest addressed to British Consul Wodehouse and written by Queen Lili‘uokalani, asserting her position as mō‘ī of the sovereign Kingdom of Hawai‘i. *Lili‘uokalani, “Protest,” United Kingdom National Archives, 1894*



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

FIGURE 6.7

Second page of Lili‘uokalani’s protest against the provisional government and the Republic of Hawai‘i.
Lili‘uokalani, “Protest,” United Kingdom National Archives, 1894

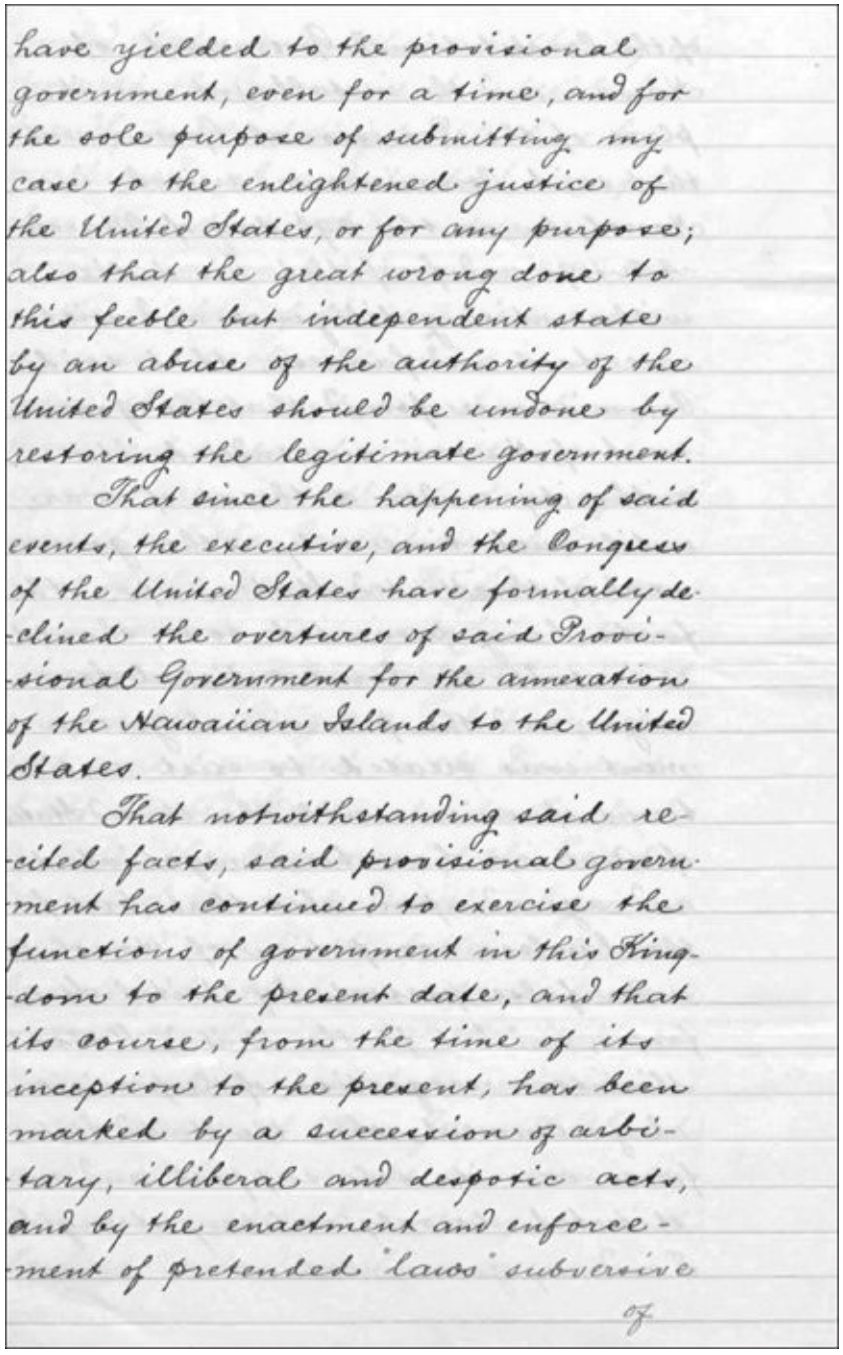


of the Constitutional Government of Hawaii and the installment in its place of the Provisional Government; that said Commissioner arrived in Honolulu on the 29th day of March A.D. 1893 and fulfilled his duties with untiring diligence and with rare tact and fairness; that said Commissioner found that 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

FIGURE 6.8

Third page of Lili‘uokalani’s protest against the provisional government and the Republic of Hawai‘i.
Lili‘uokalani, “Protest,” United Kingdom National Archives, 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.

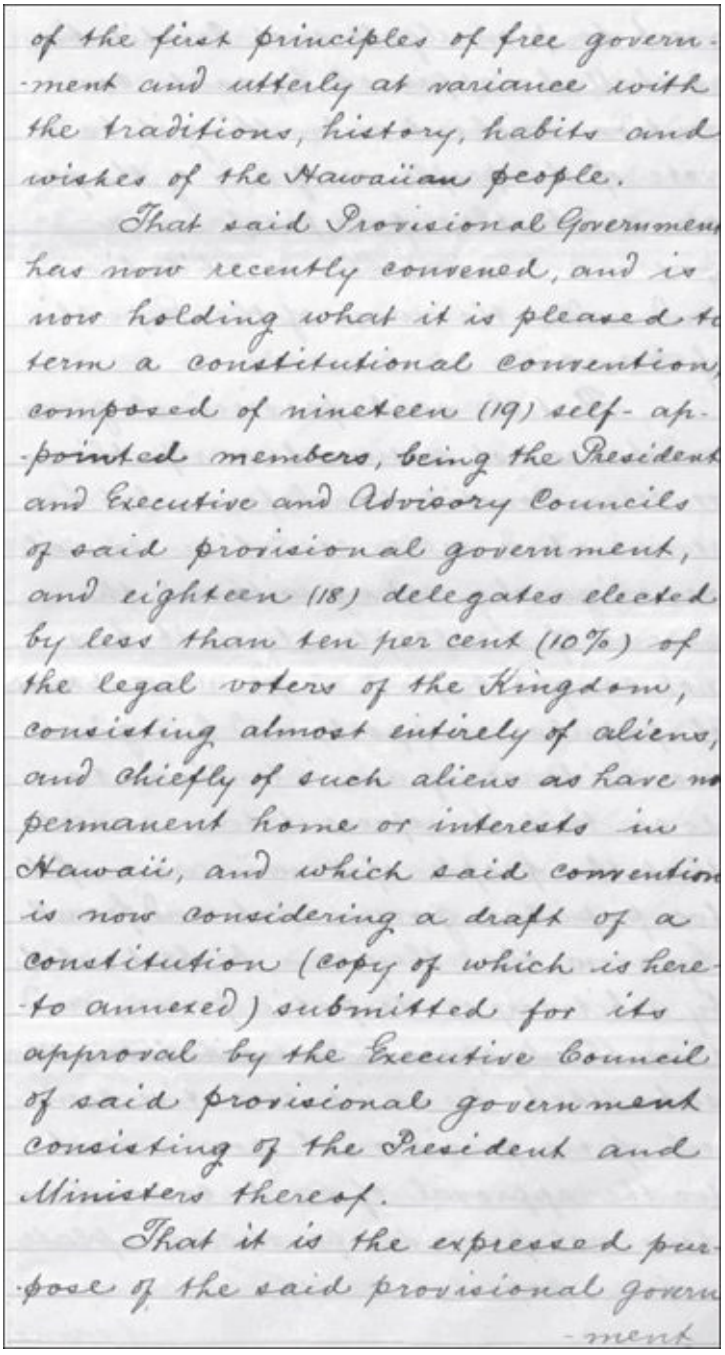
That since the happening of said events, the executive, and the Congress of the United States have formally declined the overtures of said Provisional Government for the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States.

That notwithstanding said recited facts, said provisional government has continued to exercise the functions of government in this Kingdom to the present date, and that its course, from the time of its inception to the present, has been marked by a succession of arbitrary, illiberal and despotic acts, and by the enactment and enforcement of pretended 'laws' subversive

of

FIGURE 6.9

Fourth page of Lili‘uokalani’s protest against the provisional government and the Republic of Hawai‘i.
Lili‘uokalani, “Protest,” United Kingdom National Archives, 1894



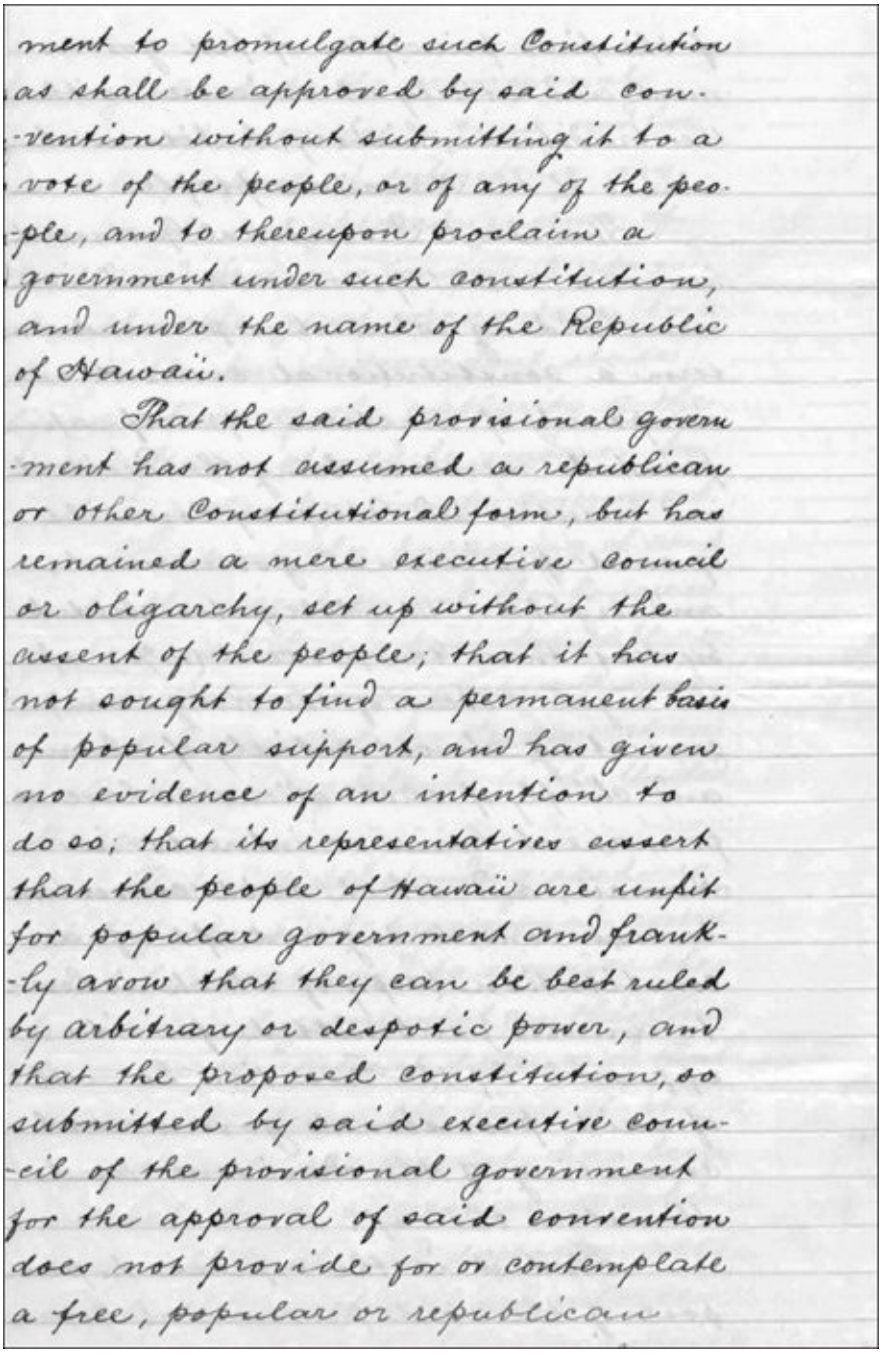
of the first principles of free govern-
-ment and utterly at variance with
the traditions, history, habits and
wishes of the Hawaiian people.

