

were part of an uncivilized race was the primary assumption of the first and each succeeding company of missionaries. It justified the appointment of missionaries, the bearers of civilization, to their positions of power. Later, after eighty years of missionization, the same discourse was deployed to justify the U.S. political takeover of Hawai'i: the uncivilized were said to be incapable of self-government.

Furthermore, by 1861 the discourse of civilization was already a long tradition on the American continent. According to Baker, Spanish explorers represented the indigenous peoples of the New World as savages, and the English elite then borrowed this discourse to impose it on the "wild" Irish. Baker goes on to say that "the same traits used to depict the Irish as savage in the seventeenth century were used to classify African Americans and Native Americans as savages during the following three centuries."³⁰ The discursive hierarchy of savagery, barbarism, and civilization was used to rationalize colonial policies that enslaved Africans and displaced and destroyed the indigenous peoples.

This discourse was reinforced in the eighteenth and nineteenth century by scientific studies that asserted the natural inferiority of certain uncivilized races. In Baker's view, in the United States the idea of "race" is inextricably linked not only to the imagined "scientific" hierarchy of peoples but also to missionary ideology. It has its antecedents "not in the science of race but in the theology of heathenism, the saved, and the damned."³¹ Thomas Gossett adds to this theme by stating that slavery itself was justified as "a means of converting the heathen."³²

The discourse of civilization also contributed to the disempowering of Kanaka women, especially in the political arena. Through the imposition of Euro-American constitutions, laws, and churches, women's public voices and previous paths to power became increasingly limited. It was through discourse that women's relegation to the private sphere, as in Europe and the United States, became hegemonic.

NEWSPAPERS AS SITES OF DISCURSIVE STRUGGLE

In this struggle among the mō'ī, other ali'i nui, the maka'āinana, missionaries, and planters of various types, newspapers would become the main battleground for competing discourses. For forty years the mission controlled the power of the printed word in Hawai'i. The mission-

aries used this power not just to save souls but to assist in the progress of plantation/colonial capitalism, to control public education, to mold government into Western forms and to control it, and to domesticate Kanaka women. Then, in 1861, to the shock and outrage of the missionary establishment, a group of Kānaka Maoli, maka‘āinana, and ali‘i together, transformed themselves into speaking subjects proud of their Kanaka ways of life and traditions and unafraid to rebel. Their medium was a Hawaiian-language newspaper called *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* (The star of the Pacific). This paper began a long tradition of nationalist, anticolonial resistance through the print media.

Although precise circulation statistics are not available, it is certain that the newspapers were widely read. According to Helen Chapin, “Without a doubt, the Hawaiian language newspapers had the largest readership of any papers in the Islands. Among these, by far the largest number were opposition papers.”³³ Chapin notes further that “a vigorous Hawaiian nationalist press emerged in the 1860s. . . . It quickly gained and held the largest circulation and the majority of readers until the century’s end.”³⁴ Schools conducted in Hawaiian in 1861 numbered around 266, with a student population of over 8,000. By this time, literacy in Hawaiian was “almost universal,”³⁵ and as I show below, this large, literate population of Kanaka Maoli desired reading material of all types.

Prior to and at the time of the emergence of *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, the mission published evangelical and school newspapers, as well as indirectly controlled the government newspapers. Missionary son Henry Whitney owned a nominally independent English-language newspaper, the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*. In 1856, Whitney started a paper called the *Hoku Loa o Hawaii*, which actually was a single page included in the four-page *Advertiser*.³⁶ Reader and newspaperman Kānepu‘u complained that the subscription price for readers of both languages was the same, \$6 per year, even though the English readers got three-fourths of “na olelo oloko, ono ke moni aku” (the language inside that was delicious to swallow).³⁷ After a time Whitney suspended the paper, and when he resumed it the Hawaiian-language page was gone.

Then, in 1859, the mission started a monthly paper called *Ka Hoku Loa* (The distant star) (not to be confused with *Hoku Loa a Hawaii*; see the accompanying table). The editor of *Ka Hoku Loa* was Henry Parker, son of missionaries and pastor of Kawaiha‘o Church. Desirous of any news in Hawaiian, Kānepu‘u and others petitioned Parker to publish it

TABLE 1. Hawaiian newspapers, 1856-1864.

NAME	TYPE	LANGUAGE	EDITOR	DATES
<i>Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika</i>	resistance	Hawaiian	J. W. H. Kauwahi, David Kalākaua	Sept. 1861 to May 1863
<i>Nupepa Kuokoa</i>	establishment	Hawaiian	Henry Whitney	Oct. 1861 to Dec. 1927
<i>Hoku Loa o Hawaii</i>	establishment	Hawaiian	Henry Whitney	July to Sept. 1856
<i>Ka Hoku Loa</i>	Calvinist mission	Hawaiian	Henry Parker	July 1859 to Dec. 1864
<i>Ka Hae Hawaii</i>	government	Hawaiian	R. Armstrong, J. Fuller	Mar. 1856 to Dec. 1861
<i>Polynesian</i>	government	English	A. Fornander	1840 to 1841; 1844 to 1864
<i>Pacific Commercial Advertiser</i>	establishment	English	Henry Whitney	1856 to present

Note: Classification generally follows that by Helen Geracimos Chapin in "Newspapers of Hawai'i, 1834-1903" (*Hawaiian Journal of History* 18 [1984]:47-86) and *Shaping History* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996), except I have substituted the category "resistance" for her term "opposition." "Establishment" means the paper represents dominant and prevailing interests.

weekly, but Parker left to accept a teaching post at Lahainaluna seminary before any such change could take place.

