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Early Struggles with the Foreigners

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

In this chapter I examine some of the Kanaka Maoli's early (1778–1854) struggles with the foreigners over government and land. To do so, whenever possible I use texts written by nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Kānaka in their mother tongue. This examination provides a historical context for the chapters following, and it begins the development of several themes in the contests and resistances of the people to colonialism and imperialism. Texts written in Hawaiian allow us to see some Kanaka ways of thinking and recording the past that have previously been ignored or overlooked by historians and anthropologists unable to read Hawaiian. One of the most important recurring themes in these texts is that the Kanaka 'Ōiwi often took the tools of the colonizers

and made use of them to secure their own national sovereignty and well-being. The ali'i adopted Western dress and courtly manners; they and the maka'āinana learned writing and eventually took control of the print media; and they adopted constitutionalism, codifying laws in English and American ways in order to make treaties and to be recognized as an independent nation unavailable for colonization.¹ Another important change during this period was the transformation of the meaning of "pono." In the ancient Kanaka world, pono meant that the akua, (deities) ali'i, kahuna, maka'āinana, and 'āina (land) lived in balance with each other, and that people had enough to eat and were healthy. This state of balance hinged on ali'i acting in accordance with the shared concept of pono. Later, the term was appropriated and transformed by the advent of writing and by the adoption of Western religion and government.

HISTORIOGRAPHY AND CAPTAIN COOK

The Kanaka struggles with foreigners might be said to have begun with the representative of the British drive for empire, Captain James Cook. Although the mo'olelo of Captain Cook has been exhausted in its mountains of literature in many fields of study, most of that literature relies on British accounts. Where Kanaka accounts of Cook are used at all, scholars have depended on translations, ignoring the originals written in Hawaiian. It is worthwhile, therefore, to examine the longest account of Cook written in Hawaiian, which was written by Samuel Manaiakalani Kamakau in 1866–1867 and published in a Hawaiian-language newspaper.

Gananath Obeyesekere, in *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook*, dismissed Kamakau as mimicking the beliefs of the Calvinist missionaries, categorizing his history as "one self-consciously influenced by the Evangelical charter that Kamakau himself, along with other Lahainaluna scholars, helped [Rev. Sheldon] Dibble to construct."² Kamakau did attend Lahainaluna school as a young adult, and he was one of the students who wrote parts of *Moolelo Hawaii*, first published in 1838. He was a founding member of the first Hawaiian Historical Society in 1841 and went on to a career as a school teacher, legislator, and public official. But according to Thomas Thrum, Kamakau's "journalistic labors date from June, 1865," which is nearly thirty years after his student days with Rev.

Dibble.³ Thus, as Obeyesekere himself has rightly pointed out, it is important to historicize these writings and to disaggregate them critically. During those thirty years, Kamakau became distinctly disenchanted with the Calvinist mission and converted to Catholicism. Undoubtedly, he experienced substantial intellectual development and independence of thought during that period. I am not suggesting here, however, that his account is any more valid according to the rules of haole historiography, because, as I will show, he seems to have rejected some of them, but I would suggest that his work should not be dismissed on the grounds that he had once been an enthusiastic student in the evangelical schools. How Kamakau presented the mo'olelo of Cook to his readers in 1866–1867 tells us much about how Cook was perceived within a nineteenth-century Kanaka worldview, and it is thus crucial to our understanding of the struggles over historiography, conflicting epistemologies, and ultimately, control over the land in Hawai'i.

The commonly cited translation of Kamakau's mo'olelo was originally done in 1961 by Mary Kawena Pukui, Lahilahi Webb, and others, drawing on work by previous authors, including Thomas Thrum. It was edited by Pukui and others and published under the title *Ruling Chiefs of Hawai'i*.⁴ *Ruling Chiefs* is not strictly a translation of Kamakau's mo'olelo, however. The editors brought together the newspaper articles that Kamakau had written over several years and arranged them into a chronological narrative of "ruling chiefs" from Līloa through Kamehameha III. They also deleted a lot of material from Kamakau's original mo'olelo but did not mark the deletions consistently with ellipses: the reader is thus not always able to see where material has been deleted.

For example, Kamakau's translated account of the first arrival of Captain Cook starts with an ellipsis that represents seventeen pages of contextual material. This material does appear, however, in a restored version of the original narrative, *Ke Kumu Aupuni*.⁵ Although *Ke Kumu Aupuni* alters Kamakau's original publication in important ways, particularly in the anachronistic imposition of diacritical marks, it presents Kamakau's narrative in a legible form without editorial reordering or deletions.

It is striking that in contrast to English-language histories Kamakau's work does not present Cook's arrival as the most important event in the narrative. Indeed, he embeds the story of Cook within the larger mo'olelo about Kamehameha I. He likewise contextualizes Kamehame-

ha's story by recounting the mo'olelo of wars between the various ali'i of Hawai'i Island, Maui, and O'ahu. These wars were going on at the time of Kamehameha's birth and continued until well after Cook's death. Kamehameha, as is well known, became a victorious ali'i himself, conquering nearly all of the Hawaiian islands. At the time of Cook's visits Kamehameha was a seasoned warrior but not yet a ruling ali'i. In the December 22, 1866, installment, Kamakau narrates the mo'olelo of the battles between Kalani'ōpu'u, who was Kamehameha's uncle and mō'i of Hawai'i Island, and Kahekili, mō'i of Maui. The installment ends with the statement "Eia ka manawa kūpono no ka hiki 'ana mai o nā haole makamua ma Hawai'i nei" (This was just the time of the arrival of the first white foreigners [haole] in Hawai'i).⁶ This statement appears in quotation marks, indicating that Kamakau was quoting someone else, and, more important, that he *disagreed* with this common assertion of haole historical accounts. He goes on to tell a different history, whose sources are the ancient mele and mo'okū'auhau (genealogies). According to those recordings of the past, which are epistemologically valid to Kamakau and other Kānaka, Cook was *not* the first white foreigner to arrive in Hawai'i nei. Kamakau contests at length the story that Cook and company were "nā haole makamua ma Hawai'i nei" (the first haole in Hawai'i). He first recounts many stories concerning people who traveled to Hawai'i from foreign lands, and the voyagers who sailed between Hawai'i and distant lands in the Pacific; he introduces the voyagers' stories like this: "Ma 'ane'i kākou e ho'oka'awale ai i ka mo'olelo o nā kānaka maoli o Hawai'i nei i holo i Kahiki, a me ko Kahiki mai i holo i Hawai'i nei, 'a'ole lākou i kapa 'ia he āhole, a he haole" (Here we set out the story of the indigenous people of Hawai'i who sailed to Kahiki [all foreign lands] and those of Kahiki who sailed here to Hawai'i; they were not called āhole [a type of white fish] or haole).⁷

The stories that follow include the arrival of new ali'i, prior to which, in Kamakau's words, "ua nele 'o Hawai'i i ke ali'i 'ole . . . 'o nā ali'i o Hawai'i, he mau ali'i maka'āinana, a he maka'āinana wale nō i kekahi manawa" (Hawai'i was lacking because of no ali'i . . . the ali'i of Hawai'i were maka'āinana acting as ali'i or only maka'āinana at times).⁸ Pā'ao the kahuna brought new ali'i from Kahiki; following him were many others who traveled back and forth to Tahiti, Sāmoa, Nu'uhiwa, and other places. Another story, that of Ka'ulu, is an important one in the series because in the ancient mele Ka'ulu claimed to have seen the

entire world, and Kamakau states that Asian and European place names are recorded in the mele. Kamakau tempers the claim, however, by saying some parts of the mele were true and some false.⁹ The important point to notice here is that Kamakau and others before him knew that Kanaka Maoli had sailed on very long voyages, possibly even outside of the Pacific. Other famed travelers included Moikeha and his brother 'Olopana, who traveled between Hawai'i and Kahiki, followed by Moikeha's sons, Kila and La'amaikahiki.¹⁰

