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He Puke Mele Lāhui no ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi

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I Mau ke Ea o ka ʻĀina I Ka Pono:

He Puke Mele Lāhui no ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi

HE PALAPALA I WAIHO ʻIA AKU I
KE KEʻENA KĒKELĒ LAEOʻO A LAEPUA
O KE KULA NUI O HAWAII
NO KĀ HOʻOKŌ ʻANA I KEKAHI
O NĀ KOINA NO KE KEKELĒ

LAEʻULA

MA KE

KĀLAI MANAʻO POLOTIKA (KĀLAIMANAʻO ʻŌIWI)

KĒKĒMAPA 2007

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na

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No ka poʻe aloha ʻāina,

ka poʻe hoʻi e ʻimi ana i ka pono o ka ʻāina.

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Ka Mo'olelo I Ho'opōkole 'Ia

Ma waena o ka makahiki 1893 me 1898, 'o ia ho'i ka wā i ho'okahuli 'ia ai ke Aupuni Hawai'i a me ka ho'ohui 'ia 'ana o Hawai'i ma lalo o 'Amelika, ua pa'i 'ia he 300 a 'oi mele lāhui 'oko'a ma loko o nā nūpepa a me nā puke. 'O ke mele lāhui, he mele ia i haku 'ia no ka Lāhui Hawai'i, ka 'āina o Hawai'i, a me ke kū'oko'a 'ana o ke Aupuni Hawai'i. 'O kēia mau mele ka piko o kēia wahi papahana noi'i nei.

Ma ka Māhele I, ua noi'i 'ia a mo'olelo 'ia no nā mele lāhui a me ke 'ano o ke pa'i 'ana i ia mau mele. 'O ke kumuhana o kekahi mokuna, 'o ia nō nā mele lāhui i pa'i 'ia i loko o nā nūpepa aloha 'āina ma waena o ka makahiki 1893 a me 1898. Ma kekahi mokuna aku, mo'olelo 'ia no nā mele lāhui i pa'i 'ia i loko o kekahi puke mo'olelo no ke Kaua Kūloko o ka makahiki 1895. A laila, 'o nā mele lāhui o loko o kekahi puke mele lāhui i pa'i 'ia nō ho'i i ia makahiki 1895 ke kumuhana o kahi mokuna.

Ma ka Māhele II, ua noi'i 'ia he 'ehā kumumana'o nui i mele pinepine 'ia ma loko o nā mele lāhui—ke ea, ka 'āina, ka pono, a me ka lāhui. Wehewehe 'ia ke 'ano o kēia mau hua 'ōlelo mai ke au kahiko mai a i ke au i pa'i 'ia ai nā mele lāhui. Ho'ākāka 'ia no ke 'ano o kēia mau kumumana'o ma nā mele a me nā mo'olelo like 'ole. Ho'ākāka pū 'ia ka loli 'ana o kēia mau 'ano me ka hala 'ana o ka manawa me ka loli 'ana o ka nohona a me ka loina o Hawai'i nei ma hope o ka hiki 'ana mai o ka po'e haole a me ko lākou 'ano ho'okolonaio. 'O kahi pahuhopu nui o kēia palapala noi'i nei, 'o ia ka ho'omaopopo 'ana aku i ka mana'o nui o nā kūpuna o ko kākou Lāhui Hawai'i, me ka mana'o, he mea nō ia e alaka'i ai iā kākou i ke au nei i ka 'imi mau 'ana i ka pono o ka 'āina a me ka Lāhui Hawai'i.

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ABSTRACT

Between 1893 and 1898, the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom and its illegal annexation to the United States, over 300 mele lāhui were published in Hawaiian language newspapers and books. Mele lāhui are nationalist poetic texts composed in honor of the Lāhui Hawai'i (the Hawaiian nation), our landbase, and our continued independence and sovereignty.

Section I provides historical and cultural contexts for the publications of the mele lāhui. One chapter focuses on the mele printed in Hawaiian language newspapers between 1893 and 1898. Other chapters in this section focus on the mele published in an historical account of the events of the counter-revolution of 1895 as well as the mele which were printed in a book containing nearly a hundred mele lāhui that was also published in 1895.

In Section II, the focus shifts to explore four major themes prevalent in the mele lāhui—ea, 'āina, pono, and lāhui. The meaning of these themes are explored and explained as they are seen within various poetic texts and within historical and literary sources as well. These meanings and uses also changed over time, especially as European and Western colonial influences increased. One of the main themes of this project is to gain a better understanding of some of the most important and foundational beliefs of our ancestors as they were explained and conceived in Hawaiian so that today we can continue to seek that which will restore balance and harmony to our lands and nation.

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MOKUNA 1
ʻŌLELO HOʻĀKĀKA

HE LEI NO KA POE ALOHA AINA[1]

Kaulana na pua a Hawaii
Kupaa mahope o ka Aina
Hiki mai ka Ēlele a ka lokoino
Palapala anunu me ka pakaha
Pane mai o Hawaii Nui a Keawe
Kokua na Hono a Piilani
Kakoo mai Kauai o Mano
Pau pu me ke one o Kakuhihewa
Aole e kau kuu pulima
Maluna o ka pepa a ka Enemi
Hoohui Aina kuai hewa
I ka pono Kiwila a o ke kanaka
Aole makou e minamina
I ka puu kala a ke Aupuni
Ua ola makou i ka pohaku
I ka ai kamahao a ka Aina
Mahope makou o ka Moi
A kau hou ia i ke Kalaunu
Haina ia mai ana ka puana
No ka poe i aloha i ka aina.

MISS KEKOAOHIWAIKALANI,
Puahaulani Hale, Honolulu,
Feb. 10, 1893

Kaulana nā pua a Hawaiʻi, kūpaʻa ma hope o ka ʻāina. Ma waena o ka Hoʻokahuli Aupuni ʻia ʻana o Hawaiʻi i ka makahiki 1893 a me ka Hoʻohui ʻĀina ʻia ʻana ma lalo o ʻAmelika i ka makahiki 1898, ua paʻi ʻia he 300 a ʻoi mele e hoʻohanohano ana i ka lāhui ʻōiwi o Hawaiʻi nei. Kapa ʻia kēia ʻano mele he mele

[1] Miss Kekoaohiwaikalani (ʻo ia hoʻi ʻo Ellen Kekoaohiwaikalani Prendergast), "He Lei No Ka Poe Aloha Aina," *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, 15 Mei 1893. Koho ʻia kēia paʻi ʻana o ke mele, no ka mea, ma nā lā mua i paʻi ʻia ai kēia mele, ua ʻano hemahema nō ka paʻi ʻana ma muli o ka paʻi ʻole ʻia ʻana mai o nā lālani mele a pau. No nā mele a pau (a me nā moʻolelo nō hoʻi) o loko o nei palapala, ua pela ʻia nā mea a pau e like loa me kona paʻi ʻia ʻana ma ka nūpepa a me ka puke paha, no laila, ʻaʻohe nō ʻokina a kahakō i hōʻike ʻia i ka hapanui o ka manawa, a ʻokoʻa hoʻi ka hoʻokaʻawale ʻia ʻana o nā hua ʻōlelo i kekahi manawa. Inā ua manaʻo ʻia, he paʻi hewa paha ka mea i paʻi ʻia, ua kuhikuhi ʻia me kēia hōʻailona nei, [*pn*], me ka manaʻo hoʻi, "pēia nei" nō i paʻi ʻia ai. Inā ua paʻi pū ʻia ka inoa o ka haku mele, ka lā, a me kahi nō hoʻi paha i haku ʻia ai, ua hōʻike ʻia ma loko nei e like loa me ka mea i paʻi ʻia. Hoʻokahi wale nō mea i ʻokoʻa me ka mea i paʻi ʻia ma ka nūpepa a me ka puke, ʻo ia nā lālani mele i hōʻike ʻia ma ka ʻaoʻao ʻākau o nā mele, naʻu nō ia helu ʻana, i maʻalahi koʻu kuhi ʻana i nā lālani mele.

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lāhui, a ʻo ke mele o luna aʻe nei kekahi o nā mele lāhui punahele o ka lāhui. I kēia paʻi ʻia ʻana o ua mele nei, kapa ʻia ka inoa "He Lei no ka Poe Aloha Aina," a ua pūlima ʻia ke mele e Miss Kekoaohiwaikalani, ʻo ia nō ʻo Ellen Kekoaohiwaikalani Prendergast. He wā haunaele nō ka wā i haku ʻia ai nei mele ma muli o ka lilo a me ka loli mau loa o ke kūʻokoʻa o ke Aupuni a me ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi. No nā kānaka he nui, ʻo ke mele lāhui kahi i hōʻike ʻia aku ai ko lākou manaʻo no ia mau hana a me ia wā hoʻi. Ma loko o kā lākou mele i haku ai, mele mai nō lākou no ko lākou aloha i ka ʻāina, ka lāhui, a me ke kūʻokoʻa mau o Hawaiʻi. He mea ia mau mele e lana ai ka manaʻo o ka maka heluhelu, a he mea hoʻi ia e mau ai a e ulu ai hoʻi ke kūpaʻa o ka manaʻo a me ka naʻau o ka lāhui. He mea nui ia no ka poʻe o ke au i hala, a he mea nui nō hoʻi ia no kākou i ke au nei. No ia kumu, ʻo kēia mau mele lāhui a me nā kumumanaʻo ma loko o nā mele ke kumuhana nui o kēia palapala nei.

ʻO ke kumuhana o ka Māhele I, ʻo ia nō nā mele lāhui—no nā manaʻo nui o nā mele, no kahi i paʻi ʻia ai nā mele a no ka nui o nā mele. Mele ʻia mai nō hoʻi no nā haku mele a me nā luna hoʻoponopono nāna i wae a paʻi aku i nā mele lāhui ma nā nūpepa a me nā puke. ʻO ka pahuhopu nui o ia Māhele I, ʻo ia nō ka hoʻokamaʻāina ʻana aku i nā mele. Ma waena o ka makahiki 1893 a me 1898, ua paʻi ia nā mele lāhui ma nā wahi like ʻole, a ʻo ia nā kumuhana o nā mokuna i loko o kēia māhele. ʻO ka mea mua e moʻolelo ʻia ana, ʻo ia nā mele lāhui i paʻi ʻia ma loko o nā nūpepa aloha ʻāina (Mokuna 2). A laila, moʻolelo ʻia nā mele lāhui i paʻi ʻia ma ʻelua puke, ʻo ke *Kaua Kuloko 1895* kekahi (Mokuna 3) a me ka *Buke Mele Lahui* (Mokuna 4).

A laila, ma ka Māhele II, e hoʻākāka ʻia ana a e wehewehe ʻia ana kekahi mau kumumanaʻo i ʻike pinepine ʻia ma loko o nā mele lāhui. ʻO ke ea a me ka ʻāina (Mokuna 5), ka pono (Mokuna 6), a me ka lāhui (Mokuna 7) kēia mau

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kumumana'o. Ma nei māhele, e noi'i 'ia ana ke 'ano o kēia mau kumumana'o a me ke 'ano o ka wehewehe 'ia 'ana o kēia mau kumumana'o e nā kūpuna o ke au i hala. Noi'i 'ia nā mele a me nā mo'olelo a ho'ākāka 'ia ke 'ano o ia kumumana'o ma ia mau mele a me ia mau mo'olelo ho'i. Eia kekahi, hahai 'ia ka loli 'ana o ia kumumana'o i ka hala 'ana o ka manawa, ma ka wā i hiki mai ai ka po'e haole a me ko lākou 'ano ho'okolonaio. Ho'omau 'ia aku kēia noi'i 'ana a i ka wā i ho'okumu 'ia ai ke Aupuni Hawai'i a me ka wā i kūkulu 'ia ai he aupuni kumukānāwai a hiki aku i ka wā i ho'okahuli 'ia aku ia kumukānāwai a me ke Aupuni Hawai'i. No ko kākou po'e kūpuna, he mea nui nō kēia mau kumumana'o 'ehā. He mea nui mai ke au kahiko mai nō a 'a'ole nō i emi ia kūlana i ka hala 'ana o ka manawa, a hiki i ka makahiki 1893, ka wā ho'i i pa'i 'ia mai ai nā mau mele lāhui he nui wale. 'Ike 'ia nō ka mea nui o kēia mau kumumana'o ma loko o nā mele lāhui, no laila, ma ka hopena o kēlā me kēia mokuna, noi'i 'ia a ho'ākāka 'ia ho'i ke 'ano o kēia mau kumumana'o ma loko o nā mele lāhui.

Ke 'Ano o ka Noi'i 'Ana

Ma kēia palapala nei, e like me ka mea i wehewehe 'ē 'ia, 'o nā mele lāhui ke kumuhana nui. 'O kēia mau mele lāhui nō ho'i ke kumuhana o ka'u palapala nui no ke Kekelē Laeo'o ma ka Mo'olelo i ho'okō 'ia i ka makahiki 2002 ma ke Kula Nui o Hawai'i ma Mānoa. Ma ia palapala, 'o ka mo'olelo no ka Ho'okahuli Aupuni i haku 'ia i loko o nā mele lāhui ka mea nui.[2] Ma kēia palapala nei, 'o kekahi o nā kumumana'o nui o loko o nā mele lāhui ka mea nui, e like me ko'u mana'o i ko'u kākau 'ana i kēlā palapala nui no ka nā hana i mele 'ia ma nā mele

[2] Basham, J. J. Leilani, "He Puke Mele Lāhui: Nā Mele Kūpa'a, Nā Mele Kū'ē, a me Nā Mele Aloha o nā Kānaka Maoli," (he palapala no ke Kekelē Laeo'o ma ka Mo'olelo, Ke Kula Nui o Hawai'i ma Mānoa, 2002).

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lāhui, ʻo nā mele nō ka mea nui, ʻo ka piko hoʻi o kēia palapala nei, no ka mea, ma nā mele nō e lohe ʻia ai kekahi o nā leo o nā kūpuna o ia au. No ia kumu, ʻo nā mele nō ka mea e alakaʻi ana i kēia moʻolelo. E hoʻomaka ana kēlā me kēia mokuna me kekahi mele lāhui a me koʻu wehewehe ʻana i kekahi o nā mea hoihoi o ia mele a me nā mea i pili i ke kumuhana o ia mokuna. He mea kēia hōʻike mua ʻana i ke mele e kālele ai ko kākou noʻonoʻo ʻana i nā mele lāhui. No laila, e ka maka heluhelu, e heluhelu pū mai nō kou maka i nā mele (a oli ʻia mai hoʻi paha, inā makemake), a no ka mea, ma ia heluhelu ʻana a ma ia oli ʻana, pēlā nō e kani a e lohe ʻia ai ka leo o nā kūpuna. ʻO kaʻu mea e kākau ai, he manaʻo kākoʻo nō ia i ka leo o ke mele a a he kōkua i ka hoʻomaopopo ʻana aku i nā kumumanaʻo o nā mele, ka pōʻaiapili, a me ka hana i mele ʻia ma loko o nā mele.

methodology

A hua a pane, a pane ka waha, he hoʻolono ko neʻi.[3]

He ʻōlelo kēia i paʻi ʻia i loko o ka puke ʻo *ʻŌlelo Noʻeau* na Mary Kawena Pukui, akā, ʻaʻole paha ia he ʻōlelo noʻeau ma ke ʻano o ka mea maʻa mau, no ka mea, he ʻōlelo kēia i puana ʻia aku ma ka hoʻopāpā ʻana. Ma hope o ka hoʻokō pono ʻana aku o kekahi hoa hoʻopāpā i kona pane ʻana aku, pēia kāna ʻōlelo i kona hoa hoʻopāpā i ka wā e kali ana i ka pane ʻana mai o ua hoa nei.

ʻAno like koʻu noiʻi ʻana i nā ʻike o nā kūpuna me ka hoʻopāpā ʻana, ʻoiai, e ʻimi aku ana kēia i nā ʻano ʻike like ʻole o ko kākou poʻe kūpuna, a aia hoʻi ka lanakila i ka hoʻomaopopo ʻana aku i ia ʻike. A maopopo ihola iaʻu, aia nō ka hua a me ka pane o ia ʻike ma ka waha a me ka leo o nā kūpuna. Aia hoʻi ia leo ma nā moʻolelo a lākou i moʻolelo mai ai a aia hoʻi ma loko o kā lākou mele i haku ai.

[3] Pukui, Mary Kawena, *ʻŌlelo Noʻeau: Hawaiian Proverbs & Poetical Sayings*, (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1983), 4.

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Ma loko o nā mele, mele ʻia mai no nā hana like ʻole i hana ʻia e kānaka a hoʻohanohano pū ʻia ka inoa a me ke ʻano o ua poʻe kānaka ala. Hōʻike pū ʻia nā manaʻo o kānaka no nā mea nui a koʻikoʻi iā lākou ala. He mau hua nō kēia mai loko mai o nā waha o nā kūpuna i haku ʻia a paʻa i loko o nā mele lāhui. A ʻo koʻu kuleana, ʻo ka hoʻolono aku nō i ko lākou leo, ko lākou manaʻo, ko lākou moʻolelo, a me ko lākou mele.