At this same time a government paper was being published in Hawaiian, *Ka Hae Hawaii*, under the editorship of J. Fuller. Readers petitioned this paper as well to increase its size to include foreign and island news, mele, legends, and letters, but the proposed size and content increases were never implemented.

KA HOKU LOA

Both *Ka Hae Hawaii* and *Ka Hoku Loa* served colonizing functions. Both reinforced the missionary dictate that labor equaled salvation, participated in the attempted domestication of Kanaka women, and as-

DATES

Sept. 1861 to
May 1863
Oct. 1861 to
Dec. 1927
July to
Sept. 1856
July 1859 to
Dec. 1864
Mar. 1856 to
Dec. 1861
1840 to 1841;
1844 to 1864
1856 to present

serted that every aspect of Western culture was superior to native culture, especially religion. *Ka Hoku Loa* was associated with the Hawaiian Evangelical Association, the semiautonomous administrative board for the mainly Calvinist U.S. missions in Hawai'i. The missions had previously been administered by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. The Hawaiian Evangelical Association had been formed in 1854 as part of a policy change "to make the American missionaries and their families permanent members of the Hawaiian body politic."³⁸ The reasons for starting *Ka Hoku Loa* were expressed in its first issue, as follows: "Ua ulu nui ka hewa ma kela wahi ma keia wahi, iwaena o na mea he nui; kakaikahi nae ka poe i ku e kinai i ka hewa, a e kokua i ka pono. . . . E papa aku ana ia me ka wiwo ole i na hewa i hanaia ma na wahi kiekie, a me na hana kolohe i hoopukaia iwaena o ka lehu-lehu, a e hoike aku ana me ka makau ole, ka hopena weliweli o ka lahuikanaka, a me ke aupuni i makau ole i ke Akua" (Sin has increased everywhere, among many people, and few are those who have stood up to extinguish sin and assist righteousness. . . . [This paper] will forbid, bravely, the sins committed in high places and the naughty behavior among the people, and will show without fear the terrible end of a people and a government who have no fear of God).³⁹ It is thus clear that the missionaries considered their own morals and mission to allow them to stand in judgment on even the mō'i. The king may run the government, but the missionaries, in their own minds inherently superior, were to judge and instruct.

Each issue of *Ka Hoku Loa* contained various reports of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association or other related missionary associations, which served as the primary site for their "civilizing" discourse. An issue in 1861, for example, contained an editorial explaining that 383 church members had been expelled in Hawai'i in the previous year. The editorial gives six reasons for the expulsions, the first of which was "o ka hana ole i ka hana maoli, kekahi hewa no ia" (not doing real work, which is a sin). The editorial elaborated by explaining that some "kakanaka" go from island to island, making friends, staying with different people, "a hala ka makahiki paha i ka noho wale ana" (until a year passes of just sitting/living). It further asserted that "mai loko mai o ka noho molowa ana i ulu ai ka moekolohe, ka ona, ka piliwaiwai, a me na hewa e ae he nui wale" (out of laziness grows adultery, drunkenness, gambling, and a great many other sins). Other reasons for expulsion included not

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going to church; drinking; “na hana haumia” (defiling/impure actions); not keeping the marriage laws; and not keeping the Sabbath, on which one was not to “sit around” or go visiting: “i hookahi wale no huakai hele i ka Sabati, oia hoi ka huakai hele i ka hale o ke Akua” (there should be just one journey on the Sabbath, the journey to the house of God). Another reason stated was “ka hoomana kii” (idol worship), which included Kanaka Maoli medical practices, because such activity included prayer to the ancient akua; of specific concern was prayer to the female akua Hi‘iaka and Kapo.⁴⁰ The church paper thus reinforced the discourse of civilization and salvation through the Protestant virtues of work and asceticism, which conveniently justified turning Kanaka into plantation laborers.