Among the long-distance travelers were women, who sometimes initiated the voyages. One of these was Lu'ukia, a woman born in Hawai'i. Lu'ukia, Kamakau says, was the first of her family to sail to Kahiki, where she lived with 'Olopana. When she told 'Olopana's daughter, Kaupe'a, about her handsome brother, Kauma'ili'ula, Kaupe'a desired to sail to Hawai'i to meet him. Kaupe'a then initiated a voyage, after which she met and lived with Kauma'ili'ula, became pregnant, and while pregnant sailed back to her homeland of Kuaihelani. Kauma'ili'ula later followed her and arrived on the day the child was born.¹¹

Akua also appear in these travel narratives: "Ua 'ōlelo pinepine 'ia ma ka mo'olelo ka'ao a ma nā pule, a ma nā mele a ka po'e kahiko a pau, mai Kahiki mai ke akua, a mai ka lew[a] lani mai, a no ka lani mai" (It is often said in the stories and in prayers and in the songs of all the ancient people [that] the deities are from Kahiki, and from the sky, and from the heavens).¹² Among the voyagers to Hawai'i Kamakau mentions the akua Kāne, Kanaloa, Kū, and Lono, as well as Pele and her family. In the translation this part of the narrative is omitted, which means that readers of the English miss crucial information for understanding the nature of akua in the nineteenth-century Hawaiian imaginary. "Akua" here cannot actually be equivalent to what "god" signifies in the English language, because, unlike akua, gods are not physical beings that embark on journeys across oceans. The incommensurability of the two terms as highlighted in these passages could erase the debate over whether or not Cook was perceived as a god: that is, Cook may or may not have been perceived as the akua Lonoikamakahiki but this fact bears little relation to what English-language speakers of the time meant by "god." As Herb Kawainui Kāne states: "An *akua* is a being of nature, one of immense power, which may be an invisible spirit or a living person."¹³ (Cook may also just have been nicknamed Lono because his ship reminded Kānaka of the mo'olelo, and because "Cook" was impossible to pronounce.)¹⁴

As Dipesh Chakrabarty points out, the deletion of passages works to produce and reinforce Western practices of historiography, thereby denying the reader possible glimpses into another worldview. Chakrabarty writes that “secular histories are usually produced by ignoring the signs of [divine or superhuman] presences. Such histories represent a meeting of two systems of thought, one in which the world is ultimately, that is, in the final analysis, disenchanted, and the other in which humans are not the only meaningful agents.”¹⁵ In the translation of Kamakau’s work, however, the world in which humans are not the only meaningful agents, however, is hidden by this practice of deleting text that does not conform to western empiricist standards. It is accessible only in the Hawaiian language text.

Kamakau’s January 19, 1867, installment begins the section on white foreigners. Even here, Cook is not the first. In the time of ‘Auanini (Kamakau did not speculate on the date), a ship of haole arrived; the captain was named Mololana, and his wife, named Māraea, was on the ship as well. Kamakau says it is not known whether they settled in the islands or sailed away again. Another ship of white foreigners arrived in the time of Wakalana, which Kamakau guesses was prior to 900 A. D. He wonders if these foreigners were the ancestors of the people in Honouliuli, O’ahu, who have light complexions and light eyes.¹⁶ In an ancient mele, a man named Kūkanaloa is referred to as a “kupuna haole mai Kahiki” (white foreign ancestor from Kahiki).¹⁷ In more recent memory, in the time of Kūali’i, “nui nā mele inoa no Kūali’i e pili ana i nā haole” (there were many name songs for Kūali’i about the haole).¹⁸ Kamakau dates Kūali’i’s life from 1555 to 1730 (these dates serve only as mere guides, however, because the Kanaka system of dating was based on genealogy rather than anything analogous to the European system of years). Kamakau’s final story of the arrival of haole prior to Cook is quite recent, in the time of Peleiōhōlani, whose death Kamakau gives as around 1770.¹⁹

It is to this substantial genealogy of travelers that Kamakau adds the story of Captain Cook, purposefully disrupting the story told by haole that Cook appeared magically and suddenly as a unique phenomenon, to the shock and amazement of the Kanaka ‘Ōiwi. The narrative that Kamakau presents to us, with Cook as one in a long genealogy of travelers, is in a traditional Hawaiian vein, relying for evidence on mele from the oral tradition. His missionary teachers taught him the accepted em-

pirical methods for writing history, and here, as with most of his other writings, he deliberately and consciously chose to use Kanaka epistemology to present the mo’olelo of Cook.

When Kamakau’s text was cut up and reordered to fit the Western category of “history,” the context of Cook’s arrival carefully set up for the reader disappears. Just as important, and for some analyses even more so, is the fact that Kamakau’s reliance on the mele and mo’okū’auhau of the oral tradition as valid sources for his own haku mo’olelo has also become invisible. The fact that Kamakau deliberately contested haole historiographic methods is literally lost in the translation. Further, information presented in the stories of women taking leadership roles in long voyages disappears, making it possible for readers to imagine that gender relations in Kanaka past were very much like the European practice where only men were allowed to sail. Anthropologists, historians, and students in all disciplines who read only the translation of Kamakau’s mo’olelo will be completely unaware of these stories of women directing and controlling their own lives, and are thus likely to derive an incomplete or even false picture of gender relations in the ancient culture.

It is important, as well, to notice that Kamakau’s mo’olelo of Cook describes recurring violence, mainly on the part of Cook’s men, from the very first contact. On the first day, the warrior Kapupu’u began to take iron pieces from Cook’s ship, whereupon one of Cook’s men shot and killed him.²⁰ The ali’i’s kahuna advised against retaliating, however, emphasizing that welcoming the foreigners, despite the killing, was the pono thing to do. That night, Cook and company, rather than behaving as welcomed guests, made a display of firepower, shooting guns, cannons, and fireworks intended to frighten and intimidate the ‘Ōiwi, which it surely did.

The violent episodes eventually culminated in the death of Cook at Kealakekua on Hawai’i Island.²¹ When Cook attempted to take Mō’i Kalani’ōpu’u hostage, using a technique he had developed in other places, he committed an act that was distinctly not pono and thus unacceptable to the other ali’i and to the warriors around the mō’i. Cook’s attitude of superiority, evident in his expectation that the ali’i would be subjugated to his authority, is clear in all the various accounts. Equally clear is the refusal of the Kānaka Hawai’i to be subjugated.

Cook was not the only person killed during the visit of his ship to the islands. Ralph Kuykendall’s synthesis of the events does not dilute

the violence perpetrated by the British visitors: "While the king was hesitating, news came that a chief crossing the bay in a canoe had been killed by a shot from one of the foreign boats. . . . Cook fired the other barrel of his gun, loaded with ball, and killed a man. . . . Lieutenant Phillips also fired and the marines on shore and the sailors in the boats began firing. . . . During the next few days there was desultory fighting, in which the Hawaiians exhibited great courage and daring in the face of gunfire, a good many of them being killed; a number of houses, behind which the native warriors sheltered themselves, were burned down by foreigners; a few of the latter indulged in reprisals for which even savages might blush."²²

The conclusion of Kamakau's account of Cook's visit and death is another instance of reordering and deletion of text that substantially changed it. The last paragraph in the Hawaiian text is:

'O nā hua a me nā 'ano'ano o kāna mau hana i kanu ai, ua 'ōmamaka mai nō ia a ulu, a lilo i mau kumulau ho'olaha e ho'onco ai i ka lāhui kanaka o kēia mokupuni.

1. 'O ka pala i hui pū 'ia me ke kaokao.
2. 'O ka ho'okamakama kū'ai kino.
3. 'O ke kuhi hewa he akua, a ho'omana.
4. 'O ka 'uku lele me ka makika.
5. 'O ka laha 'ana mai o nā ma'i luku.
6. 'O ka loli 'ana o ka 'ea e hanu ai.
7. 'O ka ho'onāwaliwali 'ana i nā kino.
8. 'O ka loli 'ana o nā mea ulu.
9. 'O ka loli 'ana o nā ho'omana, a hui pū me nā ho'omana pegana.
10. 'O ka loli lapa'au 'ana.
11. 'O nā kânāwai o ke aupuni.

The fruits and the seeds that his [Cook's] actions planted sprouted and grew, and became trees that spread to devastate the people of these islands.

1. Gonorrhoea together with syphilis.
2. Prostitution.
3. The false idea that he was a god and worshipped.
4. Fleas and mosquitoes.
5. The spread of epidemic diseases.
6. Change in the air we breathe.

