

aloha ho'omanawanui jokingly says, "the Hawaiians had four hundred thousand gods. One more was no big deal."¹¹⁹ Through *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, the Kanaka Maoli were able to create a new kind of sacred space in which the ancient gods and traditions lived again. One reason the resistance took place in a sacred space rather than a political one is that it *could*. While the economic system was driven by ali'i colluding with colonial capitalist power, and while political sovereignty existed at the mercy of great states with warships, rifles, and cannons, the Kanaka Maoli were a people small in number and unable to raise up a great navy. They could, nevertheless, retain a sovereign identity as a lāhui, through preservation of their language, stories, songs, dance, and cosmologies. They did and do have themselves, a collective identity, rooted in an ancient, sacred past.

Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika may not have been radically antihegemonic in that it did not urge its readers to establish a more self-determining or self-governing Kanaka society by taking up arms and ousting the maha'oi foreigners who were controlling their lives. Its editors understood well the dangers that a small nation faced in the imperial century, and so they focused on the possible: a strengthening of pride in heritage, the preservation of valuable traditional knowledge, and the provision of a space to contest the more grievous acts of the colonizers. *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* laid the foundation of cultural resistance that its most famous editor, David Kalākaua, built on when he reigned from 1874 to 1891.

3

The Merrie Monarch

GENEALOGY, COSMOLOGY, MELE, AND

PERFORMANCE ART AS RESISTANCE

The foundation of the Hale Nauā is from the beginning of the world and the revival of the Order was selected and the base levelled [*sic*], 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 Ha'i'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 the present calendar, the 24th of September, A.D. 1886.

— Preamble to the Constitution of the Hale Nauā

In the early 1860s the print media emerged as one of the primary weapons for Kānaka Maoli engaged in nationalist resistance to the colonial maneuvers of the U.S. missionaries. Newspapers from that time on served to consolidate the lāhui, allowing people to communicate with each other from Hawai'i Island to Ni'ihau. As Benedict Anderson has observed, the print media in the vernacular contributed to the imagining of the nation among people who did not know each other personally but now shared a large community.¹ The lāhui was also created in the collective imagination by Kanaka Maoli grouping themselves as alike, sharing a language and culture, albeit with regional variations, and in opposition to the haole. That opposition was not simply an othering based on differences in color and language, but an attempt to fend off U.S. and various European colonial advances. Hawai'i, the nation or the lāhui, did not exist as a singular entity before the arrival of foreigners; it was, rather, Hawai'i, Maui, O'ahu, and so on. Moreover, newspapers and literacy introduced the Kanaka Maoli to similar anticolonial struggles around the world.

In this chapter I will examine some of the resistance strategies and tactics that King Kalākaua devised in reenacting and revitalizing the traditional culture. In the previous half century since the arrival of the Puritan missionaries, Kanaka traditions had suffered serious erosion: hula had been banned by church edict, as had the native healing practices called lapa'au. Any vestiges of the ancient religion were fervently condemned. To counteract these, Kalākaua expanded on the work of *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, in which the ancient religion and dance were (re)presented in literary forms. During his reign, he brought the ancient traditions forward even further, off the page and into public performance. The old religion, dance, mo'olelo, mele, and mo'okū'auhau were like the iwikuamo'o (spine) for the lāhui; without their own traditions they could not stand up to the colonial onslaught. Alexander Liholiho and Emma had rebelled against the U.S. missionaries by inviting the Anglicans to establish a church in Hawai'i. This act has often been analyzed as both Anglophilism and anti-Americanism, because Hawai'i's sovereignty struggle of the nineteenth century has often been cast as a struggle between the United States and Britain.² But Ralph Kuykendall also says that "the Episcopal Church, while supplying a religious need, was also expected to serve as a safeguard of the Hawaiian monarchy."³ Lota Kapuāiwa (Kamehameha V) allowed, and most likely

encouraged, the semiprivate performances of hula at funerals and engineered the weakening of the legal ban on hula, changing the proposed ban to a licensing requirement.⁴ Kalākaua, following in his footsteps, went much further: he defied the missionaries' rules by, among other activities, arranging for public performance of the hula and publishing the genealogical prayer, the *Kumulipo*.

The revitalization of these ancient ways armored people against the pernicious effects of the constant denigration of Kanaka culture by the U.S. missionaries and their descendants and allowed them to know themselves as a strong people with a proud history. This knowledge directly contradicted, and thus effectively contested, the discourse that represented them as backward savages incapable of self-government. The *Kumulipo*, which connected the reigning monarch to the creation of the universe, assured the people that the nation was in the proper hands. The enactment of the mo'olelo through dance and various exhibitions was revolutionary in that it overturned and forever ended the missionary prohibition against such activities. Just as important, the public performances played a crucial role in the development of Hawai'i's national narratives.⁵ For Kalākaua and the lāhui these performances worked simultaneously as official narratives of the nation and as underground narratives that the haole community did not understand. In that way they functioned to constitute the nation as the lāhui Kanaka Maoli, excluding those they were resisting.

In the historiography of Hawai'i, King Kalākaua, who reigned from 1874 to 1891, may be the most reviled and ridiculed of the monarchs. He was caught by the demands for profit and economic well-being on one hand, and the necessity of retaining the sovereignty of the Kanaka Maoli on the other. He acceded to the haole clamor for the reciprocity treaty, which bound Hawai'i tightly to the United States and represented a significant loss of sovereignty in its prohibition against the Hawaiian government leasing to any other nation any land in the kingdom.⁶ He made other unpopular decisions, some of which involved mirroring the nation in a large debt. His closest associates were often people that the puritanical establishment despised: an opportunistic man from the United States with grandiose ideas, Walter Murray Gibson; the suspect Italian, Celso Caesar Moreno; and the shrewd capitalist, Claus Spreckels, who maneuvered the entire ahupua'a of Wailuku, Maui, out of the kingdom's hands. It was also Kalākaua's misfortune

that the sons of the first missionaries came fully of age during his reign. Unlike their parents, the sons had no constraining influence such as the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to deter them from overthrowing the government.

The missionary sons, by exhibiting the same arrogant attitudes of superiority as their fathers and making use of the same discourses of civilization and savagery, determined to establish full colonial rule over the Kanaka Maoli. Some Kānaka Maoli, who later became heroes in the antiannexation struggle, assisted the sons for a short time. For example, Joseph Nāwahī and G. W. Pilipo, who disagreed particularly with the loss of sovereignty incurred with the reciprocity treaty and who were concerned about the large national debt, temporarily assisted Lorrin Thurston and the others who sought to overthrow Kalākaua. This allegiance, however, lasted only until it became clear that Thurston and company would never consider the Kānaka as equals, and were holding meetings of the leaders of their political party to which the Kānaka were not invited.⁷

During Kalākaua's time Western hegemony meant, in part, that the people consented to the structure of government in the form of a nation-state. As Jonathan Osorio says, they came to believe in their nation as a reality, while the haole settlers and their children did not: "The *haole*, even those born in the Islands, had their own 'native' countries whose existence and viability was more real to them than was the Kingdom."⁸ Both Kalākaua and Queen Emma used the slogan "Hawai'i for Hawaiians" as an emblem of nationalism that also resisted haole rule. This resistance to colonial second-class status for their people has been interpreted as racism,⁹ but while racism works at subjugating another class or race of people, the slogan was part of a larger effort by the Kanaka Maoli to forestall their own subjugation.

The enactments of tradition that Kalākaua undertook that strengthened the identity of Kanaka Maoli as a people proud of their past and of their achievements made him more popular, and his legacy of national pride has persisted to this day. Kalākaua is particularly revered by practitioners of hula and traditional religion, who call him the Merrie Monarch. For example, Jennie Wilson (née Kini Kapahukulaokamāmalu McColgan), a dancer in Kalākaua's court and hula performer at the Chicago World's Fair in 1893, attributed all contemporary knowledge of hula to Kalākaua's revival efforts, and Elizabeth Tatar has written that



Ka Mō'i Kalākaua. (Courtesy of Hawai'i State Archives)

"King Kalākaua . . . was, perhaps, the monarch who was the most insistent about 'perpetuating and preserving' traditional Hawaiian music and dance."¹⁰

Kalākaua was not from the Kamehameha line, and that fact contributed to much of the cultural renaissance that he fostered. Adrienne Kaeppler says that Kalākaua "was interested in demonstrating his high rank and status according to Hawaiian tradition."¹¹ Rule over the nation had remained the exclusive domain of Kamehameha I and his descendants from the formation of the kingdom until the death of William Lunalilo. When Kalākaua was elected after Lunalilo's death, it was against the wishes and beliefs of many Kānaka Maoli, who thought that Queen Emma had a greater claim to the throne because she was a descendant of Kamehameha I's younger brother, Keli'imaika'i, and was the widow of Alexander Liholiho (Kamehameha IV). Kalākaua was descended from another ali'i nui, Keaweaheulu, Kamehameha I's cousin and close adviser.¹² Before the deciding vote in the legislature, there were public arguments over the genealogical claims of both Emma and

Kalākaua, each side trying to minimize the claim of the other. When Kalākaua's election was announced, a group of "Emmaites" rioted, attacking only Kanaka Maoli legislators.¹³

The legitimacy of Kalākaua's presence on the throne was contested from time to time throughout his reign and continued even after his death. Sanford B. Dole's biographer wrote of Queen Emma's death: "The old Hawaii of wise, far-seeing *alii* had passed. The ruler of Hawaii in 1885 [Kalākaua] was one to whom his princely heritage . . . meant little or nothing except as exploited by . . . [the] glitter of crown and throne."¹⁴ But, according to George Kanahēle, "[Kalākaua] believed strongly that the political survival of his kingdom depended upon the cultural and spiritual revitalization of the Hawaiian people."¹⁵ Although some acts of Kalākaua such as the public performance of hula at his coronation and publication of the *Kumulipo* have been interpreted in the past as political maneuvers to retain power against threats from other ali'i nui, those identical acts functioned as resistance to cultural destruction and loss of sovereignty for the lāhui. Osorio says that "these [acts] were highly assertive of the glory and vitality of Hawaiian traditions and affirmed the cultural distinctions between Native and foreigner."¹⁶ They constituted, as did their literary forms, a core of identity for Kanaka Maoli, grounded in the realm of the sacred.