In October 1861, *Ka Hoku Loa* published a full-page condemnation of Kanaka Maoli medicine, calling it idolatry, falsehood, and murder. People also wrote letters reporting that they had seen lapa‘au “medicine” being practiced, and they urged others to instruct their families to give it up.⁴¹ The editors also published stories such as “Lapaau ana” (Healing), a short retelling of the story from the Bible in which a woman is healed by merely touching Jesus’s robe.⁴² Kanaka Maoli were still suffering from epidemics and the spread of Hansen’s disease (leprosy) was just beginning, thus all types of medicine were needed during these crises. But medicine was another site of struggle, as the missionaries sought to persuade the native people that their centuries-old knowledge was inferior to European scientific knowledge.⁴³

Ka Hoku Loa also attacked Kanaka mo‘olelo. In November 1861, missionary John Emerson (father of Nathaniel and Joseph), wrote that people are afraid of “na akua lapuwale” (worthless gods) because “ua hai na kanaka kahiko i na kamalii i na kaa, i na mele, a me na moolelo piha i na mea lapuwale e puiwa ai” (the old Hawaiians told the children the legends, the songs, and the stories/histories that were full of worthless things to frighten [or startle] them). His main point was that mo‘olelo should not be published in the newspapers: “Ina i makemake na kanaka naaupo e hai i na mea lapuwale i na keiki a lakou e puiwa ai, no lakou ia; aka aole pono ke paiia ma na Nupepa [sic]” (If ignorant/uncivilized people wish to tell worthless things to their children to frighten them, that is their own business; but it is not right that they be published in the Newspapers). Emerson used the valley of Kaliuwa‘a (now known in English as Sacred Falls, and now closed because of a

deadly rockslide) as a specific example of ongoing practices. Nearly everyone, he wrote, “kanaka naaupo” (ignorant/uncivilized Kanaka) as well as “hoahanau” (church members), take offerings there because they are afraid “o huhu mai lakou [na akua], a hoolele mai i na pohaku maluna o ko lakou mau poo” (lest they [the gods] become angry and throw rocks down upon their heads).⁴⁴

In his writings cited above Emerson uses the word na‘aupō. This word, and its opposite, na‘auao, are notable for the implications in their translation. Na‘au means thoughts or feelings (one’s interior self), a metaphorical extension of the physical meanings, “intestines, bowels, guts.” Ao and pō are adjectives; ao means light, daylight; pō means darkness, night. To be na‘auao is to be enlightened, educated, wise, and civilized. Although the word civilized is not given in Pukui and Elbert’s *Hawaiian Dictionary* as a gloss for na‘auao, the word uncivilized does appear as equivalent for its opposite, na‘aupō, along with “ignorant” and “unenlightened.”⁴⁵ An underlying assumption in this discourse is that haole ways of life are na‘auao and Kanaka ways are na‘aupō; Emerson’s task as missionary was to fight all that was na‘aupō and replace it with ways that were na‘auao.

KA HAE HAWAII

Ka Hae Hawaii (The Hawaiian flag) was founded in 1856 as a publication of the Department of Public Instruction. J. Fuller was named as editor, but the paper was controlled behind the scenes by Richard Armstrong, the missionary serving as minister of public instruction.⁴⁶ Its purpose was “e kokua mai ma na mea e holo mua i keia aupuni” (to assist progress in this nation). “Progress” meant Euro-American protestant culture, as indicated in this sentence from the same statement of purpose: “Mai ka wa ia Lono a me Kamehameha nui, ua holo mua ia kakou; aole nae i pau ka hemahema a me ka naaupo” (From the time of Lono [Captain Cook] and Kamehameha the Great, we have progressed; but incompetence/lack of skill [hemahema] and savagery/ignorance are not over).⁴⁷ The paper hoped to assist progress by supporting farming, and to a lesser degree, trade and the schools. The government paid Fuller’s salary, so the price of *Ka Hae Hawaii* was only \$1 per year, “no ka pepa, a me ka inika a me ka pai ana” (for the paper, the ink, and the printing).⁴⁸

kanaka Hawaii” (many haole have assisted this Newspaper, there are a hundred or more of them, because of their love or kind feelings for this project of the Hawaiians).⁸⁶ Abraham Fornander surely was one of them.

FIGHTING FOR THE RIGHT
TO SPEAK AND TO BE KANAKA

For the next year and a half or so, the pages of *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* would fill with editorials that talked back to the missionary discourse that disparaged Kanaka culture and worked to disempower Kanaka politically, as well as alienate them from their lands, domesticate Kanaka women, and change both men and women into impoverished plantation laborers. Kānaka also accomplished this through the publication of traditional mo‘olelo and mele that celebrated their indigenous language and culture.

Resistance to the discourse of salvation through labor appeared in the pages of *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* both symbolically and in castigation of unethical activity by missionary planters. The symbolic was expressed, for example, in the one song that appeared in the paper in English, called “Oh, Come, Come Away.” Here are the first three lines:

Oh come, come away, from labor now reposing,
From busy care awhile forbear,
Oh, come, come away.⁸⁷