A pēlā nō kaʻu hana i kā Miss Kekoaohiwaikalani mele i haku ai ma kāna mele o luna nei. ʻO kāna nō paha ke mele lāhui i aloha a mahalo nui ʻia mai kinohi. He punahele hoʻi ia mai kona manawa mua i paʻi ʻia ai a hiki loa mai nō i ke au nei. Ua paʻi ʻia nei mele he ʻeiwa manawa ʻokoʻa i ia au. I ka makahiki 1893, ua paʻi ʻia kēia mele he ʻewalu nō manawa ma nā nūpepa, ʻo ia hoʻi ʻo *Ka Leo o ka Lahui* a me *Hawaii Holomua*.[4] Ma kona paʻi ʻia ʻana ma loko o *Ka Leo o ka Lahui* no kekahi mau lā, penei i hoʻākāka ʻia ai ma lalo o ke mele,

> Mamuli o ka nui o na noi ia makou e hoopuka hou ia aku ke mele o ka poe Aloha Aina, ke hooko ia aku nei ko oukou makemake; a o keia ana ke kope pololei loa o keia mele i loaa mai ka Lede nana i haku keia mele.[5]

ʻIke hou ʻia kona kūlana he punahele no ka lāhui i kona paʻi hou ʻia ʻana ma ka *Buke Mele Lahui* o ka makahiki 1895 ma ka ʻaoʻao mua loa o ia puke. Ua paʻi ʻia nō hoʻi ia mele a hoʻokuleana ʻia hoʻi e J. S. Libornio, ke alakaʻi o ka Pāna Lāhui Hawaiʻi i ka makahiki 1895, i ko lākou wā e huakaʻi hele ana ma Kaleponi. Wahi a Amy Stillman, ʻo Libornio nō kekahi o nā mea hoʻokani o ka Pāna Lāhui i haʻalele i kona kūlana he lima hana no ke Aupuni Kūikawā, a maliʻa paha, aia nō ʻo Libornio ma ka hale o Kekohaohiwaikalani i ka wā āna i haku ai i kāna mele.

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[4] Miss Kekoaohiwaikalani (Ellen Kekoaohiwaikalani Prendergast), "He Ohu No Ka Poe Aloha Aina," *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, 24 Pepeluali 1893; "He Lei No Ka Poe Aloha Aina," *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, 10, 11, 15-18 Mei 1893; "He Inoa No Na Keiki O Ka Bana Lahui," *Hawaii Holomua* 23 Malaki 1893.
[5] *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, 10, 11, 15, 16, 17, 18 Mei 1893. Ma ka lā 10 me ka lā 11 naʻe, ua hāʻule nō kekahi mau lālani o ke mele (l. 5-8).

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Mali'a, na Libornio i haku i ka leo o ke mele, a i 'ole ia, ua ho'okuleana wale 'ia ko Libornio ho'onohonoho 'ana i ko ka Pāna Lāhui ho'okani 'ana i ke mele.[6]

Ma ia mau pa'i 'ana, 'oko'a ka inoa o ke mele i kekahi manawa. 'O "He Ohu No Ka Poe Aloha Aina" ka inoa o ke mele i ka pa'i mua 'ia 'ana. I ka lua o ka pa'i 'ana, ma loko nō ia o *Hawaii Holomua*, 'o "He Inoa No Na Keiki O Ka Bana Lahui" ka inoa. I ka pa'i hou 'ia 'ana mai o ke mele ma *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, ma ka lā 10, 11, 15, 16, 17, a 18 ho'i o Mei, ua kapa 'ia kona inoa 'o "He Lei No Ka Poe Aloha Aina." Ma ka *Buke Mele Lahui*, kapa 'ia kona inoa 'o "Mele Aloha Aina," a ma lalo mai 'o "Ai-Pohaku." 'O kēia kekahi o nā inoa i ma'a iā kākou i kēia manawa, 'o ia ho'i 'o "Mele 'Ai Pōhaku" a ma'a ho'i iā kākou ke kapa 'ana aku i ke mele ma kona lālani mua loa 'o "Kaulana Nā Pua."[7] Ma hope o kona pa'i mua 'ia 'ana i ka makahiki 1893, ua mau nō kona kūlana he punahele no ka lāhui, no ka mea, ua ho'opa'a leo 'ia he 40 a 'oi manawa.

Ma loko o kāna mele, ho'ohanohano aku nō 'o Kekoaohiwaikalani i nā mea ho'okani o ka Pāna Lāhui Hawai'i a me ko lākou hō'ole 'ana aku i ke koikoi o ke Aupuni Kūikawā i nā lima hana o ke aupuni. Ma ka lā 1 o Pepeluali, M. H. 1893, he mau lā wale nō ma hope o ka Ho'okahuli Aupuni, ua kauoha ke aupuni hou, 'o ke Aupuni Kūikawā ho'i, i nā lima hana penei. Wahi a ke aupuni, inā makemake lākou e mau kā lākou hana aupuni i hana ai ma mua, he pono ka pūlima 'ana i kahi palapala e ho'ohiki ana i ko lākou kāko'o i ke Aupuni Kūikawā a me ke kāko'o 'ole i ka ho'okumu hou 'ia o ke Aupuni Hawai'i. He ho'ohiki nō ho'i e kāko'o 'ole a kōkua 'ole i ka ho'i 'ana aku o ka Mō'īwahine Lili'uokalani i ka noho kalaunu. Ua kānalua nō kekahi o nā mea ho'okani o ka Pāna Lāhui a ho'oholo like lākou, 'a'ole e pūlima 'ia ka palapala a ha'alele akula

[6] Stillman, Amy, "'Aloha 'Āina': New Perspectives on 'Kaulana Nā Pua,'" *The Hawaiian Journal of History*, puke. 33, 1999, 83-99.
[7] Elbert, Samuel H. and Noelani Mahoe, nā mea 'ohi'ohi a hō'ulu'ulu, *Nā Mele o Hawai'i Nei: 101 Hawaiian Songs*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1970, 62.

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nō lākou i ka hana. Ma kāna mele, hōʻike mai ʻo Kekoaohiwaikalani i kona mahalo i nā hoa aloha ʻāina o ka Pāna Lāhui i ke "kupaa mahope o ka aina" (lālani (l.) 2). He mahalo nō hoʻi ia i nā hoa aloha ʻāina a pau no ke kūpaʻa ʻana no ka ʻāina. Hōʻike pū mai ʻo Kekoaohiwaikalani i kona manaʻo no ia palapala ma o ke kapa ʻana aku i ia palapala he "anunu me ka pakaha" (l. 4). Ua hōʻike mai nō hoʻi ʻo Kekoaohiwaikalani i kona mau pahu hope no ka lāhui a me ke aupuni, ʻo ia hoʻi ke kākoʻo "ma hope... o ka Moi/A kau hou ia i ke Kalaunu" (l. 17-18). Ma ka hopena o ke mele, hoʻohanohano hou ʻia nā keiki o ka Pāna Lāhui ma o ke kapa ʻana aku iā lākou ʻo "ka poe i aloha i ka aina" (l. 19-20).

ʻIke nui ʻia nō hoʻi nā wahi Pāna ma nā mele lāhui. Ma kēia mele, hōʻike ʻia ke kākoʻo ʻana mai o nā mokupuni nui o ka pae ʻāina (l. 5-8) ma ke ʻano he "kokua" a he "kakoo," a eia kekahi, kāhea ʻia ka inoa o ke Aliʻi kaulana o ia moku, e laʻa me "Keawe," "Piilani," "Mano," a me "Kakuhihewa." Ma o kēia kāhea ʻana, hōʻike ʻia aku ke kūlana kiʻekiʻe o ka ʻāina a me kona pilina i ke kanaka a me nā Aliʻi ma ka moʻokūʻauhau a ma ke ʻano kūʻokoʻa nō hoʻi.

He mea nui nō hoʻi ka ʻōlelo kūamuamu a nemanema paha no ka poʻe ʻenemi o ka lāhui. ʻO ke ʻano o ke aupuni me ka nohona ʻAmelika nō kekahi mea i nemanema ʻia. Ma kā Kekoaohiwaikalani mele o luna aʻe nei, kapa ʻia ke aupuni he "loko ino" (l. 3) a kapa ʻia ka palapala o ke aupuni he "anunu me ka pakaha," (l. 4). Kapa ʻia ka hoʻohui ʻāina he "kuai hewa/I ka pono kivila a o ke kanaka," (l. 11-12). A hoʻohālikelike nō hoʻi ka haku mele i nā mea nui no nā ʻaoʻao ʻelua o ka pilikia. No kekahi ʻaoʻao, no ka poʻe hoʻi nāna i hoʻokahuli i ke aupuni Hawaiʻi, ʻo ke kālā nō ka mea nui koʻikoʻi (l. 13-14). Mele pū mai ʻo Kekoaohiwaikalani no ka mea nui i nā Kānaka Maoli, a ʻo ka pōhaku nō ia (l. 15-16). Me ka pōhaku nō e kūkulu ai i ka hale, e hoʻomoʻa a e kuʻi hoʻi i ka ʻai, a no ia kumu, kapa ʻia ka pōhaku ʻo "ka ai kamahao a ka Aina," (l. 16). Kūpono maoli

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nō ke ʻano o nā hua a Kekoaohiwaikalani i haku ai i loko o kāna mele, a ʻo ia hoʻi ke kumu e kani mau ana ka leo o kāna mele a i ke au nei.

No ka hapanui naʻe o nā mele lāhui, ʻaʻole nō i kaulana a i ke au nei. Eia nō naʻe, ua mau nō ke kūlana koʻikoʻi o kēia mau mele—i mele ʻia kā lākou hana, i ʻike ʻia ko lākou manaʻo, a i lohe ʻia ko lākou leo.

I ka ʻōlelo nō ke ola; i ka ʻōlelo nō ka make.[8]

Ma kēia ʻōlelo noʻeau, hoʻākāka ʻia ka mana nui o ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi no ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi. He pono ka mālama, ka hoʻōla a me ka hoʻomau ʻana aku i ka ʻōlelo i paʻa nā mele, nā moʻolelo, nā loina, a me nā ʻike like ʻole o ka lāhui, no ka mea, inā ʻaʻohe ola ka ʻōlelo, pehea lā e ola pono ai ka loina a me ka nohona o kānaka, a inā ʻaʻohe ola pono o ka loina a me ka nohona, pehea lā e ola ai ke kanaka?

Ma loko nō o ka ʻōlelo e hoʻomaopopo pono aku ai i ka manaʻo a me ka ʻike o nā kūpuna o ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi. No ia kumu, hoʻāʻo nui au ma koʻu noiʻi ʻana e ʻimi a loaʻa nā hunehune ʻike i kākau ʻia ma ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi. A no ka mea, ʻokoʻa ka manaʻo ke wehewehe ʻia ma ka ʻōlelo ʻē, a ʻokoʻa ka manaʻo ke wehewehe ʻia ma ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi. No ka hoʻomaopopo ʻana i nā manaʻo o loko o kēia mau mele lāhui a me nā kumumanaʻo nui o kēia palapala nei, ua hoʻomaka ka noiʻi ʻana i ke ʻano o ka hua ʻōlelo ma ka puke wehewehe ʻōlelo. He mea nui kēia wehewehe ʻana i ke ʻano o ka hua ʻōlelo. Ua ʻike ʻia ka waiwai o ia ʻano wehewehe ʻana e nā kānaka o ke au i hala. Penei i wehewehe ʻia ai e kekahi kanaka i ka makahiki 1865. ʻAʻole i hōʻike ʻia ka inoa o ka mea kākau, akā, ua ikaika nō kona manaʻo i hoʻākāka mai ai no ke kūlana kiʻekiʻe o ka ʻike no ka ʻōlelo kanaka o ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi. Wahi āna,

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[8] Pukui, 1983, 129.

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> Ka hoopuka ana i kekahi buke e wehewehe ana i ke ano, i ka hoohui ana a me ka puana ana i na huaolelo, he mau mea nui no ia e pomaikai ai ka lahui a me kona aina hanau, no ka mea, ina e malama ia, a e hoomaopopo pono ia ke ano o ka olelo makuahine, alaila, o ka mea mau e ulu mai, mailoko mai olaila, o ke aloha lahui a me ke aloha maoli i ko kakou aina iho, aka, ina e hookuu aku kakou iloko o ka hoomaopopo ole ia, e ike no auanei kakou, aole e komo kela mau mea a makou i hai ae nei iloko o ka lahui.[9]

Ma loko o kēia mo'olelo, ho'ākāka pono 'ia 'o ka hua 'ōlelo a me ke 'ano o ka hua 'ōlelo, 'o ia ke kahua no ka ho'omaopopo pono 'ana aku i nā mele a me nā mo'olelo like 'ole o kākou. Ua hopohopo ia mea kākau no ka nalo a me ke emi 'ana o ka ho'omaopopo 'ana o ka Lāhui Hawai'i i ko kākou 'ōlelo 'ōiwi pono'ī. Ua emi ia 'ike no ko kākou 'ōlelo pono'ī a me ko kākou 'ano pono'ī ma muli o ka hana a me ka 'ano ho'okolonaio i hana 'ia ma Hawai'i nei.

Ua kākau mai nō 'o Ngũgĩ ma kāna puke 'o *Decolonising the Mind* no ka waiwai o ka mālama 'ana i ka 'ōlelo pono'ī o ka lāhui i ola mau ia lāhui. Kākau pū nō ho'i 'o Ngũgĩ no ka hopena o ka hana ho'okolonaio no ka po'e 'ōiwi. Wahi āna, he 'ano "pōkā pahū" ia mea he ho'okolonaio, a he mea ia e luku a wāwahi loa 'ia ai ka 'ōlelo, ka hana, a me ka mana'o o kekahi lāhui no lākou iho.[10] Ma kāna mo'olelo i kapa 'ia 'o "*Kuleana*: The Right, Responsibility, and Authority of Indigenous Peoples to Speak and Make Decisions for Themselves in Language and Cultural Revitalization," ho'ākāka mai 'o Sam L. No'eau Warner no ka 'oko'a o ka 'ōlelo 'ōiwi o kekahi lāhui ma ko lākou 'āina pono'ī, 'oko'a ka 'ōlelo o kekahi po'e i ha'alele i ko lākou 'āina a koho e noho ma ka 'āina 'ē. Wahi a Warner, 'oko'a maoli nō ke emi 'ana o ka 'ōlelo no kēia po'e 'ōiwi, 'oiai, 'a'ohe

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[9] "Kumumanao No Ka Olelo Makuahine," *Ke Au Okoa*, 11 Kēkēmapa 1865, 2.

[10] Ngũgĩ Wa Thiong'o, *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature*, (London: James Curry Ltd., 1986). 3. Penei kā Ngũgĩ no ke 'ano pōkā pahū o ia mea he kolonaio, "The effect of a cultural bomb is to annihilate a people's belief in their names, in their languages, in their environment, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in themselves. It makes them see their past as one wasteland of nonacheivement and makes them want to distance themselves from that wasteland."

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ʻāina o lākou, kahi e mau ai ka ʻōlelo ʻia o ka ʻōlelo ʻōiwi a me ka mālama ʻia o nā loina ʻōiwi. No laila, ke make ka ʻōlelo o ka poʻe ʻōiwi o ka ʻāina ʻōiwi, he make loa nō ia.[11]

No laila, he mea nui nō ka mālama a me ka hoʻōla ʻana i ka ʻike no ka ʻōlelo, ka moʻolelo, a me ka loina Hawaiʻi. No ia kumu, mahalo nui ʻia nā puke wehewehe ʻōlelo i paʻi ʻia no ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi. Ma kekahi ʻano, minamina ka ʻole o kahi puke wehewehe ʻōlelo e wehewehe mai ana i ke ʻano o nā hua ʻōlelo ma ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi, akā, mahalo ʻia nō ka maikaʻi o nā mea i loaʻa. I ka makahiki 1865 i hōʻuluʻulu a hana ʻia ai ka puke wehewehe ʻōlelo mua e Lorrin Andrews.[12] A laila, ua hana ʻia kekahi puke wehewehe ʻōlelo hou aku na Mary Kawena Pukui a me Samuel Elbert i ka makahiki 1957.[13] Ma loko nō o ia mau puke i hoʻomaka ai ka ʻimi ʻana i ke ʻano o nā mele lahui a me nā kumumanaʻo nui o nā mele. Akā, he hoʻomaka wale nō ia, no ka mea, ʻaʻole loa i lawa ka helu papa wale ʻana i ke ʻano o ka hua ʻōlelo. No laila, noiʻi pū ʻia aku nā moʻolelo a me nā manaʻo ʻē aʻe i kākau ʻia ma ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi, no ka mea, ʻo ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi nō ke kahua o ka ʻike o loko o kēia palapala.