In this context, the *Kumulipo* can be read as a political text — that is, as a narrative of the lāhui from the beginning of time. Kalākaua brought it forward during his reign in order to legitimize his right to rule, but it functioned doubly to legitimize the existence of the nation itself. The nation's sovereignty was unstable in ways that were parallel to Kalākaua's own instability on the throne. His activities were aimed at constituting and strengthening the nation through reenacting the traditional cosmology, which could not help but strengthen his position. He attempted to use tradition as resistance to colonization in many ways, including establishing the Papa Kū'auhau o Nā Ali'i Hawai'i (board of genealogy) and the Hale Nauā to document traditional knowledge; arranging for the public performance of hula at the Poni Mō'i (coronation); and arranging hula and dramatic performances of national narratives at the jubilee, his fiftieth birthday celebration.

GENEALOGY AND COSMOLOGY

In Kanaka Maoli tradition, the right to rule was primarily legitimated by mo'okū'auhau. In her study of the *Kumulipo*, Martha Beckwith notes that "position in old Hawaii, both social and political, depended in the first instance upon rank, and rank upon blood descent — hence the importance of genealogy as proof of high ancestry."¹⁷ According to Samuel Kamakau, power could also accrue to a (male) ali'i because of his skill at war: "Sometimes the hereditary chief lost his land, and the kingdom was taken by force and snatched away by a warrior, and the name of 'chief' was given to him because of his prowess." Even in this case, however, in order for the ali'i to retain power, "he then attached himself to the chiefly genealogies, even though his father may have been of no great rank (*noanoa*), and his mother a chiefess."¹⁸

According to Kame'eleihiwa, the premier scholar of Kanaka genealogy: "The genealogies *are* the Hawaiian concept of time, and they order the space around us. Through them we learn of the exploits and identities of our ancestors. . . . Even though the great genealogies are of the *Ali'i Nui* and not of the commoners, these *Ali'i Nui* are the collective ancestors, and their *mo'olelo* . . . are histories of all Hawaiians, too." Kame'eleihiwa goes on to explain how the stories of the ancestors' courage inspired people of the nineteenth century, and continue to do so today, and how they served as models for behavior, then and now. She notes that "genealogies anchor Hawaiians to our place in the universe and give us the comforting illusion of continued existence." This was especially important in Kalākaua's time, when depopulation was a serious threat, and foreigners "cruelly predicted the complete demise of the Hawaiian race as inevitable."¹⁹

In Kanaka genealogies and cosmologies, both male and female forces are always present.²⁰ Dualisms are abundant, and pono is created and maintained by the balance of complementary forces. For example, Wākea, the sky father, does not himself create islands, but rather mates with Papahānaumoku, the earth mother, and she gives birth to the islands. Women's names are always included in the mo'okū'auhau, from which their mana, just as powerful as men's, is derived. This cosmology provided the traditional and spiritual basis for Kanaka women to accept and exercise political and other kinds of power. However, because by

this time the overt exercise of women's power in the political arena had been seriously eroded due to the demands to conform to Western styles of governance, Kalākaua avoided placing women in positions analogous to Western political office and instead relied on ali'i wahine as advisers and appointed them to positions with less overt titles yet still with profound political implications.²¹

KA PAPA KŪ'AUHAU O NĀ ALI'I

In 1880, the Papa Kū'auhau Ali'i o Nā Ali'i Hawai'i (Board of genealogy of Hawaiian chiefs) was established by an act of the legislature that was initiated by Kalākaua. Kalākaua appointed Ke Kamāli'i Po'omaikelani, an older sister of Mō'iwahine Kapi'olani, as president of the board. Po'omaikelani prepared a report of the board that was published in 1884 in both Hawaiian and English. According to the English version, "The principal duties of the Board shall be, viz.: 1. — To gather, revise, correct and record the Genealogy of Hawaiian Chiefs. 2. — To gather, revise, correct and record all published and unpublished Ancient Hawaiian History. 3. — To gather, revise, correct and record all published and unpublished Meles, and also to ascertain the object and spirit of the Meles, the age and the History of the period when composed and to note the same on the Record Book. 4. — To record all the tabu customs of the *Mois* and Chiefs."²²

One of the main reasons for these goals was to identify the ali'i nui and verify their genealogical claims, which constituted claims to leadership such as appointments to the House of Nobles. In this era, the acknowledged members of the royal lines (Kamehameha and Kalākaua) were lacking in progeny, so it was necessary to determine other genealogical lines that could be verified as ali'i nui. Those considered for high positions had to have genealogies that went back to the origin of the world; their genealogies thus were indistinguishable from traditional cosmologies. According to John Charlot, ali'i nui were considered "the link between the community, the gods, and the cosmos, and their mutual harmony depends on [them]."²³

The projects of interest here performed by the Papa Kū'auhau Ali'i were done for specific political reasons and not simply as knowledge for knowledge's sake.²⁴ The reason for determining the ali'i nui and re-

affirming the sacred in tradition was to keep the rule of Hawai'i in Kanaka Maoli hands. The identification of ali'i nui and transcription of mele and mo'okū'auhau worked to define the nation as the lāhui Kanaka and began the development of national narratives. This functioned to interrupt the discourse that said that "progress" meant becoming more like the United States — that is, ruled by Euro-American immigrants. Viewed in this way, these activities can be seen to be direct resistance to colonization.

The report lists one hundred twenty-eight mele that were used in the genealogical studies, along with their approximate ages. In the list of mele we see that the board, representative perhaps of the educated ali'i and kahuna (spiritual adviser) classes, operates in this context within ancient Kanaka epistemologies. The first mele is the *Kumulipo*, said to be "ke Mele kahiko loa" (the most ancient mele).²⁵ Some of the mele are given actual dates; others are noted to be from a time the modern West would call historical, such as *Kamauli* [sic] o *Ku*, from the "time of Kaumualii"; others are what might now be called legends, such as the *Kau o Hi'aka*, from the "time of Pele," and the *Kau o Kawelo*, from the "time of Kawelo,"²⁶ but no distinction is made between the historical and the legendary. Likewise, all of the works are called "mele," ranging from the cosmogonic, genealogical prayer *Kumulipo* to the many hula songs listed.

The board derived these mele and other genealogical information from sources listed in the report, including the "na buke kuauhau" (genealogy books) of experts such as Davida Malo and Kamokuiki, who both trained under 'Auwae, "the great genealogist of Kamehameha's last days."²⁷ The report notes that the board would not attempt to "hooponopono i keia mau buke a me na moolelo i kakau ia e ka haole" (edit these books nor the histories written by foreigners), because they had so much work to do just to verify genealogies for certain persons listed in the Kanaka sources.²⁸ This indicates that the board did not feel a compelling need to rely on foreign historical sources to validate this part of their work; the genealogical information from the private books of the Kanaka experts was sufficient for verification. In fact, part of their work was to contest the historical accounts written by foreigners.

Another project of the board was to locate the bones of certain ali'i nui. It was the practice in ancient times to carefully prepare the bones of the dead in special wrappings such as fine tapa or specially woven bas-

kets and then hide them inside caves so that they would not be disturbed by sorcerers or anyone else. For a bone to be chipped at or otherwise mutilated was the worst desecration an ali'i could suffer after death, so the bones were hidden and the secret of their location usually carefully guarded. The board claimed, however, to have located the bones of some of the most important ali'i and arranged to have them even more carefully hidden or moved for better preservation. They also recovered an artifact that Western science would relegate to the realm of mythology or legend: "Ka Ipu Makani a Laamaomao" (The wind gourd of La'amaomao). This gourd was said to contain winds that could be called on by a properly trained chanter to create favorable sailing conditions (or unfavorable, for one's enemies); the possessor would obviously have a great advantage in racing and in war. The board wrote: "O ka loa ana o keia ipu kaulana kahiko, he mea nui no, oiai ua pili keia ipu kahiko me kekahi o na moolelo kahiko kaulana o ka wa kahiko" (Obtaining this ancient famous gourd is very important because this ancient gourd is associated with famous histories/legends of ancient times).²⁹ Again, we see that the board did not make distinctions between the mythological and the historical in the categorical way that we would expect if it were operating within a Western epistemology. Rather, it seems to be saying that the physical existence of the recovered gourd validates the ancient stories.