7. Weakening of our bodies.
8. Changes in plant life.
9. Change in the religions, put together with pagan religions.
10. Change in medical practice.
11. Laws in the government.²³

In the *Ruling Chiefs* version, this paragraph is preceded by a reiteration of the ways that Cook's remains had been abused, and then the sentence, "Such is the end of a transgressor."²⁴ However neither the reiteration nor a corresponding sentence to "Such is the end of a transgressor" appear in the Hawaiian text. It is likely that the sentiment was taken from a statement three pages earlier, in which Kamakau faults Cook for accepting the offerings made to several akua and for eating the things consecrated to those akua. "No laila, ua hahau mai ke akua iā ia" (So the akua struck him), wrote Kamakau. The text in *Ruling Chiefs* has thus translated what Kamakau wrote as Cook's transgression against the native akua into a transgression against the Christian god. Moreover, its transposition to the end of the narrative about Cook gives it more prominence than it has in the original.

SUBSEQUENT HAOLE TRAVELERS TO HAWAI'I NEI

Violence continued in the subsequent visits to Hawai'i by European and American ships, by the visitors as well as the Kanaka 'Ōiwi. Around 1794, in the Olowalu massacre, Captain Simon Metcalf and the crew of the *Eleanora* killed several hundred Kānaka in retaliation for the killing of one of Metcalf's men. Shortly thereafter, some Kānaka took revenge on the next ship to enter the harbor, which just happened to be that of Metcalf's son.²⁵

Kuykendall describes Vancouver's visits as peaceful,²⁶ but they were marked by his attempts at colonization—he claimed the islands for Great Britain—and stained by executions of innocent men in retaliation for the attack by some warriors on the *Daedalus*. The crew of the *Daedalus*, a British naval store ship, had been attacked at Waimea, O'ahu, and Vancouver demanded the executions even though the perpetrators could not be caught. According to Greg Denning, "it was commonly agreed, by Hawaiians and any European who enjoyed the irony, that

none of the men executed were guilty." He explains that Vancouver "specially wanted the chiefs to gain a sense of empire and its reaches; he wanted them to defer to his power and remain responsible for their own."²⁷ Vancouver himself, then, was certainly not free of the idea of his own and Britain's inherent superiority. According to Kuykendall, he confidently interfered in the interisland wars, sure that he knew what was best for the Kanaka. Like Cook, he even believed that the flora and fauna of England were superior, and he left cattle and several kinds of fruit and vegetable plants to improve the landscape.²⁸ Unfortunately, these acts only served to upset the ecological balance.

Not much later, Baranov of Russia, employing the German doctor Scheffer, persuaded Kaumuali'i, mō'i of Kaua'i, to come under "the protection of the Russian emperor."²⁹ With Kaumuali'i, they planned to conquer O'ahu, but Kamehameha simply ordered them to leave. Eventually, Kaumuali'i realized that Scheffer was not a good ally, and returned to a more or less peaceful relationship with Kamehameha.

MASS DEATH

As cited above, Kamakau wrote that some of the seeds that Captain Cook planted included venereal disease, prostitution, epidemics, and the weakening of the bodies of the native people, all of which were no doubt responsible for a fairly swift and devastating reduction in population. Conservative estimates of Hawai'i's population in 1778 range from 400,000 to 1,000,000; just forty-five years later that number was reduced to about 135,000.³⁰ The first epidemic, called ma'i 'ōku'u (crouching disease) by the Kanaka, "swept off the majority of Hawaiians." This was followed some forty years later by epidemics of measles, whooping cough, and influenza. Tuberculosis and "a steady corrosive flow of [other] infection[s]" also weakened and killed people, although not in a singular, identifiable epidemic.³¹

Kamehameha, his advisers, and the mō'i who followed him took various actions to stop the epidemics, including placing kapu (restrictions) on the actions of foreigners³² and constructing special temples called hale o ke akua (house of the akua) or haleopapa (house of Papa). None of these efforts succeeded, however, and mass death and depopulation ensued.

Kanaka authors in the nineteenth century offer varying analyses of the reasons for the mass deaths. In 1839, Davida Malo wrote the first Hawaiian-language account, which was translated into English by the missionary Lorrin Andrews and published in the missionary magazine intended for an American audience, the *Hawaiian Spectator*. A depressed Malo mainly blamed the ali'i for the decrease in population, beginning with a condemnation of the savageries of the ancient times, including the "multitudes [that] were wantonly destroyed in war" and "vast many [that] were killed by robbers," as well as abortion because of women's vanity, infanticide, human sacrifices, and "indolence."³³ Throughout the article, Malo castigates the ali'i for not taking proper care of the people, accusing them of exploiting the people for their own enrichment, and caring only for their own pleasures. He also blames the kāhuna lā'au lapa'au (native medical practitioners) and the people themselves for the deaths resulting from the ma'i 'ōku'u epidemic and the other diseases: "The great mortality that prevailed arose from the ignorance of the people at that time, their manner of living, the want of care and nursing when sick; and their ignorance of the proper use of medicine. . . . Many died with famine, many with cold, and more still from the unavoidable evil condition they were in."³⁴ Malo assigned blame to foreigners only in conjunction with the spread of venereal disease: "From the arrival of Capt. Cook to the present day the people have been dying with the venereal disorder." But the blame was also on the "licentiousness" of "Hawaiian females," for which, he concluded, "God is angry, and he is diminishing the people."³⁵

It is clear that Malo had been rather thoroughly persuaded by the missionaries that the old ways of life were evil and savage; his conclusion was that "if a reformation of morals should take place, and the kingdom should be renewed, then it would escape destruction."³⁶ Noelani Arista has analyzed Malo's article this way: "While the language and imagery that Malo uses are Christian, it was Hawaiian tradition that urged Malo to condemn the actions of the chief. Only *ali'i pono* could ensure a prosperous rule."³⁷ Malo had internalized the moral judgments of the missionaries, perhaps not yet aware of the mass death associated with colonialism and missionaries on the American continents. He might also have been experiencing some degree of self-hatred borne of the failure to be able to think of or do anything to stop the dying. He was an advisor to the ali'i nui; therefore, it was his kulcana (responsibility,

within his authority) to figure out how to stop it and how to save them, and he could not. Eventually, the ma'i 'ōku'u and the other ma'i ahulua (epidemics) took away not only the majority of maka'āinana, but also many important ali'i, including Kamehameha's primary advisors.³⁸

Thirty years later, Samuel Kamakau, possessed of greater historical knowledge and having seen firsthand that conversion to Christianity did not stop or slow the mass death, was less apt to blame the ali'i and the ordinary Kanaka. In 1867, Kamakau repeated and elaborated on Malo's list of evils, including war and infanticide, but he came to different conclusions. His two principal reasons for the decrease in population were the frequent epidemics and venereal disease, both brought in by foreigners.³⁹ Rather than interpreting the mass deaths as the results of God's anger at the lack of piety of the Kanaka, Kamakau directly blamed foreign ways. What follows is yet another passage that was deleted, without ellipsis, in *Ruling Chiefs*: "O ke kumu i loa'a mai ai kēia pō'ino a me ka ho'oneo 'ana ho'i i ka lāhui Hawai'i nei, ua maopopo, 'o nā haole nō ka po'e pepehi lāhui; a 'o ka puni hanohano me ka puni waiwai, 'o lāua nō nā hoa aloha no ka ma'i luku" (The reason for this misfortune and the decimation of the Hawaiian lāhui, it is understood, is that the haole are people who kill other peoples; and the desire for glory and riches, those are the companions of the devastating diseases).⁴⁰

For Kamakau the situation was not pono, not because the ali'i were not pono but because of foreigners bringing the diseases, and with them the desire to rule over and become wealthy in Hawai'i at the expense of the native people. Besides diseases, the haole also brought the idea of trade for money. Haole traders wanted sandalwood to sell in China, and the ali'i desired and needed weaponry among other goods, not only for the interisland wars but to defend themselves against the haole. Many ali'i went into debt that could only be paid with sandalwood, and so they ordered the maka'āinana into the forests to cut all the sandalwood trees.⁴¹ This left lo'i (irrigated terraces for taro) and other farms uncultivated and the forests out of balance. Such changes in the plant life left many people starving and weakened. Later on, the institution of taxes to be paid in cash also caused people to be alienated from their ancestral lands, which undoubtedly contributed to the weakening of their bodies, not to mention their spirits.⁴²