That said Provisional Governmen
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

FIGURE 6.10

Fifth page of Lili‘uokalani’s protest against the provisional government and the Republic of Hawai‘i.
Lili‘uokalani, “Protest,” United Kingdom National Archives, 1894

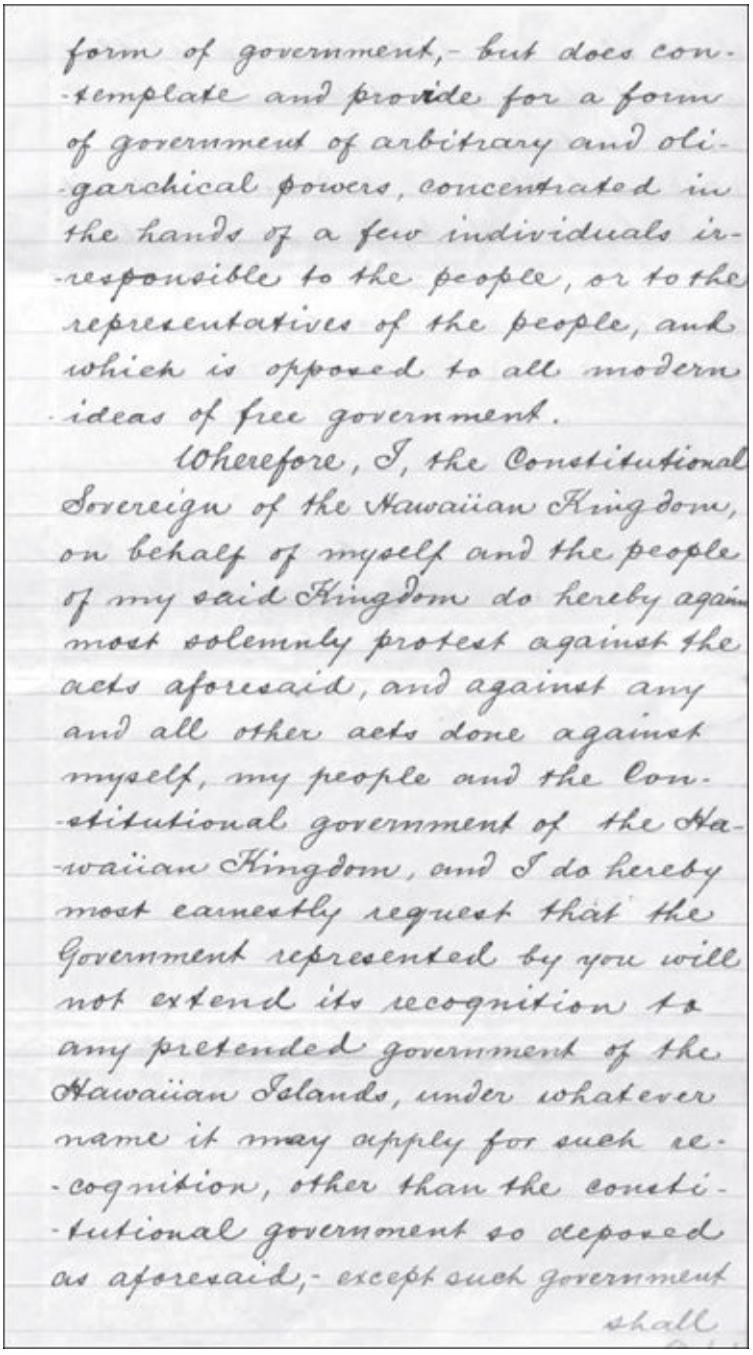


ment to promulgate such Constitution
as shall be approved by said con-
-vention without submitting it to a
vote of the people, or of any of the peo-
-ple, and to thereupon proclaim a
government under such constitution,
and under the name of the Republic
of Hawaii.

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

FIGURE 6.11

Sixth page of Lili‘uokalani’s protest against the provisional government and the Republic of Hawai‘i.
Lili‘uokalani, “Protest,” United Kingdom National Archives, 1894

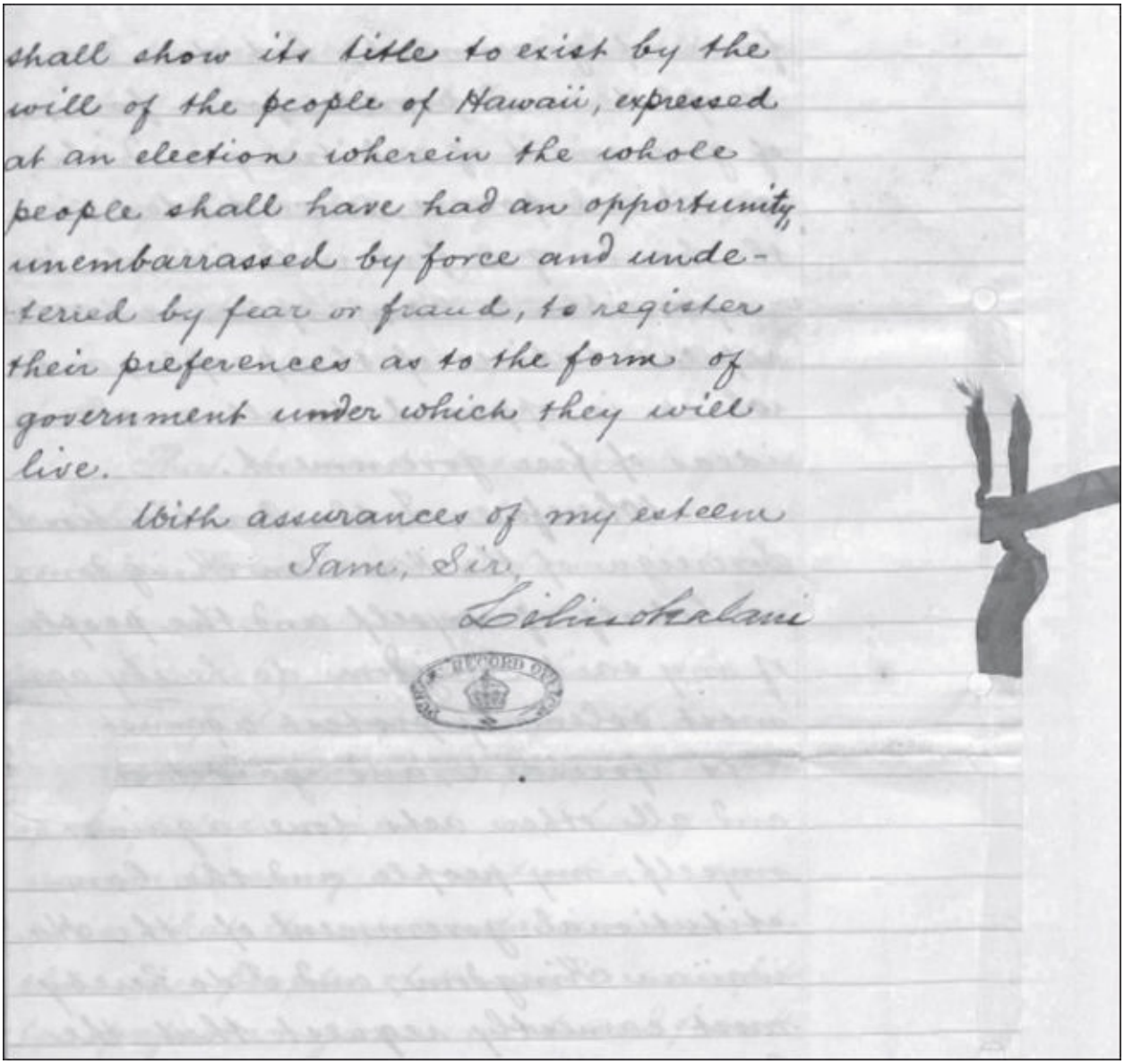


form of government,- but does con-
-template and provide for a form
of government of arbitrary and oli-
-garchical powers, concentrated in
the hands of a few individuals ir-
-responsible to the people, or to the
representatives of the people, and
which is opposed to all modern
ideas of free government.

Wherefore, I, the Constitutional
Sovereign of the Hawaiian Kingdom,
on behalf of myself and the people
of my said Kingdom do hereby agai
most solemnly protest against the
acts aforesaid, and against any
and all other acts done against
myself, my people and the lon-
-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

FIGURE 6.12

Seventh page of Lili‘uokalani’s protest against the provisional government and the Republic of Hawai‘i.
Lili‘uokalani, “Protest,” United Kingdom National Archives, 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 undeterred 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

FIGURE 6.13
Signature page of Lili‘uokalani’s protest against the provisional government and the Republic of Hawai‘i.
Lili‘uokalani, “Protest,” United Kingdom National Archives, 1894

In the following week Sanford Dole, the first president of the provisional government, declared in an Executive Council meeting that there was “no legal evidence of the complicity of the ex-queen to cause her arrest.”[39] Still, the queen was taken into custody two days later on January 16.

The Queen’s Arrest: Political Action, Not Legal Decision

The lack of legal evidence against the queen is generally deemphasized, even in works that focus on records of the Executive and Advisory Council.[40] However, when one examines the relevant primary archival documents, it is clear that her arrest was a political action rather than a legal decision. Humiliating Lili‘uokalani in front of her people would presumably signal the removal of the queen’s power, as illustrated in the following Executive Council minutes (italics added):

> 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.[41]

True to the pattern of colonial government, the oligarchy maintained itself through military force. A law was passed making it illegal for anyone to bring suit against military officers or any "other person *bona 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.[42] The oligarchy also made it legal to arrest or banish any person suspected of "lawless intentions."[43]

Against this backdrop, Lili‘uokalani was not just a threat to the improvised political maneuvering now present in Honolulu; she was the embodiment of legitimate, legal, constitutional order and the catalyst for a recurring Hawaiian political consciousness. Her arrest arose from the oligarchy's desire to destabilize Hawaiian governance by severing ancient connections between ali‘i and maka‘āinana.

Loss of Land Base

Faux-colonialism was not accomplished merely through attempts to physically and psychologically manipulate the legal order and the native population; challenges to the Hawaiian land base played a key role in shifting power away from ‘Ōiwi. The oligarchy busily repealed and revised Hawaiian law by introducing self-serving laws and by claiming lands that belonged to the Hawaiian Kingdom and the crown, or mō‘ī.