Edward Bailey, the planter on Maui, was chastised in *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* for abusing his power as a former missionary. According to the story in the paper, his cattle ran into a Kanaka neighbor’s yard, destroying some property. When Bailey was confronted by the neighbor and asked to pay for the damage, he retaliated with a peculiarly chilling death threat to the Kanaka farmer. Bailey reportedly told the farmer that he had written down the names of the publishers of *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* and sent the paper to God. Coincidentally, two of them died shortly thereafter. Bailey also suggested that because the farmer had been seen with the evil newspaper, he could add his name to the death list.⁸⁸ The editors of *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* asked (and answered): “Aole anei oia ka mea i kauohaia ai e ka Haku mai hoahu i ko oukou waiwai ma ka

honua? No ka puni waiwai ia manao i ulu mai ai; a ua makemakeia e ike na mea a pau i ke ano o ka poe a lakou i hilinai ai" (Are they not the ones commanded by the Lord not to accumulate wealth on the earth? It is because of love of wealth that this has arisen; and it is desired that everyone should know the character of the people that they trust).⁸⁹ *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, like *Ka Hae Hawaii*, advocated farming as a way of life and a means of livelihood but, as the example above demonstrates, the editors resented and resisted the authority of the missionaries who had become plantation owners and were attempting to subjugate Kanaka Maoli by intimidation. *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* provided an effective means of talking back to the haole planters.

The Kanaka Maoli also fought the racist discourse that depicted them as savages or barbarians, — that is, as uncivilized. The writers and editors of *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* demonstrated that Kanaka Maoli had mastered the technology of the haole (the printing press and the palapala), and then went further to show off their skills in both traditional literature and modern political writing. They countered the hierarchical racism by refusing to grant it any validity and by valuing their own language and culture to a high degree. Their language about themselves reveals pride in their heritage: "kanaka" was not yet an epithet to be ashamed of.



In other words, to some extent, Kanaka Maoli agreed that they had become civilized. For them, however, agreeing to become civilized had more to do with retaining their independence as a sovereign nation than with acceptance of the racial or cultural hierarchy. Sally Merry shows how Hawai'i's continued independence hinged on proving itself as a member of the exclusive club of civilized nations.⁹⁰ The peoples who could not show themselves to be "civilized" were being taken over by the Mana Nui "Great Powers" all over the world, including in the Pacific. For many Kānaka Maoli, to be na'auao meant to be literate and educated in business, law, and/or politics, but it did not mean that traditional arts and customs should be condemned to a dark, soulless past.

Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika asserted this Kanaka brand of being na'auao through publication of written versions of the ancient mo'olelo, many of which appeared on its pages in print for the first time. On the front page of the September 26, 1861, issue was the first installment of the "Moolelo no Kawelo" (Story of Kawelo), a tale from the ancient oral

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Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika

BOOK I. HONOLULU. FEBRUARY 25, 1858. HAWAII.

Goka o ka Pakipika

Mooolelo no Kawelo

[The following text represents a transcription of the main body of the newspaper, which is extremely faint and largely illegible due to the quality of the scan. It appears to be a narrative or historical account.]

In the beginning, the world was in a state of confusion and darkness. The people of that time were ignorant of their own history and the ways of the world. It was a time of great suffering and sorrow, as the people were plagued by disease and famine. Many of the people had turned away from their traditional ways and had adopted the customs of the foreigners who had come to their shores. They had become proud and arrogant, and they had forgotten the lessons that had been taught them by their ancestors.

But the Lord was merciful and had compassion on his people. He sent down upon them a great light, and he opened their eyes to see the truth. He showed them their sins and their wicked ways, and he gave them the word of life. He taught them the ways of peace and love, and he showed them the path that led to happiness and joy. The people were filled with gratitude and praise for the Lord, and they turned back to their traditional ways. They began to live again in a state of peace and harmony, and they began to care for one another as brothers and sisters.

And so, the world was brought back to a state of order and peace. The people of that time were filled with hope and faith, and they lived in a state of joy and happiness. They knew that the Lord was with them, and they were confident that he would continue to bless them and to protect them from all their enemies. And so, the world was brought back to a state of order and peace, and the people of that time lived in a state of joy and happiness.

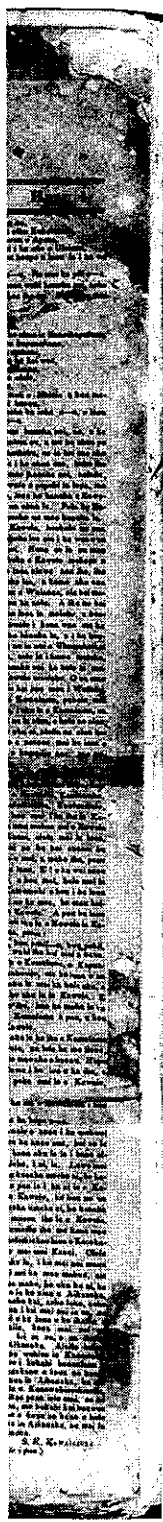
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Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika's first regular issue. The front page consists entirely of the "Mooolelo no Kawelo." (Courtesy of the Hawaiian Historical Society)

tradition that includes chants and prayers to the old gods. Kawelo is a supernatural youth raised in a family of ali'i 'ai moku. The important tension in the story surrounds the issue of who of several cousins in the family will grow up to "ku i ka moku" (literally, "stand upon the island"), that is, who will become the single ruling ali'i of the island of Kaua'i. Kawelo must develop skills and strategies to take the contest from his physically larger cousins and uncles, who might also have a clearer genealogical right to rule. The boy is favored from birth; his grandparents choose him to hānai (raise). As a youth he travels to O'ahu with his grandparents and learns farming there, while his older cousins learn "mokomoko" (boxing or wrestling). On O'ahu Kawelo also takes a sweetheart and begins to train in hula. He then goes on to learn "ke kaua" (battle). His girlfriend, Kanewahineikiaoha, and her father go with him to learn as well.⁹¹ After Kawelo masters ke kaua, he decides to learn fishing, which leads to his adventure with Uhumāka'i-ka'i, a supernatural fish who drags Kawelo and his fishing teacher to Kaua'i and back.