Recovering and properly caring for sacred items was of utmost importance to the consciousness of the nation. These actions were done with the view toward affirming that the lāhui had a long and proud history prior, and without reference, to the West. Showing that the sacred items of tradition were valuable and cared for were acts that resisted the discourse that called Hawai'i's precontact history the "brutal and degraded past."³⁰

The remainder of the board's report concerns ocean measurements taken at the time by the government surveying office. The purpose of receiving such information was "e pau ai ka pohihihi o kekahi mau kumu hoopaapaa i hoopukaia e ka poe kakau i ka moolelo o na lahui kanaka o ka Moana Pacifica nei" (of great value to the board in solving many points and theories already advanced by writers of the history of the Polynesian races).³¹ Here the board was trying to verify some of the genealogical information with the oceanographic information being gathered at the time. They state again that they did not use histories

produced by foreigners but rather only relied on "na moolelo kahiko o Hawaii nei a me na mea i hoike ia ma na mele" (the ancient histories/legends of Hawai'i and what is said in the [various] mele).³² Kanaka Maoli share with other Pacific Islanders theories about the migrations around the Pacific that are significantly different from those proposed by scholars such as Abraham Fornander. It was mainly the migration theory, preserved in genealogies, that the board was hoping would be verified by the ocean soundings. They were no doubt acutely aware that traditional epistemologies were dismissed by the Europeans and Euro-Americans, and they hoped to use the scientific tools available to contest that dismissal by showing that science proved what they had always known. Kalākaua and the Papa Kū'auhau o Nā Ali'i, especially Po'omai-kelani, also used the *Kumulipo* to demonstrate that mo'okū'auhau and mo'olelo constituted valid knowledge.

THE KUMULIPO

By far the work with the most far-reaching consequences, and the most ambitious work accomplished by the board of genealogy was the collection and transcription of the *Kumulipo* (source of deep darkness). The *Kumulipo* is a cosmological chant/prayer that describes the genesis of living things on the earth, including humankind, and links them to the genealogy of Lonoikamakahiki, which then leads directly to Kalākaua. It is the only chant of its kind preserved in its entirety, and, in the words of Charlot, it exemplifies an important type of "genealogy that links the chief to his illustrious, perhaps now deified ancestors; to the first humans; sometimes to the gods; and backwards in time through the animals, plants, and elements to the beginning of the universe."³³ Valerio Valeri further observes that "native exegesis reads it at once as the description of the origins of the cosmos, of the life of an ali'i from infancy to maturity, and of the formation of a new dynasty. These interpretations are not mutually exclusive, for the conception, birth, and development of an ali'i or dynasty reproduce the cosmogonic process and thereby aid in reproducing natural and social distinctions."³⁴

I will examine here at length aspects of this genealogical/cosmological mele/pule as a political text because of how it figures in the national consciousness of the lāhui and, thus, how it continues to function as

resistance to colonization and the attendant project of assimilation. The collection and transcription of such a chant certainly served its narrow political function of the time—that is, it validated Kalākaua’s claim to the throne. But the *Kumulipo* also functioned, and continues to function, as ideological resistance. Its recovery and transcription were part of Kalākaua’s “rediscovery and repatriation of what had been suppressed in the natives’ past by the processes of imperialism.”³⁵ The age and artistry of the *Kumulipo* were and are sources of pride and identity for the Kanaka Maoli. Lili’uokalani undertook her translation of it while imprisoned by the colonial oligarchy in 1896, and then published it in 1897 as a way of explaining to the people of the United States that the Kanaka Maoli were a people with a very long history. This act was, among others, an attempt to counter the discourse that disparaged the Kanaka Maoli in order to justify annexation and the military occupation of Hawai’i. The *Kumulipo* was the basis for much of the work of the Hale Nauā, as well as for a genealogy committee in 1904. It inspired published works by other Kanaka scholars, such as that of Joseph L. Kūkahi in 1902, Joseph M. Poepoe in 1906, and Rubellite Kawena Johnson in 1981 and 2000, and Martha Beckwith’s 1951 translation along with Lili’uokalani’s of 1897 are both still in print. Finally Kame’eiehiwa begins her 1992 book with a quote and discussion of the *Kumulipo*: “Hawaiian identity is, in fact, derived from the Kumulipo, the great cosmogonic genealogy. Its essential lesson is that every aspect of the Hawaiian conception of the world is related by birth, and as such, all parts of the Hawaiian world are one indivisible lineage. Conceived in this way, the genealogy of the Land, the Gods, Chiefs, and people intertwine with one another, and with all the myriad aspects of the universe. . . . Today we Hawaiians use genealogical relationships to establish our collective identity. . . . Our shared genealogy helps us define our *Lāhui* (nation) as an entity distinct from the waves of foreigners that have inundated our islands.”³⁶

The text of the *Kumulipo* as published by Kalākaua in 1889 is called *He Pule Hoolaa Alii* (A prayer to consecrate (an) Ali’i). The title can be read two ways, as consecrating a particular ali’i (Lonoikamakahiki) and as consecrating “ali’i” as a system of government, which Kalākaua, Lili’uokalani, and the lāhui were trying to preserve. The chant consists of 2,102 lines, divided into sixteen wā. The first seven wā (epochs) are the times of pō (darkness) and the last nine are times of ao (daylight).

The use of the words pō and ao in the *Kumulipo* text is important at several levels. Earlier, I demonstrated that the missionaries appropriated the words ao and pō to designate civilization and savagery, respectively, in the terms na’auao and na’aupō. The *Kumulipo* predates the missionaries, probably by hundreds of years, but in recorded history by at least thirty: Lili’uokalani writes that the *Kumulipo* was sung to Captain Cook.³⁷ It thus reflects traditional conceptions of pō and ao, which Kalākaua and Lili’uokalani recuperate. The first seven wā belong to the akua and are described as taking place in pō. The prologue to the first wā is an ode to darkness:

O ke au i kahuli wela ka honua
 O ke au i kahuli lole ka lani
 O ke au i kukaiaka ka la
 E hoomalamalama i ka malama
 O ke au o Makalii ka po
 O ka Walewale hookumu honua ia
 O ke kumu o ka lipo i lipo ai
 O ke kumu o ka Po i po ai
 O ka Lipolipo, o ka lipolipo
 O ka lipo o ka La, o ka lipo
 o ka Po
 Po wale ho—i
 Hanau ka po
 Hanau Kumulipo i ka po
 he kane
 Hanau Poele i ka po he wahine
 (The time of change, the earth was hot
 The time of change, the heavens turned over
 The time the sun stood in shadow
 To illuminate the moon/To allow the moon to shine
 The time when the Pleiades was dark
 There was an earth-establishing slime
 The source of the darkness that made it dark (or; The reason for the
 darkness was to be dark)
 The source of the night that made it night (or, The reason for night was
 to be night)
 The deep darkness, the deep darkness

The darkness of the Day, the darkness of the night
 Only night
 The night gives birth
 Kumulipo give birth to [in the?] night,
 a male
 Pō'ele (dark night) gives birth to [in the?] night, a female.)³⁸

The first through seventh wā end with the line "Po—no" (Indeed/ still night/darkness). Pō in the *Kumulipo* does not mean the time of ignorance and barbarism before enlightenment and (Western) civilization arrived, but rather the time of the gods before the first human and out of which humanity rose. Pō is positive rather than negative in this context: to be "Mai ka pō mai" (from the pō) is to be descended "from the gods; of divine origin."³⁹ "Po—no" can, moreover, be read as the word "pono," with the dash signifying a lengthening of the sound that the chanter would make. It is, in fact, more ambiguous because of the presence of the dash in the text. If "indeed night" were the only meaning, it would be more clear without the dash. The two words—pō (night) and nō (indeed)—would be distinctly separated. In the same way, if the word "pono" were the singular meaning, it would be more clearly one word without the dash. The technique of using the dash to signify length of sound was a common practice, and it is used later in the eighth wā, "A—o—," and the "lala no ka wa umikumamalu" (branch of the twelfth wā), "Pu—ka."⁴⁰ In each of these two examples, however, only one word can be meant, "ao" (day; daylight) and "puka" (came out; emerged). This strengthens the idea that "Po—no" can be read as one word as well as two. Many other examples can be found; for instance, in the text of *Ka Moolelo o Hiiakaikapoliopele* in *Ka Leo o ka Lāhui*.⁴¹ As noted earlier, the word "pono" has many meanings, almost all of them positive. According to Pukui and Elbert, some of the meanings of pono are "goodness, uprightness, morality, excellence, well-being, fitting, proper, in perfect order," and also "resources, assets."⁴² "Po—no," then, means not only "it is indeed night," but also "it is right" or "it is good."

Ao, from the eighth wā on, designates the eras of human beings, but again its meaning is free of the connotation of Western civilization. Its use here, in fact, acts as resistance to that discourse. As seen in previous chapters, Kanaka Maoli had been countering the discourse of

civilization and savagery since at least Kalākau's work on *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* in 1861–1862. The use of these terms in the *Kumulipo* asserts the presence of ao thousands of years before the arrival of the missionaries. Thus publication of the *Kumulipo* may be related to the aforementioned attempt to validate Kanaka traditional knowledge through the science of the day. They are similar gestures that assert that the traditional philosophy, religion, and ways of life are as valuable as the "civilization" of the West.