Almost fifty years earlier, the Māhele of 1848 created a governmental land base for the kingdom and the mō‘ī. Under section 4 of the Kuleana Act, a portion of those lands to be used for sustaining the government was sold at reduced rates to maka‘āinana. These "Crown Lands" were to be used to fund the office of the mō‘ī and were made inalienable through legislation on January 3, 1865. The Crown Lands were leased via Crown Land commissioners; the proceeds were the personal funds of the mō‘ī. ‘Ōiwi who chose not to acquire

allodial title through the Kuleana Act could continue to live on Government and Crown Lands as they had done for generations. Given their constitutionally vested rights in the lands of the Hawaiian Kingdom, and since all titles were awarded "koe naʻe ke kuleana o nā kanaka—*subject to the rights of native tenants,*" ʻŌiwi possessed habitation and use rights over their lands.

The land laws passed in the kingdom should not be confused with US property law. Kingdom laws were a unique set of hybrid laws created through the blending of Hawaiian tradition and aliʻi appropriation of Euro-American understandings of law. As such, these hybrid laws posed a problem for the provisional government, the Republic of Hawaiʻi, and even the Territory of Hawaiʻi. Following the provisional government's seizing of power in 1893, the Executive and Advisory Councils frequently discussed "land laws" and "ownership of the Crown Lands." With the declaration of the Republic of Hawaiʻi came Article 95 of their founding document, titled "Miscellaneous Provisions." Article 95 declared the Crown Lands property of the republic and rendered these lands alienable.[44] Liliʻuokalani later fought these claims through court cases in Hawaiʻi and in the US Congress:

> For four years and more, now, these people have confiscated and collected the revenues reserved from all time in order that the chief 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* [italics in the original]. They comprised 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.[45]

By 1895 the oligarchy's discussions about reforming land laws came to fruition through the passage of new laws relating directly to land and legitimate title. A joint resolution mandated an investigation of 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."[46] Damon suggested, "It might be well to send someone to New Zealand and investigate the workings of their land system" and recommended "Mr. Thurston or Mr. Smith."[47]

On December 18, 1895, William Smith returned from New Zealand, having conducted a formal investigation of its system of land title and registration. The colonial government in both New Zealand and Australia had been successful in dispossessing natives of land through the Torrens title system. The British government also had been effective in promoting foreign settlement of whites in both of those places. Since only a small minority of the population supported the oligarchy in Hawai‘i, it had much to gain from land policies that would promote foreign settlement of the islands. Correspondence began between the surveyor general of New Zealand, Percy Smith, and representatives of the oligarchy.[48]

Settling a desirable foreign population in Hawai‘i was something that could greatly benefit the republic. For example, increasing the number of Americans residing in Hawai‘i could assist in suppressing Hawaiian nationalism. Dole, who at the time was serving as president of the republic, wrote to Senator Dillingham, “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 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.”[49] In other writings Dole made it clear that he did not want just any type of American settlement:

> 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.[50]

The oligarchy actively encouraged Anglo-Saxon settlement of the Hawaiian Islands. Since Dole held the highest office in the provisional government, the Republic of Hawai‘i, and the Territory of Hawai‘i as its first governor, his statements offer a glimpse into the extent of racist policies of each of these illegitimate governments. By attempting to implant a white American population in the Hawaiian Islands, these governments were seeking to introduce American nationalism in the Islands as a direct assault on Hawaiian nationalistic sentiments.

These policies were also a response to the governments’ fear of Asians. After

Dole's departure from government, he wrote US Senator W. P. Dillingham that the government should do everything in its power to increase the number of Anglo-Saxon American farmers in Hawai'i to offset the growing influence of the "Oriental" population. "As increasing number of Chinese and Japanese pupils in the public schools, born here and entitled to citizenship on reaching adult ages, will give us in a few years such a number of voters of those classes as to require serious consideration." According to Dole, it was doubtful that these Asian settlers "will develop that sentiment in regard to American intuitions and the American social and political principles, as will make them safe leaders or creators of public sentiment."[51]

The cultivation of a white Anglo-Saxon population was something Dole had sought since the overthrow of Lili'uokalani in 1893. The debates at that time surrounding valid title to land and settlement gave birth to a large body of land law. The Land Act of 1895, which was passed as Act 26 in a special session on August 14, 1895, repealed most of the land laws of the Hawaiian Kingdom. In some forty-one pages, the Land Act reclassified land and entirely restructured the method of acquiring title and leasing lands. The act took two previously distinct land holdings—those of the government and those of the crown—and reclassified them as one land base called "Public Lands" in the process.[52] With this new move the republic sought to conceal the illegitimacy of its title to the Crown and Government Lands and to erase any notions of genealogical connection and constitutionally vested rights to those lands by Lili'uokalani's and the 'Ōiwi population.

Under the Land Act, anyone who wished to obtain land had to take an oath of allegiance to the republic and have no civil disability for any offense. These requirements immediately excluded numerous Hawaiian nationals and royalists who never took an oath of allegiance or refused to pay taxes to the provisional government and republic. Under the Hawaiian Kingdom, 'Ōiwi were allowed to occupy Government and Crown Lands, due to their rights as native tenants. The Land Act was the first legal measure of its kind to prevent what was termed "unlawful occupation" of Government Lands. Subagents were assigned over districts to prevent unlawful occupation and to remove any "squatters."

Part IV of the Land Act allowed the commissioners of Public Lands to sell "land patents"(parcels not over one thousand acres) at public auction. All deeds in the republic required the signature of the president and the minister of interior. Section 17 leaned toward despotic land reform by giving President Dole the ability to *perfect title* on any lands in the Hawaiian Islands.

> That the President may in his discretion upon the recommendation and approval, execute quiet-claim deeds for perfecting the titles of private lands where such titles are purely equitable or where such lands are suffering under defective titles . . .[53]

These changes to the law placed Dole in a position of power equal to that of a dictator or absolute monarch, where the person in control of the political system is also in control of the legitimacy of land holdings. Furthermore, Dole's ability to perfect title on land would make it impossible for heirs to claim what was rightfully theirs—essentially undermining Kauikeaouli's recognition of ʻŌiwi land rights through the Kumu Kānāwai of 1839, the Constitution of 1840, and the Māhele of 1848.

The Land Act was somewhat successful in its intention to settle Anglo-Americans in the Hawaiian Islands. Dole later wrote that the "preparation of the [Land] Act of 1895 was distinctly made with that object in view."[54] An article published in the *Hawaiian Gazette* on April 26, 1898, also notes the impact of the Land Act on Public Lands:

> 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 blocked 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.[55]

Queen Liliʻuokalani also observed the changing demographics of the Hawaiian Islands during the years of the republic. Following her release from confinement in ʻIolani Palace, the republic barred her from leaving Oʻahu until she was granted a full pardon on October 26, 1896. Ever mindful of the lāhui she presided over, Liliʻuokalani soon left Hawaiʻi for the United States, supposedly to visit with friends, but actually on a purposeful diplomatic mission to restore the legal government of the Hawaiian Islands.[56] In the final days of January 1897, she traveled to Washington DC to facilitate the petitions against annexation. She met often with US government officials and representatives, placing on record her position, and that of the nationals, against annexation. In an 1899 letter she wrote from Washington DC after the passage of the Newlands Resolution, Liliʻuokalani reflected on the changes taking place in the Islands as the oligarchy prepared the way for the Territory of Hawaiʻi:

> 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.[57]

Lili‘uokalani’s letter and the *Hawaiian Gazette* article suggest that the demographics of the Hawaiian Islands were changing rapidly as a consequence of the overthrow. Dole’s statements to promote the influx of Anglo-Saxons in the Hawaiian Islands further reveal a systemic objective of the republic. The Land Act changed existing laws to encourage new settlers to plant and foster the seeds of American nationalism in the Islands. Because the Land Act provided the oligarchy with the façade of legitimate title to land, it then began to target settlement of a population in the Islands that would share the republic’s political sentiments.

The issue of valid title to land, however, proved a dilemma for the entities that succeeded the provisional government and the oligarchy. In 1903, the Torrens title system was adopted by the legislature of the Territory of Hawai‘i (a result of the earlier contacts between the provisional government and New Zealand officials). Under this system, once a property goes through the land court, a new original certificate of title is awarded to the grantee, free and clear of any encumbrances. The territory’s adopting of this system is not surprising given the historical context: Many ‘Ōiwi had inherited interests in lands awarded to their ancestors through the Māhele and Kuleana Act of the kingdom. Such clouded titles presented bona fide troubles for business in the republic and territory, as noted in the following passage taken 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.[58]

Even today, the State of Hawai‘i guarantees a title only when it is registered in the land court system. Just as the Land Act allowed Dole to “clear up title,” the land court could declare a title it adjudicated “clear” of all previous interest or uncertainty. The new original certificate of title superseded all previous documentation. These changes in land court registration may have “cleared up” confusion for those unfamiliar with Hawaiian genealogies and enabled the system to function more “efficiently” for those who wanted lands that may have still held unclaimed interests of ‘Ōiwi.

Similarly, the Torrens title system glossed over any argument that all land titles continued to be vested in the Hawaiian Kingdom. This erasure was possible because the status of the Hawaiian Kingdom had been eroded by the US involvement in the illegal overthrow, the lack of a treaty of annexation, and the republic’s illegal “ceding” of the Government and Crown Lands to the United States.

The loss of the mō‘ī—and with it the loss of control over the Government and Crown Lands—has had lasting effects on Hawaiians. The land laws following the overthrow disregarded the rights of Hawaiian nationals and supported the interests of the oligarchy and its backers. The overthrow brought about an occupation that produced faux-colonial events, including the settlement of a foreign population in the Islands and the seizure of a national and ancestral land base.

Ownership of land and access to the ‘āina continue to be contentious issues in Hawai‘i. Since land titles originate from the Hawaiian Kingdom—and more specifically the Māhele of 1848—those interested in understanding the occupation of Hawaiian lands have an accessible paper trail for nearly every

parcel of land throughout the Hawaiian Islands, making detailed knowledge available about both legal and illegal land transfers from the establishment of title until today.

For example, a case was heard in 2009 in the US Supreme Court addressing the issue of land and ʻŌiwi rights to the former Crown and Government Lands of the Kingdom of Hawaiʻi. A group of ʻŌiwi had successfully challenged, in the Hawaiʻi State Supreme Court, the legitimacy of the State of Hawaiʻi's title to the former Crown and Government Lands, effectively placing a moratorium on the sale of lands. The US Supreme Court sent the issue back to the State of Hawaiʻi Supreme Court for various reasons, and many of the plaintiffs settled. Osorio remained the lone plaintiff in the case and, at the time of this writing, he continues to argue that the State of Hawaiʻi does not have clear title to the lands and thus does not have the right to sell them. The various attempts by the republic, the territory, and the State of Hawaiʻi to clear title to the former Government and Crown Lands of the kingdom have therefore never been completely successful. Though the foreign settlement of those lands has largely been realized, legitimate and clear title to Hawaiian lands will remain an important issue as long as ʻŌiwi persist in understanding the facts of Hawaiʻi's historical record.