It is through prayer to the native akua that Kawelo ultimately kills the fish. It is also through pule (prayer) combined with training in his various disciplines that Kawelo gains mana, so that, later in the story, when one of his uncles, Aikanaka, dispossesses Kawelo's parents of their land, Kawelo is ready to do battle and win. The power of prayer to the ancient akua is an important recurring theme in this and other mo'olelo published in *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*. When messengers are sent by Kawelo's distressed parents, for example, those messengers are delayed and troubled throughout their journey because they failed to pray before eating. Before proceeding to Kaua'i to make war on Aikanaka, Kawelo stops to build a heiau, then "hoouluulu iho la o Kawelo i na akua ona, o Kaneikapualena a me Kulaniehu" (Kawelo appealed to his gods),⁹² who are forms of the major gods Kāne and Kū.

Kawelo's wahine plays a crucial role as a messenger in the war preparations, and she accompanies him to Kaua'i as well. In the descriptions of the armies, women and children are said to have participated: "o na koa . . . elua lau kanaka, aole nae i helu ia na wahine a me na keiki" (as for the soldiers . . . there were eight hundred of them, but women and children were not counted).⁹³ In this story, women are reported to travel alone, learn the arts of war, and participate in war. These are reported as unremarkable small details of the story, not as unusual events.



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Perhaps the most important legend to appear in *Ka Hoku o ka Pikipika* is “He Moolelo no Hiiakaikapoliopele” (The legend of Hi‘iakaikapoliopele), the grand epic of the coming of age of Hi‘iakaikapoliopele, the youngest sister of Pele, the volcano goddess. Unlike “Moolelo no Kawelo,” this story of Hi‘iaka is very long and was serialized weekly from December 26, 1861, through July 17, 1862. It is signed by the author, M. J. Kapihenui of Kailua, Ko‘olaupoko, O‘ahu. This was the first publication of the epic (up to a dozen others have been published since in the Hawaiian language), and it is the uncredited source for most of Nathaniel B. Emerson’s book *Pele and Hiiaka: A Myth from Hawaii*.⁹⁴ While Emerson has been credited with saving this knowledge from disappearance,⁹⁵ the Kanaka Maoli themselves realized that mo‘olelo could be preserved by publication, and they chose to do so themselves fifty years prior to and independent of Emerson’s researches and publications. In fact, Kānepu‘u predicted that future generations would want these stories, and that the knowledge of them would disappear along with the people if it were not consciously preserved. He worried that not every bit of the Hi‘iaka story and its chants was appearing in print if the editors were cutting out parts for brevity’s sake. If they left something out, he asked, “pehea la anei e loa a ai na koena i na hanauna hope o kakou, ke makemake lakou e nana[?] . . . e hele ana kakou i ka nalowale, e hele ana o Kau ka makuahine o M. G. [sic] Kapihenui i ka nalowale. E makemake ana ka hanauna Hawaii o na la A.D. 1870, a me A.D. 1880, a me A.D. 1890, a me A.D. 1990” (How will the generations after us obtain the remainder [which is being left out], when they wish to see it? We will be gone[;] Kau, the mother of [author] M. G. Kapihenui will be gone. Generations of Hawaiians in 1870, and 1880, and 1890, and 1990 will want this).⁹⁶

The story that generations of Hawaiians want concerns the most important deities of hula. The mo‘olelo begins with a scene in which Pele admires the young beauty Hōpoe dancing hula on the island of Hawai‘i at a place called Hā‘ena, the easternmost point in the archipelago. Pele asks her sisters to reciprocate, but only Hi‘iakaikapoliopele does. She composes and chants an oli (chant) in tribute to the beautiful Hōpoe and her “hula lea.” The word le‘a is a modifier that means “pleasing, delightful,” but has a definite sexual connotation because it also means “sexual gratification, orgasm.”⁹⁷ Such poetry consciously makes use of double meanings of these kinds of words. Hi‘iaka is clearly en-

tranced with Hōpoe in a way that might easily be interpreted as romantic and/or sexual. After her chant, Hi'iaka goes off with Hōpoe to dance hula and surf, an event that is sometimes interpreted as the birth of hula.⁹⁸ Hi'iaka's sisters go off to fish, and Pele goes into a sleeping/dreaming state in which her spirit follows the sound of a hula drum to the island of Kaua'i. Pele's spirit appears as a beautiful young woman as she approaches the house from which the sound of the hula drum emanates. Inside she sees a young (male) ali'i, Lohi'au, playing the pahu, the hula drum. This house is located at another place also called Hā'ena, but now on the northwest side of Kaua'i, one of the westernmost islands in the archipelago. Now it is Pele's turn to be entranced; she falls in love with Lohi'au. This is a parallel structure characteristic of Hawaiian literature: Hi'iaka is entranced with Hōpoe performing hula at Hā'ena on Hawai'i; Pele is entranced with Lohi'au performing hula at Hā'ena on Kaua'i. Hula is a major recurring element throughout the mo'olelo, as is evinced by its richness in hula-associated oli, mele, and pule, and hula is central to the narrative.