Regardless of how they attempted to explain the mass deaths, the authors, the ali'i, and the maka'āinana grieved over the enormous loss of

life and worried about the fate of the lāhui — on a scale that we today can barely imagine. In reference to similar catastrophes that befell the Yup'ik people, Harold Napoleon wrote that "the cataclysm of mass death changed the persona, the lifeview, the world view of the Yup'ik people." He further described the survivors in this way: "Their medicines and their medicine men and women had proven useless. Everything they had believed in had failed. Their ancient world had collapsed . . . from their inability to understand and dispel the disease, guilt was born into them. They had witnessed mass death — evil — in unimaginable and unacceptable terms."⁴³ An anonymous Kanaka student at Lahainaluna wrote in similar terms in 1834: "Hookahi no hewa nui, o ka make ia ka Okuu nei" (There was only one great wrong [in the past], that being death, the 'Ōku'u epidemic).⁴⁴

Napoleon writes that in the trauma, confusion, and fear, the Yup'ik "survivors readily followed the white missionaries and school teachers . . . who told them their old beliefs were evil."⁴⁵ Their behavior afterward is nearly identical to the symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder, which Napoleon calls "an infection of the soul."⁴⁶ A. W. Crosby calls the behavior "anomie," which leads to self-destructive coping mechanisms, such as addictions to narcotics and alcohol.⁴⁷ As Napoleon says: "No people anywhere will voluntarily discard their culture, beliefs, customs, and traditions unless they are under a great deal of stress, physically, psychologically, or spiritually."⁴⁸ Davida Malo's blaming of the ali'i and the traditional culture may also be reexamined in light of a statement by Napoleon: "The case can be made that many of the survivors of the Great Death suffered from posttraumatic stress disorder, and that it was in this condition that they surrendered and allowed their old cultures to pass away."⁴⁹ Like the Yup'ik, the Kanaka 'Ōiwi Hawai'i, were forever changed by the horrific experience of mass death.

'AI NOA

The 'ai kapu (eating taboos) was a system of rules that specified that men do all the cooking, that men and women eat separately, and that certain foods, especially the kino lau (many physical forms) of certain male gods, be kapu to women. The system was established by the ancient mo'olelo of Wākea, who wanted to sleep with his daughter, Ho'ohōkū-

kalani, without his mate, Papahānaumoku, finding out. Thus a system of kapu, including the eating kapu, was put into place by Wākea and his male kahuna that kept women out of the men's eating house and kept men and women apart for a few nights each month. This system remained in effect, especially among the ali'i 'ai moku, the ruling chiefs, until the death of Kamehameha.

In May 1819, Kamehameha died after a long and illustrious life. He named his son, Liholiho, as his successor, but bequeathed the war akua, Kūkā'ilimoku, to Liholiho's cousin, Kekuaokalani. Kamehameha himself had inherited Kūkā'ilimoku when Kalani'ōpu'u died, leaving the reign to his son, Kiwala'ō. Many generations before, Liloa had bequeathed Kūkā'ilimoku to his son, 'Umi, of a lesser genealogy, while giving the aupuni (government) to his more genealogically legitimate, but less pono son, Hakau.⁵⁰ Kamehameha had been grooming Liholiho since childhood to take over his rule, but it is possible that he observed that the young man might falter, and so in effect arranged for Kekuaokalani as a backup. If Liholiho ruled in a pono way, Kekuaokalani would be loyal and all would be well. If not, then Kekuaokalani, if he took care of the akua and thus behaved in pono ways, would take over the rule.

Kamehameha did not predict the most momentous of the events that would follow his death. As part of the mourning practices, the 'ai kapu was suspended and a temporary period of 'ai noa (free eating) was established. "Ua make akula nō ka mea nāna e mālama ke akua, a ua pono nō ko kākou 'ai noa 'ana" (The one who cares for the akua has died, and [thus] our free eating is pono).⁵¹ This was a limited 'ai noa, however, which was restricted to the aloali'i—those surrounding the ali'i nui. At this time, Liholiho was sent with Kekuaokalani north to Kawaihae because Kailua, where the mō'i had died, was considered defiled by the death. About a week later, Ka'ahumanu sent for Liholiho; Kekuaokalani advised him not to return to Kailua because "ke lohe mai nei kākou, ke 'ai noa maila 'o Kailua" (we hear that Kailua is free eating).⁵² When a second messenger was sent Liholiho agreed to go, but Kekuaokalani refused and advised Liholiho not to agree to the free eating. The following day, Ka'ahumanu announced that Liholiho was the new mō'i, to be called Kamehameha II, while also announcing that she herself would share his rule and would have the title kuhina nui.⁵³

That evening the ali'i wahine Keōpūolani fed her younger son, Kauikeaouli, in a symbolic gesture of free eating. Liholiho returned to

Kawaihae and began drinking alcohol. According to Kame'eiehiwa, he "attempted to perform the very sacred and rigorous 'Aha ritual through which the *mana* [power, authority] of the war *Akua Kū* could be secured by the *Mō'i*. . . . Because of the general drunkenness, merrymaking, and disorderly behavior, Liholiho's 'Aha ritual was a failure."⁵⁴ Samuel Kamakau's account of this event is slightly different: he wrote that Liholiho successfully consecrated the heiau (place of worship, shrine) at Honokōhau through the 'aha ritual; however, the new mō'i could not decide either to command an end to the free eating, which would be problematic, because Ka'ahumanu had claimed joint rule, or to join his mother and proclaim the permanent 'ai noa. He continued to drink. In both versions, Liholiho is caught between his powerful coruler and mother, Ka'ahumanu, and his cousin in possession of the war akua, Kekuaokalani. He finally succumbed to Ka'ahumanu's and his birth mother's pressure, and proclaimed the 'ai noa.

Kekuaokalani, believing himself to be pono and taking care of Kūkā'ilimoku as had Kamehameha and 'Umi before him, declared war to restore the 'ai kapu. He died in the battle at Kuamo'o, outside of Kailua, Kona. In the words of Kame'eiehiwa, "Kekuaokalani's defeat meant more than the demise of the 'ai kapu, it was also a death blow for the sanctity of tradition."⁵⁵ Now it was clear to everyone that the old akua had little or no mana.⁵⁶

Many theories have been advanced about the reasons Kamehameha's wahine broke the 'ai kapu, but, as Kame'eiehiwa wrote, "we will never know why Ka'ahumanu insisted that Liholiho, and indeed the entire *Lāhui*, should agree to the breaking of the 'ai kapu."⁵⁷ Some historians have suggested that Ka'ahumanu was seeking political power, but she had achieved that without establishing 'ai noa. Ka'ahumanu had claimed the title of kuhina nui, which gave her the power to rule jointly with the mō'i before the permanent breaking of the 'ai kapu.⁵⁸ Moreover, the other ali'i had not objected to Ka'ahumanu assuming this new office.

Kame'eiehiwa explains that historians have tended to ignore the significance of the mass death to the institution of the 'ai noa: "Epidemic disease and massive death were signs of loss of *pono*, but Kamehameha—who ruled at the time—was the epitome of a *pono Ali'i*. . . . Yet, despite his *pono*, the people continued to die at a horrendous rate . . . for all his efforts he could not give them life." Kame'eiehiwa posits that Ka'ahumanu and the others observed that the foreigners broke the 'ai kapu

constantly, yet did not die in the epidemics. Perhaps Ka'ahumanu and the other ali'i nui "thought the 'ainoa was the white man's secret to life." Furthermore, when the kahunas and the maka'ainana saw that Kūkā'ilimoku no longer had mana, the kahunas nui, Hewahewa, ordered the burning of the temple images, and the maka'ainana "went on a furious rampage."⁵⁹ Kame'elehiwa concludes that the people had lost faith in the 'ai kapu because the akua had failed to protect them.