ILLEGITIMIZING ʻŌLELO

> The most serious blow suffered by the colonized is being removed from history and from the community.[59]

The loss of a land base was a crushing blow for Hawaiian nationals because it materially dispossessed them of kuleana, or rights to land. The loss of the Hawaiian language as a legitimate form of expression was an equally debilitating strike. The provisional government, the Republic of Hawaiʻi, and the Territory of Hawaiʻi each had a hand in removing the Hawaiian language from public and even private settings.

The Undoing of High Literacy Rates

ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi, or the Hawaiian language, was ingrained within all the social,

political, and judicial systems of the kingdom. The Hawaiian Kingdom had one of the highest literacy rates of any country in the world in the nineteenth century, and the language was ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi.[60] Esther Mookini has documented the range of Hawaiian-language newspapers in the kingdom,[61] while Silva documents how ʻŌiwi used these newspapers as a medium for preserving cultural and national history, and for creating a forum to express their collective identity as a people.[62] When ʻŌiwi became publishers of their own newspapers, they appropriated the printing press and turned it into an engine for ancient moʻolelo and moʻokūʻauhau that distinctly celebrated Hawaiian heritage and ensured "that their knowledge was passed on to future generations."[63]

The Hawaiian language remained an essential part of education until the oligarchy formally removed it (fig. 6.14 and 6.15). 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."[64]

In addition to the law removing ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi as a medium for classroom instruction, Lorrin Thurston, a Hawaiʻi-born politician and businessman, called for the removal of the Hawaiian language as a qualification for being a representative on May 5, 1894. These measures steadily ushered the Hawaiian language out of the public sphere and reinforced the use of the English language in all areas of government.

The decline of the Hawaiian language was a direct outcome of 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 Hawaiʻi. The effects were felt in all aspects of society, particularly in schools. Students in the territory would be physically punished and mentally abused for speaking their native tongue in public schools. ʻAnakala Eddie Kaʻanāʻanā, a native speaker, consummate educator, and occasional activist who had lived into the twenty-first century, often told stories about his being abused in school for speaking ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi.[65]

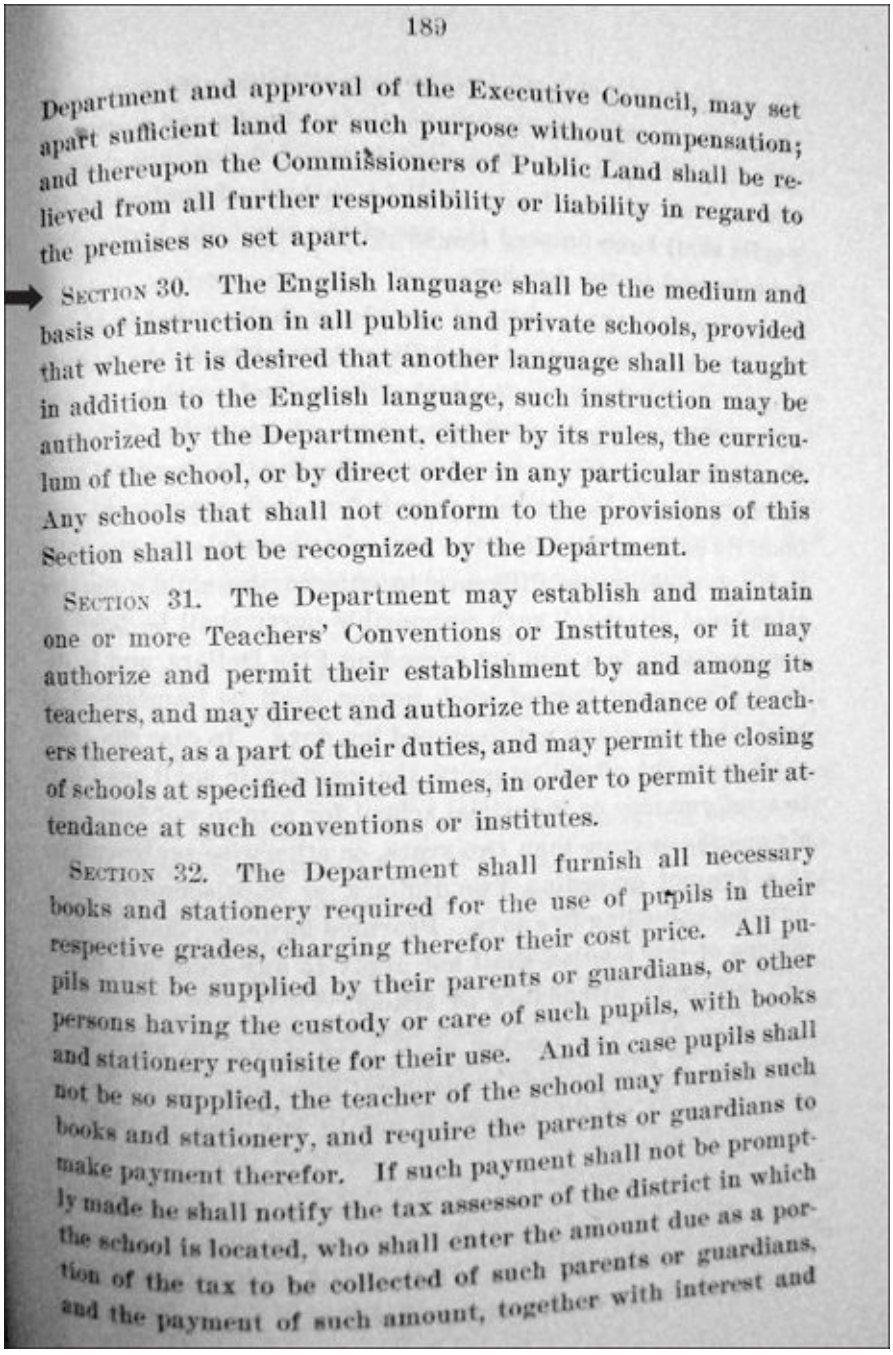
These active efforts to expel ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi from the public sphere led to its disappearance from the private sphere as well. Largely because of shame and ridicule, many native speakers chose not to teach ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi to their children and grandchildren.

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

FIGURE 6.14
Excerpt of Act 57, passed by the Republic of Hawai‘i on June 8, 1896. *Session Laws, Hawai‘i State Archives, 1896*



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Department and approval of the Executive Council, may set apart sufficient land for such purpose without compensation; and thereupon the Commissioners of Public Land shall be relieved from all further responsibility or liability in regard to the premises so set apart.

SECTION 30. The English language shall be the medium and basis of instruction in all public and private schools, provided that where it is desired that another language shall be taught in addition to the English language, such instruction may be authorized by the Department, either by its rules, the curriculum of the school, or by direct order in any particular instance. Any schools that shall not conform to the provisions of this Section shall not be recognized by the Department.

SECTION 31. The Department may establish and maintain one or more Teachers' Conventions or Institutes, or it may authorize and permit their establishment by and among its teachers, and may direct and authorize the attendance of teachers thereat, as a part of their duties, and may permit the closing of schools at specified limited times, in order to permit their attendance at such conventions or institutes.

SECTION 32. The Department shall furnish all necessary books and stationery required for the use of pupils in their respective grades, charging therefor their cost price. All pupils must be supplied by their parents or guardians, or other persons having the custody or care of such pupils, with books and stationery requisite for their use. And in case pupils shall not be so supplied, the teacher of the school may furnish such books and stationery, and require the parents or guardians to make payment therefor. If such payment shall not be promptly made he shall notify the tax assessor of the district in which the school is located, who shall enter the amount due as a portion of the tax to be collected of such parents or guardians, and the payment of such amount, together with interest and

FIGURE 6.15

Excerpt of Act 57, passed by the Republic of Hawai‘i on June 8, 1896. Section 30 specified English as the official language of instruction in Hawai‘i schools. *Session Laws, Hawai‘i State Archives, 1896*

A NEW REVOLUTION

> 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 two 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 ʻIolani Palace to make hoʻokupu to our kūpuna, our aliʻi, 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 is the truth, the truth, the truth, the truth, the truth.[66]

With dignity, patience, and aloha, ʻŌiwi have endured successive attacks on our national identity, our lands, and our language. This adversity has forged a stronger degree of determination and resolve within the lāhui. Many ʻŌiwi have simply refused to allow the Hawaiian past to be obliterated. Through the reclamation of our collective past and a surge of political and cultural awareness, the national consciousness has reemerged.

The excerpt quoted above is from a speech given by George Helm at ʻIolani Palace shortly before his passing in 1977, in the midst of the struggle to stop the US military from bombing and desecrating the island of Kahoʻolawe. His clarion call reflects the cultural, religious, spiritual, and political reawakening that was taking place in Hawaiʻi in the 1970s and the role played by the Protect Kahoʻolawe Association in that movement. Helm's comments about the aliʻi and placing someone back in ʻIolani Palace confirm the reemergence of Hawaiian nationalistic sentiments, and these views have spawned to become important topics of study for ʻŌiwi scholars and others studying contemporary Hawaiian political movements.

Across the Hawaiian Islands today there is an escalation of a Hawaiian national consciousness. For the most part this emergence is an outgrowth of native communities, but there are also nonethnic Hawaiian individuals who have

declared themselves Hawaiian nationals by joining one of the many independence groups or by claiming their descent from a non-Native Hawaiian national. On many campuses of University of Hawai‘i, growing numbers of Hawaiians are looking deeper into the status of the Hawaiian Kingdom as an independent state under international law. Other Hawaiian students seek recognition by the US federal government, allowing for a nation-within-a-nation government. And there are still others who reject either of these notions, believing in their national identity as Americans.

Agency: A Force That Remains

Like our ali‘i and kūpuna, we continue to exercise our agency as we change our Hawai‘i. On significant historical dates for ‘Ōiwi, such as Makahiki, Lā Kū‘oko‘a (November 28), Lā Ho‘iho‘i Ea (July 31), the illegal overthrow (January 17), and the birthdays of the mō‘ī, there are growing numbers of events, celebrations, and protests that take place throughout the Islands. These events often are organized by individual groups and, though occasionally intensified by differing political positions, the gatherings are respectful, peaceful, and resolute. Knowledge of the political and cultural past of ‘Ōiwi has reached a mass of people to a degree unprecedented since the overthrow of our nation. This leads me to believe we are on the cusp of a wave of great change for Hawai‘i, when individual groups and gatherings will come together as a unified collective.

The legacies of faux-colonialism and occupation in Hawai‘i are not difficult to witness. They can be experienced when one visits a hotel built over sacred land. They can be felt in the aftershocks of the ‘āina after places like Pōhakuloa are bombed. They can also be seen in the psychology of Hawaiian communities which, against overwhelming odds, find ways to resist and create alternatives for Hawai‘i. They can be detected in the policies of the occupier, such as the planting of leadership from the American continent into Hawaiian institutions, schools, and throughout Hawai‘i—a practice that continues to be more common than empowering leadership from within.

Yet, I also feel we are witnessing the slow decay of even these often unexamined assumptions of value and privilege. The ali‘i of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were convinced that there is much to learn from the world and all of its cultures. I am of the same mind. I also believe we have much to offer the world. ‘Ōiwi are arguably some of the most ethnically diverse people in

the world. Our kūpuna intermarried with other ethnicities and embraced other cultures in ways that are remarkable. The result is an ethnically diverse and productive society that has endured over a century of assault and coercion with peace and aloha.

What Will Happen?