It is worth noticing the dualism, characteristic of Hawaiian poetry and also Hawaiian cosmology, in the structure of the chant: besides pō and ao, the excerpt quoted above pairs earth and heavens, sun and moon, stars (Pleiades) and slime, male and female. The origin of the earth takes place in the context of these balanced pairs, as opposed to the Judeo-Christian singular, male creation. Creation and reproduction of life require both male and female.

The male role in reproduction is symbolized by Kamapua'a, the pig god, who makes his appearance in the fifth wā. This wā celebrates the establishment of taro (kalo) agriculture through the symbol of the rooting pig, which, according to Beckwith, is at the same time "an erotic symbol for the function of the male in the founding of a new family branch upon the old stock." Beckwith concludes that the fruitfulness of the cultivated earth symbolizes "the rise of a fertile new branch on the family line multiplying over the land," an interpretation consistent with Kalākau's position as founder of a new Hawaiian dynasty.⁴³ Although the Kamehameha line had died out, the *Kumulipo* was important in reassuring the lāhui that the nation continued on in a state of pono (balance; well-being) through the new genealogical line. This is also linked metaphorically to Kalākau's concern over depopulation and his efforts towards repopulation, which he called "Ho'oulu Lāhui" ("Increase the lāhui" or, more literally, "cause the lāhui to grow").

Besides Kamapua'a, kalo is important symbolically to the identity of the lāhui in another way. Wākea and Papa, appearing in the twelfth wā, have a daughter named Ho'ohōkūkālani, who becomes pregnant by Wākea twice. The first child, named Hāloa, is stillborn. It is buried and from its burial place grows the first kalo. Because Ho'ohōkūkālani's second child was a Kanaka also named Hāloa, the kalo is a virtual kiau'ana to Kānaka that is owed filial love, loyalty, and care.⁴⁴ This story of Hāloa is often invoked to symbolize the Kanaka belief in a familial

relationship to the land and opposition to ownership over land. Beckwith quotes a document from the Hale Nauā thus: "Now you must understand that the children born from Hāloa, these are yourselves."⁴⁵

Other plants besides kalo also appear in the genealogy. In the middle of the twelfth wā are the lines: "Hanau Kihalaapoe he Wauke, Hanau o Ulu he Ulu" (Born was Kihalaapoe, a wauke plant, born was 'ulu, a breadfruit).⁴⁶ The fifteenth wā tells of the mysterious akua/wahine Haumea who disappears into a breadfruit tree. The chant explains poetically that the breadfruit is one of her many physical forms. In other texts, Kanaka authors explain that the breadfruit kino lau of Haumea is named Kāmeha'ikana, the goddess of childbirth but also of war and government.⁴⁷

O kino ulu o pahu ulu o lau ulu ia nei,
He lau kino o ia wahine o Haumea,
O Haumea nui aiwaiwa.
(Breadfruit body, breadfruit trunk, breadfruit leaves,
One of the body forms of this woman Haumea,
Mysterious, great Haumea.)⁴⁸

Gods, plants, animals, even stars appear in the *Kumulipo*. The presence of all of these within the genealogy of human beings expresses belief in the familial relationship of Kanaka Maoli to all the other life forms in their environment. This genealogical world view gives rise to the particular form that love of nation takes in Hawai'i, which is aloha 'āina (love of the land).

Haumea, Papa, and La'ila'i are symbolic of the female role in creation and reproduction. Their stories recur many times in the second half of the *Kumulipo*. According to Beckwith, Haumea "underwent strange renewals of youth to become mother and wife of children and grandchildren."⁴⁹ La'ila'i likewise gives birth countless numbers of times, by both the god Kāne and the human man Ki'i. Papa, as mentioned, is the symbolic earth mother. All three are powerful and mysterious, and their prominence in the *Kumulipo* means that women are not effaced in the consciousness of the lāhui; both men and women take their parts in the creation and reproduction of life, and in the mo'olelo that follow.

Another aim of the board of genealogy was the validation of Kanaka knowledge. The first human being in the *Kumulipo* is the La'ila'i, whose life story Beckwith calls "myth."⁵⁰ But the board and the Hale

Nauā treat La'ila'i's life as historical fact, both mo'okū'auhau (genealogy) and mo'olelo (history/legend). They both use La'ila'i as a starting point for constructing other dates in history. They arrive at her date in years by following the genealogy using a generational interval of thirty years.⁵¹ Hale Nauā uses La'ila'i's birth as a year zero, counting their own date from the number of generations since La'ila'i (as given in the epigraph to this chapter). In the same way, Wākea and Papa are not just father sky and mother earth in mythology, they are real people in the genealogy. Beckwith states: "At the time of foreign contact Hawaii . . . counted its stock from Wakea and Papa as the official parent-pair. Their names occur on the earliest genealogy of the race [written] . . . in 1838. . . . They are quoted by Malo and incorporated into the report made in 1904 by a committee of native scholars."⁵²

The story of the god Māui is also told in the *Kumulipo*. The sixteenth, and last, wā is a genealogy that begins with Maui and ends with Lonoikamakahiki, ancestor to Kalākaua and Lili'uokalani. Fifty generations separate the god Māui from Lonoikamakahiki (also known as Ka'īamamao and Kalaninui'amamao). Beckwith notes that "the name song of Maui . . . tells the story of the struggle for power of a younger son born into the family through an alien alliance, one entitling him to a higher-ranking status than the natural heir."⁵³ This is much like the theme of the younger or lesser branch of the family becoming the ruler, which recurs in the Kawelo and the Kamehameha narratives. It reinforces Kalākaua's own position by likening it to that of Māui, Kawelo, Kamehameha (and the similar story of 'Umi, not yet mentioned). When placed in the genealogy of stories Kalākaua's ascension to the throne, in spite of being a lesser line, seems natural.

This *Kumulipo* thus links Kalākaua and Lili'uokalani, and by extension the entire lāhui, genealogically to the god Māui, and further, to the goddess(es) Haumea/Papa, the god/first man Wākea, the taro Hāloa, and plants of the earth, and the stars in the heavens. If Kalākaua and the Papa Kū'auhau o Nā Ali'i had not done this work of collecting and recording the genealogies, such a consequential cosmological chant might never have been transcribed. Even in the 1880s there were few persons left with such knowledge. It is disheartening to realize that this is "*He Kumulipo no Ka-I-I-Mamao*" (a kumulipo for Ka'īamamao), meaning that this is one of a class of such cosmological chants but there are no others like it preserved. This work of the Papa Kū'auhau func-

tioned at the time and continues to function as effective resistance to cultural erosion and as support for anticolonial nationalism by bridging the present to the past and by providing a basis for self-definition of the lāhui as those who are connected to the ʻāina genealogically. This explains in part why so many Kanaka Maoli are researching family genealogies today. Although it is said that only the aliʻi classes have genealogies preserved, nearly all Kānaka Maoli now living have reconstructed family genealogies. This is because, as described earlier, aliʻi and makaʻāinana are related.

Genealogy continues to provide a way to clear confusion about claims to being “Hawaiian.” In the context of Kanaka genealogy, a claim such as being “fifth-generation Hawaiian” is clearly understood as being made only by those of immigrant or colonizer descent and never by Kanaka Maoli, to whom such a phrase is meaningless. As Anne McClintock puts it, genealogy works to “distinguish between the beneficiaries of colonialism (the [descendants of the] colonizers) and the casualties of colonialism (the [descendants of the] colonized).”⁵⁴

The important genealogical work of the Papa Kūʻauhau o Nā Aliʻi was expanded on by the Hale Nauā, a society of aliʻi nui whose genealogies were verified by the Papa Kūʻauhau. The Papa Kūʻauhau thus laid the foundation for development of the Hale Nauā. Both were necessary to Kalākaua’s constituting the nation as the lāhui Kanaka Maoli.

THE HALE NAUĀ

The Hale Nauā was established in 1886 and, according to Mookini, “had genealogical studies as [its] basis.”⁵⁵ Earlier, Kalākaua formed a committee of nine women and one man to plan a society “to further the humble and careful way of life as nurtured by our ancestors from the beginning of time, so that it will never be forgotten.”⁵⁶ Shortly thereafter, officers for the organization were elected; four of them were women, including Mōʻiwahine Kāpiʻolani, with one man, John Baker, serving as treasurer.⁵⁷ After the association was formed, Princess Poʻomaikelani, head of the Papa Kūʻauhau, served as president. Hale Nauā was called a “secret society,” and it based some of its organizational structure on that of the Masonic societies.⁵⁸ There are, however, some major differences, most notably that the Masonic societies are based on

the Western cosmology, in which male power is dependent on the exclusion of women from the centers of power. In Genesis, the Judeo-Christian god is able to create the whole universe with no female force evident. The Hale Nauā, on the other hand, was based in the Kanaka cosmology, in which excluding women would have been unthinkable because pono — balance and well-being — requires both male and female forces. Further, whereas the “outer domain,” as Chatterjee terms it — that is, the political structure — is Western and thus excludes women, the Hale Nauā is an organization of the “inner domain,” which recreates the traditional sacred space. Here Kanaka women are able to serve and be recognized for their genealogical place as well as for their work in genealogy and other traditions. Of the list of the first seventy-one members, at least twenty-four were women.⁵⁹

The creation of the Hale Nauā provoked an onslaught of the discourse of civilization and savagery, as the missionary establishment expressed their outrage at the existence of an organization from which they were banned by virtue of their genealogies. As Mookini quotes from the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*: “The membership appears to be presently limited to native Hawaiians. . . . [This] is a retrograde step. . . . From its constitution the country has a right to expect that any attempt to revive and vitalize the customs and usages of the barbarous and savage past would be promptly put a stop to. . . . No country can afford to abandon the light of contemporary civilization for the gross darkness and ignorance of a brutal and degraded past.”⁶⁰ We can see very clearly here that traditional Kanaka practices were threatening to the project of colonization, which continued to be equated with “civilization.” It is clear as well that the editor(s) of the *Advertiser* thought of Anglo-American culture as belonging to an enlightened present and future, while Kanaka culture, although actually concurrent in time, belongs to a “brutal and degraded past.” This is also a discursive strategy that makes use of the developing theories of progress and evolution that propose that all peoples will eventually “progress” to resemble Anglo-Americans. McClintock calls this the trope of “anachronistic space” in which “the stubborn and threatening heterogeneity of the colonies was contained and disciplined not as socially or geographically different . . . and thus equally valid, but as *temporally* different and thus as irrevocably superannuated by history.”⁶¹ This trope is related to the categorization and hierarchical classification of colonized or colonizable peoples according to their state of primitivity

or advancement, which in turn contributed to creating the idea of “race” in biology and anthropology.⁶² Such categorization then conveniently justifies Euro-American rule over “primitive” peoples.