I ka ʻōlelo nō ke ola; i ka ʻōlelo nō ka make. Kuhikuhi nō hoʻi kēia ʻōlelo noʻeau iaʻu i koʻu alahele ponoʻī e hele ai, no ka mea, ʻaʻole nō i lawa ka noiʻi wale me ka ʻimi wale ʻana nō i ka ʻike ma ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi. Wahi a nā kūpuna,

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[11] Warner, Sam L. No'eau, "*Kuleana*: The Right, Responsibility, and Authority of Indigenous Peoples to Speak and Make Decisions for Themselves in Language and Culture Revitalization," *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, (American Anthropological Society, 1999), 72. Wahi a Warner, "In contrast to immigrants, when indigenous peoples lose their language and culture, there is no other group of people who maintain that languae and culture in their homeland. The loss of the indigenous language is terminal: language death. In addition, indigenous peoples like Hawaiians did not go to foreign land seeking the American Dream. The American Dream was imposed on them, and it ha been used to subjugate the people socially, politically, and economically."

[12] Andrews, Lorrin, *A Dictionary of the Hawaiian Language*, (Waipahu: Island Heritage Publishing, 2003).

[13] Pukui, Mary Kawena and Samuel Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986).

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he mea nui nō hoʻi ka hoʻopaʻa ʻana i ko kākou moʻolelo e kākau ai ma ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi kekahi.

Ua kākau ʻia nō hoʻi kaʻu palapala no ke Kēkelē Laeoʻo ma ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi, akā, ua pono e unuhi ʻia ia mea i ka ʻōlelo haole. No kēia palapala nei, ʻaʻole pono e unuhi ʻia. E kū hoʻokahi ana nō kēia mea nei ma ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi. A ma kekahi ʻano, ʻaʻohe oʻu kānalua iki i kēia alahele i koho ai, ʻoiai, he pono nō ke kākau ʻana ma ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi no nā hanauna o kēia mua aku. Akā, ma kekahi ʻano, paʻakikī kēia alahele i koho ʻia, no ka mea, ʻaʻole au e kākau ana no ka poʻe *ʻōlelo* Hawaiʻi. E kākau ana nō au no ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi, i ulu ko kākou hoʻomaopopo ʻana i ko kākou moʻolelo, loina, mele, a me ka ʻōlelo.

He mea nui kēia e noʻonoʻo ai, no ka mea, he mana ko ka ʻōlelo a he mea polotika nō ke alakaʻi ʻana i kēia hoʻomōhala hou ʻana i ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi i ke au nei ma nā kula nui a me nā kula kaiapuni nō hoʻi. Ma ke au nei, e hoʻāʻo ana nō kekahi poʻe e hoʻokaʻawale ʻia aku kēia mau mea—ʻo ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi a me ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi. Wahi a Warner, ʻaʻole nō e hana ʻia nei kēia e ka poʻe Hawaiʻi; hana ʻia naʻe e ka poʻe haole a me nā lāhui ʻē aku. Moʻolelo mai ʻo Warner no kēia hoʻāʻo ʻana o ia poʻe haole a me poʻe o nā lāhui ʻē aku e kāʻili aku i ka mana o ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi. I hoʻokō ʻia ko lākou makemake a i hoʻokiʻekiʻe ʻia ko lākou kūlana, makemake nō lākou e hoʻokiʻekiʻe ʻia ke kūlana o ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi, a lilo ka ʻōlelo i mea e mālama ʻia a e hoʻōla ʻia, a ʻo ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi a me ke Kanaka Hawaiʻi hoʻi, hoʻohaʻahaʻa ʻia kona kūlana a hoʻohaʻahaʻa pū ʻia ka mana o ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi i hiki ʻole iā kākou ke i ke alahele e pono ai ko kākou ʻolelo a me ko kākou lāhui kanaka. Pēlā e lilo ai iā lākou ka mana koho no ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi.[14]

[14] Warner, 1999, 78. Moʻolelo ʻia mai e Warner penei, "In order to justify their own empowerment as leaders who make decisions for Hawaiians, non-Hawaiians are promoting an ideology

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No laila, no ia mau kumu, hoʻomaopopo ihola au i ka pono o ke kākau ʻana no nā mea Hawaiʻi ma ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi. He alahele nō ia i kuhikuhi ʻia aku e oʻu kūpuna. Akā nō naʻe, ʻaʻole nō ia he koho maʻalahi wale, ua kānalua nō hoʻi kēia, no ka mea, ke noiʻi nei au i kēia mau mea no ka pono o ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi, ʻaʻole no ka poʻe ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi. ʻAʻole ia ʻo kuʻu lāhui. ʻO ka lāhui o kuʻu iwi, kuʻu koko, kuʻu ēwe, a me kuʻu iwi, ʻo ia nō koʻu lāhui kanaka, a ke kākau nei au i kēia no kākou. Akā, e like me kā Ngũgĩ i kākau ai, he mea pono ke kākau ʻana ma ka ʻōlelo ʻōiwi i ʻole e pau loa ke ʻano o ka manaʻo a me ka noʻonoʻo ʻana o kekahi lāhui. Ma o ke kākau ʻana ma ka ʻōlelo ʻōiwi, ʻo ia ka mea e pili hou mai ai ke kino a me ka ʻuhane o ke kanaka. ʻAʻole naʻe au e waiho wale aku ana i nā pulapula o ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi e ʻike ʻole i ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi. Maopopo ihola iaʻu, he pono nō hoʻi koʻu ʻimi ʻana i ke alahele e ulu ai a e laha ai kēia mau moʻolelo a me nā mele lāhui no ka poʻe ʻike ʻole i ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi, no laila, ʻaʻole au e haʻalele loa mai ana i ke kākau ʻana ma ka ʻōlelo haole no ka pono o ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi. He hana nō ia i koe no kēia mua aku.

methodology. ʻŌlelo

Eia kekahi mea hou aku e hoʻomaopopo ai no kēia alahele o ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi aʻu i koho ai, a no ka mea, ma kekahi ʻano a ma kekahi o nā māhele o loko o nei palapala, he maʻalahi ka wehewehe ʻana aku i koʻu manaʻo no ka moʻolelo Hawaiʻi, ka manaʻo polotika, a me nā mele lāhui ma ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi, no ka mea, ma ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi nō i hoʻopaʻa ʻia ai ka moʻolelo a me nā mele. Eia naʻe, he hana paʻakikī nō hoʻi koʻu wehewehe ʻana a me koʻu hoʻākāka ʻana i kēia mau moʻolelo a me kēia mau mele, no ka mea, ʻaʻole nō naʻu i kākau a haku, no laila, he ʻano mahaʻoi paha koʻu hoʻākāka ʻana i ka manaʻo o ka poʻe kūpuna, inā

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whereby language is viewed as an autonomous entity distinct from the people from whom it evolved... Thus, in endowing language with the status of a distinct, independent entity and objectifying it into a thing only nominally related to the Hawaiian people, non-Hawaiians simultanesouly "reduce" the status of the Hawaiian people to the level of an "object" that is even lower and of less import than this inanimate entity called language."

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ma ka mo'olelo a me ke mele paha. No laila, e 'olu'olu, e huikala mai i nā wahi hemahema o loko o nei palapala ma ko'u mau mea e mo'olelo ai. No'u nō ia hemahema, a he ho'ā'o wale nō ka'u e kōkua aku ai i ka maka heluhelu i ka ulu 'ana o kona 'ike a me kona no'ono'o 'ana mai no kēia mau mea. He ho'omaka wale nō kēia no ko'u noi'i 'ana aku i ka 'ike a me nā mana'o o loko nei, a e like me ka 'ōlelo o nā kūpuna, 'a'ole nō pau ka 'ike i kēia palapala ho'okahi.

Eia hou maila kahi mea pa'akikī o kēia alahele 'ōlelo Hawai'i, a 'o ia nō ka wehewehe 'ana aku i nā kumu 'ike a me ke kahua o ko'u mau mana'o a me ko 'u no'ono'o 'ana no nā mea i kākau mua 'ia ma ka 'ōlelo haole. 'O kekahi o kēia mau mo'olelo, ua kākau 'ia ma ka 'ōlelo haole, akā, ua pili i ka mo'olelo Hawai'i, e like me kā Noenoe Silva, Jonathan Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio, Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa, a me Haunana-Kay Trask.[15] 'A'ole i pa'akikī loa kēia wehewehe 'ana, akā, he pono nō ke akahele 'ana aku i 'ole e ho'ololi 'ia ka mana'o o ka mea nāna i kākau. 'O ka mea pa'akikī loa nō na'e, 'o ia nō ka wehewehe 'ana i nā mana'o o nā kānaka e kākau 'ole ana e pili ana i nā mea Hawai'i, e la'a me Ngũgĩ Wa Thiong'o, Michel Foucault, a me Edward Said.[16] He akamai a he na'auao nō kā lākou mau mea i kākau ai a he kōkua ho'i ia i ko'u kumuhana e noi'i nei, no laila, he pono nō ka ho'ākāka 'ana aku i kekahi o ko lākou mau mana'o. E like me nā mea no Hawai'i, ua ho'ā'o nō au e akahele i ko'u wehewehe 'ana aku i ko lākou nei mau mana'o. 'A'ole nō ia he unuhi, no ka mea, 'imi 'ia ke alahele e wehewehe ai i ko lākou mana'o nui. I ka hapanui o ka manawa, no kēia

[15] Silva, Noenoe, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004); Osorio, Jon Kamakawiwo'ole, *Dismembering Lāhui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002); Kame'eleihiwa, Lilikalā, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea lā e pono ai?*, (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1982); Trask, Haunani-Kay, *From A Native Daughter: Colonialism & Sovereignty in Hawai'i*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), originally published by Common Courage Press, 1993.

[16] Ngũgĩ; Foucault, Michel, *The History of Sexuality, Vol. I: An Introduction*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1990); Foucault, Michel, *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1995); Said, Edward W., *Orientalism*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1978); Said, Edward W., *Culture and Imperialism*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1994).

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po'e noi'i a kākau mo'olelo, ua hō'ike 'ia nō ka puana'ī o ia kanaka e like loa me kona mea i kākau ai ma ka 'ōlelo haole ma kahi i kuhikuhi 'ia ai ke kumu 'ike o ia puke.

No laila, 'o kēia nō nā mea i no'ono'o 'ia ma mua o ko'u koho 'ana i nei alahele. He alahele nō ia i kuhikuhi 'ia mai e nā kūpuna, akā, he alahele ho'i ia i koho 'ia e a'u, a nui wale ko'u mahalo 'ana i ka nani a me ka hoihoi o ia alahele, a ke lana nei ka mana'o, he alahele ia e ola ai ko kākou Lāhui Hawai'i.

No Nā Mele

Mai ke au kahiko loa mai a hiki mai nō i ke au e holo nei, ma o ke mele e ho'opa'a pono a e hō'ike aku ai nā Kānaka Maoli o Hawai'i i ko kākou mo'olelo a me ko kākou mana'o no ke ola o ko kākou lāhui kanaka, ko kākou 'āina, a me kā kākou hana. Pēlā nō ke 'ano o ka mo'olelo a Joseph M. Poepoe i kākau mai ai. Ua kapa 'ia kāna 'o "Ka Moolelo Hawaii Kahiko" a ua pa'i 'ia ma loko o ka nūpepa *Ka Na'i Aupuni* i ka makahiki 1906. Ma kāna mo'olelo, ua ho'opa'a mai nō 'o Poepoe i ka mo'olelo kahiko o Hawai'i nei, a 'o ke mele nō ka mea e alaka'i ana i ia ha'i mo'olelo 'ana.[17] I ka lā mua loa o kona pa'i 'ana, penei kona wehewehe 'ana no ka mo'olelo a me ke kūlana pili pa'a o ke mele i ke 'ano mo'olelo o ko Hawai'i lāhui kanaka.,

> E hoomaopopoia, he lahui kakou me ko kakou Moolelo Kahiko, i ano like loa aku me ka moolelo kahiko o ka lahui o Helene; a he mau mele kahiko hoi ka ko kakou mau kupuna i like aku a i oi aku nohoi ko lakou hiwahiwa ame ke kilakila i ko na mele kaulana loa o ua lahui Helene nei.
>
> Ua piha ko kakou mau mele me na hoonupanupa ana a ia mea he aloha; piha me na keha ana no na hana koa a wiwo ole a ko kakou poe ikaika o ka wa kahiko; ka lakou mau hana kaulana; ko lakou ola ana ame ko lakou make ana. Aia maloko o ko kakou Moolelo Kahiko na Mele ame na Pule Wanana, na mele ha'i-kupuna a kuauhau hoi.[18]

[17] Poepoe, Joseph M., "Ka Moolelo Hawaii Kahiko," *Ka Nai Aupuni*, 1906.
[18] Poepoe, "Ka Moolelo Hawaii Kahiko," *Ka Na'i Aupuni*, 1 Pepeluali 1906, 1.

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Ma kona wehewehe ʻana mai no ka pili paʻa o ke mele a me ka moʻolelo Hawaiʻi, moʻolelo mai nō hoʻi ʻo Poepoe no ke kūlana kiʻekiʻe o ke ʻano o nā mele o Hawaiʻi ma o ka hoʻohālikelike ʻana i ko kākou mau moʻolelo a mele hoʻi me nā mea kahiko o ka "lahui o Helene." ʻO ua lāhui Helene lā, he lāhui i mahalo nui ʻia e nā lāhui haole o ʻEuropa a me ʻAmelika ma ke ʻano he lāhui a he aupuni ia no ke au kahiko i kiʻekiʻe ke kūlana o ko lākou noho ʻana. Mahalo nui ʻia ke ʻano o ia noho aupuni ʻana a mahalo ʻia hoʻi ka nani o nā mele o ua lāhui Helene lā a i ke au nei. Paʻi ʻia nō kekahi o ua poʻe mele lā ma ka puke a aʻo ʻia nō ma nā kula, a hana ʻia hoʻi he mau kiʻiʻoniʻoni e hoʻohanohano aku ana i ia lāhui a me ko lākou moʻolelo.

No laila, i ko Poepoe hoʻohālikelike ʻana i nā mele a me nā moʻolelo o ka lāhui Helene me ko Hawaiʻi nei, he mea ia e kūkala aku a e hoʻolaha aku i ka waiwai a me ke kūlana kiʻekiʻe o nā mele o ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi a me ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi nō hoʻi. Wahi āna, ʻo nā mele Hawaiʻi, ua "like aku a... oi aku nohoi ko lakou hiwahiwa ame ke kilakila" ma mua o ko Helene, no laila, e hōʻike pū mai ana ʻo Poepoe i kona manaʻo no ka like a ʻoi paha o ke kiʻekiʻe o ka noho aupuni ʻana o ko Hawaiʻi lāhui. Paʻi ʻia nō kā Poepoe moʻolelo i ka makahiki 1906, he 13 makahiki ma hope o ka Hoʻokahuli Aupuni a he ʻewalu makahiki ma hope o ka Hoʻohui ʻĀina. No laila, ma kona kākau ʻana mai i kona moʻolelo ma ka nūpepa, ua hoʻopaʻa ʻia mai nō he mau mele a moʻolelo no ko kākou poʻe kūpuna, a he waiwai maoli nō ko laila. Akā, ʻaʻole wale nō ia ʻo ka mea waiwai loa o kā Poepoe moʻolelo, no ka mea, i ka hoʻohanohano ʻia ʻana o nā mele o ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi, hoʻohanohano pū ʻia ka ʻike, ka nohona, a me nā ʻano like ʻole o ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi.