What will happen when we, as ʻŌiwi, value our own perspectives and experiences enough to follow and finish what our kūpuna put in motion? What will happen when we more fully trust in our ancestral memory? What will happen when we realize that our agency is still intact, and that the final outcome of the American occupation in Hawaiʻi is yet to be determined?

This book has described the agency and resilience of Hawaiian aliʻi. It has offered glimpses into the collective ʻŌiwi past, calling attention to the accomplishments of the ancestors and acknowledging their courage and resourcefulness in the face of extreme difficulty. The name of this book, *No Mākou ka Mana*, suggests that the power is within each of us to carve out our future. It is a strength inherited from the ancestors that grounds, challenges, and inspires, ever-present and never to be forgotten. As the famed line of the song "Kaulana Nā Pua" reminds us, "Ua lawa mākou i ka pōhaku—as long as there is a stone in our islands we will endure."

This book is a moʻolelo—a story framed by my design and carefully revealed in each successive section. The story is a joyous one but not without its share of sorrow. There is much to learn from this moʻolelo, and I am confident that the next generation will expand and improve on what I have shared.

For ʻŌiwi, this book strives to be a testament to the brilliance of our native rulers. Much may be gained by freeing their spirits from the chains of victimhood as the prey of foreigners. Aliʻi were astute leaders. Their dedication to their people and their nation should not be overlooked because of their inability to stop brute military force. Understanding and accepting the ways they were changing while still being Hawaiian speaks directly to the heart of many ʻŌiwi, as we face contemporary struggles on a daily basis. Reclaiming our past as we navigate toward our future can only lead to more clarity, direction, and resolve in the midst of change. Witnessing what our ancestors were able to do against such overwhelming odds should help to defeat the seeds of self-doubt that have afflicted our people for too long.

For the world, this book offers an anomaly: A native-ruled country that was never colonized became a multiethnic nation, fully functioning as a bilingual state until overthrown and occupied by the United States. But this is not simply another story of native lands and identity claimed by a belligerent and arrogant empire. Rather, it is an account that reveals the enduring agency of a people in the center of the Pacific never to acquiesce and never to lose aloha. Our struggle builds resolve, and we will remain. No mākou ka mana.

NOTES

Introduction

1 Lili‘uokalani, *Kumulipo,* introduction.

2 Dole, Minutes of the Executive Council, January 14, 1895. Series 432, vol. 2, Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu.

3 Lili‘uokalani, *Hawaii’s Story,* 280.

4 Lili‘uokalani, *Queen’s Songbook,* 59.

5 Literally, ‘Ōiwi means “of the bones.” This word refers to those who have genealogical ties to the Hawaiian Islands, specifically those of ethnic aboriginal Hawaiian descent. ‘Ōiwi is synonymous with Native Hawaiian, without the connotations of blood quantum as defined by US law.

Chapter One: ‘Ōiwi Agency

1 Lili‘uokalani, *Queen’s Story,* 302.

2 See, for example, *Ka Leo o ka Lahui,* “He molelo kaao no Kamapuaa.”

3 I use the term “colonized” in ways that are consistent with the writings of Fanon, Ngugi, and Nandy, which describe how people become disconnected from their own language, worldview, and epistemologies and regard such traditions in a negative sense. In this “colonization of the mind,” traditional values are replaced with that which is valued by the colonizer, and there forms a dialectic relationship between the colonized and the colonizer, in which one cannot exist without the other. Similar social processes may have commenced in the Hawaiian Islands after the illegal overthrow of 1893. However, I would hesitate to rely on a colonial discourse because of the political implications for the Hawaiian Kingdom under international law. Rather, I agree with scholars like Kanalu Young and Keanu Sai, who have suggested that “occupation” is the preferred term to describe post-1893 Hawai‘i, where the political circumstances have been vastly different from those of colonization, even though the social situations (oppression, attempts at the obliteration of native language and worldviews) have been nearly identical. Occupation describes a situation where one independent state has seized control or governance within the territory of another independent state. Significantly, occupations are not permanent and are governed by the principles of international law.

4 Pukui, *‘Ōlelo No‘eau,* 132.

5 See, for example, Trask, *Native Daughter;* Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land;* Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui;* and Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*.

6 “The effect 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 nonachievement and it makes them want to distance themselves from that wasteland.” Ngugi, *Decolonising the Mind,* 3.

7 Kameʻeleihiwa, *Native Land*, 22.

8 Bartlett, *Historical Sketch,* 18.

9 Trask, *Native Daughter*, 5.

10 Osorio, "Kūʻē and Kūʻokoʻa," 235.

11 In 1873, a special dinner was held to commemorate the thirtieth anniversary of Hawaiian independence. Figure 1 depicts a commemorative dinner ticket that is the size of a business card. It is filed in the personal papers of W. D. Alexander, M-3, Hawaiʻi State Archives. Also included in the file is a dinner invitation that designates J. U. Kawainui, J. K. Unauna, D. Malo, A. Kalauli, J. L. Kuahau, J. W. Hookano, and H. Waha as the "committee of invitation."

Chapter Two: Indigenous Hawaiian Statecraft

1 [Kalanianaʻole], Moʻolelo, n.d. Moʻolelo in folder named "Beginnings of government by aliʻi rule." Kalanianaʻole Collection, M-80-5-3, Hawaiʻi State Archives, Honolulu. English translation by the author. The moʻolelo may have been written by Jonah Kūhiō Kalanianaʻole. Given that this document is found in the Kalanianaʻole Collection—and because no author is listed and the handwriting seems to match that of Kūhiō—I am assuming that he wrote it. However, this has yet to be verified. It is possible that the document is a copied version of an article published in one of the many Hawaiian-language newspapers, but this too has not been verified.

The first page of the document seems to be missing. The last page states, "Aole i pau ke kopeia ana o keia moolelo, lawe e ia Ka Buke," which might suggest that the moʻolelo was a previously written work being copied by Kūhiō or by someone working for Kūhiō.

The document goes into great detail about the actions of famous aliʻi such as Ulu, Hema, Puna, Kapawa, Kahaʻi, Paumakua, Māʻilikūkahi, and others. The author—whether Kūhiō or otherwise—clearly possessed vast knowledge about the genealogy of aliʻi and their moʻolelo. That this knowledge had been maintained, regardless of educational systems or influences of Europeans or Americans, is perhaps of greater significance than is the question of authorship.

2 There also is a discussion of the moʻolelo of Paumakua, a great navigator who brought three haole back to Ka Pae ʻĀina following his voyages.

3 I looked through many laws and bills at the Hawaiʻi State Archives, but was unable to find the exact bill. A few of the archivists on staff helped me search but to no avail. It is suspected that the document in question was a draft bill of what later became the Hawaii Organic Act of 1900.

4 Andrews, *Dictonary,* 384.

5 Desha, *He Moʻolelo Kaʻao,* 1:142.

6 Abad, "Hawaiian Sociopolitical Complexity," 80.

7 Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 93, 253.

8 Andrews, *Dictonary,* 398.

9 Fornander, *Ancient History*, 64.

10 Abad, "Hawaiian Sociopolitical Complexity," 276.

11 Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 251.

12 Fornander, *Ancient History*, 64.

13 Ibid., 66.

14 Kalākaua, *Legends and Myths*, 97.

15 Fornander, *Ancient History*, 66.

16 [Kalaniana‘ole], Mo‘olelo, n.d.

17 Ibid. English translation by the author.

18 Other sources list Heleipawa and Kapawa as the same person. Kamakau notes that in the Maui and O‘ahu histories, Heleipawa is the father of Aikanaka, and Kapawa is the father of Heleipawa. (*See* Kamakau, “He mau olelo mua,” 2 and “He puu kaulana,” 1). Abad’s comprehensive study of ‘Ōiwi genealogies and oral histories (“Hawaiian Sociopolitical Complexity,” 169) also discusses Kapawa and Heleipawa.

19 This is a compiled genealogy extracted from Kamakau (“Ke kuauhau,” 49) and *Ka Makaainana* (“Mookuauhau,” buke 5, helu 16:3 and helu 17:2).

20 *Ka Makaainana*, “Mookuauhau,” buke 5, helu 16:3. English translation by the author.

21 Silva, *Aloha Betrayed,* 35.

22 Malo, *Ka Mo‘olelo Hawai‘i,* 103.

23 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 by opposing ali‘i nui. His description allows his metaphor to be applied in both situations where a mō‘ī consolidated rule on the island and situations where ali‘i nui were ruling as separate ali‘i ‘ai moku.

24 Fornander, *Ancient History,* 30.

25 Kalākaua, *Legends and Myths*, 85.

26 Abad, “Hawaiian Sociopolitical Complexity,” 276.

27 Fornander, *Ancient History,* 30.

28 Kamakau, “Ka moolelo Hawaii,” buke 5, helu 29:1.

29 Ibid. English translation by the author.

30 This genealogy is extracted from Kamakau (“Ke kuauhau,” 49) and *Ka Makaainana* (“Mookuauhau,” buke 5, helu 16:3 and helu 17:2).

31 Kalākaua clearly states that Kalaunuiohua was the “king” of Hawai‘i Island and that Kamaluohua was the “moi of Maui” in that time period *(Legends and Myths*, 177). He also states that Kahokuohua was the “moi of Molokai” (177) and that the “moi” of Kaua‘i was Kūkona (189). It is interesting that he refers to Huapouleilei as the “alii-nui” of O‘ahu and notes “his possessions embracing the districts of Ewa, Waianae and Waialua, while the Koolau and Kona divisions were ruled, respectively, by Moku-a-Loe and Kahuoi” (177). By doing this Kalākaua seems to be making a distinction between mō‘ī and ali‘i nui.

32 Fornander, *Ancient History*, 22; Malo, *Ka Mo‘olelo Hawai‘i,* 5–7.

33 Whether one uses the designation “mō‘ī” or “ali‘i ‘ai moku,” both terms refer to an ali‘i who consolidated rule over an entire island.

34 Kalākaua, *Legends and Myths,* 178.

35 Ibid., 181.

36 Fornander, *Ancient History*, 68.

37 Malo, *Ka Moʻolelo Hawaiʻi*, 142. Malo also notes that Kalaunuiohua continues this practice of making kiaʻāina of the ruling chiefs of Molokaʻi and Oʻahu.

38 Fornander, *Ancient History*, 67–69.

39 Abad, "Hawaiian Sociopolitical Complexity," 309.

40 Fornander, *Ancient History*, 28.

41 An excellent example of this is the moʻolelo of Kamehameha's rise to power. In some accounts Kamehameha is a wohi chief; in others he is of the naha rank. Two of his adversaries, Kīwalaʻō and Keawemauhili, are of the higher nīʻaupiʻo ranks. Another example is perhaps ʻUmi, or the moʻolelo of Māʻilikūkahi, who was offered the position of mōʻī by the ʻaha aliʻi after the former mōʻī was removed from power. See Kalākaua, *Legends and Myths*, 353–68; Malo, *Ka Moʻolelo Hawaiʻi*, 146–52; Desha, *He Moʻolelo Kaʻao*.

42 Andrews, *Dictionary*, 453.

43 Beamer, "Huli ka Palena," 120.

44 Ibid.

45 Kamakau, "Ka moolelo Hawaii," buke 5, helu 30:1. English translation by the author.

46 Lyons, "Land Matters," 103.

47 Cook, *Journals*, 82.

48 Stannard, *Before the Horror*, 30–32.

49 Fornander, *Ancient History*, 89.

50 Ibid., 88.

51 Abad, "Hawaiian Sociopolitical Complexity," 310–12.

52 [Kalaniana'ole], Moʻolelo, n.d. English translation by the author.