THE MISSIONARIES

"Darkness covered the earth and gross darkness the people" begins the memoir of Hiram Bingham, of the first company of missionaries to Hawai'i, a story in which that company appear as the bringers of light.⁶⁰ Many stories have been told of the "pioneering" missionaries, of their bravery and altruism or, conversely, of their drive to power and ho'omakauli'i 'āina (lust for land).⁶¹ In attempting objectivity and fairness, mainstream historians have been critical in their portrayal of the severely puritanical Congregationalists, yet have rationalized or helped to justify their actions by essentializing the Kanaka Maoli as backward savages and intellectually lazy beings whose way of life was decaying and who themselves were disappearing as a result of their own degraded ways.⁶² Because there are so many stories told in so many different ways, there is no reason to present here a new history of the arrival and early activities of the missionaries; instead I will summarize the stories, highlighting some of the struggles over how pono was to be defined. I will also briefly review what is often described as the missionaries' greatest accomplishment: the introduction of literacy and the establishment of the print media in Hawai'i nei.

It has been written many times that a young Kanaka 'Ōiwi named 'Ōpūkaha'ia inspired the U.S. missionaries to come to Hawai'i. Along with an even younger man named Hopu, 'Ōpūkaha'ia and other Kanaka youths signed on as hands on the whaling and merchant ships that passed through Hawai'i nei. 'Ōpūkaha'ia learned English, first aboard a ship then in a series of schools in New England. He converted to Christianity in 1815 after meeting up with the zealous evangelicals of the growing U.S. mission movement.⁶³ Through their contact with these young men, along with their desire to travel to foreign lands and save heathen souls,

the missionaries found Hawai'i appealing. William Hutchison explains that the Americans felt "special obligations toward foreign missions" — obligations that were linked to the ideas of manifest destiny, biblical commands to preach all over the world, and "a fitful concern about the Indians." But their obligation was as much to their home churches as to the people of those foreign lands; as Hutchison states, "the missionaries were considered important to the renovation of their own churches and society," and he adds that the movement "dispatch[ed] some two thousand missionaries over a sixty-year period." When the movement grew to "huge proportions and great public notice" the missionaries cast themselves as "couriers" of an entire, favored people.⁶⁴

At the time that 'Ōpūkaha'ia, Hopu, and the others lived in New England, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was attempting to convert various American Indian peoples. Hutchison quotes their objectives as "civilizing and christianizing in that order" and as assimilationist in vision.⁶⁵ A major site for the civilizing and assimilating of Indians was the Foreign Mission School at Cornwall, which the board established for the purpose of training various natives to proselytize among their own people. 'Ōpūkaha'ia (known in English there as Henry Obookiah) converted with enthusiasm, and became such a star pupil at the Cornwall School that Hutchison likens him to a celebrity among the missionaries.⁶⁶ Bingham quotes 'Ōpūkaha'ia as requesting that missionaries be sent to Hawai'i.⁶⁷

Unfortunately, 'Ōpūkaha'ia's experience at the Cornwall School ended the way of an inordinate number of other native students — he became sick and died.⁶⁸ By that time, however, he had already sparked evangelical desires for Hawai'i as a destination as a heathen nation for missionaries to civilize and convert. In late 1819, the first company set sail for Hawai'i, including seven couples and three "Hawaiian helpers from Cornwall School": Thomas Hopu, William Kanui, and John Honoli'i.⁶⁹ They also brought home the unconverted George Humehume, son of Kaumuali'i, the aforementioned mō'i of Kaua'i.

Although the missionaries believed that God had prepared the way for them because the 'ai kapu had ended just months before their arrival, they did not find the conversion of the Kanaka 'Ōiwi to happen as readily as that of 'Ōpūkaha'ia. Their project thus challenged them and kept many of them in Hawai'i for the rest of their lives, and many have descendants who continue to live in Hawai'i today (where they are among the

wealthiest and most powerful people). The missionaries had little trouble obtaining permission to stay, even with the “obvious reluctance and an unflattering lack of enthusiasm” on the part of the ali’i, who did not take to their proselytizing right away.⁷⁰ Kamakau reports that some ali’i around Keōpūolani, after their first meeting with Hopu, during which he attempted to proselytize, nicknamed him “Mā’oi” (intrusive).⁷¹

But eventually it was Keōpūolani, the ruling ali’i wahine who had ended the ‘ai kapu, who first converted and who greatly influenced the conversion of other powerful ali’i. She was the highest-ranking ali’i in the archipelago, as well the birth mother of the mō‘ī and of the other two children in line for rule of the islands. The others among that powerful group of women who effected such major changes were Ka’ahumanu, the kuhina nui, who became the most feared and revered of the queens, and Kapi’olani. All were favored wāhine of Kamehameha and all converted early to the new religion.

These women, along with the other ali’i, were interested in learning the palapala (reading and writing). The ali’i already knew some of the power of writing; Kamakau gives a rather lengthy list of Kānaka, women and men, who prior to the arrival of the missionaries had learned to read and write English.⁷² Missionaries now offered to “reduce the [Hawaiian] language to writing” and teach the ali’i to read and write in their own language.⁷³ From the ali’i point of view, they were thus acquiring the technology that would allow them new ways to communicate with each other. From the missionary point of view, however, the Kanaka ‘Ōiwi were perceived to lack alphabetic writing, which was a proof of their uncivilized nature. The establishment of the writing system, and the subsequent printing of tracts and books were thus an integral part of the “civilizing” process. Walter Mignolo, writing about the Spanish colonization of the New World, states: “During the process of colonization . . . the book was conceived . . . as a text in which truth could be discerned from falsehood, the law imposed over chaos. The book, furthermore, also played a very important role in the reverse process of sign transmission: from the metropolis to the colonial periphery. Printed books facilitated the dissemination and reproduction of knowledge and . . . contributed to the colonization of languages.”⁷⁴

Accordingly, the first company brought with them both a professionally trained printer, Elisha Loomis, and a printing press. In about two years they had developed an alphabet for Hawaiian and began to print

primers for use in mission schools. Ali’i first sent their assistants to the schools to learn, and then, according to Lorrin Andrews, “schools were formed for their particular benefit.”⁷⁵ First hundreds then thousands of ali’i and maka’āinana were enrolled in mission schools learning the palapala. Schütz writes that “by the mid-1830s, letter writing had apparently become routine.”⁷⁶ The first reading materials were religious tracts and elementary-level school texts such as a speller and an arithmetic text.

The reduction of the language to writing was meant to, and did, facilitate the process of conversion to Christianity. It was in the production of the religious texts in Hawaiian that the word “pono” must first have been used to translate such Christian concepts as “righteousness,” which previously had no referent in the minds of the Hawaiians. Whereas pono had been used previously to describe the ideal behavior of ali’i and other concepts such as balance, completeness, and material well-being, it now took on the foreign connotation of conforming to Christian morality. Rightness meant something different in the two worlds, but the missionaries were able, in barely questioned translation, to appropriate this powerful term—an appropriation that would have radical consequences. From one mission primer, for example, students copied the following sentence: “E pa-la-pa-la-ia na i-noa o ka poe po-no ma-lo-ko o ka bu-ke o ke o-la” (The names of the righteous [pono people] will be written inside the book of life).⁷⁷ Here we can see that the Christian god is imagined as having a book, and that the inscription of one’s name in the book guaranteed life. In the colonial imagination, the possession of books was a mark of superiority, even for deities, and thus one that the native akua distinctly lacked.