Mele ʻia nā hana o kānaka ma loko o ke mele o Hawaiʻi nei a hoʻomana ʻia nō hoʻi nā Akua ma nā mele. He mea ke mele e nanea ai nā kānaka a he mea

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polotika kekahi ia. Ma loko o kāna mea i kākau ai no "Ka Moolelo o nā Kamehameha," ua hoʻākāka mai nō hoʻi ʻo Samuel Manaiakalani Kamakau i ka waiwai o ke mele no ko Hawaiʻi nei lāhui kanaka. Wahi āna,

> O ka haku mele kekahi hana akamai a naauao o ke poe kahiko, a ua kaulana loa ia poe ma ia hana... He nui ke ano o na mele a he nui no hoi ka waiwai i loaa ma loko o na mele a ka poe kahiko i haku ai. Ua hanaia ko ka lani, ko ka lewa, ko ka moana, ko ka honua, ko ka la, ka mahina, na hoku a me na mea a pau. Ua hanaia na mele me na waiwai huna i loko o ka lehulehu loa. He nui na loina a me na kaona i loko. He nui ke ano o na mele, oia hoi, he mele kupuna he mele aina, he mele alii, he mele hiilani, he mele mahalo, he mele aloha, he mele kuamuamu, he mele pule, he mele kanikau, he mele hiamoe, he mele hoala, he mele noi, he mele aua, he mele kahea, he mele haawi, he mele hookiekie, he mele wanana, he mele kilokilo, he mele nemanema, a he nui loa ke ano o na mele, a he nui nohoi ka waiwai i loko.[19]

E like me kā Kamakau i kuhikuhi maila, he keu ka nui o nā ʻano mele like ʻole. Ma loko o ka puke mele a Elbert lāua me Mahoe i hōʻouluʻulu ai, helu papa ʻia mai nō hoʻi nā ʻano o nā mele Hawaiʻi—ʻo ke mele koʻihonua ʻoe, ʻo ke mele wahi pana ʻoe, ʻo ke mele inoa ʻoe, ʻo ke mele aloha ʻoe, a pēlā wale aku.[20] ʻAʻole i kapa ʻia kēia ʻano mele o ke au kahiko he mele lāhui, eia naʻe, ua pili nō nā mele a pau o Hawaiʻi i ka lāhui o Hawaiʻi, ʻoiai, e mele ʻia ana no kekahi hana a ka lāhui i hana ai. Ma koʻu hoʻomaopopo ʻana, ʻaʻole i kapa ʻia kekahi mele he mele lāhui a hiki i ka makahiki 1866, ka wā e noho aupuni ana ʻo Lot Kapuāiwa, ʻo ia nō ʻo Kamehameha V. Nāna nō i noi i kekahi o nā kamāliʻi wahine, nona ka inoa ʻo Liliʻuokalani, e haku i mele lāhui. ʻO ia paha ke mele mua loa i kapa ʻia he mele lāhui.

I ia manawa, ma muli o ka loli nui ʻana o ka nohona, ka loina, a me ke aupuni o Hawaiʻi nei, ua maopopo ihola, he ʻokoʻa nō ka lāhui Hawaiʻi, he ʻokoʻa nō nā lāhui a me nā aupuni ʻē aʻe o ka honua. A ua maopopo ihola hoʻi ka pono o ka hoʻomalu ʻana mai i ia ʻokoʻa o lilo a pau auaneʻi ke ʻano Hawaiʻi o nā mea a

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[19] Kamakau, "Ka Moolelo o Kamehameha I," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 21 Kēkēmapa 1867.
[20] Elbert a me Mahoe, 3.

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pau. A i ka makahiki 1893, ka wā hoʻi i pilikia maoli ai ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi, nui wale maila nā mele lāhui i paʻi ʻia ma loko o nā nūpepa a me nā puke.

E like me ka mea i hoʻākāka ʻē ʻia, ʻo ke mele lāhui o luna aʻela i haku ʻia e Ellen Kekoaohiwaikalani Predergast i kapa ʻia "He Lei No Ka Poe Aloha Aina" a i kapa ʻia hoʻi ʻo "Mele Ai Pohaku" a i maʻa iā kākou ma ka inoa ʻo "Kaulana Na Pua." He punahele nō ia mele i ia manawa, a he punahele hoʻi i ke au nei. ʻO Eleanor C. Nordyke lāua me Martha K. Noyes kekahi o ka poʻe i noiʻi a moʻolelo mai no kēia mele kaulana nei ma loko o kā lāua moʻolelo, ʻo "'Kaulana Nā Pua': A Voice for Sovereignty" i paʻi ʻia i ka makahiki 1993. Ma loko o ia moʻolelo, kākau ʻia mai no ka haku mele ʻo Ellen Kekoaohiwaikalani Prendergast a me kona moʻolelo. Moʻolelo pū ʻia mai no ka haku ʻia ʻana o kēia mele a no ka leo o ke mele nō hoʻi, ʻoiai, ua manaʻo ʻia, ua lilo akula ka leo i ka holo ʻana o ke au a ua hoʻopoina ʻia. Wahi a ka moʻolelo, ua haku hou ʻia ka leo i maʻa iā kākou i ke au nei e Maddy Lam, kekahi o nā kānaka naʻauao i ke mele Hawaiʻi. Na kekahi hoa o Lam i haʻi aku iā Nordyke me Noyes no kēia haku ʻana.[21] Maikaʻi nō nei moʻolelo a he kōkua nō ia i ka hoʻomaopopo pono ʻana i ka moʻolelo no kēia mele lāhui kaulana.

A ua hoʻomau akula nō hoʻi ʻo Amy Kuʻuleialoha Stillman i kāna mau hana noiʻi no nā mele Hawaiʻi a no kēia mele nō hoʻi. Ma loko o kāna moʻolelo i kapa ʻia ʻo "'Aloha Aina': New Perspectives on 'Kaulana Nā Pua'" i paʻi ʻia i ka makahiki 1999, ua kākau maila ʻo Stillman no kekahi palapala e waiho ana ma ka Hale Waihona Puke o ka ʻAhaʻōlelo o ʻAmelika Huipūʻia.[22] Ma ia palapala, ua paʻi ʻia nō ka leo o kēia mele i hoʻokuleana ʻia i ka makahiki 1895. A ʻo ia leo, ua like nō ia me ko Maddy Lam leo i "haku" ai. No laila, ma o kona noiʻi ʻana, ua

[21] Nordyke, Eleanor C. and Martha H. Noyes, "Kaulana Nā Pua: A Voice for Sovereignty," *Hawaiian Journal of History*, (Volume 27, 1998), 37-38.
[22] Stillman, 1999.

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ho'omaopopo 'ia, he kuhihewa ka no'ono'o 'ana, na Lam ka leo mele i haku, a e māhu'i ana 'o Stillman, i ka 'ike 'ia 'ana o Lam e noho aku ana ma ka piano a hīmeni ana i kēia mele, ua kuhihewa 'ia kona haku 'ana i ka leo, a 'o ka 'oia'i'o paha, ua ho'okani 'o Lam i ka leo i ma'a i kona pepeiao.[23] E like me ka mahalo i ko Nordyke me Noyes mo'olelo, nui ho'i ka mahalo iā Stillman no kāna mau hana noi'i no nā mele Hawai'i. Mahalo 'ia ho'i ka ulu 'ana o ko kākou 'ike i ke au nei no ka hana kūpa'a o nā kūpuna ma o ka haku 'ana i nā mele lāhui.

Ma kāna puke 'o *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism*, hō'ike mai 'o Silva i ka mau 'ana mai nō o ka waiwai o nā mele a me nā mo'olelo iā kākou i ke au nei. He mea nui ka ho'omaopopo 'ana o ke kanaka i kona 'ano iho nō a me kona lāhui. No ka Lāhui Hawai'i, ua pilikia nō ke kū'oko'a o ko kākou Aupuni Hawai'i, akā, 'a'ole nō i make ka Lāhui Hawai'i. Ua mau nō a ua ola nō ho'i ko kākou lāhui. Ua mau ko kākou ho'omaopopo 'ana i ko kākou 'ano Hawai'i, ko kākou 'ōlelo, ko kākou mo'olelo, me ko kākou mele kekahi. Wahi a Silva, he ola ho'i ko laila, no ka mea, 'o kēia ho'omaopopo 'ana aku i ke mele, ka mo'olelo, a me ka mo'okū'auhau o ko kākou lāhui, he mea ia e kū kanaka ai ka Lāhui Hawai'i a kū ha'aheo ho'i i kona 'ano.[24] I ka wā i hala akula a i ke au nei ho'i, he mau mana'o kū'ē ko nā mele a no ke 'ano kaona o ke mele Hawai'i, ho'onalonalo 'ia kēia mana'o kū'ē o nā Kānaka Maoli i ho'omaopopo 'ole 'ia e nā lāhui 'ē. No laila, wahi a Silva, ma loko nō o ke mele i ho'opa'a mai ai nā kānaka i ko lākou mau mana'o a he mea kēia kaona e lōkahi loa ai ka Lāhui

[23] Stillman, 1999, 87-89.
[24] Silva, 2004, 7. Penei kā Silva i kākau maila, "Hula (dance), mo'olelo (history, legend, story) and especially genealogy contributed to that inner domain [of cultural identity], which was carefully guarded and preserved so that the Kanaka Maoli of today have a spiritual/cultural identity of their own on which to base their new anticolonial movement."

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Hawai'i ma ke 'ano o kona mana'o me kona no'ono'o 'ana a me ke 'ano ho'i o kona na'au.[25]

No ka Mo'olelo Hawai'i

'O kekahi pahuhopu o ko'u kākau 'ana i kēia palapala a me ko'u leo 'ana aku i nā mele lāhui o nā kūpuna o ka Lāhui Hawai'i, a no ka mea, makemake nō au e ho'omaopopo mai i ka mo'olelo Hawai'i. A 'o ia mea he mo'olelo Hawai'i, he mo'olelo ia no nā hana ma Hawai'i nei, 'a'ole wale iho nō 'o ia, no ka mea, pono nō ho'i e mo'olelo 'ia no nā Kānaka Maoli o Hawai'i nei a no ka Lāhui Hawai'i nō ho'i—no ka hana a ka Lāhui Hawai'i i hana ai, no nā mana'o o nā Kānaka Maoli i no'ono'o ai, a no ke kumu ho'i a lākou i hana aku ai i ia mau mea. Eia kā, i ko'u wā e 'imi ana i ke Kekelē Laepua ma ke Kula Nui o Hawai'i ma Mānoa, a i heluhelu 'ia ai nā mea i kapa 'ia he "mo'olelo Hawai'i" ma ka 'ōlelo haole i piha i ka 'ike o ka 'ōlelo haole, 'a'ohe nō o'u 'ike nui i ka mo'olelo no nā Kānaka Maoli o Hawai'i. Ke heluhelu 'ia ua po'e puke ala no ka hana a me ka mana'o o ka Lāhui Hawai'i ma ka wā o ka Ho'okahuli Aupuni, kohu mea lā, 'a'ohe wahi hana kūpa'a a kū'ē paha o ka Lāhui Hawai'i i ia ho'okahuli 'ana. Pēlā nō i mo'olelo 'ia ai ma nā mo'olelo kaulana a kū'ai nui 'ia a i kēia lā, 'o ia ho'i ke 'ano hemahema o ka mo'olelo o ia au, e la'a me kā William Alexander (M. H. 1896), a me nā mo'olelo o nā mea i pa'i 'ia he 30 a 'oi makahiki aku nei, e la'a me kā William Adam Russ (M. H. 1959), Lawrence Fuchs (M. H. 1961), Ralph S.

[25] Silva, 2004, 184-185. Eia kā Silva i ho'ākāka mai ai, "Mele communicate in ways prose cannot. Mele functioned then (and now) both as carriers of messages of opposition and as signs of Kanaka identity, in that they indicate mastery of cultural knowledge and poetic language, which few foreigners... possessed... The understanding by both poets and audiences that mele should contain these several levels of meaning made the genre particularly well suited to communicating thoughts and feelings undetected but yet in plain sight of hostile forces. The shared understanding also bound the lāhui together."

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Kuykendall (M. H. 1967), Edward Joesting (M. H. 1972), a pēlā pū kā Gavan Daws (M. H. 1974).[26]

A hoʻomaka maila nō kekahi mau Kānaka Maoli e ʻimi aku i ka manaʻo a me ke kuana ʻike o nā Kānaka Maoli. Na Haunani-Kay Trask nō i kākau mai no kēia ʻano manaʻo. Ma loko o nā mokuna o kāna puke kapa ʻia ʻo *From a Native Daughter* i paʻi ʻia i ka makahiki 1993, moʻolelo mai ʻo ia no ka manaʻo o nā Kānaka Maoli no ka mālama ʻana i ka ʻāina a me ke ea o ka ʻāina o Hawaiʻi nei.[27]

ʻO Lilikalā Kameʻeleihiwa nō hoʻi kekahi i ʻimi i ka leo o nā kūpuna i haʻi ʻia ko kākou moʻolelo no nā mea a kākou e manaʻo ana he mea nui a he mea pono nō hoʻi paha. Pēia nō ke ʻano o ka puke a Kameʻeleihiwa i kākau ai i kapa ʻia aku o *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea lā e pono ai?* i paʻi ʻia i ka makahiki 1992.[28] Moʻolelo ʻo ia no ke ʻano o ka poʻe mikionali i ko lākou hiki ʻana mai. Noiʻi ʻia nō hoʻi ke ʻano pono o ka ʻāina a me nā Aliʻi ma mua o ka hiki ʻana mai o ka poʻe mikionali, a hoʻohālikelike ʻia ia ʻano kahiko me ka mea a Kameʻeleihiwa e kapa aku ai he "pono hou" o ka hoʻomana Kalikiano. Ua lilo ia mau mea i kahua no ka loli ʻana o nā mea like ʻole o Hawaiʻi, e laʻa me ka hoʻololi ʻana i ka ʻāina i mea e kūʻai aku ai. Ma kāna puke, kālele ʻia nō ka leo o nā Kānaka Maoli no ka hoʻomaopopo ʻana i ka manaʻo a me ka hana a nā Kānaka Maoli.

Ma loko o kāna puke i kākau ai, ua moʻolelo mai nō hoʻi ʻo Jonathan Kamakawiwoʻole Osorio no ka manaʻo a me ka hana a nā Kānaka Maoli i hana ai ma ka wā o ke aupuni kumukānāwai. Ma loko o kāna puke i kapa ʻia aku ʻo

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[26] Alexander, William, *History of Later Years of the Hawaiian Monarchy and the Revolution of 1893* (Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette Company, 1896); Russ, William Adam, *The Hawaiian Revolution, 1893-1894*, (Selingsgrove, PA: Susquehanna University Press, 1992); Fuchs, Lawrence H., *Hawaii Pono: A Social History*, (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Publishers, 1961); Kuykendall, Ralph S., *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1967), Vol. 3; Joesting, Edward, *Hawaii: An Uncommon History* (New York: Norton & Company, Inc., 1972); Daws, Gavan, *Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1974).

[27] Trask, 1999.

[28] Kameʻeleihiwa, 1992.

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Dismembering Lāhui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887 i pa'i 'ia i ka makahiki 2002, kākau maila 'o Osorio no nā kānāwai, nā kumukānāwai, a me ka 'Aha'ōlelo o ke Aupuni Hawai'i. He mea nui nō ho'i ko Osorio noi'i 'ana no ke 'ano o ka Lāhui Hawai'i a me ka ho'ēmi 'ia 'ana o ka mana o ka Lāhui Hawai'i ma ke Aupuni Hawai'i.[29]

'O Noenoe Silva paha ka mea i kālele nui i ka leo o nā Kānaka Maoli i kona noi'i 'ana no kāna puke i kākau ai. Ua mo'olelo mai 'o Silva no nā 'ano hana kūpa'a a kū'ē a nā Kānaka Maoli, e la'a me ka ho'okumu 'ia 'ana mai o nā nūpepa mua loa e nā Kānaka Maoli i pa'i 'ia nā mea a lākou i mana'o ai he pono a he hoihoi. Kākau pū 'ia no nā hui aloha 'āina a me ko lākou koikoi 'ana aku e pūlima 'ia mai nā Palapala Ho'opi'i Kū'ē Ho'ohui 'Āina e 38,000 kānaka mai kēlā me kēia mokupuni.[30]

'O kēia mau puke a pau, he kahua nō ia no nā Kānaka Maoli o ke au nei, ke ulu ka hoi i ka 'imi 'ana aku i ka mana'o a me ka leo o nā Kānaka Maoli o Hawai'i nei, no ka mea, 'o kahi ia e ha'i 'ia ai ko kākou mo'olelo no nā mea a kākou e mana'o ana he pono.

No ka Nūpepa

Kuhikuhi pū 'ia kēia alahele e ka po'e noi'i nūpepa, e like me Esther K. Mookini ma kāna puke i kapa 'ia 'o *The Hawaiian Newspapers* i ka makahiki 1974.[31] Mo'olelo 'ia mai nō nā nūpepa 'ōlelo Hawai'i o Hawai'i nei, a me nā 'ano like 'ole o nā mea i 'ike 'ia ma laila—'o ka mana'o polotika, ka loina, ka mo'olelo,

[29] Osorio, 2002.
[30] Silva, 2004.
[31] Mookini, Esther, *The Hawaiian Newspapers*, (Honolulu: Topgallant Publishing Co., Ltd., 1974).

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a me ka hana o nā kānaka.[32] Helu papa pū 'ia maila nō ho'i ka wā i pa'i 'ia ai ka nūpepa, ke 'ano o ka nūpepa, kona ho'okumu 'ia 'ana, nā Luna Ho'oponopono a me kahi e waiho ana no kēlā me kēia nūpepa 'ōlelo Hawai'i i pa'i 'ia mai ka mea mua loa i pa'i 'ia i ka makahiki 1834 a i ka mea hope loa o ia au i ka makahiki 1948.[33] He nui ka 'ike o loko o ia puke, a he kōkua maoli nō ia ma ka noi'i 'ana i ka nūpepa.