53 Fornander (*Ancient History*, 89) notes, "He caused the island to be thoroughly surveyed, and the boundaries between the different divisions and lands to be definitely and permanently marked out, thus obviating future disputes between neighbouring chiefs and landholders." Kamakau *(Tales and Traditions*, 54) records, "When the kingdom passed to Māʻilikūkahi, the land divisions were in a state of confusion; the ahupuaʻa, the kū [ʻili kūpono], the ʻili ʻāina, the moʻo ʻāina, the paukū ʻāina, and the kīhāpai were not clearly defined. Therefore Māʻilikūkahi ordered the chiefs, aliʻi, the lesser chiefs, kaukau aliʻi, the warrior chiefs, pūʻali aliʻi, and the overseers, luna to divide all of Oʻahu into moku and ahupuaʻa, ʻili kūpono, ʻili ʻāina, and moʻo ʻāina."

54 Beckwith, *Hawaiian Mythology*, 383.

55 Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs*, 19; Kameʻeleihiwa, *Native Land*, 27.

56 Fornander, *Ancient History*, 93.

57 Abad, "Hawaiian Sociopolitical Complexity," 308–14.

58 Beamer and Duarte, "I Palapala no Ia Aina," 66–86.

59 Malo, *Ka Moʻolelo Hawaiʻi*, 11.

60 Kameʻeleihiwa, *Native Land*, 27.

61 The title of this publication, attributed to Kauikeaouli et al., is *Buke Kakau Paa no ka Mahele Aina.*

The book is commonly known as Buke Mahele and is referred to as such throughout this text.

62 Pukui, “Geographic Names Hawaii,” 618. HEN I: 616–24, Bishop Museum Archives, Honolulu.

63 Malo, *Ka Moʻolelo Hawaiʻi,* 11; see also Kamakau, “Ka moolelo Hawaii,” buke 5, helu 29:1.

64 Lyons, “Land Matters,” 103–4.

65 Braun, *Intemperate Rainforest,* 47.

66 Lyons, “Land Matters,” 111.

67 Ibid.

68 Hawaiian Kingdom Supreme Court, “Boundaries of Pulehunui,” 4 Haw. 239 (1879); Boundary Commission, “The Ahupuaa of Kapapala,” 437.

69 Pukui (*ʻŌlelo Noʻeau,* 155) notes, *“Kalaoa eats in the dark.* 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.”

70 Malo, *Ka Moʻolelo Hawaiʻi,* 85.

71 Lyons, “Land Matters,” 118.

72 Ibid., 119.

73 Handy, Handy, and Pukui, *Native Planters,* 49.

74 Lyons, “Land Matters,” 119.

75 Ibid., 118.

76 Hawaiian Kingdom Supreme Court, “Boundaries of Pulehunui,” 239.

77 Kameʻeleihiwa, *Native Land,* 51–52.

78 Desha, *He Moʻolelo Kaʻao.*

79 For more on this topic, see Beamer, “Huli ka Palena.”

80 Malo, *Ka Moʻolelo Hawaiʻi,* 106.

81 Ibid., 107.

82 Ibid.

83 Fornander, *Ancient History,* 63.

84 Livingstone, *Putting Science in Its Place,* 14

Chapter Three: Aliʻi Diplomacy on the World Stage

1 Liholiho to Paalua, Kaakumu, and Kauikeaouli, 1824. F.O.& EX 402, Hawaiʻi State Archives, Honolulu.

2 Kamehameha to King George III, March 10, 1810. Berkshire, England, the Royal Archives at Windsor Castle. RA/GEO/MAIN/14966. Reproduced by permission of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.

3 See Kamakau, “He mau olelo mua” and “Na palapala.”

4 Kamakau, *Ke Kumu Aupuni,* 41.

5 Ibid., 42.

6 Silva, *Aloha Betrayed,* 20–21.

7 Obeyesekere, *Apotheosis of Captain Cook,* 3.

8 Desha, *He Moʻolelo Kaʻao,* 1:79. English translation by the author.

9 Ibid., 1:44.

10 Ibid. This is a reference to the process of growing wauke, or Hawaiian mulberry. The shoots are plucked so that the bark will be suitable to use for kapa. Keawemauhili's reference alludes to doing away with Kamehameha as a child before he becomes strong.

11 Ibid., 1:141.

12 Ibid., 1:333.

13 Fornander, *Ancient History,* 234.

14 Desha, *He Moʻolelo Kaʻao,* 1:336.

15 Fornander, *Ancient History,* 234–35.

16 Pratt, *Imperial Eyes.*

17 Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom,* 1:29–30.

18 Desha, *He Moʻolelo Kaʻao,* 1:341.

19 Freycinet, *Hawaii in 1819,* 20.

20 Ibid., 21.

21 Schütz, *Voices of Eden.*

22 Freycinet, *Hawaii in 1819,* 21. "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."

23 Baker and Phongpaichit, *History of Thailand,* 36–80.

24 Desha, *He Moʻolelo Kaʻao,* 1:145–46.

25 Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom,* 1:29.

26 Kamakau, *Ke Kumu Aupuni;* Desha, *He Moʻolelo Kaʻao;* Fornander, *Ancient History.*

27 Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom,* 1:41–43.

28 Kamakau, *Ke Kumu Aupuni,* 177, 191–92.

29 Hackler, "Alliance or Cession?" 1–12.

30 Fornander, *Ancient History,* 341.

31 It is possible that Kamehameha had the Hawaiian flag designed to include the Union Jack as a means to illustrate the alliance with Britain and perhaps because the material itself was provided by the British. See Desha, *He Moʻolelo Kaʻao,* 2:278–80. In a letter dated April 30, 1812, the earl of

Liverpool wrote to Kamehameha, “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” (Hawai‘i State Archives, series 402-2-7, chronological file, 1790–1849, “Liverpool”).

32 Hawai‘i State Archives, series 402-2-7.

33 Freycinet, *Hawaii in 1819,* 22.

34 Fornander, *Ancient History,* 246–69.

35 Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom,* 1:47.

36 Ibid., 1:50–51.

37 Desha, *He Mo‘olelo Ka‘ao,* 1:281.

38 Kamakau, *Ke Kumu Aupuni,* 200.

39 Ibid.

40 Ibid.

41 Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land,* 42–43.

42 Kamakau, *Ke Kumu Aupuni,* 201.

43 Alexander Liholiho and Kapuāiwa, “Journal of Kamehameha V.” This journal refers to ‘Ī‘ī’s visiting them on a nearly daily basis.

44 Kamakau, *Ke Kumu Aupuni,* 197.

45 Ibid., 203.

46 Ibid., 207. In passages 20–21 Kamakau notes that the practice of ‘ai noa (free eating) was common. Following the death of a high-ranking chief who was greatly loved, the kapu would be suspended, and women could eat kapu foods and enter into heiau. After this period of mourning the new mō‘ī would reinstate the kapu, and these practices would cease. The difference at the time of Liholiho was that some ali‘i wished to maintain the ‘ai noa and did not want Liholiho to reestablish the kapu that had been emplaced in Hawai‘i for generations.

47 For a discussion on the rise of Ka‘ahumanu and her role in the ‘ai noa, see Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land,* 69–79.

48 Kamakau, *Ke Kumu Aupuni,* 209. The English translation for these passages is by the author.

49 Ibid.

50 Ibid., 199.

51 Ibid.

52 Ibid., 210.

53 Freycinet, *Hawaii in 1819,* 14.

54 Ibid., 14. M. Rives refers to Jean Rives, who is called by differing first names in the works of Freycinet, Kamakau, and in the letter written by Henry Ellis in 1824.

55 Ibid.

56 Freycinet, *Hawaii in 1819,* 20.

57 Kamakau, *Ke Kumu Aupuni,* 210.

58 Ibid.

59 According to Kalākaua, “Not being a *tabu* chief by birth, [Liholiho] was easily persuaded by Kaahumanu to lend his assistance in depriving those of higher rank of their *tabu* prerogatives, and 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.” See Kalākaua, *Legends and Myths*, 433.

60 Kamakau, *Ke Kumu Aupuni*, 211.

61 Ibid.

62 Kalākaua, *Legends and Myths*, 444.

63 Kamakau, *Ke Kumu Aupuni*, 216.

64 Winona Beamer, *Nā Mele Hula*, 2:46–47.

65 See Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land*, 79–82, for further interpretations on reasons for abandoning the kapu.

66 Kamakau, *Ke Kumu Aupuni*, 245.

67 Okihiro, *Island World*, 82.

68 Kamakau, *Ke Kumu Aupuni*, 244–46.

69 Ibid., 244–45.

70 Ibid., 246.

71 Ibid., 245.

72 Ibid., 249.

73 Ibid.

74 Ibid.

75 Schütz, *Voices of Eden*, 85–97. The eventual publication of the spelling book was the work of Samuel Ruggles, a fellow student who borrowed from ‘Ōpūkaha‘ia’s earlier work.

76 Dwight, *Memoirs of Henry Obookiah*, 37. “I seeked for the Lord Jesus for a long time, but 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 small voice.”*

77 Schütz, *Voices of Eden*, 87. This is significant because the missionaries also used the original Hebrew text for translation purposes.

78 Dwight, *Memoirs of Henry Obookiah*, 36.

79 Ibid., 43.

80 Schütz, *Voices of Eden*, 94; Ruggles, “An Owhihe Grammar,” MS 499-Ob5x. Mission Houses Museum, Honolulu.

81 Ibid., 99, 256. Schütz notes similarities in some of the grammar in the work of ‘Ōpūkaha‘ia and that of Ruggles.

82 Ibid., 94.

83 Kamakau, *Ke Kumu Aupuni*, 249.

84 Ibid.

85 Silva, *Aloha Betrayed,* 32.

86 Liholiho to Teuheiti, February 18, 1823. F.O.& EX 402, box 2, folder 12, Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu. The reproduction of this image has been digitally modified to include text written in pencil. English translation by the author.

87 Kamakau, *Ke Kumu Aupuni,* 259.

88 Ibid., 257.

89 Ibid.

90 Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs,* 254.

91 Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom,* 1:76.

92 Ibid.

93 Bingham, *Residence of Twenty-One Years,* 202.

94 Kamakau, *Ke Kumu Aupuni,* 259–60.

95 Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom,* 1:77.

96 Kamakau, *Ke Kumu Aupuni,* 261.

97 Bingham, *Residence of Twenty-One Years,* 203.

98 Liholiho to Paalua, Kaakumu, and Kauikeaouli, 1824. F.O.& EX 402, Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu. This letter is kept in the safe at the archives and is in such poor condition that the Hawaiian is illegible. On the back of the letter is a note written by Alexander Liholiho in September of 1847, indicating that he translated the letter on that date. I refer to the translated version because it is the only legible copy available today.

99 Aspinall, “George Canning.”

100 Byng to first earl of Granville, 1824. PRO/30/29/7/12, United Kingdom National Archives, London.

101 Ibid., November 11, 1824.

102 Ibid., May 25, 1824.

103 Ibid.

104 Ibid., June 8, 1824.

105 Ibid., May 25, 1824.

106 Ibid., June 15, 1824.

107 Kamakau, *Ke Kumu Aupuni,* 1. See also Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom,* 1:78.

108 Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom,* 1:78.