The main story is about Hi'iaka's travels to fetch Lohi'au for Pele after Pele has to return to the volcano because she cannot remain in a spirit state indefinitely. Thus Hi'iaka must leave her own new-found love to fetch that of her older sister's. Before Hi'iaka's journey, Pele imposes the following kauoha (command): "Mai moe olua, mai honi, mai iniki, mai lalau aku, a lalau mai, o make olua ia'u" (do not sleep together, do not kiss, do not pinch, do not reach for each other/have a sexual affair, lest I kill you two). The work "iniki" is translated as "pinch" but it also has many romantic/sexual connotations in song. Likewise "lalau" might be either "lalau," to go astray, to have sexual affairs, or "lālau," to seize, take hold of, grasp, reach out for.⁹⁹ These ambiguities are, of course, both common and intentional in Hawaiian, and they constitute a literary device that provides pleasure to the knowledgeable reader.¹⁰⁰ Hi'iaka then imposes kauoha of her own; she wishes to protect Hōpoe from Pele's volcanic rages that destroy the landscape and anything on it: "o kuu moku lehua nei la, mai ai oe ma laila . . . o kuu aikane, mai ai oe," (my lehua grove, do not consume by fire there . . . my aikāne [Hōpoe], do not consume by fire). Pele agrees to those kauoha, and Hi'iaka sets off on her journey.

Hi'iaka travels largely on foot, with her young female companions, Pā'ūopala'e and Wahine'ōma'o. Women's lives are the main concern of

the legend, first in Pele's community, then in Hi'iaka's heroic epic, a coming-of-age tale in which she explores and exercises her powers as a goddess to heal and to kill. According to John Charlot, "Pele, her sisters, and their friends establish a community dominated by strong-willed women, in which men most often play a tangential and even comic role (the name of the principal love interest, Lohi'au, translates as 'slow')." He further observes that "the passions of women for each other — both loving and hating, constructive and disruptive — are often the main motivations of the action. Those passions can be sexual, a clear reflection of the bisexuality common in classical Hawaiian life."¹⁰¹

Hi'iaka's epic, like Kawelo's, is full of prayers of various sorts to the indigenous akua as well as mele, oli, hula, and details of native medicinal remedies — all of which were forbidden to Kānaka Maoli in 1861. An outstanding example of prayer to native akua occurs when Hi'iaka and Wahine'ōma'o arrive on Kaua'i and meet with a man named Malaehaakoā and his wife Wailuanuiahoano, who worship Pele. Hi'iaka and Malaehaakoā chant to each other as the women approach, and the lame Malaehaakoā is miraculously able to walk and cut firewood shortly thereafter. He prepares food for the women, and "ia Wahineomao i ai [*sic*], alaila, hoomaka o Malaehaakoā e hula me kana wahine, me Wailuanuiahoano, hapai ae laua i keia mele loihi loa, penei. (He hula Pele keia)" (while Wahine'ōma'o ate, then, Malaehaakoā began to hula with his wife, Wailuanuiahoano, they took up this very long mele [This is a Pele hula]).

The couple then sing and dance the Pele hula, the words of which are printed as part of the story. The mele as printed is 234 lines long and there are many references to Pele as "akua" or "akua nui," (great or important deity).¹⁰² Malaehaakoā also refers to Pele and Hi'iaka together as his akua: Hi'iaka asks, "Hana oe i kou hale a maikai no wai?" (You have made your house nice, for whom?), and Malaehaakoā replies, "No o'u mau akua" (For my akua). Hi'iaka asks again: "No wai?" (For whom?) And Malaehaakoā says, "No Pele, no Hiiakaikapoliopele" (For Pele, for Hi'iakaikapoliopele).

An example of the use of native medicine, banned at the time of publication, is when Hi'iaka revives Lohi'au, who has killed himself because Pele disappeared and he did not know how to find her. When Hi'iaka brings Lohi'au back to life she must say the correct prayers, and the prayers must be uttered correctly or Lohi'au will not live. The

prayers are printed in *Ka Hoku* as part of the mo'olelo, and the details of Hi'iaka's healing methods are also given.