Mo'olelo mai nō ho'i 'o Helen Chapin e pili ana i nā nūpepa 'ōlelo Hawai'i ma loko o kāna puke i kapa 'ia 'o *Shaping History: The Role of Newspapers in Hawaii.* Pili kāna puke i nā nūpepa a pau i pa'i 'ia ma Hawai'i nei, inā ma ka 'ōlelo Hawai'i paha, ka 'ōlelo haole paha, a ma kekahi 'ōlelo 'ē aku paha. Ma kekahi o nā mokuna, mo'olelo mai nō 'o ia e pili ana i nā nūpepa aloha 'āina i ho'okumu 'ia e nā Kānaka Maoli ma muli o ko lākou 'i'ini e hō'ike ākea aku i ko lākou mau mana'o pono'ī.[34]

'O Noenoe Silva nō ho'i kekahi i noi'i nowelo aku i loko o nā nūpepa 'ōlelo Hawai'i. Ma kekahi mokuna ma loko o kāna puke 'o *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism,* ua mo'olelo mai 'o Silva no ka ho'okumu 'ana o nā Kānaka Maoli i ko lākou nūpepa pono'ī a me nā hana 'ē a'e a nā Kānaka Maoli i hana ai ma ko lākou kūpa'a 'ana no ka pono o ke Aupuni a me ka Lāhui Hawai'i nō ho'i.

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[32] Mookini, xiv. Penei i mo'olelo mai ai 'o Mookini, "Hawaiian language newspapers were not only reflections of politics and culture in its many dimensions; but primary instruments of movements and invidividuals, and influences on events, trends and attitudes. Hawaiian newspapers are, therefore, indispendable sources for every aspect of our history."

[33] Mookini, 1-41.

[34] Chapin, Helen G., *Shaping History: The Role of Newspapers in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1996), 59. Penei kā Chapin i kākau ai, "The origin of a Hawaiian nationalist press—for such it was from its first day—is a strike illustration of literacy joined to a newspaper technology conferring empowerment. Those involved gain a sense of participating in history. Nationalist newspapers were to lead the fight for Hawaiian independence in the 1880s and 1890s. That they lost the battle against overwhelming odds in no way detracs from their singular achievement. A vivi d example of a people's resiliency, it was this press that laid the foundation for the arguments for Hawaiian sovereignty that would reemerge in the late twentieth century."

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Ma ko Silva noi'i 'ana a pēlā pū me ko'u noi'i 'ana, he mea nui nā nūpepa 'ōlelo Hawai'i, no ka mea, ma ka nūpepa nō i ho'opa'a 'ia ai kēia leo o nā kūpuna a no laila, 'o ka nūpepa o ke au i hala loa aku ke kumu 'ike o kēia noi'i 'ana. Ma loko o kāna puke i kapa 'ia 'o *Imagined Communities* na Benedict Anderson i puka i ka makahiki 1983, ua kākau mai 'o ia no ke 'ano o ko ke kanaka ho'omaopopo 'ana aku i kona lāhui a me kona kaiāulu nō ho'i paha.[35] Wahi āna, 'o ka nūpepa kahi mea e no'ono'o ai ke kanaka a e ho'omaopopo aku ai ke kanaka i kona kaiāulu, 'oiai, heluhelu 'ia ka nūpepa e nā lālā he nui o ia kaiāulu i ka lā like a i ka hola like nō ho'i paha. A ma muli o ia heluhelu like 'ana o nā kānaka he nui, 'a'ole pono e kama'āina ua po'e ala kekahi i kekahi, no ka mea, ma o ka heluhelu 'ana i nā mo'olelo like ma ka nūpepa, he mea ia e pili ai ko lākou mau mana'o no ko lākou kaiāulu.

He mana'o hou aku nō ho'i ko Anderson no ka wā e mana ai kēia heluhelu like 'ana i ka nūpepa. Wahi a Anderson, 'oiai ho'opuka 'ia aku nā nūpepa i kēlā me kēia lā, he palena ko ka mana o ka nūpepa, no ka mea, e ho'opuka hou 'ia mai ana he nūpepa hou aku i kekahi lā 'ana a'e, a he mea ia e pau loa ai ka mana o ka nūpepa o ka lā ma mua.[36] Pololei nō kēia mau mana'o no ka Lāhui Hawai'i me nā nūpepa 'ōlelo Hawai'i, a 'oko'a iki nō ho'i. Pololei a he kūpono kā Anderson e pili ana i ka mana'o a me ka mana o ka po'e i ko lākou heluhelu pū 'ana i ka nūpepa i kekahi lā. I ka makahiki i pa'i 'ia ai kēia mau mele lāhui, ua puka ka hapanui o nā nūpepa he ho'okahi wale nō lā o ka pule, a 'ano

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[35] Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, (London and New York: Verso, 1991).

[36] Anderson, 35. Penei ko Anderson kākau 'ana, "The obsolescence of the newspaper on the morrow of its printing... creates this extraordinary mass ceremony: the almost precisely simultaneous consumption ('imagining') of the newspaper-as-fiction. We know that particular morning and evening editions will overwhelmingly be consumed between this hour and that, only on this day not that... The significance of this mass ceremony... is paradoxical. It is performed in silent privacy, in the lair of the skull. Yet each communicant is well aware that the ceremony he performs is being replicated simultaneously by thoussands... of others of whose existence he is confident, yet of whose identity he has not the slightest notion."

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kāka'ikahi nā nūpepa i puka i kēlā me kēia lā, 'o *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui* kekahi a pēlā pū *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa.* Eia kekahi, 'oiai, he mana ko ka 'ōlelo, a maopopo ia mana i ka Lāhui Hawai'i e like me ka mea i wehewehe 'ē 'ia. No laila, he leo nō ko ka nūpepa a ma o ka heluhelu 'ana o ka maka heluhelu i ia nūpepa i ia lā, he mea ia e laha hou aku ai ka mana o ia leo i ka puana like 'ana aku.

Eia nō na'e, 'a'ole nō i pau ka mana o ia leo i ka hopena o ia lā i pa'i 'ia ai ka nūpepa a i puana pualu mua 'ia mai ai ka leo o ke mele e ka po'e e ola ana i ia manawa. No ka mea, 'a'ole nō i pau ka leo 'ia 'ana o nā mele i ia lā ho'okahi. Eia nō kākou, a 'o ka makahiki 2007 kēia, a ua hala ma kahi o ka 110 a 'oi makahiki mai ka lā i pa'i 'ia ai kēia mau mele ma ka nūpepa (a me ka puke nō ho'i), a ua mau nō ka heluhelu 'ia 'ana o kēia mau nūpepa a me kēia mau mele. A he mana ho'i ko laila, no ka mea, i ko kākou heluhelu 'ana aku i nā nūpepa i kēia lā, he mea ho'i ia e pili ai ko kākou mana'o 'ana a me ko kākou no'ono'o 'ana i nā kūpuna o ia wā i pa'i 'ia ai ka nūpepa. A, e like me ka pilina o ka po'e o ia wā i ko lākou heluhelu 'ana i ka nūpepa, 'eā, e like me kā Anderson, 'a'ohe nō o lākou kama'āina maoli kekahi i kekahi, akā, he pilina ko lākou ma o ka heluhelu like 'ana i ka nūpepa, no laila, i ko kākou heluhelu 'ana i ka nūpepa i kēia wā, 'a'ohe nō kama'āina maoli iā kākou ka po'e haku mele a kākau mo'olelo ma ka nūpepa, 'oiai, ua hala loa akula lākou. Eia nō na'e, he pilina nō ko kākou a pau—he pilina ma ka mo'okū'auhau, he pilina ma ka 'ōlelo, he pilina ma ke kūpa'a 'ana no ka pono o ko kākou 'āina, a 'ike a ho'omaopopo 'ia kēia pilina ma o ka nūpepa a me nā puke nō ho'i i pa'i 'ia i ia wā.

Nā Kālai Mana'o Polotika

No ka ho'omaopopo pono 'ana i ke 'ano o ka hua 'ōlelo, he pono ka 'imi 'ana i ke 'ano o ka wehewehe 'ia 'ana o ia mea ma loko o nā mele a me nā

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mo'olelo like 'ole mai nā wā like 'ole. No laila, 'o ia nō ka'u i hana aku ai no nei palapala, a he kahua nō ia no ke 'ano o ko'u ho'okō 'ana i nei palapala. Ma kāna puke, mo'olelo mai 'o Silva no nā 'ano like 'ole i kūpa'a ai ka Lāhui Hawai'i no ka pono o ka 'āina a me ke Aupuni Hawai'i. He mea nui nō ho'i ka 'ike i kākau 'ia ma ka 'ōlelo Hawai'i ma loko o kā Silva mo'olelo. Wahi a Silva, 'a'ohe alahele 'ē a'e e ho'omaopopo pono ai i ka mana'o o nā Kānaka Maoli o ia wā, koe ka mea i mo'olelo 'ia ma ka 'ōlelo Hawai'i. Ma loko o nā mo'olelo me nā nūpepa, 'a'ole wale nō 'o ke 'ano o ka loina ka mea ho'okahi i 'ike 'ia, no ka mea, nui nā 'ano mana'o polotika like 'ole kekahi.[37]

He mea nui nō ka mana'o a me ka leo o nā Kānaka Maoli ma ka mo'olelo o Hawai'i nei, akā, he nui ho'i ke kōkua mai o nā mana'o a me nā 'ike o nā mea kākau like 'ole. He kōkua ia mau mana'o ma ka ho'oulu 'ana mai i ko'u ho'omaopopo 'ana i nā mo'olelo a me nā mana'o polotika like 'ole. E like me kā Linda Tuhiwai Smith ma kāna puke 'o *Decolonising Methodologies*, he pono nō ko kākou ho'omaopopo 'ana i ko kākou mau mo'olelo pono'ī a me ko kākou a'o 'ana no ka mana'o o ko kākou po'e kūpuna no ko kākou mo'olelo. 'A'ole nō na'e 'o Smith e mana'o ana e huli kua aku i nā 'ano 'ike like 'ole mai nā kānaka like 'ole mai, no ka mea, he waiwai nō kekahi mau mana'o a he alahele ho'i ia e nui hou aku ai ko kākou ho'omaopopo 'ana i ko kākou 'ano iho.[38]

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[37] Silva, 2004, 5. Penei i ho'ākāka ai 'o Silva, "There is no access to this body of thought except through the Hawaiian language. The Hawaiian newspapers have generally been mined for ethnological information, but their political content has been overlooked. As long as we read the papers solely for ethnological detail the Kanaka Maoli of the nineteenth century remains the still and silent objects of ethnology. It is only when we begin to read their political writings that the figures spring to life as speaking subjects. The most important item in my methodological tooldbox, therefore, has been simply to read what the Kanaka Maoli wrote. They tood great pains to write it all down, perhaps foreseeing the need to establish their presence in history."

[38] Smith, Linda Tuhiwai, *Decolonising Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, (New York: Zed Books, 1999), 38. Penei i kākau mai ai 'o Smith, "Part of the exercise is about recovering our own stories of the past. This is inextricably bound to a recovery of our language and epistemological foundations. It is also about reconciling and reprioritizing what is really important about the past with what is important about the present... Decolonization... does not mean and has not meant a total rejection of all theory or research or Western knowledge. Rather,

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Ma ko'u wā e 'imi ana i ke Kekelē Laeo'o, ka wā ho'i i ho'omaka ai ko'u 'imi 'ana i ka leo o nā Kānaka Maoli, ua a'o mai au no nā 'ano hana kū'ē like 'ole o nā lāhui a me nā hui like 'ole, e la'a me ke 'ano i wehewehe 'ia maila e James C. Scott, ma kāna puke 'o *Weapons of the Weak*, a no ka mea, wahi āna, 'o ka hana kū'ē, 'a'ole nō hana 'ia he alo a he alo i nā manawa a pau. He mau 'ano ko ka hana kū'ē, a inā 'a'ole 'ike 'ia e ka maka o ka mea e kū'ē 'ia ana, mai kuhihewa mai, 'a'ohe hana kū'ē e hana 'ia ana.[39] Mo'olelo 'ia mai nō ho'i nā 'ano hana kū'ē like 'ole i hana 'ia ma nā 'āina mahi kō ma ka puke i ho'oponopono 'ia e Lal, Munro, a me Beechert, i kapa 'ia 'o *Plantation Workers: Resistance and Accomodation.*[40] A pēlā nō ho'i ke 'ano o ka mo'olelo 'ana mai o James Fenelon ma kāna puke 'o *Culturacide, Resistance, and Survival of the Lakota*, a me Dee Brown ma kāna puke 'o *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee.*, e pili ana no ka hana kū'ē o ka po'e 'ōiwi o 'Amelika.[41]

No ke Kekelē Lae'ula ma ke Kālaimana'o Polotika, ua 'oko'a ke 'ano o ko'u a'o 'ana mai, ke 'ano o nā mea e no'ono'o ai, a 'oko'a ho'i ke 'ano o ka no'ono'o 'ana. Ma nā papa a pau a me nā papahana noi'i a pau, ua holomua ko'u ho'omaopopo 'ana i ke 'ano o ke kūkulu 'ana o kānaka i ko kākou kaiāulu e noho ai a me ke 'ano o ka loina, nohona, a me ke kānāwai o ia kaiāulu. A ma muli o ko kākou noho 'ana ma loko o ia kaiāulu a ma'a ihola i kona 'ano, i kekahi manawa, 'a'ole nō no'ono'o 'ia a 'a'ole ho'i i nūnēnūnē 'ia ke 'ano o ia nohona, no ka mea, he mea mau nō ia loina a nohona ho'i i nā kānaka o ia kaiāulu.

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it is about centering our concerns and worldviews and then coming to know and understand theory and research from our own perspectives and our own purposes."

[39] Scott, James C., *Weapons of the Weak*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), xvi.

[40] Lal, Brij V., Doug Munro, and Edward D. Beechert, luna ho'oponopono, *Plantation Workers: Resistance and Accommodation*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993).

[41] Fenelon, James V., *Culturicide, Resistance, and Survival of the Lakota*, (New York: Garland Publishing, 1988); Brown, Dee, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee* (New York: Holt, Rinehard & Winston, 1971).

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Ma kāna mau puke i kākau mai ai, noiʻi akula ʻo Michel Foucault no kēia ʻano o ka loina, ka nohona, a me ke kānāwai o kānaka ma nā wahi like ʻole ma ka hala ʻana o ka manawa. Wahi āna, he mana nui ko ka poʻe e kākau ana i nā moʻolelo o nā ʻano like ʻole no kekahi kaiāulu a lāhui paha, no ka mea ma ke kākau ʻana aku i kekahi palapala, inā he nūpepa a he puke paha, he mea ia e hoʻoia ai i nā mea o loko o ia moʻolelo me he mea lā he mea "ʻoiaʻiʻo" a he mea "ʻike ʻia" nō hoʻi ia. A, no ka mea, ma o ke paʻi ʻia ʻana o kekahi ʻike a paʻi hou ʻia a hōʻoia ʻia e kānaka, lilo nō i mea maʻa mau a manaʻo ʻia he "ʻoiaʻiʻo" nō ia. A ʻo ia ʻano "ʻoiaʻiʻo" o kekahi lāhui, he mana nō kona, no ka mea, he mea nō ia e kiʻekiʻe ai ke kūlana a me ka mana o kekahi mau kānaka a emi hoʻi ke kūlana a me ka mana o kekahi.[42]

A, he pono hoʻi ka noʻonoʻo ʻana no kēia ʻano mea i manaʻo ʻia he "ʻoiaʻiʻo" a he mea "ʻike ʻia" ma Hawaiʻi nei ma muli o ka nui o nā puke i kākau ʻia no ia mea, e laʻa me nā "moʻolelo Hawaiʻi" i paʻi ʻia ma hope o ka Hoʻokahuli Aupuni e Alexander, Russ, Fuchs, a me Daws mā. Ma ia mau moʻolelo, ʻaʻohe manaʻo kūpaʻa o ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi no kona ʻāina a me kona aupuni a ʻaʻohe ona wahi kūʻē iki aku i ke kāʻili ʻia mai o kona mana kūʻokoʻa. A no ke paʻi nui ʻia ʻana ma ka puke a me ka puana nui ʻia aku e kānaka o ke kaiāulu ma Hawaiʻi nei, ua lilo i mea i manaʻo ʻia he ʻoiaʻiʻo. Akā, ma ko kākou noiʻi ʻana i ke au nei me ko kākou kālele ʻana i ka ʻike o nā kūpuna o ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi, he mea hoʻi ia e loli hou ai ka ʻoiaʻiʻo o ka moʻolelo o Hawaiʻi nei. I koʻu hoʻonaʻauao ʻia ʻana, he kōkua nui nō ka hoʻomaopopo ʻana aku i ka mana o ka moʻolelo ʻana a me ka lilo ʻana o ia moʻolelo i mea ʻoiaʻiʻo a pēlā hoʻi ka lilo ʻana o ia "ʻoiaʻiʻo" i mea mana.