109 Byng, 1824.

110 Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom,* 1:78.

111 United Kingdom National Archives, London. ADM 1/3544.

112 Ibid.

113 Kamakau, *Ke Kumu Aupuni,* 261; *Ke Aupuni Mō‘ī,* 1.

114 Kamakau, *Ke Aupuni Mō‘ī,* 1.

115 Bingham, *Residence of Twenty-One Years,* 202–3. See also Daws, *Shoal of Time,* 71–73.

116 Kamakau, *Ke Kumu Aupuni*, 260–61.

117 Ellis to British officials, June 3, 1824. Q/Wil/384, London Metropolitan Archives.

118 Byng, May 25, 1824.

119 Desha, *Kamehameha and His Warrior*, 471.

120 Mills, *Hawai'i's Russian Adventure*, 28.

121 Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom*, 1:79.

122 Kamakau, *Ke Aupuni Mō'ī*, 1.

123 Byng, September 12–13, 1824.

124 Testimony of Kekūanāo'a. F.O.& EX 402-2-13, Hawai'i State Archives, Honolulu.

125 Fornander, *Ancient History*, 29.

126 Byng, 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."

127 Hawai'i State Archives, series 402-2-7.

128 Liholiho to Paalua, 1824.

129 Daws, *Shoal of Time*, 73.

Chapter Four: Emergence of the Hawaiian State

1 Temple (Viscount Palmerston) to Miller, October 16, 1848. Series 375, Hawai'i State Archives, Honolulu.

2 Merry, *Colonizing Hawai'i;* Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land*.

3 I recognize that 'Ōiwi had laws in ancient society, such as the 'ai kapu and Māmalahoa. However, in this usage I am referring to law as practiced and recognized by Europeans.

4 The office of kuhina nui, or regent, does not have an equivalent in European governmental structures. It is a uniquely Hawaiian creation whose authority is coequal to that of the mō'ī. It was first created by Ka'ahumanu and was often held by women until its removal in 1864.

5 Kamakau, *Ke Aupuni Mō'ī*, 7.

6 Ibid., 5. English translation by the author.

7 Ibid., 12–13.

8 Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom*, 117. Kuykendall divides Kauikeaouli's reign into three segments. According to Kuykendall, Kauikeaouli's actual control of governance began in March 1833.

9 Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui*, 11.

10 Liholiho, Notice pertaining to jailing foreigners who disrupt the peace, May 1822. F.O.& EX 418, folder 2, Hawai'i State Archives, Honolulu.

11 Liholiho, Draft law pertaining to foreigners with Hawaiian wives, n.d. F.O.& EX 418, folder 1, Hawai'i State Archives, Honolulu. English translation by the author.

12 Kalanimoku, "He mau kanawai no ke awa o Honolulu, Oahu—Regulations for the port of Honolulu, Oahu," June 2, 1825. F.O.& EX 418, folder 2, Hawai'i State Archives, Honolulu.

13 Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom*, 78.

14 Kinau, Auhea, and Paki, “He kanawai no ka mai puupuu—A law regarding smallpox,” May 28, 1839. F.O.& EX, folder 5, Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu.

15 Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land*, 141. Table 4 includes native population estimates from 1778 to 1896.

16 Ibid., 150–57. See also Mykkänen, *Inventing Politics*, 48–59.

17 Kauikeaouli, “No ka moe kolohe—Relating to sexual relationships,” September 21, 1829. F.O.& EX 418, folder 3, Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu.

18 Charles Hammett, quoted in Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land*, 147.

19 Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land*, 157–67.

20 Ibid., 85–94.

21 Kamakau, *Ke Aupuni Mō‘ī*, 69. English translation by the author.

22 Ibid., 65–72.

23 Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land*, 90.

24 Kamakau, *Ke Aupuni Mō‘ī*, 189.

25 Kauikeaouli, “Nā kumukānāwai,” 30.

26 Ibid., 32. English translation by the author.

27 Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land*, 174.

28 Mykkänen, *Inventing Politics*.

29 Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land*, 157.

30 Mykkänen, *Inventing Politics*, 123.

31 Kauikeaouli, “Nā kumukānāwai,” 32. English translation by the author.

32 Hawai‘i State Archives, “Hawaiian Chiefs,” August 4, 1839.

33 Kauikeaouli, “He kumu kanawai,” June 7, 1839.

34 McGregor, *Nā Kua‘āina*, 30.

35 Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui*, 25.

36 Merry, *Colonizing Hawai‘i*, 35.

37 Kauikeaouli, “He kumu kanawai,” 6. English translation by the author.

38 Ibid.

39 Ibid., “Nā kumukānāwai,” 40–41.

40 Richards et al., “Principles of the Land Commission,” 1–38. Folder 288, 1847. Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu.

41 Kauikeaouli, “He kumu kanawai,” 15. English translation by the author.

42 Stannard, *Before the Horror*, 59.

43 Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land*, 141.

44 Desha, *He Mo‘olelo Ka‘ao*, 283.

45 Anonymous, *Hawaiian Spectator*, 347.

46 Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land*, 174, 368.

47 Bernice Judd, “William Richards’ Report,” 67.

48 Kauikeaouli, “Ke kumu kanawai.” The source I rely on for this analysis is a reprinted Hawaiian-language version of the Constitution printed in Honolulu in 1841. According to Jason Achiu, an archivist at the Hawai‘i State Archives, the location of the original Constitution is unknown.

49 Ibid.

50 For a brief discussion of the translation of these early laws, see Forbes, *Hawaiian National Bibliography*, 281–82.

51 Kauikeaouli, “Ke kumu kanawai.”

52 Ibid.

53 Kamakau, *Ke Aupuni Mō‘ī,* 198. English translation by the author.

54 Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui*, 30–33.

55 Handy and Handy, *Native Planters,* 48–50. See also Beamer, “Huli ka Palena.”

56 Pang, “Ceded lands fight.”

57 Malo, *Ka Mo‘olelo Hawai‘i,* xiv.

58 Kamakau, *Ke Aupuni Mō‘ī,* 190.

59 Kekūanāo‘a to Mahune, April 4, 1841. M-59-12, Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu. English translation by the author.

60 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.

61 Judd, “William Richards’ Report,” 66.

62 Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land,* 174.

63 Judd, “William Richards’ Report,” 65.

64 Ibid., 68.

65 Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land,* 157–67.

66 Judd, “William Richards’ Report,” 67.

67 Richards, personal journal, January 4, 1843. M-126, folder 7, Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu.

68 Walter Judd, *Hawai‘i Joins the World,* 115.

69 Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom,* 191–92.

70 Kamakau, *Ke Aupuni Mō‘ī,* 165.

71 Judd, *Hawai‘i Joins the World,* 119.

72 Ibid.

73 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. Mahalo to Lorenz Gonschor for providing me with this article.

74 Okihiro, *Island World*.

75 Kanoa to Ha‘alilio and Richards, March–May 1843. M-59-17, Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu.

76 Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom,* 213–19.

77 Kauikeaouli and Kekāuluohi. Protests to Queen Victoria, February 18, 1843. FO 58/18, 44, United Kingdom National Archives, London.

78 Ibid., 42.

79 Silva, *Aloha Betrayed,* 36.

80 United Kingdom National Archives, London. FO 58/18, 40. July 10, 1843.

81 Foreign Office of Great Britain, Joint Declaration, November 28, 1843. FO/93/33/40A, 28–29. United Kingdom National Archives, London.

82 Richards, personal journal, December 10, 1843.

83 Ibid.

84 Kauikeaouli, "Statute Laws," 107.

85 David Walker, *Oxford Companion to Law,* 373. See also Black and Nolan, *Black's Law Dictionary,* 486.

86 Lyons, "Land Matters in Hawaii," 126–27. See also Thurston, *Fundamental Law of Hawaii,* 140. This is a compiled list of constitutions and important laws in the kingdom. The relevant section is "Principles Adopted by the Board of Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles, in Their Adjudication of Claims Presented to Them," 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" (142).

87 The Privy Council was an inner advisory circle to the mōʻī. The council determined policy for the Hawaiian Kingdom.

88 Privy Council, Minutes, December 18, 1847. Hawaiʻi State Archives, Honolulu.

89 Alexander, "Brief History of Land Titles," 13–14. This section explains the principles agreed to in the Privy Council on December 18, 1847. It notes, "The division between the Chiefs or the Konohikis and their Tenants, prescribed by Rule 2d shall take place, whenever any Chief, Konohiki or Tenant shall desire such division." See also Privy Council Minutes.

90 McGregor, *Nā Kuaʻāina,* 36.

91 Osorio, *Dismembering Lahui,* 44.

92 Kameʻeleihiwa, *Native Land;* Chinen, *Original Land Titles;* 197; Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui;* Banner, "Preparing to Be Colonized."

93 Hawaiian Kingdom Supreme Court, Kekiekie v. Edward Dennis, 1 Haw. 68, 69 (1851), whereby Chief Justice William Lee stated, "The peoples [native tenants] were secured to them by the Constitution and laws of the Kingdom, and no power can convey them away, not even that of royalty itself. The King cannot convey a greater title than he has, and if he grants lands without reserving the claims of tenants, the grantee must seek his remedy against the grantor, and not dispossess the people of their kalo lands."

94 Silva, *Aloha Betrayed,* 42.

95 *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" (202).

96 Preza, "The Empirical Writes Back," 138.

97 Kameʻeleihiwa, *Native Land*, 227.

98 Kauikeaouli et al., *Buke Kakau Paa no ka Mahele Aina*, 224.

99 Privy Council, December 21, 1849.

100 Ibid., February 11, 1850.

101 Ibid., July 15, 1850.

102 Ibid., August 27, 1850; 409, 411.

103 *Act Confirming Certain Resolutions.*

104 See Public Access Shoreline Hawaii v. Hawaiʻi County Planning Commission, no. 15460, Supreme Court of Hawaii, 79 Haw. 425; 903 P.2d 1246; 1995 Haw. LEXIS 62.

105 Alexander Liholiho, *Speeches*, 21.

Chapter Five: Aliʻi Education and Governance

1 Alexander Liholiho to Kauikeaouli, June 29, 1843. M-83, folder 5, Hawaiʻi State Archives, Honolulu.

2 Cooke, *Hawaiian Chiefs' Children's School*, 25.

3 Kauikeaouli and Kekāuluohi, "He mau kanawai no ka hale kula no na keiki alii," July 4, 1840. Series 418, folder 7, Hawaiʻi State Archives, Honolulu.

4 Cooke, *Hawaiian Chiefs' Children's School*, 47–48.

5 Ibid., 61–62.

6 Ibid., 51.

7 Ibid., 44. The quoted text is an English translation by Cooke.

8 Ibid.

9 Menton, "Christian and 'Civilized' Education," 228. See also the journals of the keiki aliʻi at the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library at the Mission Houses Museum.

10 Cooke, *Hawaiian Chiefs' Children's School*, 171. See also Menton, "Christian and 'Civilized' Education," 228–29.

11 Cooke, *Hawaiian Chiefs' Children's School*, 173.

12 Alexander Liholiho to Kauikeaouli, June 29, 1843.

13 Menton, "Christian and 'Civilized' Education," 226–27.

14 Ibid., 233.

15 Ibid., 240.

16 This kind of analysis could be carried out for each of the keiki individually. Some students, such as Pauahi, clearly saw value in the Christian and secular teachings of the Cookes. Other keiki aliʻi seemed to appropriate more of the secular.