Hi'iaka, Wahine'ōma'o, and the revived Lohi'au travel back to Pele's land, having other adventures along the way. Before she arrives home Hi'iaka knows that Pele has broken the kauoha and has consumed the lehua grove and Hōpoe in one of her volcanic rages. Near the end, Hi'iaka takes revenge on Pele for her destruction of Hōpoe by making love to Lohi'au in Pele's view. There then ensues a great battle, during which many huluhia are chanted. "Huluhia" means "overturned; a complete change, overthrow; turned upside down,"¹⁰³ and as one might imagine, these chants describe the violence of volcanic eruptions and related phenomena such as earthquakes and thunderstorms. Kapihenui ends the legend there.

Almost all actions in the epic are taken by women, and their "power is specifically female."¹⁰⁴ Along the way, Hi'iaka defeats many mo'o, which are spirits that threaten the well-being of humans. She also heals many humans of various illnesses. All of the mo'olelo published in *Ka Hoku*, and especially "Hiiakaikapoliopole," thus forcefully resisted the missionary discourse that disparaged Kanaka medicine and presented the ancient culture in a way that reminded the readers that theirs was not an inherently inferior language or way of life. The mo'olelo and the mele and pule contained within are obviously highly valuable works of art. The ancient religion, complete with the text of prayers, is described in positive ways in all of these stories, as it is in other articles in the paper. The editors published these works knowing that they would be condemned by some of the most powerful people in Hawai'i, but they also knew that they had the support of quite a few ali'i nui, most notably that of Prince Kalākaua, who even edited the paper for some time. *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* also provided a venue for women to publish. Although Kanaka Maoli were already largely accommodating the injunction against women participating in the public sphere, women published mele in *Ka Hoku*, including love songs, kanikau (chants of mourning), and traditional mele. In these ways, *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* encouraged ordinary Kanaka to be proud of their language and their culture.

“wahine a ke kaikaina o kona makuakane” (the wife of the younger brother of his father) and so on. A corresponding list — those whom a woman may not marry — was also included in the article.¹¹¹

Nupepa Kuokoa published a few mele, some of them traditional. Readers of *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* considered *Kuokoa*'s printing of any traditional mele to be supremely hypocritical because the publication of mele was the first reason cited for newspaper readers to condemn *Ka Hoku* and take *Kuokoa* instead. A letter from S. K. Kuapu'u to *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* is headlined “Maemae! Maemae!!” (Purity/cleanliness! chastity!!), and it states that Kuapu'u enjoys *Nupepa Kuokoa*, but it should be considered as a different kind of paper, just as there are different kinds of birds. Some birds eat clean food and some eat unclean food (carrion). The birds that eat clean food know to stay away from the carrion, and so should it be with newspapers; if those condemning *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* consider mele to be unclean, they should keep to their cleanliness, states Kuapu'u, “o aha? O maemae ole hoi paha auanei ka nupepa maemae, ina aole hooko ia keia, ke olelo nei au, maemae ole! maemae ole!! Kainoa hoi i hewa hoi ka *Hoku o ka Pakipika* i ke komo o na mele o na kanikau, a he aha ka hoi ka mea o ka owili pu ana aku ia ope hookahi, ke pilau la hoi kela ia mea” (or what? Or perhaps the clean newspaper will become unclean, if this is not done [keeping mele out], I am saying, unclean! unclean!! I thought it was wrong for the *Hoku o ka Pakipika* to include mele and kanikau, and so what is the reason for the twisting together [of these contradictions] into a single bundle[;] [your paper] is being contaminated by this thing).¹¹²

CONCLUSION

With the exception of *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* all of the Hawaiian-language newspapers in this period were related to or controlled by U.S. missionaries: *Ka Hoku Loa* was the paper of the missionary organization; *Ka Hae Hawaii* was created and produced under the supervision of missionary Richard Armstrong; and the independent newspaper *Nupepa Kuokoa* was owned and operated by missionary son Henry Whitney and received the endorsement of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association. *Ka Hae Hawaii*, *Ka Hoku Loa*, and *Nupepa Kuokoa* were thus all part of the colonizing process to attempt repression of traditional Hawaiian

cultural forms, especially to convert the Kanaka Maoli into hard workers. They represented, respectively, the government under missionary influence, the Calvinist mission, and the wealthy business class made up of missionary sons like Henry Whitney. All three papers were replete with discourses of work and industry, woven together with the discourses of purity, salvation, and civilization.

Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika was a rebellious voice claiming to represent all the Kanaka Maoli, even those of the despised religions of Catholicism and Mormonism. It fought the Calvinists both overtly and covertly and in both plain and veiled language. For the first time in print its authors and editors dared to profess pride in their traditions and culture. As Fornander said, there was a “mental revolution” going on, a revolution meant to cast off the yoke of Puritan control over every aspect of Kanaka lives; a revolution where ink flowed rather than blood and that took place largely in the reflection and recreation of the oral tradition. The mental revolution also meant overt resistance to the domestication of Kanaka men by contesting the representations made of them as weak, lazy, and uneducated and to the domestication of Kanaka women by presenting mo‘olelo and mele in which women in traditional society wielded power and lived adventurous lives. It provided space for Kanaka Maoli writers to write their own history, as well. S. N. Hale‘ole, for example, wrote several historical pieces in addition to many legends.