[42] Foucault, 1995, 27. Penei kā Foucault wehewehe ʻana no kēia ʻano mana, "Power produces knowledge (and not because it is useful;... power and knowledge directly imply one another; that there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations."

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He kahua nō hoʻi kā Edward Said i kākau ai i kēia alahele ʻimi naʻauao oʻu, no kona kākau ʻana e pili ana i ka hoʻēmi ʻia ʻana o ke kūlana o kekahi ʻano kanaka a lāhui paha ma loko o kāna puke ʻo *Orientalism.* ʻImi a noiʻi akula ʻo Said no ka hoʻokiʻekiʻe ʻia ʻana o ke kūlana o ka poʻe hoʻokolonaio o ʻEuropa i luna a me ka hoʻēmi ʻia ʻana o nā lāhui o nā ʻāina ʻē. Wahi āna, he mana ko kā ʻike a me ka hoʻomaopopo ʻana i ke ʻano o ia poʻe o ka ʻāina ʻē, ko lākou moʻolelo, ka loina, a ma o kēia hoʻopaʻa ʻana i ka ʻike ma lalo o ka mana o ka lāhui kūlana kiʻekiʻe, he alahele hoʻi ia hoʻopaʻa ʻana i ka ʻike no kekahi lāhui e mana ai ia poʻe ʻEuropa ala.[43]

He paʻakikī nō hoʻi kēia hana hoʻokolonaio no nā Kānaka Maoli o Hawaiʻi no ka mea, i ka wā nō o ka poʻe hoʻokolonaio e hoʻāʻo ana e hoʻololi aku i ke ʻano o ka nohona a me ka loina Hawaiʻi, he mahalo nō hoʻi ko lākou i ka nani o ka ʻāina o Hawaiʻi a me ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi. Hoʻākāka maikaʻi maila ʻo Deborah Root no ka pilikia o kēia ʻano mahalo ma loko o kāna puke i kapa ʻia ʻo *Cannibal Culture.*[44] Wahi āna, he mahalo ko lākou i ke ʻano ʻē o nā hana, nā mele, nā loina, a me nā hana lima noʻeau o ka poʻe ʻōiwi. Ma muli o ia mahalo, lilo maila lākou i kanaka akamai a i kanaka mana hoʻi nāna e kuhikuhi ana i ke ʻano maikaʻi a maikaʻi ʻole paha o ia hana. Eia nō naʻe, ʻaʻole nā mea Hawaiʻi he mea no kekahi

[43] Said, 1978, 1, 3. Penei ʻo Said i kākau ai no kēia ʻike a me ka noho mana ʻana no ia ʻike. Ua kākau nō ʻo ia no kēia "business of 'knowing' other peoples because this 'knowing' underpinned imperial dominance and became the mode by which they (the Other) were increasingly persuaded to know themselves: this is, as subordinate to Europe." Hoʻomau akula nō ʻo Said no ia manaʻo ma kekahi ʻaoʻao o kāna puke penei, "Without examining Orientalism as a discourse one cannot possibly understand the enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage—and even produce—the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period. Moreover, so authoritative a position did Orientalism have that I believe no one writing, thinking, or acting on the Orient could do so without taking account of the limitations on thought and action imposed by Orientalism. In brief, because of Orientalism the Orient was not (and is not) a free subject of thought or action."

[44] Root, Deborah, *Cannibal Culture,* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1996).

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lāhui ʻē, ʻoiai, ʻo ko kākou nohona, loina, ʻōlelo a moʻolelo, ʻo ia nō nā mea ʻōiwi o kēia ʻāina nei.[45]

ʻO kekahi manaʻo waiwai o Edward Said i hoʻākāka mai ai ma kāna puke ʻo *Culture and Imperialism*, pili ia i ke ʻano o ka lāhui, ka ʻōlelo o ia lāhui, a me ke kūpaʻa a kūʻē o ka ʻōlelo.[46] Wahi āna, ma o ka ʻōlelo a me kona puana ʻia ʻana ma loko o nā wahi a me nā ʻano like ʻole, e laʻa me ka moʻolelo, ke mele, ka hana keaka, a pēlā pū ka nūpepa me nā puke, pēlā nō e ola ai ia ʻōlelo a pēlā hoʻi e lilo ai i kahua no ka lāhui.[47] Ke lana nei koʻu manaʻo, he kōkua a he kākoʻo kēia palapala nei i ko kākou hoʻōla hou ʻana i ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi ma nā ʻano hana like ʻole. Ke hoʻonaʻauao ʻia nei nā kekahi o kā kākou poʻe kamaliʻi ma ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi. Ke māhuahua mai nei nā polokalamu ma ka lekiō a me ke kīwī nō hoʻi ma ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi. Ke ola nei nō hoʻi ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi ma loko o nā ʻano nūpepa like ʻole, no nā keiki o ke kula kaiapuni, no nā haumāna o ke kula nui, a i kekahi manawa, ma loko nō o ka nūpepa ʻōlelo haole o Honolulu nei. He mea mau nō hoʻi nā hana keaka ma ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi. He pono nō hoʻi ka hoʻomāhuahua ʻana mai i nā papahana noiʻi ma ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi—nā mea e noiʻi ana i ka ʻike ma ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi a me nā mea e hoʻopaʻa mai ana i ia moʻolelo a me ia ʻike ma ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi.

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[45] Root, 21. Penei kā Root i kākau maila, "Admiration of a foreign culture or a foreign aesthetic system can connote broad-mindedness and at the same time flatter the aesthetic or political pretensions of the connoisseur. The regard for difference can also become another way to control what has been determined to fall into the category marked "foreign."

[46] Said, 1994.

[47] Said, 1994, 214. Penei kā Said, "Insistence on the right to see the community's history whole, coherently, integrally. Restore the imprisoned nation to itself... The concept of the national language is central, but without the practice of a national culture—from slogans to pamphlets and newspapers, from folktales and heroes to epic poetry, novels, and drama—the language is inert; national culture organizes and sustains communal memory... it reinhabits the landscape using restored ways of life, heroes, heroines, and exploits; it formulates expressions and emotions of pride as well as defiance, which in turn form the backbone of the principal national independence parties."

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He mea nui nō hoʻi kā Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak i nīnau mai ai ma kāna mokuna i kapa ʻia ʻo "Can the Subaltern Speak?"[48] Pili kāna nīnau a me kona mau manaʻo i ka hiki a me ka hiki ʻole paha i ka poʻe haʻahaʻa a mana ʻole o ke kūlana ke hōʻike maoli aku i ko lākou manaʻo ma mua o ka lehulehu, a no ka mea, wahi āna, e ʻōlelo ana ia poʻe kūlana haʻahaʻa ma ka pōʻaiapili o ka poʻe nona ka mana. No laila, ʻo ia kūlana kiʻekiʻe o ka poʻe mana, he mea nō ia e hoʻohaʻahaʻa a e hoʻohāmau ana i ka leo o ka poʻe haʻahaʻa o ke kūlana. No laila, i ko Spivak manaʻo, ʻaʻole nō hiki i ia poʻe kūlana haʻahaʻa ke hōʻike pono aku i ko lākou manaʻo ma ia pōʻaiapili o ka poʻe kūlana kiʻekiʻe a kūlana mana nō hoʻi paha.[49] Nui ka mahalo i ko Spivak mau manaʻo i hāpai maila, no ka mea, he mea nō ia e noʻonoʻo ai, a ma kekahi ʻano, he pololei nō ia manaʻo, no ka mea, he mea paʻakikī maoli nō kēia ʻōlelo ʻana ma ke alo o ka poʻe kūlana kiʻekiʻe. Eia nō naʻe, ʻaʻole nō ia he mea e hoʻohāmau loa ʻia ai ka leo o kānaka.

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No nā Kānaka Maoli o Hawaiʻi nei, ua ʻimi nō lākou i ke alahele e paʻē aku ai ko lākou leo ma ko lākou kaiāulu i loko nō o ka wā e hoʻēmi nui ʻia ana ko lākou mana ma Hawaiʻi nei a me ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi nō hoʻi. I ka makahiki 1861, ua hoʻokō ʻia kēia ma o ka hoʻokumu ʻana i nā nūpepa aloha ʻāina a me ka moʻolelo ʻana ma loko o ua poʻe nūpepa ala, e laʻa me *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* a me *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, no nā mea a nā Kānaka Maoli i manaʻo ai he pono a he mea nui iā lākou. No laila, i kekahi manawa, hoʻohaʻahaʻa ʻia aku nō ke kūlana o ka poʻe, a hoʻokuli ʻia aku paha ko lākou leo, eia nō naʻe, ʻaʻole nō hoʻohāmau ʻia ia leo no nā kau a kau. No laila, inā hāmama ka pepeiao a hoʻolohe ʻia aku ka leo o ia poʻe kūlana haʻahaʻa, he manaʻo nō kona.

Ma loko o ka puke ʻo *Decolonising the Mind* na Ngũgĩ, he mea nui ka ʻōlelo

[48] Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, eds. Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (University of Illinois Press, 1988).
[49] Spivak, 294.

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ʻōiwi o kānaka no ka moʻolelo ʻana mai i ko kākou moʻolelo ponoʻī, no ka mea, he mea nō ia e ola ai ka loina o kānaka, a ʻo ia ka mea e ola ai ka lāhui. No ia kumu, wahi a Ngũgĩ, he pono ka hoʻomaopopo ʻana i ko kākou mau ʻōlelo ponoʻī a he pono hoʻi ke kūpaʻa ʻana ma hope o ka ʻōlelo, no ka mea, ma o ko kākou ʻōlelo ponoʻī e ʻike ʻia ai ke ala hele no ka hoʻokō ʻana aku i ke kuleana nui o kākou, ʻo ia nō ka ʻimi ʻana i ka pono o ko kākou lāhui.[50]

Wahi a Ngũgĩ, ʻo ka pahuhopu nui o ka mea hoʻokolonaio, ʻo ia hoʻi ke kaʻaluna ʻana o kona kūlana ma luna aku o ko ka mea hoʻokolonaio ʻia. A ʻo ka mea nui o ia hana he hoʻokolonaio, ʻo ia hoʻi ke kāohi ʻana i nā manaʻo a me ka noʻonoʻo ʻana o loko o ka waihona noʻonoʻo o ke kanaka hoʻokolonaio ʻia i kuhi hewa ʻo ia he mea emi loa kona kūlana, ke hoʻohālike ʻia aku me ko ka mea hoʻokolonaio a me ko nā mea ʻē aʻe o ke ao nei. Ke ʻole ke kāohi pū ʻana iho i ka manaʻo o ka mea hoʻokolonaio ʻia, ʻaʻohe nō e piha ka hoʻohaku a noho luna ʻana mai o kekahi lāhui hoʻokolonaio ma luna o kekahi lāhui kanaka ʻē aʻe ma o nā hana politika a hana hoʻokele waiwai kumu wale nō.[51]

Ma kāna puke i kapa ʻia ʻo *Colonizing Hawai'i: The Cultural Power of Law*, moʻolelo mai ʻo Sally Merry no kēia hana hoʻokolonaio i hana ʻia ma Hawaiʻi a kākau pū nō hoʻi ʻo ia no nā mea e nā ai nā pilikia o ka poʻe hoʻokolonaio ʻia.[52] Wahi a Merry, no ka hoʻomaopopo ʻana i ka nā ʻana aku, he pono hoʻi ka noiʻi me

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[50] Ngũgĩ, 108. Wahi a Ngugi, "The call for the rediscovery and the resumption of our language is a call for a regenerative reconnection with the millions of revolutionary tongues in Africa and the world over demanding liberation. It is a call for the rediscovery of the real language of humankind: the language of struggle. It is the universal language underlying all speech and words of our history. Struggle. Struggle makes history. Struggle makes us."

[51] Ngũgĩ, 16. Wahi a Ngugi, "The most important area of domination was the mental universe of the colonised, the control, through culture, of how people perceived themselves and their relationship to the world. Economic and political control can never be complete or effective without mental control. To control a people's culture is to control their tools of self-definition in relationship to others."

[52] Merry, Sally Engle, *Colonizing Hawai'i: The Cultural Power of Law*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

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ka hoʻomaopopo ʻana i ia hana he hoʻokolonaio. ʻAʻole nō i maʻalahi a maiau wale ia hana hoʻokolonaio me ka holo ʻana o ka manawa, no ke ʻano o ka hana kūʻē i hana ʻia a no ka nui ʻana mai o ka mana o kekahi o nā Kānaka Maoli o Hawaiʻi nei i ka wā hoʻi e emi ana ka mana o ka hapanui o ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi.[53]

He mau manaʻo nō hoʻi ko Taiaiake Alfred no nā mea e pono ai kākou kānaka ʻōiwi i ke au nei. Ma kāna puke ʻo *Peace Power Righteousness: An Indigenous Manifesto*, moʻolelo mai ʻo ia no kekahi kumu i hemahema ai ko kākou mau lāhui ʻōiwi i nā makahiki i hala aʻe nei, a ma muli nō ia o ke kaʻawale ʻana o ka poʻe nāna e mālama i nā loina o ka lāhui a me ka poʻe hana polotika.[54] Akā, ʻo ka mea e pono ai ko kākou mau lāhui, ʻo ia nō ka poʻe me ʻike o ka loina, ka ʻōlelo a me ka poʻe mālama pono a maopopo pono ka waiwai o ia mau mea, akā, he ʻike a he akamai hoʻi ʻo ia ma nā hana polotika o ke au nei. Wahi āna, ʻo ia kēia hui hou ʻana o nā ʻano ʻelua ka mea e pono ai nā lāhui i kēia mua aku.[55] Kākau mai nō hoʻi ʻo Alfred no ka ʻano ʻōiwi i pono ai ke au nei a me ko kākou kūpaʻa ʻana no ka pono o ko kākou ʻāina me ko kākou lāhui i ke au nei. Wahi āna, ʻo ka loina nō ke kahui o ko kākou ʻimi ʻana i ke kūlana pono i ke au nei, he kūlana kūʻokoʻa hoʻi ia i mana ai kākou i ko kākou koho ʻana i ko kākou alahele ponoʻī e holo ai.[56]

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[53] Merry, 2000, 3. Penei kā Merry, "Yet the postcolonial can only be understood through a detailed analysis of the colonial: the forms of imposition of rule, the extent and nature of resistance, and the ambiguous and contradictory position of colonized elites. AIthough the colonial process meant taking political control over a remote region, the transformation was deeply cultural and economic as well as as political."

[54] Alfred, Taiaiake, *Peace Power Righteousness: An Indigenous Manifesto*, (Ontario: Oxford University Press, 1999).

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[55] Alfred 1999, 137. Wahi a Alfred, "For a long time, Native politics has been characterized by competition between traditionalist leaders who live the culture and 'agency' or 'band council' leaders who work within the state system. Today our survival depends on the emergence of new Native leaders who embody traditionalism as a personal identity and at the same time have the knowledge skills required to bring traditional objectives forward as the basic agenda of the political and social institutions they work within."

[56] Alfred, 1999, 56. Penei kā Alfred i moʻolelo maila, "It is the capacity of action premised on indigenous authenticity that is most important and immediately imperative for anti-imperial struggle. Culture exists in communities and in the lives of people; culture is the foundation of indigenous resurgences—contrary to the institutional-organizational approach to confronting

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No nā mea noi'i no ka mo'olelo a me nā mana'o polotika o nā Kānaka Maoli o ka Lāhui Hawai'i i ke au nei, e la'a me Trask, Kame'eleihiwa, Osorio, a me Silva, he mea nui nō kēia ho'omaopopo 'ana i ke 'ano o ka hana ho'okolonaio i hana 'ia ma Hawai'i nei, a he mea nui nō ho'i ka ho'omaopopo 'ana i ke 'ano o ke kū'ē 'ana aku o ko kākou po'e kūpuna i ia hana ho'okolonaio. Ma loko o kāna puke, ho'ākāka mai nō ho'i 'o Trask i ka pilikia o kēia hana ho'okolonaio no nā Kānaka Maoli o Hawai'i nei, no ka mea, ua lilo nā mea Hawai'i a pau i mea e kū'ai 'ia aku, e la'a me ka 'āina a me ke aloha nō ho'i.[57]

No Osorio, 'o ka hopena o ia hana ho'okolonaio, ua 'ano like ia me ka moku 'ana ke kino o ke kanaka a ho'oka'awale 'ia ke kanaka a me kona 'āina, kona loina, kona 'āina, a me kona aupuni. 'O kēia moku 'ana, ua pili nō i ke kino, ka na'au, a me ka mana'o o ke kanaka.[58]

Ho'ākāka mai nō ho'i 'o Silva i ka pilina o ka 'ōlelo me ke kū'ē 'ana aku i ka hana a me ke 'ano ho'okolonaio. Wahi āna, ua koho ka po'e aloha 'āina o nā makahiki 1889 a 1898 i ka 'ōlelo Hawai'i i ko lākou kama'ilio pū 'ana a me ko lākou kākau 'ana aku ma nā palapala a lākou, no ka mea, ma'alahi ka hūnā 'ana aku i ko lākou mau mana'o kū'ē ma loko o ke kaona o ka 'ōlelo Hawai'i. 'O kēia

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state power, which structures resistance in forms of counter-imperial organizations that mimic the state in order to confront it on its own terms."