The *Hawaiian Star*, known for its hyperbole, contributed to the race discourse by calling attention to the Hale Nauā’s possible political function: “The practices of sorcery are intimately connected with the worship of heathen deities . . . they are also allied to political tyranny. . . . Kalākaua undertook to propagate this unholy terror [Hale Nauā] in order to establish his own corrupt despotic power.”⁶³ In its first annual report, Hale Nauā answered these charges: “There is nothing derogatory to reason or common sence [*sic*]. Nothing impure or indecent; but, [our] principal aim is to elevate the mind to high philosophical truths so that we may follow [our ancestors’] wise teaching and precepts, and learn more of nature and this world.”⁶⁴ The annual report thus refuted the charges of barbarism and unholiness but sidestepped the question of political power. Kalākaua never accrued enough power to truthfully be called despot or tyrant, but there can be little doubt that Hale Nauā increased his prestige through its continuance of genealogical work: by expressing pride in Kanaka traditions, it allowed his people to think more highly of themselves and of him.

The Hale Nauā’s constitution lists degrees of membership along with areas of study for each degree. These areas include astronomy and meteorology, agricultural science, the mechanical sciences, “the signs of Aliis,” ancient priesthood, and the “Christian Order of Knighthood.”⁶⁵ The constitution of the “secret society” was published twice: first at its inception and then in pamphlet form in 1890. Hale Nauā also sponsored lectures that were open to the public, generally on topics in science.

In addition to the association’s work in science, Hale Nauā played an important role in the preservation of traditional knowledge. Mookini states that “Historically, the Hale Naua society was . . . the most reliable native source for ancient practice.”⁶⁶ In their use of traditional methods of keeping historical time they were also to escape, if only a little, the cultural dominance of the United States that surrounded them in daily life. Every member, for example, had to memorize the Hawaiian moon calendar, where nights of the month are named, rather than days of the week. They honored the traditional way of counting time by generations rather than by years, in a continuous stream unbroken by the birth of a religious figure on a continent far away.

As members collected and recited incidents from the mo’olelo kahiko, they contested the discourse of savagery and civilization. The annual report contains a narrative of Hema and Kaha’i, father and son who voyaged on canoes to Tahiti and back. According to the report, “the ability of the men who planned and carried out these expeditions shows that they cannot be regarded as leaders of a barbarous Race.” The Hale Nauā also contested the representations made of Kanaka Maoli by the missionaries, who described them as half-beast and later as the missing link in evolution. The annual report says that this representation was “applied in a spirit partial to their interests so that their work would have the justification for taming, civilizing and christianizing [*sic*] these wretched creatures.”⁶⁷ This is clearly a direct resistance to the colonial actions of the missionaries through the means of revealing the hegemonic functions of their discourse. Historiography was also contested by the Hale Nauā: “The historian [as representative of the West] had reached a point which he considered far in advance of the state of the Islanders. Upon comparing these conditions it was natural for him to express and emphasize his self-congratulation; but it would have been far better if his utterances . . . carried more of a spirit of philanthropy, than that of intolerance and bigotry. Such being the spirit in which the character of our people was measured[,] we can dismiss the reverend historian and look upon his comments as coming from a source irreverently ignorant.”⁶⁸

The Hale Nauā was essentially an urban organization of the ali’i who attempted to preserve traditional knowledge, validate that knowledge with contemporary science, and counter the discourses of race, civilization, and savagery deployed by the haole elite in efforts to subjugate them. The works of the Papa Kū’auhau and the Hale Nauā, especially the genealogical work, were confined, however, to the small circle of ali’i. As the ‘ōlelo no‘eau (wise saying) says, “i ali’i nō ke ali’i i ke kanaka” (an ali’i is an ali’i only because of the people who follow her/him).⁶⁹ It was thus necessary to make the mo’okū’auhau and mo’olelo real to the maka‘āinana publicly. Kalākaua did so through two festivals, the first of which being the Poni Mō‘ī (coronation) of 1883.

THE PONI MŌ'Ī

After touring the world and being received as the king of Hawai'i by the heads of other sovereign states, including Japan and many nations in Europe, Kalākaua decided that a coronation of himself and his mō'ī-wahine, Kapi'olani, would arouse feelings of nationalism in the Kanaka Maoli and help to consolidate his power. Lili'uokalani describes the event this way: "[T]he coronation celebration has been a great success. The people from the country and from the other islands went back to their homes with a renewed sense of the dignity and honor involved in their nationality. . . . It was necessary to confirm the new family 'Stirps' [a branch of a family] — to use the words of our constitution — by a celebration of unusual impressiveness. There was a serious purpose of national importance; the direct line of the 'Kamehamehas' having become extinct, it was succeeded by the 'Keawe-a-Heulu' line. . . . It was wise and patriotic to spend money to awaken in the people a national pride."⁷⁰

The coronation ceremony took place at the newly rebuilt 'Iolani Palace on February 12, 1883. The festivities then continued for two weeks thereafter, including feasts hosted by the king for the people and nightly performances of hula. Kalākaua had asked various kumu hula (hula masters) to bring their hālau (troupes) to Honolulu for public performances, which were carefully arranged in advance. It was on this occasion that musicians and hula choreographers created a new genre of hula, called hula ku'i. In the hula ku'i, practitioners sought to combine components of the indigenous Hawaiian music and dance traditions with elements of Western music and dance. Amy Ku'uleialoha Stillman has observed that "the hula ku'i embodied the social, cultural, and political polarization," and that "hula ku'i was used as a vehicle for reinforcing pride in Hawai'i and being Hawaiian and also for validating Kalākaua's right to rule."⁷¹

A program titled *Papa Kūhikūhi o Na Hula Poni Moi* was printed for the occasion. It included the order of the performances (although the date of each is not given), the name of the kumu hula, the titles of the oli and mele, and what type they were. Although the lyrics to the mele and oli were not printed in this program, the missionary establishment denounced the program as obscene, as well as illegal under the statute

against public nuisances. William R. Castle, son of missionaries Samuel and Mary Tenney Castle, demanded that the printers of the document be arrested and charged, in response to which William Auld and Robert Greive were then arrested. The *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, at this time owned by Kalākaua's close associate, Walter Murray Gibson, reported that "the community has been stirred a good deal recently by the discussion of an alleged obscene publication, a programme of Hawaiian hulas or dances . . . mainly because William R. Castle, Esq., made a mistake in supposing that the *Advertiser* office had printed the programme and not the *Gazette* office. He has admitted that he made this mistake. If he had known that the friends of the opposition [the missionaries] had printed it, he would not have written the letter on the subject published in that paper."⁷²

According to Gibson, then, Castle was attempting to hurt Gibson and Kalākaua politically through the charge of obscenity. However, regardless of the public admission of his error, the court case against Greive and Auld proceeded. Robert Greive claimed that he did not understand Hawaiian and so did not know what he was printing; that he merely received an order from the palace and filled it without question. In fact, even the prosecutor did not understand what was printed. He had to bring in several Kānaka Maoli willing to testify against Greive and Auld. The first was G. W. Pilipo, a Kanaka politician who would later be associated briefly with the Reform Party, which was composed of anti-Kalākaua haoles. Pilipo testified, in part, "I have seen the word 'mai' [ma'i, or 'genitals'] used in hulas before, this is not proper for children to peruse[;] children [who are] advanced would understand these sentences."⁷³ Two other Kānaka gave similar testimony, followed by that of Kānepu'u, the founding member of the *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* 'ahahui and member of Hale Nauā. His testimony, apparently for the defense, appealed to the ambiguity of the words; he never agreed that the publication contained any obscenity. He stated that "the word 'mai' has many meanings, the common meaning is sickness[.] When I was young people called things by proper names but since we had a written language things are called by other names."⁷⁴ In the end Auld and Greive were found guilty and fined \$15 each plus court costs. Greive appealed and won an acquittal, but Auld, a Kanaka Maoli conversant in Hawaiian, remained convicted. Auld remained in close association with Kalākaua, however, joining the same Masonic societies. Further, in the

annexation battle of 1897–1898, Auld was selected as one of the four delegates to travel to Washington, D.C., to present the people's protest there.