But translating the term pono into Christian righteousness was a trying task for the missionaries. Most Kānaka did not enter as quietly into that foreign and restricted lifestyle as some histories would have us believe. Bingham’s memoirs are brimming with complaints about the struggle with the indolent, pleasure-seeking Kanaka. Indeed, his chapter about the second year of the mission starts this way: “While some of the people who sat in darkness were beginning to turn their eyes to the light . . . others, with greater enthusiasm, were wasting their time in learning, practising, or witnessing the *bula*.”⁷⁸

Kamehameha’s children with Keōpūolani were destined to carry on as rulers over the islands, and so with Ka’ahumanu were the most important to convert first. Liholiho (Mō‘ī Kamehameha II) and Kauikaouli

(later to become Mō'i Kamehameha III), along with Nāhi'ena'ena, their sister, all resisted the demands of the missionaries in various ways and at various times. Liholiho famously said to Bingham: "Elima o'u makahiki i koe, a laila, huli au i kanaka maika'i"⁷⁹ or (In five years, I will turn and forsake sin; Bingham's own, loose translation.)⁸⁰ Kauikeaouli and Nāhi'ena'ena grew up under the influence of the missionary William Richards but also understood that they were meant to live together and produce more sacred children. Marjorie Sinclair has documented their years of struggle, torment, and rebellion against the missionaries in her biography of Nāhi'ena'ena.⁸¹

The ali'i nui couple Boki and Liliha, along with other ali'i nui, also actively opposed Ka'ahumanu and the missionaries. One example of Liliha's rebellion is described as follows: "In 1831, Chief Paki joined with his cousin, Kuini [Queen] Liliha, in an attempt to take over Oahu (*Pahikaua*). *Pahikaua* (literally, war knife, or sword) was the name given to the attempt made by followers of Liliha to retaliate against Kaahumanu for the threat made by [her] against Liliha if she continued to live in her independent fashion. . . . Kaahumanu was missionizing throughout the islands, proclaiming the new taboos against murder, adultery, Hawaiian religious practices, hula, chant, 'awa, and distilleries."⁸² The opposition to Ka'ahumanu failed, however. And by 1831 Liholiho had died on a journey to England, leaving the adolescent Kauikeaouli to reign as Kamehameha III and the powerful Ka'ahumanu as the virtual ruler of the kingdom. The missionaries then established Lahainaluna Seminary to train Kanaka men for the ministry. Many of the most influential advisers to the ruling ali'i attended the seminary, which also gave rise in 1834 to the first newspaper published in Hawaiian. The newspaper, called *Ka Lama Hawaii*, or as Bingham translates it, the "Hawaiian luminary," was the first in a series of periodicals planned by the mission to "supply the means of useful knowledge in the arts and sciences, history, morals, and religion; to point out existing evils, their character, seat, extent and consequences."⁸³ In other words, as Mignolo points out, it would act as the conduit for the colonial culture.

Students wrote articles for the last page of the four-page paper, and they also learned the publishing process, including printing press operation. The same year that *Ka Lama Hawaii* was established it was followed by *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, which was published at the Honolulu mission for the mission schools. At *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, more Kānaka learned

the operation of the press, although the paper folded after it became too expensive to publish. *Ke Kumu* was soon followed by *Ka Nonanona*, which was controlled by the mission but also worked in cooperation with Kamehameha III's government to provide news to the general public, thus significantly broadening both scope and readership. The mō'i and his advisers soon grasped the usefulness of such an instrument. The government sponsored two newspapers, *Ka Hae Hawaii* (1856–1861) in Hawaiian and the *Polynesian* (1840–1841; 1844–1864) in English. While the main purpose of these papers was to communicate laws and government policies, the missionaries in charge of publication also used them to proselytize, to civilize, and to promote ideas such as farming for profit rather than subsistence. Kanaka 'Ōiwi worked in various capacities at all of these newspapers, and increasingly many submitted for publication writings such as mo'olelo, mo'okū'auhau, mele, and their opinions on religion, politics, and other matters. The print media thus acted as a major agent in the colonizing activities, especially of the Protestant mission, but also acted to cohere the "imagined community" that was the nation, which was coming into being at the same time.⁸⁴

EARLY STRUGGLES OVER SOVEREIGNTY

Like many countries in the Pacific and around the world in the early nineteenth century, Hawai'i was at times the target of colonial aggression. In 1839, after the death of Ka'ahumanu's successor Kīna'u, Miriam Kekauluohi was appointed kuhina nui. Prior to 1839, French priests of the Roman Catholic Church had arrived and attempted to establish a mission. This move was vigorously opposed by the anti-Catholic Calvinists, however, who by this time had become advisers to the mō'i and the kuhina nui. Needless to say, the priests were sent away in fairly short order. In July 1839, the *Artemise*, a French warship commanded by Captain Cyrille Laplace, arrived in Honolulu to make several demands, including that French priests be allowed to establish a mission, that a land grant be made for such a mission, and that the government pay \$20,000 as guaranty for the other demands. If these demands were not met, Captain Laplace was to make war on Hawai'i. In the absence of the mō'i, Kekauluohi agreed to all of the demands, including payment of the cash.⁸⁵

This incident impressed on Kamehameha III and his advisers that Hawai'i was vulnerable to the "Great Powers," as they were known. In 1841, Sir George Simpson, former commander of Fort Vancouver where many Kānaka had emigrated to work, arrived at Hawai'i. According to Kamakau, "He saw how men of his country had taken advantage of the gentle Hawaiian race . . . and he offered to act as ambassador to the queen of England to obtain from her . . . official recognition of King Kamehameha III as an independent ruler over an independent country."⁸⁶ Former missionary William Richards and the mō'i's other advisers agreed that this was a necessity, because those nations not recognized and accepted into the family of nations were vulnerable to colonization. The Hawaiian kingdom had already taken some steps toward conforming to the European conventions of statehood, including the creation, in 1840, of a constitution and the enactment of laws of recognizably European type; the assessment and defining of the territory of the islands; and the agreement of the people of the archipelago that they were one nation. All that was lacking was recognition of the nation by the members of the exclusive club of European nations and the United States. Kamehameha III's declaration that the kingdom was Christian meant that Hawai'i had also met that unwritten requirement for membership. The mō'i thus sent Simpson on one vessel, plus one of his closest and most trusted advisors, the ali'i Timoteo Ha'alilio, together with William Richards on another ship, to journey to the United States, England, and France to obtain recognition of Hawai'i's independence.

While they were gone, Richard Charleton, the British consul in Hawai'i, became involved in a dispute with ali'i over a house lot. Lord George Paulet, commanding a British warship, demanded that Charleton be given the land. This demand was accompanied by others disrespectful of Hawai'i's sovereignty, and by threats of war. The mō'i's response was to inform Paulet that Sir George Simpson was on his way to settle matters with Queen Victoria, and that Paulet's demands were "contravening the laws established for the benefit of all."⁸⁷ Then, under protest, the mō'i provisionally ceded the sovereignty of Hawai'i to Paulet until Queen Victoria could be apprised of the conflict. The British government promptly disavowed Paulet's act, and dispatched Admiral Richard Thomas to Hawai'i. On his arrival Thomas reprimanded Paulet and restored Hawai'i's sovereignty. The date was July 31, 1843, which was celebrated for the following fifty years as Lā Ho'ihō'i Ea, or Restoration Day.

Ha'alilio and Richards went first to the United States, where they obtained a verbal agreement from President John Tyler to respect Hawai'i's independence. They then proceeded to Europe, where for several months they negotiated with the officials of Great Britain and France, and where they received distressing letters about Paulet's threat to their nation. On November 28, 1843, they obtained the signatures of officials of both Great Britain and France on a joint proclamation recognizing Hawai'i as an independent nation and a member of the family of nations. November 28 was officially celebrated thereafter as Lā Kū'oko'a, or Independence Day. Ha'alilio and Richards returned to the United States to continue their work, and then finally departed for home in December 1844. Ke Ali'i Timoteo Ha'alilio died on the ship just days into the journey home.⁸⁸

It was on the first Lā Ho'ihō'i Ea, July 31, 1843, that Kamehameha III announced, "Ua mau ke ea o ka 'āina i ka pono" (roughly, "The sovereignty of the land has been continued because it is pono"), which became the mō'i's motto. It later became the motto of the kingdom, and then (strangely or perversely) was appropriated as the motto of the State of Hawai'i, where it is usually translated as "The life of the land is perpetuated in righteousness." "Ea," which can mean "life" or "breath" as well as "sovereignty," in its original context was clearly meant to signify sovereignty. The word pono, as I have shown, has a multiplicity of meanings, and had been appropriated by missionaries as well as government officials to translate the Christian concept of righteousness. In the mō'i's phrasing, it likely corresponds more closely to "justice" and, more broadly, what is good or beneficial for the people. Simultaneously, it is an assertion that the mō'i's government was the appropriate and correct one.⁸⁹ Translation of pono into "righteousness" or even "justice" is an example of the reduction of an understood multiplicity of meanings in the Hawaiian language to a single meaning in English, with a different set of connotations altogether.