17 Alexander Liholiho and Kapuāiwa, "Journal of Kamehameha V," June 3, 1844.

18 Menton, "Christian and 'Civilized' Education," 240.

19 Lili‘uokalani, *Hawaii’s Story*, 5.

20 Alexander Liholiho to Kauikeaouli, December 28, 1840.

21 Lili‘uokalani, *Hawaii’s Story*, 7.

22 Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom*, 1:389.

23 Ibid., 392–93.

24 Privy Council, September 5, 1849. “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.”

25 Cooke, *Hawaiian Chiefs’ Children’s School*, 242.

26 Kapuāiwa, “Journal of Lot Kamehameha,” 1849–50. MS MC K5, box 1.3, Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

27 Alexander Liholiho, *Journal*, 46.

28 Ibid., 91.

29 Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom*, 2:94. The adoption of English names can be viewed as additional evidence that Hawaiian ali‘i were selectively appropriating from foreign lands to gather mana and prepare for governance on the world stage. Having a recognizable English name had certain inherent benefits. For example, when Alexander Liholiho went to England he introduced himself as Alexander, a familiar name that connected the ali‘i to an established seat of power.

30 Alexander Liholiho, *Journal*, 99.

31 Ibid., 51.

32 Alexander Liholiho 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.” In pointing out this difference in terminology, the ali‘i might have been suggesting that a levee, which historically referred to a gathering held by the British monarch, could not be hosted by a US president who is not of royal lineage.

33 Alexander Liholiho, *Journal*, 106.

34 Ibid., 108–9.

35 Kapuāiwa, “Journal.”

36 Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom*, 1:399.

37 Ibid., 415.

38 Privy Council, September 5, 1850.

39 Alexander Liholiho would inherit these lands subject to the dower of Queen Kalama, as became the precedent. See *In re* Estate of Kamehameha IV, 2 Haw. 715 (1864).

40 Van Dyke, *Who Owns the Crown Lands*, 90.

41 Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom*, 1:426.

42 Ibid. It is possible that this treaty was removed completely from consideration even earlier by Kauikeaouli. His final public proclamation on December 8, 1854, stated, “I hereby publicly proclaim

my acceptance of the aid thus proffered [by the United States, Great Britain, and France] in support of my Sovereignty. My independence is more firmly established than ever before." See also Hawai'i State Archives, series 375, incoming folder 1854–55, where the British consul informs the Foreign Office of Alexander Liholiho's stance for independence. June 10 and 26, 1854.

43 Kapuāiwa to Queen Emma, June 9, 1871. M-45 NA-05, Hawai'i State Archives, Honolulu.

44 Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom,* 2:87.

45 Fornander to Alexander Liholiho, M-80-1-8KIV, Hawai'i State Archives, Honolulu.

46 Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom,* 2:87.

47 Wyllie to Hopkins, quoted in ibid.

48 Church of England, "Resolution," July 25, 1860. M-80-1-9, Hawai'i State Archives, Honolulu.

49 Alexander Liholiho to Queen Victoria, quoted in Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom,* 2:89.

50 Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom,* 2:90.

51 Alexander Liholiho, *Journal,* xiv.

52 Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui,* 105–36.

53 Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom,* 2:175.

54 Beamer, "Huli ka Palena."

55 Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom,* 2:125.

56 Allen, *Kalākaua,* 98.

57 Wodehouse to earl of Granville, January 19, 1881. Series 375, outgoing 1881, Hawai'i State Archives, Honolulu.

58 Armstrong, *Around the World,* 28. This is an account of William N. Armstrong, who traveled with Kalākaua on the voyage. He was the lowest-ranking official on the trip and did not publish his journals until after Kalākaua had passed away and Lili'uokalani had been illegally overthrown through the aid of US officials. Armstrong's sarcastic comments about the king throughout the book might reflect his discontent at being the hired hand to a native king. That he published his journals following the death Kalākaua may suggest his fear of speaking against the king in his presence.

59 Ibid., 29.

60 Allen, *Kalākaua,* 115.

61 Lister to Wodehouse, October 5, 1881. Series 375, Hawai'i State Archives, Honolulu.

62 Allen, *Kalākaua,* 116.

63 Kalākaua, letters from Trip around the World, February to June, 1881. F.O.& EX 28, Hawai'i State Archives, Honolulu. See also Greer, "The Royal Tourist."

64 Armstrong, *Around the World,* 32.

65 Ibid., 84.

66 Ibid., 85.

67 Allen, *Kalākaua,* 120.

68 Armstrong, *Around the World,* 125.

69 Ibid.

70 Ibid., 127.

71 Ibid., 133.

72 Victoria, “Journal of Queen Victoria,” July 11, 1881. The Royal Archives at Windsor Castle, Berkshire, England.

73 Kalākaua, Correspondence, 1881.

74 Both the ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi version and the translation of this important mele were graciously provided to me by Kalani Makekau-Whittaker of the University of Hawaiʻi. Kalani first brought this to my attention following the Hawaiʻi Mellon Fellows presentation at the University of Hawaiʻi–Hilo on April 24, 2009. Mahalo nui iā ʻoe e Kalani.

75 Allen, *Kalākaua,* 132. See also Greer, “The Royal Tourist.”

76 Silva, *Aloha Betrayed,* 90.

77 Ibid., 89.

78 Ibid.

79 Kameʻeleihiwa, *Native Land,* 314.

80 Kalākaua, “The Constitution and By-laws of the Hale Nauā or Temple of Science,” 1886. M-469, Hawaiʻi State Archives, Honolulu.

81 Silva, *Aloha Betrayed,* 92, 97.

82 There is both an English and Hawaiian copy of this speech. It is unclear who the author is.

83 Kalākaua, “Constitution and By-laws.”

84 Silva, *Aloha Betrayed,* 87–122.

85 Gibson, *Diaries,* 116–17.

86 Tate, “Hawaii’s Program of Primacy,” 382.

87 Kalākaua, “Protest,” August 23, 1883. FO 58/185, United Kingdom National Archives, London. This protest was penned by Walter Murray Gibson, who was serving as minister of foreign affairs at the time.

88 Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui,* 233.

Chapter Six: Beyond the Occupation

1 Wodehouse, Correspondence, February 20, 1894.

2 Pukui, *ʻŌlelo Noʻeau,* 132.

3 Wodehouse, Correspondence, April 5, 1889.

4 Blount, “Affairs in Hawaii”; Coffman, *Nation Within;* Dougherty, *To Steal a Kingdom,* xiv; Silva, *Aloha Betrayed,* 130.

5 Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom,* 3:603.

6 Dole et al., “Laws of the Provisional Government,” vi. Hawaiʻi State Archives, Honolulu.

7 [Wodehouse], Correspondence, November 9, 1892.

8 Kent, *Hawaiʻi,* 56.

9 Coffman, *Nation Within*, 118.

10 Ibid., 62.

11 Wodehouse, Correspondence, November 20, 1892.

12 For the president's full speech, see Cleveland, "Message," 1895.

13 Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*.

14 Sai, "American Occupation . . . A Century Unchecked." See also Coffman, *Nation Within* and Sai, "The American Occupation." In a related vein, some historians may argue that Texas was acquired through joint resolution, but in fact it was acquired through the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

15 Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui*, 238–49. Kalākaua spent much of the later years of his reign opposing this illegal Constitution and its outcomes. See Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom*, 3:401–30. See also Lili'uokalani, *Hawaii's Story*, 177–207. On page 181 Queen Lili'uokalani notes, "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."

16 Lili'uokalani, *Hawaii's Story*, 178.

17 Cleveland, "President's Message," 13.

18 Damon, Correspondence, November 26, 1895. Series 424, vol. 4, Council of State, Hawai'i State Archives, Honolulu.

19 Hawai'i State Archives, January 17 to April 18, 1893. Series 425, vol. 1. Proceedings of the Executive and Advisory Councils, Hawai'i State Archives, Honolulu.

20 Wodehouse, Correspondence, May 9, 1893.

21 Hawai'i State Archives, series 375.

22 Wodehouse, Correspondence, July 17, 1893.

23 Hawai'i State Archives, series 128, 129, 130, National Guard; also see series 375, outgoing, January–July 1893.

24 Hawai'i State Archives, series 423, November 30, 1893.

25 Hawai'i State Archives, Oahu Prison, miscellaneous letters, 1895–96; Letters from Marshal, January 1–27, 1895; Oahu Prison, miscellaneous letters, 1893–1906. For related British records, see National Archives, FO 331/64, British Claims.

26 Hawai'i State Archives, series 423, vol. 1.

27 Dole et al., "Laws of the Provisional Government," Act 8.

28 Hawai'i State Archives, F.O. 44, series 425, vols. 1–6.

29 Silva, *Aloha Betrayed.*

30 Thomas Walker, Correspondence. FO 58/309, United Kingdom National Archives.

31 Kaulia and Kalauokalani, "Memorial to the President, the Congress and the People of the United States of America," October 8, 1897. FO 58/309, United Kingdom National Archives, London.

32 Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 151. For a further discussion of this memorial, see pages 151–54.

33 Thomas Walker, Correspondence. FO 58/309, United Kingdom National Archives, London.

34 On the following day, June 21, 1894, Lili'uokalani submitted a similar protest to the US government. See Russ, *Hawaiian Republic*, 29.

35 Lili‘uokalani, “Protest to British Consul Wodehouse,” June 20, 1894. FO 331/1, United Kingdom National Archives, London.

36 Smith to Willis, December 16, 1893. Series 432, vol. 1, Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu.

37 Trask, *Native Daughter,* 15.

38 Hawai‘i State Archives, series 432, vol. 1.

39 Dole, Minutes of the Executive Council, January 14, 1895. Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu.

40 For example, in *The Hawaiian Republic,* Adam Russ cites extensively from the minutes of the Executive and Advisory Council—sometimes paraphrasing discussions that took place prior to Dole’s statement—but does not mention the lack of legal evidence against the queen.

41 Hawai‘i State Archives, series 432, vol. 2, January 12, 1895.

42 Hawai‘i State Archives, Session Laws of 1895, Act 24.

43 Ibid., Act 29, “An Act Relating to Persons Having Certain Lawless Intentions.”

44 Hawai‘i State Archives, Constitution of the Republic of Hawaii.

45 Lili‘uokalani, *Hawaii’s Story,* 260–61.

46 Hawai‘i State Archives, Session Laws, Special Session, 1895.

47 Damon, Correspondence, April 23, 1895. Series 432, vol. 3, Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu.

48 Brown to Percy Smith, October 25, 1895. Series 381, vol. 1, Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu. “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.”

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53 Ibid.

54 Dole, “Papers.”

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60 Benham and Heck, *Culture and Educational Policy,* 72.

61 Mookini, *Hawaiian Newspapers.*

62 Silva, *Aloha Betrayed,* 45–86.

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65 I am grateful to ‘Anakala Eddie Ka‘anā‘anā for sharing his memories of growing up in the territory. There are also many similar accounts on recordings of *Ka Leo Hawai‘i*, a radio program that ran from 1972 to 1989 and featured native speakers being interviewed by Larry Kimura. See the *Ka Leo Hawai‘i* collection in the UH–Hilo Library.

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