[57] Trask, 1993, 3. Ua mo'olelo mai 'o Trask penei, "American colonization has brought more than physical transformation to the lush and sacred islands of our ancestors. Visible in garish 'Polynesian' revues, commercial ads using our dance and language to sell vacations and condominiums, and the trampling of sacred *heiau* (temples) and burial grounds as tourist recreation sites, a grotesque commercialization of everything Hawaiian has damanged Hawaiians psychologically, reducing our ability to control our lands and waters, our daily ives, and the expression and integrety of our culture."

[58] Osorio, 2002, 3. Penei kā Osorio ho'ākāka 'ana i kona mo'olelo i kākau ai, "It is a story of how colonialism worked in Hawai'i not through the naked seizure of lands and governments but through a slow, insinuating invasion of people, ideas, and institutions. It is also a story of how our people fought this colonial insinuation with perplexity and courage. But ultimately, this is a story of violence, in which that colonialism literally and figuratively dismembered the lāhui (the people from their traditions, their lands, and ultimately their government. The mutilations were not physical only, but also psychological and spiritual. Death came not only through infection and disease, but through racial and legal discourse that crippled the will, confidence, and trust of the Kānaka Maoli as surely as leprosy and smallpox claimed their limbs and lives."

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'ōlelo huna, he mea ho'i ia i ulu ai ka pilina a me ke 'ano lōkahi o nā kānaka, 'oiai, like pū ko lākou ho'omaopopo 'ana aku i ia kaona.[59]

No laila, 'o kēia nō nā kahua no kēia palapala nei—'o ka 'ōlelo, 'o ka leo o nā kānaka i mo'olelo a i mele 'ia ma ka nūpepa a me nā puke kekahi, 'o ka mo'olelo Hawai'i i ha'i 'ia ma ke kuana 'ike Hawai'i, a me ka ho'ā'o 'ana nō ho'i e ho'omapopo aku i ka mana'o o kēia mau kumumana'o o ka Lāhui Hawai'i ma ka 'ōlelo Hawai'i. I kani kēia leo no nā hanauna e hiki mai ana, no ka po'e aloha 'āina no nā kau a kau.

[59] Silva, 2004, 5. Penei kā Silva i kākau mai ai, "The contest over language was and is part of the anticolonial struggle. The hui of 1889-1898 communicated with each other in their mother tongue. It was easier that way because if was harder for the oppressor to decipher. Songs, poems, and stories with the potential for kaona, or "hidden meanings," presented even greater opportunities to express anticolonial sentiments. People made use of these forms, and they created and maintained these national solidarity through publication of these and more overtly political essays in newspapers."

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MAHELE I

'AUHEA 'OUKOU E KA LĀHUI, KA ĒWE ALOHA O HAWAI'I NEI: NO NĀ MELE LĀHUI O NĀ MAKAHIKI 1893-1898

HE WEHI NO HAWAII[1]

Auhea oukou e ka lahui,
Ka ewe aloha o Hawaii nei,
Makia ke aloha paa iloko,
Kohia i paa e ka aina,
Mai punihei aku i ka mali leo,
I ka alapahi mai a ka nui manu,
Hoohui Aina oia ka make,
Aohe ou pono Kivila ilaila,
Hoonele ia oe i ka mana koho,
I ka imi ana hoi i ke Kaulike,
Hookahi puuwai e ka lahui,
E paa i ke Ea o ka Aina,
Kui aku e ka lono lohe Europa,
Ua haunaele Hawaii loa,
Liuliu Enelani a hoouna mai,
I ka moku kaulana Roiala Aka,
Akaka e ka hana a ka lokoino,
Pakaha i ka pono a o Hawaii,
A oi hoi hope e ka lahui,
Eia i ka nuu a o Hawaii,
He wehi keia no Hawaii,
Kikowaena o ka Pakipika,
Makaleho ia e ka nui manu,
Na Auna Kolea o Kahiki,
Hiki mai e ka lono i Hawaii nei,
Aia kou pono a i Europa,
Ua kue hoi e ka Aha Senate,
O ka Ahaolelo Amerika,
Mai haookuu [*pn*] oe e ka lahui,
I ke Ea aloha o kou aina,
Hookahi pana ana o ka puuwai,
Ka walu o na Lani i ke Kalaunu,
Unua i pau pono ke koii koi,
Ke aloha aina o ka lahui,
E hui Hawaii Moku o Keawe,
Kakoo e Maui Moku o Kama,
Hea mai Molokai Nui a Hina,
E ola o Liliu a mau loa,

[1] Mrs. Kala, "He Wehi No Hawaii," *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 1 Malaki 1893, 3.

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Ka puana like ia a Kakuhihewa,
A Kauai a e lei mai nei,
Haina ka puana a o ko wehi,
E ola Hawaii a mau loa,

Haku ia e
MRS. KALA

Honuakaha, Feb. 27, 1893.

'O ke ola mau o Hawai'i ka mea nui ko'iko'i o ke mele o luna a'e nei. He mana'olana a he pahuhopu nui kēia no ka Lāhui Hawai'i, a ua haku 'ia ia mana'o ma loko o nā mele lāhui he nui i pa'i 'ia ma waena o ka Ho'okahuli Aupuni i ka makahiki 1893 a me ka Ho'ohui 'Āina o ka makahiki 1898. Ma nā lālani mele mua loa o kāna mele, kāhea maila 'o Mrs. Kala, "Auhea oukou e ka lahui/Ka ewe aloha o Hawaii nei," (l. 1-2). He leo kāhea kēia i nā ēwe aloha o ia au, a he leo kāhea ho'i kēia iā kākou, e nā ēwe aloha o ke au nei, e nānā mai a e ho'olohe mai i ka leo o nā kūpuna—nā leo ho'i e kani mau nei ma loko o nā mele lāhui a lākou i haku ai.

Nahenahe wale ka leo o Mrs. Kala ma kona mele 'ana no ka lāhui. Mele mai 'o ia no ka lōkahi o ka lāhui. Wahi āna, "Hookahi puuwai e ka lahui," (l. 11) a "Hookahi pana ana o ka puuwai," (l. 31), a laila, ma ka hopena, mele 'ia mai no ia mana'o lōkahi o nā mokupuni. Koikoi 'ia 'o Hawaii "E hui" a he "Kakoo" ko Maui, "Hea mai" 'o Molokai, "Puana like" 'o O'ahu, a "Lei" 'ia 'o Kaua'i (l. 35-40). Eia kekahi, no ka hapanui o nā mokupuni, kāhea 'ia lākou ma o ko lākou Mō'ī kaulana, e la'a me "Hawaii o Keawe," "Maui o Kama," "Molokai Nui a Hina," a me "Kakuhihewa" no O'ahu (l. 35-39). He mana'o kūamuamu ho'i ko ke mele i ke kapa 'ana aku i ka "Hoohui Aina oia ka make," (l. 7) a me ke mele 'ana no ka "Makaleho" 'ana o "Na Auna Kolea o Kahiki," (l. 23-24), 'o ia ho'i ka po'e haole, a me ko lākou 'ano "lokoino" (l. 17) a "Pakaha," (l. 18). Eia kekahi, mele 'ia mai nō ho'i 'o Mrs. Kala no Enelani (l. 15) a me 'Europa (l. 13, 26), no ka mea, 'o

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ka ʻike ʻana o ia mau aupuni, he mea ia e hoʻoia ʻia ai ke kūʻokoʻa o Hawaiʻi. Mele hou ʻia mai nō hoʻi no ka pono o ke kūʻokoʻa o Hawaiʻi ma o ka hoʻoia ʻana i ka "paa" o "ke Ea o ka Aina," (l. 12) a ma ka hopena kona puana ʻana no ke "ola" o Hawaiʻi "a mau loa," (l. 41-42).

Ma kēia mau mele lāhui, ʻo nā manaʻo nui o ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi nō ka mea i mele ʻia maila. Mele ʻia mai no nā mea a lākou e manaʻo ana he pono a he koʻikoʻi ia no ko lākou lāhui, ko lākou ʻohana, ko lākou ola, a me ko lākou nohona. ʻO ka ʻāina o Hawaiʻi kekahi o ia mau mea a pēlā pū ke ea o ia ʻāina a me ka pono o ia ʻāina. Eia kekahi, he mea nui nō kēia mau mea—ʻo ka ʻāina, ke ea, ka pono, a me ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi. Ke nānā ʻia nā mele lāhui, e ʻike pinepine ʻia ana nō kēia mau kumuhana a maikaʻi ke hoʻomaopopo ʻia ka nui o kēia mau manaʻo ma loko o nā mele lāhui, no ka mea, ʻo ia ana ke kumuhana nui o ka Mahele II o kēia palapala. Ma mua naʻe o ka noiʻi ʻana i ia mau kumuhana, e hoʻokamaʻāina mua kākou, e ka maka heluhelu, i nā mele lāhui ma kēia Mahele I.

Ma ka Mokuna 2, ʻo nā mele lāhui mai loko mai o ka nūpepa aloha ʻāina ka mea e moʻolelo ʻia ana. Ua ʻohiʻohi ʻia maila kēia mau mele ma waena o nā makahiki 1893 a me 1898. Ua paʻi ʻia nō hoʻi he ʻelua puke me nā mele lāhui, a ʻo ia mau puke nō nā kumuhana ʻē aʻe o kēia mahele. Ma ka Mokuna 3, ʻo ke *Kaua Kuloko 1895* ke kumuhana nui a pēlā pū nā mele lāhui o loko, a ma ka Mokuna 4, ʻo ka *Buke Mele Lahui* ka mea e moʻolelo ʻia ana. Paʻi ʻia kēia mau puke a ʻelua i ka makahiki 1895. No kēlā me kēia mokuna, e haʻi ʻia ana ka moʻolelo no kahi e ʻike ʻia ai nā mele lāhui, inā ma ka nūpepa a ma ka puke nō hoʻi paha. Eia kekahi, e moʻolelo pū ʻia ana nō ka pōʻaiapili o nā mele a e hoʻāʻo ana kēia mea kākau e haku pū ʻia kaʻu moʻolelo me nā mele lāhui, i alakaʻi ʻia ka moʻolelo e nā mele. ʻO ka pahuhopu nui o kēlā me kēia mokuna ma kēia mahele, ʻo ia nō ka

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ho'okama'āina 'ia 'ana o ka maka heluhelu i nā mele lāhui. No laila, e like me ka'u leo nonoi a leo koikoi o ka 'Ōlelo Ho'ākāka, e heluhelu 'ia mai nō nā mele, e leo 'ia mai a pēlā e pa'ē mau ai i ka pepeiao o kānaka.

Ma ka 'ohi'ohi 'ana aku i nā mele lāhui, ua ho'ā'o mai nō ka mea kākau e 'imi a loa'a mai nā mele lāhui a pau i pa'i 'ia ma waena o ka makahiki 1893 a me 1898, mai ka nūpepa mai a mai ka puke mai nō ho'i. Ua 'imi noi'i 'ia nā nūpepa i loa'a ma ka Hale Waihona Puke 'o Hamilton ma ke Kula Nui o Hawai'i ma Mānoa, a pēlā ka 'imi 'ana ma nā nūpepa ma ka Hale Waihona Puke Nui o ka Moku'āina 'o Hawai'i ma ke kaona 'o Honolulu, a nānā pū 'ia a 'ohi'ohi pū 'ia maila nā mele mai ka pūnaewele nō ho'i. I kekahi manawa, 'a'ole nō i loa'a ka nūpepa o kekahi o nā lā. A, no laila, 'a'ole nō i loa'a mai nā mele o ia mau lā. Eia nō na'e, ua nui nā mele i loa'a mai.

Hō'ike 'ia ma ka papa kuhikuhi i lalo nei ka huina o nā mele lāhui i 'ohi'ohi 'ia maila mai nā wahi a pau i 'imi 'ia. Ma kekahi kolamu, hō'ike 'ia ka nui o "Nā Mele 'Oko'a" i pa'i 'ia i kēlā me kēia makahiki. Helu 'ia ke mele ma kēia kolamu i ka manawa mua wale nō i pa'i 'ia ai. 'O kekahi mele na'e, pa'i 'ia aku he 'elua, 'ekolu, a 'oi paha manawa i kekahi lā aku a i kekahi nūpepa aku paha. I ke pa'i hou 'ia 'ana o ke mele, 'oko'a paha ka inoa o ke mele, akā, like nō nā lālani mele. Ma ke kolamu i kapa 'ia "Ka Huina o Nā Mele," 'o ia nō ka huina nui ke helu 'ia nā mele i pa'i pālua a pākolu 'ia.

Makahiki	Nā Mele 'Oko'a	Ka Huina o Nā Mele
1893	138	189
1894	42	60
1895	106	160
1896	1	1

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Makahiki	Nā Mele ʻOkoʻa	Ka Huina o Nā Mele
1897	13	17
1898	24	27
Huina Nui	**324**	**454**

Papa Kuhikuhi 1. Ka nui o nā mele lāhui i paʻi ʻia ma loko o ka nūpepa a me ka puke, 1893-1898. (E waiho ana kekahi Waihona ʻIke no kēia mau mele ma ka Hale Waihona Puke ʻo Hamilton ma ke Kula Nui o Hawaiʻi ma Mānoa.)

Ma loko o nā nūpepa, ua paʻi ʻia he elua haneli a ʻoi mele ʻokoʻa ma waena o nā makahiki i kuhikuhi ʻia aʻe nei. I ka makahiki 1895, ua paʻi ʻia a hoʻopuka ʻia nō hoʻi kēlā mau puke ʻelua, ʻo *Kaua Kuloko 1895* kekahi a ʻo *Buke Mele Lahui* kekahi. Liʻiliʻi wale nō (he 8 ka huina) nā mele i paʻi ʻia i loko o ka mea mua, a ma kahi o ka hoʻokahi haneli mele i paʻi ʻia ma loko o ka *Buke Mele Lahui* (he 96 ka huina). He keu ka nui o kēia huina mele, a he kani leo leʻa ko lākou paʻē ʻana mai i ka pepeiao o kānaka, ke hoʻolohe pono ʻia aku. Ke lohe ʻia nā leo, kuhikuhi ʻia nō ke alahele e hoʻomaopopo ai i ka manaʻo o ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi e ola ana i ia manawa.

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MOKUNA 2
E OLA 'O KALANI LĪLI'U O NĀ MOKU: NĀ MELE LĀHUI O NĀ NŪPEPA: 1893-1898

KA PULE A KA LAHUI HAWAII[1]

E— Iehova Sabaota
O—na kaua,—ke Kahikolu
L— aahia Hemolele,
A—lana ia no ko ke ao nei.
O—ka makou pule e maliu mai—
K— a puuhonua o makou nei,
A—lakai, hoopakele, nana mai,
L— awe aku i na popilikia
A—hoolilo i mea ole.
N—inini mai i Kou Hemolele,
I— ola ai makou ma Ou 'la.
L— alau mai Kou aloha
I— hilinai manawalea,
L— aahia makamae
I— ko makou Lei Ali'aimoku.
U—hi Iaia me Kou mana,
O—ka palekana a lanakila;
N—a kou nani e hoomohala,
A—mao ae na pilihua.
M—a Ou la—e ka Haku,
O—ko ke ao nei a pau,
K— a makou e pule nei,
U—hane Hemolele Kahikolu.

E— Iehova Sabaota,
M—akua o Aberahama me Davida.
A—lakai o ko ka Isaraela,
U—a ikea a hoonani ia.
K— e haliu aku nei makou,
E— waiho aku ma Kou mau wawae,
E— maliu mai i ka makou pule,
A—e hoopakele ia Hawaii.
O—Oe hookahi e ka Haku,
K— o makou palekana,
A—lakai a Alihikaua,
A—ia no ma Ou la,
I— Kinohi a Hoikeana,

[1]"Ka Pule a ka Lahui Hawaii," *Hawaii Holomua*, 20 Ianuali 1893.

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N—a lahui me na aina,
A—puni ko ke ao nei,
I— paulele ai no ka malu,
K—a maalahi a me ke ola,
A—Kou Mana Lani i haawi mai ai
P— ule makou e ka Makua,
O—Hawaii e mau aku,
N—o na kupa na oiwi,
O—ka aina—ma Ou la.