It was in response to foreign aggression, and also to missionary claims that the Kanaka 'Ōiwi were savage and uncivilized, that the mō'i and the ali'i nui changed their ways of government by adopting a constitution on which European and American types of laws could be based and by adhering to international norms of nation-statehood. These moves were made with the goal of preserving sovereignty—that is, to avoid being taken over by one imperial power or another.⁹⁰ Further, and

less obviously, it was to try to refute the charges of savagery and backwardness that were continuously thrust at them.

The constitution and laws in Hawai'i, while European in form, also reflected Kanaka Maoli ideas of what was pono in government. This is seen especially in the inclusion of women in government in the early years. Ali'i wahine (female ali'i) had always been part of government, and for some years they continued to be. The office of kuhina nui was most often held by women, the first and most powerful of whom was Ka'ahumanu, who claimed status as coruler with Liholiho. Thereafter, the office passed to Kīna'u, then to Kekauluohi (under whom the first constitution was finished and passed),⁹¹ then briefly to the male Keoni Ana, then to Victoria Kamāmalu Ka'ahumanu, and, after her death, briefly to her father, after which it was abolished.⁹² The first Hale 'Aha 'Ōlelo Ali'i, or House of Nobles (excluding the mō'i), consisted of five women along with ten men.⁹³ Ali'i wahine also served as island governors, among them Kuini Liliha on O'ahu, Kekauonohi on Kaua'i, and Ruth Ke'elikōlani on Hawai'i Island.⁹⁴

The introduction of foreign concepts in government and law met with substantial resistance. Kamakau wrote that "the reason why [foreign-style laws] were passed was because the old chiefs were dead, those who had refused absolutely to approve the new laws except in the matter of protection from crime and keeping the peace among the people."⁹⁵ Maka'āinana in particular opposed the presence of powerful foreigners in the government and foreigners' ability to own land. A well-known example of published protest is "Na Palapala Hoopii O Na Makaainana" (Petitions of the maka'āinana), first printed in July 1845 in *Ka Elele*, the Hawaiian-language mission newspaper. The following month it was translated into English and published in the missionary magazine the *Friend*, under the title "A Petition to Your Gracious Majesty, Kamehameha III, and to all Your Chiefs in Council Assembled."⁹⁶ The overriding concern of the maka'āinana was "the independence of [the] kingdom," and toward preserving that independence, the petition asked the mō'i to "dismiss foreign officers . . . appointed to be Hawaiian officers," to disallow foreigners' ability to become naturalized subjects, and to prevent any further land being sold to foreigners. A note at the end reads: "It is said that over 1600 names were subscribed to this petition." The maka'āinana wrote that the ali'i, rather than foreigners, should serve as officers under the mō'i: "e like me ka noho ana o ko lakou

poe makua malalo iho o kou makuakane o Kamehameha I" (as their fathers were under your father, Kamehameha I).⁹⁷ The ali'i answered the petition, represented by Keoni Ana (John Young Jr.) and "Jeone Ii" (John Papa 'Ī'i). They reassured the maka'āinana first that "aole loa e pono ke kuai aku i kekahi aina i ka haole o ka aina e" (it is by no means proper to sell land to aliens), but that it was pono for certain loyal foreigners to be able to purchase land "i kuewa ole ai lakou" (so that they not be homeless), but also that those foreigners not be allowed to sell the land to any other foreigner.⁹⁸ Despite such confusing reassurances, the sale of land became the next big project for the ali'i who in strange coalition with the forces seeking to commodify and colonize the land, sought to preserve sovereignty and to deal with the tragic and devastating problem of depopulation.

COLONIAL CAPITALISM AND THE STRUGGLE OVER LAND TENURE

In precolonial, precapitalist times — what anthropologist Marion Kelly calls Hawaiian times — the people took care of the land in what they conceived of as a reciprocal relationship, and they managed and governed themselves in what is usually described as the ali'i system. Nineteenth-century foreign observers, such as W. D. Alexander, described the political-economic relationships and the land tenure system as bearing "a remarkable resemblance to the feudal system that prevailed in Europe during the Middle Ages."⁹⁹ Such a characterization, however, represents the ali'i as lords, as landowners and oppressors of an unfortunate serfdom. As Kame'elehiwa has noted, this is an inadequate description because the Hawaiian system was stratified but interdependent, and the ali'i, kahuna, and maka'āinana regarded themselves as related much more closely and affectionately than did feudal landlords and serfs.¹⁰⁰ Kame'elehiwa described the relationships among akua, ali'i, and maka'āinana this way: "*Ali'i Nui* were the protectors of the *maka'āinana*, sheltering them from terrible unseen forces. . . . Should a famine arise, the *Ali'i Nui* was held at fault and deposed. . . . Should an *Ali'i Nui* be stingy and cruel to the commoners . . . he or she would cease to be *pono*, lose favor with the *Akua* and be struck down, usually by the people. . . . A reciprocal relationship was maintained: the *Ali'i Nui* kept the *'Āina*

fertile and the *Akua* appeased; the *maka'āinana* fed and clothed the *Ali'i Nui*.¹⁰¹

Land tenure was the central feature of this system of political and social relationships based on obligations as well as bonds of affection. When a new island or district ruler, an *ali'i 'ai moku*, came into office, he or she would appoint *konohiki*, who were also *ali'i*, as administrators over the large district areas called *kalana* and *ahupua'a*. The *konohiki* would, in turn, appoint lesser *konohiki* over the smaller areas within each district. The *maka'āinana* farmed and fished within their district, and also gathered firewood and anything else they needed from anywhere within their *kalana* or *ahupua'a*. Certain days of each month were devoted to farming areas set aside for the support of the *konohiki* and the *ali'i 'ai moku*. *Ali'i* and *maka'āinana* went on fishing expeditions, both together and separately, and shared the catch.¹⁰² Besides labor in farming and fishing, *maka'āinana* gave *'auhau* (tribute) to all the *konohiki* up to and including the *ali'i 'ai moku*. The *konohiki* also gave *'auhau* to the *konohiki* and *ali'i 'ai moku* above. Prior to the cash economy, *'auhau* was conceived as "tribute" to the *ali'i* and, if not excessive, it apparently was not usually resented by the *maka'āinana*. In *Ka Lama Hawaii* in 1834, an anonymous student wrote an article, titled "No ka Pono Kahiko a Me ka Pono Hou" or (Concerning the ancient pono and the new pono) in which he explained that the *'auhau* had been well understood and fair but now was becoming "huikau," or confused. He wrote: "Eia ka mea lilo i kela *'auhau*. O ke *kanaka aiahupuaa*, he *nui kana mea e lilo i kela 'auhau*, a o ke *kanaka aiili*, *uuku iho kana mea e lilo*, o ke *kanaka aikihapai*, *uuku loa kana mea e haawi aku*. O ka *poe kuenta*, *aole a lakou mea lilo aku*. I *keia manawa*, *ua huikau, aole akaka*" (Here is what was given for that *'auhau*. The person who ruled an *ahupua'a* had much to give for that *'auhau*, and the person who ruled an *'ili* [a smaller district within an *ahupua'a*] had a little less to give, and the person who just farmed a garden had very little to give. Wanderers did not give anything. Now, it is all mixed up, it is not clear).¹⁰³

The *kuleana* "authority" that allowed certain *ali'i* to "kū i ka moku," or rule a district or island and receive *'auhau*, included the obligation to manage the land and ocean resources wisely—to set *kapu* (roughly, here, meaning temporary restrictions) and *kānāwai* (rules) in consultation with other *ali'i* and *kāhuna*. Everybody had specific *kuleana* to *mālama 'āina*, or care for the land: according to *Kame'eiehiwa*, "in

practical terms, the *maka'āinana* fed and clothed the *Ali'i Nui*, who provided the organization required to produce enough food to sustain an ever-increasing population."¹⁰⁴ The *ali'i* status with its accompanying *kuleana* was determined genealogically, but the *'āina*, *akua*, *'aumakua*, *kahuna*, and *maka'āinana* were also conceived of as belonging to the same family as the *ali'i*. Joseph Poepoe explains in "Mooolelo Hawaii Kahiko" that in *mo'olelo* (i.e., metaphorically) *Wākea* is the oldest son, the *ali'i* (who is simultaneously *akua*); his next youngest brother is the *kahuna*; and the youngest is the *maka'āinana*, or *kauā* (servant).¹⁰⁵ Similarly, *Haumea*, goddess of childbirth and government, is portrayed as *akua*, *ali'i*, and *kahuna* all at once. *Kamakau*, as shown earlier, provides an example of a time that *maka'āinana* had to serve as *ali'i*.¹⁰⁶ Furthermore, genealogy alone was not enough to determine who would "kū i ka moku"; an *ali'i 'ai moku* who wanted to obtain and retain that position had to be a good land and ocean resource manager, a good leader, and good caretaker of the *akua*, *'aumakua*, *'āina*, and *maka'āinana*. If he or she fulfilled his or her duties, the bonds with the *maka'āinana* were those of affection as well as obligation.