It may not have been only other Kānaka who were willing to explain the “obscene” nature of the program to the prosecution. One of the surviving copies of the *Papa Kuhikahi o na Hula Poni Moi* belonged to Nathaniel B. Emerson, author of two books on hula orature and literature, and is preserved with his handwritten notes on it. Some of his notes have to do with the meanings of the names of the songs, or information about the places mentioned in the names. But he also noted that he considered one song, “Ko mai kiliopu,” to be “smut” and another version of the same song as “lewd.” He made another note that a “hula puili” was performed by two girls and was “innocent, calisthenic.”⁷⁵ Castle and Emerson surely knew each other because both were missionary sons in a small society of missionary families, and thus it is likely (but not proven) that Emerson communicated his knowledge to Castle for the purpose of prosecuting the printers of the program.

“Ko mai kiliopu” is no doubt a hula ma'i, defined by Pukui and Elbert as “a song in honor of genitals, as of a chief, as composed on his or her birth.”⁷⁶ Elbert and Noelani Mahoe characterize these songs as “an eminently sane and healthy realization of the importance of the sexual aspects of life, and perhaps a wish for future vigor.”⁷⁷ These hula were important to Kalākaua as part of the reenactment of the traditional cosmology/genealogy. The Kanaka Maoli had suffered depopulation caused by epidemics of foreign disease and also by childlessness. Prayers to the Christian god seemed to work only for the haole; the missionary families were large and healthy, while the Kanaka continued to die en masse. One of the basic values of a genealogical world view is that it places people in a great chain of being: it links them not only to the past but to the future through children and grandchildren. The hula ma'i invoke the old ways of spurring fertility against the seemingly merciless refusal of Iehova (Jehovah). In this world view hula ma'i are not obscene but rather are essential to the continuance of life. Another important concept is that hula ma'i are “always lively and fun” and thus contribute to the air of celebration of Kanaka tradition.⁷⁸ It was, of course, anathema to the missionaries to associate procreation with anything lively or fun.

Besides the hula ma'i, other types of hula included on the program

were coronation hula, composed especially for the occasion; hula pahu, important ancient drum hula; mele inoa for Kalākaua, such as “Eia Davida o ka Heke o na Pua”; and many hula Pele, for the volcano goddess, her sister Hī'iaka, and the lover, Lohi'au.⁷⁹

In spite of the controversy over the program, no one was arrested for the actual performances of these hula. And while the English press reported on the court case, of far more interest to the Hawaiian press was the genealogy battle that the poni mō'i had reignited and that the Hawaiian-language newspapers waged among themselves. It may have been the performance of the mele and hula that started this more serious trouble. Many mele listed on the program were “mele ko'ihonua” (genealogical chants). The word “ko'ihonua” also refers to the style of chanting used to make sure the genealogical information in this kind of chant was clearly understood. Kamakau wrote of the ko'ihonua that it “is one which relates to the forefathers of the Hawaiian people and to the history of the kings and their accomplishments. . . . In the *ko'ihonua mele* of Kualii, the Kumualii and the Kumulipo were preserved, and in the mele of Peleiholani [*sic*] the genealogical tree of Ololo and Haloa was given.”⁸⁰

The recitation of such mele along with the hula in public performance bring the cosmology and genealogy to physical life; public performance enacts the traditional spiritual beliefs of the Kanaka Maoli. The meaning and significance of the mele and hula, especially in Kalākaua's time when there had been no public ceremonial performances for decades, were incomprehensible for the most part to the foreigner. In a more explicit way than the published mo'olelo or mele, the ceremonial performances of hula over that two-week period bound the Kanaka together in a way described by Chatterjee as “the inner domain of cultural identity, from which the colonial intruder [was] kept out.”⁸¹

The original article that started the argument over Kalākaua's and Emma's genealogies has apparently not been preserved, so the origin of the controversy remains a mystery. At the time of the controversy, three newspapers were being published in Hawaiian: *Ka Nupepa Elele Poakolu*, owned by Walter Murray Gibson, a close associate of King Kalākaua; *Ko Hawaii Pae Aina*, owned by Henry Whitney and edited by Joseph U. Kawainui, who later would edit *Nupepa Kuokoa*; and *Kuokoa*, at this time edited by Thomas Thrum, a haole opponent of Kalākaua. The main argument was between *Ka Nupepa Elele Poakolu* on Kalākaua's

side and *Ko Hawaii Pae Aina* on Queen Emma's side; *Kuokoa* chimed in occasionally against Kalākaua.

The first article I was able to recover is from June 1883; I do not know how long before that the controversy was going on. It lasted until at least December of that year, after which no copies of the newspapers have been preserved. At the very least, it went on for six months in nearly every issue of the two papers. In *Ko Hawaii Pae Aina*, it was usually on the front page.⁸² Interestingly enough, mele in fragments — sometimes short, sometimes quite long — were printed as part of these arguments, but no one was arrested for it. Most of what is preserved is from *Nupepa Elele Poakolu*, which always refers to the ongoing debate with *Ko Hawaii Pae Aina*. It is unfortunate that nearly half of the argument is lost; however, even though the arguments cannot be reviewed in their entirety, the significance of the issue for Kanaka Maoli is clear. The court case against William Auld was insignificant compared to the genealogical battle. Kanaka Maoli, at least those running newspapers, were far more concerned with the composition of the nation and the identity of the sovereign, an identity that depended on the ancient cosmology and an individual's genealogical link to it. The nation's sovereignty and the offices of monarch and nobles were at stake in these discussions, whereas the obscenity trial, while symbolic of the struggle for hegemony, was more simply a case of an attempt to embarrass the Crown, which itself went embarrassingly out of control. The genealogy discussion had far greater potential to significantly embarrass or elevate any of the ali'i nui. For Emma it might mean winning the crown for herself, and for Kalākaua it could mean the loss or gain of legitimacy.

THE JUBILEE

Three years after the poni mō'i, hula and feasting celebrations were again held at 'Iolani Palace in honor of King Kalākaua, this time to mark his fiftieth birthday. For nearly two weeks various celebrations took place at 'Iolani Palace and other locations in Honolulu. On November 16, 1886, there was a "grand reception at Iolani Palace" and a torchlight procession by the fire department. Saturday, November 20, brought a parade. On Tuesday, November 23, the "ahaaina luau" (lū'au feast) was held, at which hula was performed. A birthday ball, haole style, was given on



Hula being performed at 'Iolani Palace during Kalākaua's jubilee.
(Courtesy of Hawai'i State Archives)

November 25. Finally, on November 27, in celebration of Lā Kū'oko'a (Independence Day), "historical tableaux" were performed, including hula.

The parade in Honolulu on November 20 contained the first of the significant public performances of the jubilee: "O keia ka la i hooholoia no na hana hoikeike o ke au kahiko" (This was the day decided on for the exhibitions of the ancient times). Those displays included hula: "He poe hula Hawaii olapa aku me na ipu hula iluna o ke kaa loihi i hoowe-hiwehi ia me na lau nahele" (Hula dancers danced with hula gourd drums atop a long car decorated with the greens of the forest). Most of the parade consisted of floats in the shape of canoes depicting scenes from various mo'olelo kahiko. One float showed "ke ano o ka hana ana o ka upena luu a me ka laau ona ia e ka i-a, oia o Makalei" (the manner of using deep-sea nets and the intoxicant ingested by fish, known as Mākālei).⁸³ This was a representation of the story of Mākālei, a magical tree whose roots attract fish. Others represented the soldiers of Ka-

mehameha, especially his war generals, Keaweaheulu (Kualaku) and Kameciamoku (Namahoe), both ancestors of Kalākaua.⁸⁴

"Wa'a peleleu," long canoes used in battle, were displayed in the parade. Another canoe represented Keawenuia'umi, with two kāhili (feather standard) bearers on the sides along with twelve paddlers. Yet another float represented Kaumuali'i, undefeated ali'i nui of Kaua'i and ancestor of Queen Kapi'olani. Some of the ali'i nui represented on the various wa'a wore traditional feather cloaks. Another float represented the story of Kawelo and the supernatural fish, Uhumāka'ika'i, along with a mermaid. The story of Pāka'a and Kūapāka'a (represented by J. H. Kānepu'u) was told in another. One float demonstrated a method of casting for bonito, "hi aku." Another told the story of the god Māui hooking an ulua fish named Pimoe. The Royal Hawaiian Band and school marching bands also participated in the parade. These descriptions all come from *Nupepa Kuokoa*, edited at this time, by Thomas Thrum. Although not a supporter of Kalākaua, he was interested in Hawaiian lore and would have been able to interpret the representations. Moreover, these descriptions may have been written by him or by an anonymous Kanaka staff writer, which it was the *Kuokoa's* practice to employ.

By contrast, the English-language paper, the *Daily Bulletin*, also described the parade, but without any names of those on the floats, except "Maui." The writer knew neither the mo'olelo being represented nor the significance of the carefully selected representations. Of Kawelo and Uhumāka'ika'i, for example, he wrote: "Next came another canoe, with mermaids, and at the stern . . . was mounted a huge model of a black skinned fish labelled 'Makaikai' whether meant for a shark, whale or dolphin, no one seemed to know."⁸⁵ The writers in the Hawaiian press knew, but apparently no one close to the writer for the *Daily Bulletin*. This same report says "The natives in the procession were all curiously costumed in imitation of ancient times." Their costume seemed curious only to the English-language paper written by a foreigner who did not understand it.