Traditional practices such as hula and lā‘au lapa‘au, along with the ancient religion, had been the objects of repressive laws. *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* reproduced these traditional practices in print form so that they could be communicated among the Kanaka Maoli of the time and preserved for the benefit of future generations. This was in direct opposition to the project of “civilization,” and it thus laid the groundwork for the movement that developed some years later under Kalākaua, “Hawai‘i for Hawaiians,” which provided a foundation for the cultural renaissance of that era (see chapter 3). The information thus preserved is also crucial to the reconstruction today of Kanaka Maoli identity as a distinct people and separate nation.

Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika provided space for women to contest the attempted domestication being discursively carried out by the other papers and in church and school. As women lost places from which to launch resistance or counterhegemonic strategies, they increasingly relied on tactics such as the literary ones given in *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*.¹¹³

The ancient legends in this newspaper reinforced Kanaka women's knowledge of their powerful female ancestors and deities. Tales and legends are informative, as Certeau says, because "they are deployed, like games, in a space outside of and isolated from daily competition, that of the past, the marvelous, the original. In that space can thus be revealed, dressed as gods or heroes, the models of good or bad ruses that can be used every day."¹¹⁴ The representation of women in the Hi'iaka epic is quite different from the picture of womanhood that Armstrong was trying to convey in *Ka Hae Hawaii*. Pele is demanding, jealous, angry, unpredictable, and vengeful. Further, the other women in the epic engage in meaningful and pleasurable activities: they fight off evils, outsmart rapists, chant and dance hula, surf, practice medicine and religion (one and the same at times), and have loves and profound relationships, especially with each other. They are not cooking, cleaning house, or worrying about husbands. They are not domesticated; rather, they are adventurous. Indeed, the legend instructs a different moral code: Hi'iaka loves men while remaining entirely independent of them. She punishes a man for hitting his wife, as well. Wifely submission to husbands was not part of the Kanaka moral code in the mo'olelo.

In addition to its literary work, *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* provided translations of foreign news stories because such news was essential to preserving sovereignty. The sovereignty of the Kingdom of Hawai'i had already been seriously threatened by France, Britain, and, more covertly, by the United States. The Kanaka Maoli knew that much of their fate depended on the actions of these Mana Nui "Great Powers." Then, as now, Kanaka needed to be informed of world events in order to conduct their political and economic lives wisely. The withholding of foreign news from the general populace was another infantilizing strategy of the missionary establishment, and *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* strove to provide the news from abroad necessary for an informed and politically involved citizenry in a sovereign nation.

As Chapin describes, *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* was the first of a long series of Kanaka Maoli nationalist newspapers. For the first time, Kanaka Maoli in rural areas and on neighbor islands were connected to the center of anticolonial nationalist thought on a weekly basis. The Kanaka nationalists had learned from the government and mission presses how to produce and distribute a newspaper. The Hawaiian language thus became a threat to the ongoing colonial project; it had the potential to

become a “language of power,” as Benedict Anderson puts it.¹¹⁵ The language of the almost universally literate maka‘āinana class bound them together as a nation. For the colonizers, the communication among this comparatively large “imagined community” was dangerous in part because many of them could not understand Hawaiian. The administrative language was often English and interpreters were used when necessary in government or business. Armstrong “strongly supported the use of English in Hawai‘i’s school system . . . and by 1854, government-run English schools were effectively competing with the Hawaiian medium schools.”¹¹⁶ As the century proceeded, demands for government and other business to be conducted in English became more frequent and strident. *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* thus played a crucial part in the formation of anticolonial nationalism among the Kanaka Maoli. It became a model for the nationalist Hawaiian-language press for the next century and, just as important, it provided space for anti-hegemonic voices at a time when U.S. hegemony in Hawai‘i was still in question.

In its recitations of traditional mele, mo‘olelo, and mo‘okū‘auhau, *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* reflected and communicated a specifically Kanaka national identity. This national identity was based in the ancient cosmology and the realm of the sacred that the haole did not share. This is similar to the anticolonial nationalism that Partha Chatterjee describes in colonial India. Chatterjee says that anticolonial nationalism in India “divid[es] the world of social institutions and practices into two domains—the material and the spiritual. The material is the domain of the ‘outside’, of the economy and of statecraft, of science and technology. . . . In this domain, then, Western superiority had to be acknowledged and its accomplishments carefully studied and replicated. The spiritual, on the other hand is an ‘inner’ domain bearing the ‘essential’ marks of cultural identity. . . . Nationalism declares the domain of the spiritual its sovereign territory and refuses to allow the colonial power to intervene in that domain.”¹¹⁷

Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika reinscribes and reinvokes the ancient cosmology as its sovereign territory, so to speak. Many Kānaka Maoli did not experience the conflict between the ancient beliefs and their Christianity that the missionaries expected or wanted them to experience. Some Kānaka Maoli reconciled conflicts by comparing people and events in the ancient tradition with the ones described in the Bible.¹¹⁸ As ku‘u-

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.