Osorio argues that the *māhele*, the change of land tenure to private property, "was a foreign solution to the problem of managing lands increasingly emptied of people" because of the epidemics and low birth-rates.¹⁰⁷ In the system described above, the *ali'i 'ai moku*, now the *mō'i* of the entire archipelago, had interests in all lands; the appointed *konohiki* had interests in all lands under their control; and the *maka'āinana* had interests in the lands that they worked. The *maka'āinana*, furthermore, had rights to fish and to gather within their *ahupua'a* or *kalana*. In 1846, not long after the petition of protest by the *maka'āinana*, the government created a Board of Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles. The board translated the ancient system into the foreign language of private property thus: "If the King should allow to the landlords [i.e., *konohiki*] one-third, to the tenants one-third, and retain one-third himself, 'he would injure no one unless himself.'"¹⁰⁸ In a great simplification of the actual process, we may say that starting from such a conception the board conceived a plan in which the *konohiki* (consisting of all *ali'i* under the *mō'i*) would pay commutation fees to extinguish the *mō'i*'s interest in their lands and eventually receive a fee-simple title. In the following year, the *mō'i* and all the *ali'i* agreed that all remaining lands would be subject to a three-way division (with the exception of the

mō'i, who would retain all his private lands): one-third would go to the government, one-third to the ali'i (konohiki), and "the remaining third to the Tenants." The konohiki lands, including the mō'i's, were subject to claims by the maka'āinana, and all lands were "subject to the rights of the Tenants."¹⁰⁹

Over the next few years, konohiki and maka'āinana had to present claims in order to receive their land grants and fee-simple titles. The claimant usually had to pay to have the land surveyed before the claim could be filed, and sometimes he or she had to pay commutation fees. The notices of rules about how to file claims and the deadlines to do so were published in newspapers and announced in churches. According to Osorio, in the end "the Mō'i possessed more than one million acres of the kingdom's 4.2 million acres, 251 konohiki and Ali'i Nui owned or possessed about a million and a half acres, and the 80,000 Maka'āinana had managed to secure about 28,000 acres among them."¹¹⁰ Keanu Sai, however, has noted more recently that maka'āinana were allowed to file claims after the official deadlines, and that claims are being filed even to this day. 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. The mō'i and the ali'i nui thus attempted to protect the rights and interests of the maka'āinana by enacting and enforcing laws that they believed would preserve the state of pono. In 1850, the legislature passed a bill that allowed foreigners to purchase land in fee-simple terms. Although representatives of the maka'āinana objected to the bill, they deferred to the ali'i nui of the House of Nobles.¹¹¹

The ali'i, including the mō'i, took the advice of the new kāhuna¹¹² — missionaries and business advisors from England and America — that such a transformation of land management would act to restore the population, would inspire the maka'āinana to work hard for material rewards in the capitalist economy being put into place, and would ease commercial treaty making with other members of the family of nations. In the process, maka'āinana were reconceived as ho'āina, which then was translated as "tenant(s)";¹¹³ konohiki became "landlords"; and traditional obligations and bonds were replaced by laws. Osorio notes that "from the Maka'āinana point of view, then, the law was systematically rending all traditional ties to the chiefs."¹¹⁴ Even the word "auhau" was co-opted into the new system as "taxes."¹¹⁵ While the specific "rights of Tenants" were protected under the new law, maka'āinana and konohiki

became more vulnerable to losing their means of making a living and were only able to exercise gathering rights as specified in the law.¹¹⁶ In Osorio's words, they "could be divested of their property through sale and through other less scrupulous means without the weight of tradition, custom, konohiki, or Mō'i to intercede on their behalf."¹¹⁷ What the mō'i and ali'i nui thought would be the "pono hou," or new pono, the "malu" (protection; safety) brought by the missionaries, actually put the maka'āinana in an even more precarious situation.¹¹⁸ And, in the end, the new pono failed to stop the epidemics and low birthrate.

The main beneficiaries of the māhele were the haole advisers and some ali'i nui. Kame'eleihiwa has documented the large acquisitions of land by those advisors who were the architects of both the māhele and the subsequent body of private property law in Hawai'i. Even G. P. Judd, who had initially opposed the sale of land to foreigners, owned great tracts of the most valued lands on Maui and O'ahu.¹¹⁹

THE LEGACY OF KAUIKEAOULI

From his childhood as the young mō'i Kamehameha III until his death in 1854, Kauikeaouli led Hawai'i through the multiple challenges to his nation's sovereignty and to his people's dignity. With his council of ali'i nui, which included women, along with his haole advisers, he transformed Hawai'i into a nation-state recognized by the would-be colonizing nations, and in doing so he preserved his nation's independence. The Kingdom of Hawai'i adopted what it needed from the European and American systems, while preserving as much as possible its own traditions. It was a constant struggle, however, for Kauikeaouli and all of his people to accommodate and adapt to the demands of the larger countries to conduct business and international politics in their foreign styles, while maintaining pride in the ways of his father. Understanding the reciprocal relationships necessary for a state of pono while responding to the demands, advice, and, too often, the insults of the new kāhuna could easily have been an impossible task. But Kauikeaouli left the nation with a fairly workable constitution and with its status as a member of the family of nations as protected as it could be from the desires of the colonizers who were dividing the world among themselves.

The reign of Kauikeaouli was the last in which women held political

power publicly as members of the House of Nobles. The 1840 House of Nobles included five ali'i wahine, but in 1848 there were four, by 1851 it was down to two, and the final woman was appointed in 1855, the year following Kauikeaouli's death.¹²⁰ The increasingly hegemonic European and American styles of governance and patriarchal social codes eroded the ancient Kanaka modes of governance that accorded ali'i nui places on the council based on their genealogy and talent, regardless of whether they were male or female.

Kauikeaouli supported schools that created nearly universal literacy in the mother tongue but also instituted English-language schools so that his people could become bilingual. In the same way, after many years of resistance, he accommodated the missionary demand for conversion of all to their brand of Christianity. At his death, the ali'i and maka'āinana who were left had to struggle to continue to control the land under the less-than-ideal circumstances created by the māhele, to resist the more rapacious aspects of plantation capitalism that resulted, and to fight the discursive war that represented themselves and their ancestors as savage beings inferior to the haole.

2

Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika

EMERGENCE OF THE NATIVE VOICE IN PRINT

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

— Ishmael Reed

By 1860 the Hawaiian kingdom was on its second Western-style constitution, and although the ali'i were firmly in charge of the throne a colonial two-tiered structure was developing across the main institutions of the land, with the Europeans and Americans on the top tier and the Kanaka Maoli at the bottom. Following the Māhele, Europeans and Euro-Americans began purchasing large tracts of land. At the same time many maka'āinana became alienated from their traditional lands by these political and economic processes. The ali'i nui considered Westerners to be knowledgeable in the workings of government and so the ali'i often appointed them to positions of power within the kingdom. In the judicial system most judges were haole, especially at the top levels, while most of those judged were Kanaka Maoli. Land agents for the government were often haole; their applicants (or supplicants) were Kanaka Maoli. The churches were controlled by haole, because the Euro-American ministers were reluctant to give up control over even