At this time, Walter Murray Gibson was also running the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, whose account was more versed in Hawaiian lore than the *Daily Bulletin*, but nevertheless was the view of an outsider. The headline for the account of the parade reads, "History of the Hawaiian Islands Symbolized. The Barbaric Past Exhibited Side by Side with

Modern Civilization." Although Kalākaua had arranged the parade to be a celebration of the glories told in mo'olelo kahiko, Gibson interpreted it this way: "Rarely, if ever, has [a] nation contemplated with greater reason for rejoicing its rapid transition from the crude customs of . . . yesterday." In his rush to privilege European knowledge, he made this mistake as well: "Many were there whose educational attainments and whose general mental progress were such that they were as competent as Europeans to understand the symbols of the pageant."⁸⁶ It is clear that, for the most part, the Kanaka Maoli understood far more completely "the symbols of the pageant" than did the Europeans, especially as represented by the *Daily Bulletin*. The assumption that the Kanaka Maoli were but yesterday barbarians is a continuance of the discourse of civilization and savagery. It is deployed in this era not just by Walter Murray Gibson, a supposed friend of the Kanaka, but also by the *Daily Bulletin*, for the usual political reasons: "The Hawaiian, although awaking to the first light of liberty under the tutorship of the now much abused 'missionaries' of the American Board, and although living under an organized system of government in which he is supposed to have a voice, has yet much to learn before he is fit to graduate a free citizen of a free country."⁸⁷

As we have seen, this discourse is used to keep the Europeans and Americans in power over the mass of Kanaka Maoli. We can also discern that the missionaries felt and resented the resistance to themselves and to their colonizing actions. It is important that this discourse was again deployed during the jubilee celebrations, just eight months before the haole oligarchy virtually deposed Kalākaua by threat of force. This discourse constructs justifications for the overthrow by insisting that Kalākaua and his people were unfit to rule themselves. The *Daily Bulletin* suggested as well that if the Kanaka Maoli were to govern themselves they had better leave their ancient customs and traditions behind: "Let the Hawaiian be once fully saturated with American ideas of liberty and personal independence. . . . While the Hawaiian is wedded by ignorance to superstitious ideas and practices, he can never stand side by side, on the same plane with Bulgarian or American, as a free citizen of a free country."⁸⁸

This discourse attempts to trap the Kanaka Maoli in a cultural wasteland and historical vacuum by insisting that equality with Europeans and Euro-Americans can only be gained by a repudiation of every-

thing in their own traditions. This notion is effectively countered, however, by Kalākaua and others through the physical representations of the mo'olelo kahiko of the parade, and later in the jubilee festivities through the hula performances and historical tableaux. Kalākaua vehemently insists through these activities that the Kanaka Maoli are proud of their past (which is not forgotten) and so already consider themselves the equals of the Europeans and Euro-Americans.

Hula at the Royal Lū'au

The 'aha'aina lū'au held at the palace on November 23 was attended by 1,500 to 2,000 people, who were entertained that night with food and hula. *Ko Hawaii Pae Aina*, edited by Kawainui, an opponent of Kalākaua, reported that five types of hula were performed, including the hula pahu (sharkskin drum hula). The *Pae Aina* also asserted that people complained when a certain hula was performed and it was stopped before it was completely over, and also that some people struggled with the dancers to force them to kiss their cheeks. Then the brief report says, "Ua paia kuli makou i na kama'ilio kupono ole no kekahi mau mea i ikeia ma ia anaina lealea, i ae ole makou e hoike aku i ka lahui" (We were deafened by the improper talk of certain things seen at that gathering for entertainment, which we did not consent to have shown in public).⁸⁹ The newspaper writer apparently considered some of the performance shameful or perhaps obscene.

Nupepa Kuokoa's account of the evening, probably written by Thrum, was vague and lacked understanding of the content of the hula. This lack is probably because Thrum was interested in collecting and translating mo'olelo but had not studied hula, nor did he (or anyone else outside the palace or hula schools) have many opportunities to witness hula. Indeed, he could not identify the different types of hula being performed. Here is part of his account: "I ka hula ana, haa like lakou iluina [sic] a ilalo me ka niniu o na pa-u, e kuhi ana na lima io a ianei me ka lelele o na wawae. . . . [U]wauwa . . . na kanaka i ka maikai paha, i ka ino'ino paha? Aohe maopopo aku o ia wahi; aka hoike mai kahi poe no ka maikai ke kumu nui o ka uwauwa." (When they danced, they danced in unison up and down with skirts twirling[;] the hands were pointing this way and that and the legs were jumping. . . . People/Hawaiians shouted because it was good, or perhaps because it was bad? We have no under-

standing there[,] but certain people have said the main reason for the shouting was because it was good." Thrum also reported that the hula performance lasted from "ke ahiahi okoa a hiki wale i ke kani ana o ke oo o na moa ma na hora wanaao" (the early evening until the sound of the roosters' crowing in the dawn hours).⁹⁰ Gibson reported very little on the hula; his entire discussion of it is as follows: "In the evening a number of hula-dancers were called into requisition for their amusement. The proceedings throughout were characterized by the utmost decorum and good taste."⁹¹ Unfortunately, it is not clear in any of these accounts how many of the people who attended the lū'au stayed on to watch the hula performance. Although Kawainui suggested that something indecent or improper occurred, no calls for arrest were made, and neither he nor Thrum called for the hula performances to be banned in the future.

He Hoikeike Tabalo au Kahiko:

A Performance of Historical Tableaux

November 27 was designated for the Lā Kū'oko'a (Independence Day) celebration because the official date, November 28, fell on Sunday. The celebration included the performance of "historical tableaux," which included scenes from the life of Kamehameha I interspersed with hula performances. I was able to retrieve two accounts of the event: one by Gibson, in English, from the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, and the other by Thrum, from *Nupepa Kuokoa*. Gibson reported that an "ancient 'Punch and Judy' created much amusement" (most likely he refers to the hula ki'i done with puppets). During this performance an ipu hula was played by a woman as accompaniment to the "antics" of the ki'i. In the last scene, actors representing Kamehameha's soldiers performed a "spear dance," while "sixteen young girls gave an exhibition of Hawaiian dancing."⁹²

The account from *Nupepa Kuokoa* is similar to that by Gibson, but with added details and commentary. It states that when the ali'i entered (meaning, most likely, Kalākaua, Kapi'olani, and other members of the royal family), "mele ia ke mele lahui me na panai pu ana a na mea kani" (the national anthem was sung with musical accompaniment). *Kuokoa* took a decidedly approving tone in its assessment of the evening, even though it included so much hula: "Maikai a nui ka mahalo ia o na hana. O ka pokole loa nae hoi ka hewa?" (The performances were good and

appreciated/respectable [mahalo ia]. That it was so short was nevertheless a fault?).⁹³

Taken together, the parade and the tableaux can be seen as performances representing the masculine heroism of the Kanaka past, balanced a little each time by female dancers. It is emphatically masculine because that is what the Euro-American powers respect(ed) in a country. Whenever possible, Hawai'i had to display proof of its eligibility in the exclusive club of sovereign nations. It was a small nation with a small to nonexistent military force: in the age of imperialism it kept its sovereignty, at the pleasure of the Mana Nui "Great Powers." At the same time, however, the activities of the jubilee served to bind together the Kanaka 'Ōiwi in national solidarity built on shared language, genealogy, and history, none of which could be fully shared by the foreigners looking to take over their country.

*Na Mele Aimoku, na Mele Kupuna, a me na Mele Pono o Ka Moi
Kalakaua I: The Sovereign's Songs, the Ancestral Songs,
and the Pono Songs of King Kalākaua I*

A book of songs was published in honor of Kalākaua for his fiftieth birthday jubilee. Several of the original copies are in the library of the Bishop Museum, and so we can see that it was published in book form, typeset and hardbound. The name of the collector or editor appears nowhere on it, nor does the name of the publisher, although a note is given that it was "pai ia no ka la hanau o ka Moi" (published for the birthday of the King).⁹⁴ It is 303 pages long and contains forty different mele; some of which are said to be traditional and some of which have composer's names appended. Songs, especially traditional mele, are not always discrete pieces. It is a characteristic of mele that parts of songs may reappear attached to new songs, and may be combined in a variety of ways. Songs are also often renamed for a living ali'i to keep the genealogical connection to a deceased one current, and also to preserve the song.⁹⁵ Thus the actual number of the mele may be more than forty, and parts of mele may be repeated in other mele within the same book. Some of the mele listed in the *Papa Kuhikahi o Na Hula Poni Moi* coronation program are the same as those in *Na Mele Aimoku*. Judging by the titles alone (because we do not have the full text for the *Papa Kuhikahi*) at least seventeen of the mele are the same.

The general tendency in Hawaiian language and thought is to put important things first, so let us look at the first mele in the book. It is entitled "He Mele Inoa no Aikanaka" (A name song for 'Aikanaka). 'Aikanaka was Kalākaua's maternal grandfather, who happened to share his name with the ali'i nui of Kaua'i who figures prominently in the Kawelo mo'olelo. The first part of the mele is clearly identifiable as the mele known as "'Au'a 'ia" (Withhold/hold onto [your land]). This is one of three classical hula pahu. Hula pahu originally were heiau (temple) rituals that became performance hula after the collapse of the traditional religion,⁹⁶ and as such are important links to the ancient traditions. "'Au'a 'ia" was performed on the occasion of the poni mō'i as well as the jubilee. Kaeppeler says, however, that "it was probably at the time of Kalākaua's jubilee celebration in 1886 that the text was presented and reinterpreted as an admonition to hold on to the Hawaiian heritage."⁹⁷ What follows is the beginning of the chant, with a translation by Mary Kawena Pukui:

Aua ia e kama e kona moku
E kona moku e kama e aua ia
E kama kama kama kama i ka huli nuu
Ke kama kama kama kama i ka huli au
Huli hia papio a ilalo i ke alo
Huli hia i ka imu o ku ka makii lohelohe
(Kama (the chief) refused to part with his island
This is the land held back by Kama
The son Kama, Kama, Kama, the highest born
The son Kama, Kama, Kama, who reigns
He turns his foes face down (kills them)
He turns them into the imus (earth ovens), then lays them
before his idols.)⁹⁸

This section of the chant is clearly a statement by (and for) Kalākaua, that he is the proper ruler of his land, and that he intends to retain his rule over the land. The next section appears to be a kanikau, and invokes the gods Lono, Kanaloa, Hina, and Kū, in that order. The section following the kanikau links Kalākaua to Kawelo:

O ka Kawelo welo kapu o Kaweloaikanaka,
O Kawelo Alii makua Kūhaulua

(Kawelo's sacred heritage/progeny is Kaweloaikanaka,
Chiefly Kawelo, Kūhaulua is the parent)

Kalākaua's symbolic linkage to Kawelo is important. The story of Kawelo was the first to be published in *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, and Kawelo was also represented in the jubilee parade. Like Kawelo, Kalākaua is of a lineage that is secondary to the ruling line. And like Kawelo, he becomes the sovereign through great efforts of his own, combined with his devotion to his gods. While his cousin/competitors learn mokomoko wrestling, Kawelo learns the prayers and care for the gods. He is a heroic as well as a supernatural figure who derives most of his mana from his spiritual/religious activities. Kalākaua likewise gained mana from his efforts to bring Kawelo and his gods back into the Kanaka collective consciousness.

"Au'a 'ia" is a song of sovereignty that also functions to invoke the gods and the traditional mo'olelo of Kawelo. The fact that it was set down on paper for Kalākaua, along with the thirty-nine other mele, is also important as an act of preservation for future generations.

CONCLUSION

In the words of Valerio Valeri, "the *Kumulipo* . . . makes explicit what seems implicit in all Hawaiian religious ideology: man's dependence on the gods in fact conceals the gods' dependence on men."⁹⁹ The gods who legitimated Kalākaua's rule do not exist if they are not evoked in prayer and ritual. Because all of the ali'i were at least nominally Christian, they sought out ways to accommodate their need for the traditional gods and the genealogy/cosmology that gave them the right to rule, while escaping censure from their Christian churches. Consecration of heiau, offerings to the gods, and other overtly religious rites were not safe to perform in this environment. Kame'elehiwa explains: "When a *pono Mō'i* was religiously devoted to the *Akua*, the whole society was *pono* and prospered. When disaster struck . . . these were signs that the *Mō'i* had ceased to be religious, for the society was no longer *pono*."¹⁰⁰ Kamakau quotes an old saying, "O ke ali'i haipule i ke akua, 'o ia ke ali'i e kū i ke aupuni" (The ali'i who is devoted to the god[s] is the ali'i who shall rule the nation).¹⁰¹ Through public performance of hula and the publication of the *Kumulipo* and *Na Mele Aimoku*, Kalākaua demonstrated that he

too was devoted to the traditional religion, and was therefore a good and proper mō'i. Such a mō'i should be able to hold onto the nation's sovereignty.

In addition to fulfilling the need for the traditional gods and cosmology, the public celebrations of tradition served to alleviate some of the psychological harm done to the lāhui through the social and economic colonization. As I show in my examination of the missionary discourse, colonialism in Hawai'i, as elsewhere according to Ngugi Wa Thiong'o, meant "the deliberate undervaluing of a people's culture, their art, dances, religions, history, geography, education, orature and literature."¹⁰² These public performances demonstrated pride in Kanaka culture, art, dance, religion, and history, and in so doing they strengthen the collective identity of the lāhui as a nation. Albert Memmi says that "the most serious blow suffered by the colonized is being removed from history and from the community."¹⁰³ At that time, with English-language schools outnumbering Hawaiian (and receiving more funding), the process of writing Kanaka out of their own history had begun.¹⁰⁴ But the Papa Kū'auhau, the Hale Nauā, as well as events such as the parade, historical tableaux, and hula performances, insisted on re-inscribing and reenacting a history that is particularly Kanaka.

Murray Edelman wrote that "art should be recognized as a major and integral part of the transaction that engenders political behavior."¹⁰⁵ The historical tableaux, parade, and hula performances, I believe, worked to win over the hearts of many Kānaka Maoli, some of whom may not previously have supported Kalākaua. Edelman also says that "works of art generate the ideas about leadership, bravery, cowardice, altruism, dangers, authority, and fantasies about the future that people typically assume to be reflections of their own observations and reasoning."¹⁰⁶ The particular works of performance art that Kalākaua inspired in the events he sponsored contain the themes of leadership that supported his rule. I have spoken of the mo'olelo of Kawelo, the cousin of the younger line who prevails by devotion to his gods. The Kamehameha story contains this same theme (as does the mo'olelo of 'Umi). When Kalani'ōpu'u, the mō'i of Hawai'i Island died, he bequeathed the office of mō'i to his son, Kiwala'ō, but he left the war god, Kūkā'ilimoku (Island-snatching Kū), to Kamehameha. Kamehameha, through consecration of this god and temples, defeated Kiwala'ō in battle and went on to become the conqueror of all the islands except Kaua'i. A similar theme is given in the story of Maui, as we saw in the *Kumulipo*. Through

Kalākaua's efforts, these stories became part of the national narrative, which not only justified his rule but, as I demonstrate throughout this chapter, contributed to the identity of the lāhui as nation.

Although the mō'i represented tradition through genealogy, they themselves were the most powerful members of the class that both facilitated and resisted colonization. Alexander Liholiho (Kamehameha IV), Lota Kapuāiwa (Kamehameha V), and Kalākaua all created policies and otherwise assisted the progress of colonial capitalism while retaining their cultural identity as Kanaka Maoli through both the secretive and overt practice of traditional ritual, ceremony, performance, and custom. They could never abandon genealogy because that is what empowered them in the minds and hearts of their own people. Further, it was linked to the very core of their identity; to abandon it would have meant severe psychological damage as well as damage to the collective identity of the lāhui.

When Emma died in 1885, she left the lāhui without a close link to Kamehameha. The loss of Emma, along with the previous losses of Kamehameha descendants Lunalilo, Pauahi, and Ke'elikōlani, no doubt brought more supporters to Kalākaua. This served to make the missionary sons, who began to be known at this time as the "missionary party," more worried about holding onto power. While the people were divided for and against Kalākaua, it had been easier for the missionary party to exert their will to rule. Now feeling their power slipping, they turned to more coercive measures.

Eight months after the jubilee the haole oligarchy coalesced and forced Kalākaua to sign the "Bayonet Constitution," so named because he signed it under threat of violence. (The kingdom's small militia was under the control of the oligarchy, who were, furthermore, associated with U.S. military forces.) This constitution stripped Kalākaua of his most important executive powers: every decision he made had to have the approval of the cabinet; he was no longer able to appoint the House of Nobles; and he was prevented from dismissing his cabinet himself, that power being given to the legislature.¹⁰⁷ It was in response to the Bayonet Constitution that Kānaka Maoli attempted to use the political system of the West to their own advantage. In 1889, Kānaka Maoli formed a political party to try to gain enough political power within the imposed system to take back control of their own country. In the next chapter, I examine their efforts.

4

The Antiannexation Struggle

I 'āina nō ka 'āina i ke alif'i, a i waiwai nō ka 'āina i ke kanaka.

(The land remains the land because of the alif'i, and the land prospers because of the people.)

—'Ōlelo no'eau (Hawaiian proverb)

Between 1893 and 1898 Kānaka Maoli mounted vigorous and organized opposition to the annexation of their nation by the United States. I begin here with a sketch of the events that led up to the U.S.-backed coup d'état of Lili'uokalani's government in 1893, followed by a more detailed account of the resistance to the annexation five years later. Because I concentrate on bringing forth the words and actions of the Kanaka Maoli, I do not dwell on the discourse of the annexationists. Much documentation and analysis has already been done of these events and of the annexationist discourse.¹

The resistance, in contrast, has not been well documented or analyzed, in part because historians do not generally read the archive in Hawaiian. Much of what is in this chapter is taken from sources written only in Hawaiian. Resistance to the 1887 Bayonet Constitution and the oligarchy that produced itself through it has in recent years been documented by Kanaka Maoli and other scholars, in particular Davianna McGregor-Alegado and Albertine Loomis, both of whom focus on the