Ma ka lā 20 o Ianuali i ka makahiki 1893 i pa'i 'ia ai ke mele lāhui mua loa e pili ana i ka Ho'okahuli Aupuni. He 'ekolu wale nō lā ia ma hope o ka ho'okahuli 'ia 'ana o ke aupuni ma ka lā 17 o Ianuali o ka makahiki 1893. He pule ia mele lāhui a kapa 'ia "Ka Pule A Ka Lahui." Piha nō ia pule i nā noi like 'ole i ke Akua e "Lawe aku i na popilikia (l. 8), "A e hoopakele ia Hawaii" (l. 31), a noi 'ia ho'i, "O Hawaii e mau loa aku/No na kupa na oiwi/O ka aina" (l. 43-45).

Ma kēia mokuna nei, e mo'olelo 'ia aku ana no nā mele lāhui i pa'i 'ia i loko o nā nūpepa ma waena o ka makahiki 1893, ka wā ho'i i ho'okahuli 'ia ai ke Aupuni Hawai'i, a me ka makahiki 1898, ka wā ho'i i ho'ohui 'ia aku ai 'o Hawai'i ma lalo o 'Amelika. E mo'olelo 'ia aku ana no nā nūpepa kahi i pa'i 'ia ai nā mele lāhui a me nā luna ho'oponopono o nā nūpepa. He mea nui nō ho'i nā haku mele, 'oiai, 'o ko lākou leo nō kēia a kākou e ho'olohe ana, a ma loko o ia hui haku mele, he kani le'a mai nō ka leo o nā wāhine. Ma ka hopena o kēia mokuna, e huli ana nō kākou a nānā i nā kumuhana nui a me nā mana'o nui o nā mele i pa'i 'ia ma waena o ka makahiki 1893 me 1898, no ka mo'olelo a me nā hana like 'ole i mele 'ia mai, no nā kānaka i ho'ohanohano 'ia mai, a no nā mana'o i puana 'ia mai.

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Eia ma lalo nei kahi papa kuhikuhi e hōʻike aku ana i ka nui o nā mele lāhui i ʻohiʻohi ʻia mai mai loko mai o nā nūpepa no kēia papahana noiʻi nei.[2] E like me ka papa kuhikuhi i hōʻike ʻia ma ka ʻŌlelo Hoʻolauna no kēia māhele, ma ke kōlamu ʻo "Nā Mele ʻOkoʻa," hōʻike ʻia ka nui o nā mele ʻokoʻa i paʻi ʻia i kēlā me kēia makahiki. Ma ke kōlamu e helu ana i "Ka Huina o Nā Mele," ʻo ia nō ka huina o nā mele a pau i paʻi ʻia i ia makahiki, ke helu ʻia nā mele i paʻi pālua a pākolu ʻia.

Makahiki	Nā Mele ʻOkoʻa	Ka Huina o Nā Mele
1893	131	188
1894	40	50
1895	39	53
1896	1	1
1897	7	7
1898	24	25
Ka Huina Nui	**242**	**330**

Papa Kuhikuhi 2. No ka nui o nā mele lāhui i paʻi ʻia ma loko o ka nūpepa, 1893-1898.

Ua ʻohiʻohi ʻia maila kēia mau mele mai loko mai o nā nūpepa aloha ʻāina e paʻi ʻia ana e ka poʻe aloha ʻāina. He mea nui nō ia mau nūpepa, no ka mea, ʻo ka nūpepa kahi e hoʻopuka ʻia ai kēia poʻe mele lāhui, pau pū me kā lākou mau leo a manaʻo hoʻi, ʻoiai, ma laila nō i laha ai ke oli ʻana a me ka hīmeni ʻana o kēia mau mele.

[2] Ua hoʻāʻo mai nō ka mea kākau e ʻohiʻohi maila i nā mele lāhui a pau i paʻi ʻia i loko o nā nūpepa ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi o ia au, akā nō naʻe, ʻaʻole nō loaʻa nā nūpepa a pau, a maliʻa paha, ua hala kekahi mele i koʻu maka.

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No Nā Nūpepa o Hawai'i Nei: 1834-1893

Mai kīnohi o ka hiki 'ana mai o ka po'e mikionali ma Hawai'i nei i ka makahiki 1820, ua nui ka mahalo o ka Lāhui Hawai'i i ke kākau a me ka heluhelu 'ana i ka palapala. He mea nui kēia 'ike palapala no ke a'o 'ana i nā ha'awina o ka Paipala a me ka ho'omana Kalikiano i ka Lāhui Hawai'i. Ua ho'okumu 'ia ka nūpepa mua loa ma Hawai'i nei i ka makahiki 1834. 'O *Ka Lama Hawaii* ka inoa o ka nūpepa mua loa a ma ke kula 'o Lāhaināluna i pa'i 'ia ai, a i kekahi makahiki 'ana a'e, ho'okumu 'ia kekahi nūpepa hou aku i pa'i 'ia ma Honolulu. 'O *Ke Kumu Hawaii* ka inoa o ia nūpepa a ua kākau 'ia nō ho'i kekahi o nā mo'olelo e nā haumāna o Lāhaināluna. Wahi a Helen Chapin ma kāna puke i kākau ai no nā nūpepa like 'ole o Hawai'i nei, ua mo'olelo mai 'o ia no ka mana nui o kēia mau nūpepa ma o ka ho'ololi 'ana i ka mana'o o ka po'e 'ōiwi o Hawai'i no nā mea hou o ka po'e haole. I ko Chapin mana'o, he mea 'ano kupaianaha kēia, no ka mea, ma o ka nūpepa i ho'olaha 'ia ai ka mana'o o kahi huina kanaka li'ili'i, eia nō na'e, ma o ko lākou noho mana 'ana no kēia mau nūpepa, he keu nō ko lākou mana ma nā 'ano like 'ole ma Hawai'i nei.[3]

'O ka ho'omana Kalikiano kekahi mea i a'o 'ia a i ho'olaha 'ia ma o kēia po'e nūpepa, akā, 'a'ole 'o 'ano o ka ho'omana 'ana 'o ka mea ho'okahi i a'o 'ia, no ka mea, ua a'o pū 'ia aku nā 'ano like 'ole o ko ka po'e haole—no ka hana kālepa, ke 'ano o ka nohona o ka 'ohana, a me ke aupuni nō ho'i.[4] Pēia nō ke 'ano o nā nūpepa a pau i ho'okumu 'ia ma waena o ka makahiki 1834 a me 1861, inā he pepa i pili i kekahi hale pule a me ka ho'omana Kalikiano, e la'a me *Ka*

[3] Chapin, 1996, p. 16. Penei kā Chapin, "They thus inaugurated an establishment press—establishment in that even though the papers spoke for just a handful of people and not for the vast majority of the native population, in just a few years they had come to exert a dominant influence on the Islands."

[4] Chapin, 1996, 16. Wahi a Chapin. "Explanatory text spoke to the 'superiority' of American culture, the Christian religion, and the Protestant work ethic... Lead articles in *Ka Lama* and *Ke Kumu* discussed the rights and responsibilities of native Hawaiian leaders in Western terms, along with the desirability of an American-style government."

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Nonanona (1841-1845) a me *Ka Elele* (1845-1855), a i 'ole ia, he pepa ia no ke kūkala 'ana i nā ho'olaha o ke aupuni, e la'a me *Ka Hae Hawaii* (1856-1861).[5]

KA HOKU O KA PAKIPIKA[6]

Hanau kalani kau ka HOKU PAKIPIKA,
Kau ka Hoku paa ke alakai o na moku,
Kau o Helekela, he Hoku i ka palena o ka Aina,
Uwe wale mai o Kaawela i ke anu,
Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika ka'u olioli,
Ka Nu-Hou aloha a ka Hawaii,
Ka pua kamahao e kau nei,
I ohaoha kona kino me ke onaona,
Hawaii moku nui eia ko milimili,
Milimili ka laau newa i ke kai,
I lohia lima ia o Kau e ka A-e,
E ai okana aku ana ia Kona,
E ai ku ana ia Kohala,
E ai ili ana ia Hamakua,
E ai ahupuaa ana ia Hilo,
Manuahi wale mai ka lua o Kilauea,
E ai kalana ana ia Puna,
Kapu aku la ka ulu lehua o Panaewa,
I lei kahiko no ka Hoku Pakipika,
Ke hea mai nei o Maui ia oe,...

S. K. KUAPUU
Honolulu, Sepatemaba 19, 1861.

I ka makahiki 1861 i ho'okumu 'ia ai ka nūpepa mua loa ma lalo o ka mana o kekahi hui kanaka Hawai'i. 'O J. H. Kānepu'a kekahi o nā alak'i o ia hui a ua lilo ho'i 'o ia i mea kākau no ka nūpepa. Ua kapa 'ia ko lākou hui 'o Ka 'Ahahui Ho'opuka Nūpepa Kūikawā a ua ho'omaka ka pa'i 'ia 'ana o kā lākou nūpepa nona ka inoa 'o *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika.* Ua mo'olelo mai nō 'o Noenoe Silva no kēia hihia i ulu a nui i ka ho'omaka 'ana o *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika.* Wahi āna, ua makemake nō 'o Kānepu'a mā e pa'i 'ia ko lākou mau mana'o pono'ī no nā hana like 'ole e hana 'ia ana i Hawai'i nei. He mea nui nō ho'i iā lākou ka pa'i

[5] Mookini, 7, 8, 33.
[6] Kuapuu, S. K., "Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika," *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika,* 26 Kepakemapa 1861.

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'ana aku i nā mo'olelo Hawai'i i mea e mālama 'ia a ho'omau 'ia ai kēia mau mo'olelo i nā hanauna hou. Eia kekahi, he mea nui ho'i ka nūhou o ka 'āina 'ē, 'oiai, 'a'ole nō i mo'olelo 'ia mai ma nā nūpepa 'ē a'e.[7] Ua kū'ē nui 'ia kēia nūpepa o nā kānaka Hawai'i e nā kahu o nā hale pule. Wahi a lākou, 'o ka pilikia kahi mele i pa'i 'ia, 'o "He Mele No Ka Na'auao" ka inoa i piha i ke kaona no ka ho'oipoipo 'ana. Eia nō na'e, i ka mana'o o nā alaka'i o *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* a me kekahi mau kānaka hou aku, 'o ka pilikia maoli, ka mea i makemake 'ole 'ia ho'i e nā kahu o nā hale pule, 'o ia nō ke kū kanaka 'ana mai o ka Lāhui Hawai'i a me ko lākou makemake e ho'oki'eki'e 'ia ke kūlana o ka Lāhui Hawai'i a pēlā pū ka mo'olelo, ka loina, a me ka nohona o ka Lāhui Hawai'i. 'O ia ke kumu i kū'ē 'ia ai ia nūpepa, no ko lākou ho'okumu 'ana aku,

> He Nupepa keia no na kanaka maoli a he poe kanaka maoli no ka poe nana i kukulu a ke noho nei he Ahahui kanaka maoli... no laila, ke kukulu nei a ke hoolaha nei i Nupepa no lakou... ua pau ka noho ana ma lalo o na makua oia na Kumu [nā mikionali]. Aka ke keakea mai nei na makua, me he mea la e olelo ana, aole oukou i hiki i na makahiki e oo ai, na makou ia hana, a ma ia ano, ke hoohuli ia nei i kekahi mau keiki.[8]

Wahi a Chapin a me Silva, 'a'ole nō i hau'oli ka po'e mikionali i ka ho'okumu 'ia mai o kahi nūpepa hou ma lalo o ka mana o nā Hawai'i.[9] No ia kumu, ua ho'ā'o nō kekahi kanaka nona ka inoa 'o Henry H. Whitney, 'o Wini ho'i, e lilo 'o ia i luna nui no *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*. Hō'ole 'ia mai ho'i 'o ia e nā lālā o ka 'ahahui nāna e alaka'i ana i *Ka Hoku*.[10] No laila, ho'okumu nō ho'i 'o Wini i nūpepa i kapa 'ia ai kona inoa 'o *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*.

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[7] Silva, 2004, 64. Penei kā Silva i kākau ai no ka makemake o nā kānaka Hawai'i. Wahi āna, "[They] wish[ed] to provide traditional Hawaiian orature (at this time and through this medium transforming into literature), as well as the freedom to publish antimissionary and pro-Kanaka opinion. Kānepu'u and his hui desired 'news from abroad,' which they felt was being withheld by the government and church newspapers."
[8] *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, 3 October 1861.
[9] Silva, 2004,
[10] Silva, 2004, 63-72.

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KE KUOKOA PUKA LA[11]

He malihini hoi keia,
E auwana hele ae nei,
Aihemu manienie,,
A uhini o ka nahele.

O ke ano iho la no ia,
Malimali i kinohou,
A ku ae i ka moku,
Ko-we-iu-Kanaka.

O ko lakou ano iho la ia,
O hoolilo aina ma,
Mai punihei aku,
I ka mali hoohui aina.

He nūpepa 'ōlelo Hawai'i nō 'o *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, a wahi a Wini, ka luna ho'oponopono, he nūpepa kū'oko'a nō ia i pili 'ole i ke aupuni paha a me ka hale pule paha. A pololei nō ia mana'o, 'oiai, 'a'ohe nō pili o ka nūpepa i ke aupuni a i kahi hale pule ho'i. Eia nō na'e, 'ano like ko Wini mana'o me nā mea i hō'ike 'ia ma nā nūpepa o nā hale pule. Eia nō na'e, he nūpepa nō ia e kāko'o ana i ka ho'ohui 'āina me 'Amelika a e kāko'o ana ho'i i ke 'ano ko 'Amelika nohona. 'Ike 'ia kēia 'ano ma kekahi ho'okūkū mele i mālama 'ia. Wahi a ka ho'olaha ma ka lā 16 o Kēkēmapa, M. H. 1861, e 'imi 'ia ana "He Mele Hou no ke 'Lii o kakou!" a hō'ike 'ia ka makemake no kekahi mea,

> e lealea ai na kanaka Hawaii, ka poe aloha aku i ka Moi. Ua makemakeia ke mele hou no keia lahuikanaka e hapai i ke Alii a i ke 'Lii Wahine a me ka Haku o Hawai'i. He mele no ko Beretania, pela no ka Farani, pela hoi ko Amerika, e hookaulana ai; e pono hoi i mele e hiilani ai ko Hawaii i ko lakou Moi.[12]

A ma ka lula, hō'ākāka hou aku 'o Wini i na "rula o ka haku ana." Wahi a ka rula mua loa, "O ka mea nana i haku he hanauna Hawaii, (kanaka maoli)."[13] Kohu mea lā, he kāko'o ko Wini i ka lāhui kanaka, ka Mō'ī, a me ke mele Hawai'i, eia

[11] "Ke Kuokoa Puka La," *Hawaii Holomua*, 25 Ianuali 1893.
[12] *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 16 Kēkēmapa 1861.
[13] *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 16 Kēkēmapa 1861.

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nō na'e, ke heluhelu 'ia nā lula 'ē a'e o ia ho'okūkū mele, 'ike 'ia nō ka makemake. Wahi a Wini,

"E haawi no wau i dala no kekahi mele olelo Hawaii ua oi aku ka maikai o ka haku ana, e like nae me ke mele Beretane, 'Na ke Akua e hoola i ke Alii,' (God save the King)."[14] Ma ka rula, koikoi 'ia,

> I eha wale no pauku o ke mele, a e like loa ke pili ana i ka leo, *God save the King*... [a] e pili loa ke mele hou ma ke ano o ka olelo o ke mele i paiia malalo.[15]

Ma lalo iho o nā lula i pa'i 'ia ai nā hua 'ōlelo no ke mele *God Save the King*, a ma lalo aku, pa'i 'ia kekahi la'ana o ke mele i makemake 'ia. No laila, 'a'ole nō i makemake 'ia kekahi mele Hawai'i i haku 'ia e ke kanaka Hawai'i me ka mana'o Hawai'i. 'O ka mea i makemake 'ia, he mele haole nō ia me ka mana'o haole i haku mua 'ia e ka haole, a 'o ka unuhi wale nō ka mea e pono ai kēia ho'okūkū mele. Ma o kēia la'ana e 'ike 'ia ai ke 'ano o ko Wini mana'o. Hō'ike mai ho'i 'o Chapin i mau la'ana no ko Wini mau mo'olelo i pa'i ai ma ka nūpepa. Wahi a Chapin, 'o kēia nō ke 'ano o ko Wini mana'o a me kona na'au; he aloha kona no ka pae 'āina o Hawai'i a me ka 'ōlelo Hawai'i, eia na'e, he ho'okae wale nō kona i nā kānaka Hawai'i.[16]

Ua mau akula ka pa'i 'ia 'ana o *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* no 66 makahiki a i ka makahiki 1927. Ua kū'ai 'ia aku e Wini a kū'ai hou 'ia mai. I kekahi manawa, 'o Wini nō ka Luna Ho'oponopono, akā, nui hou aku nā Luna Ho'oponopono o ia nūpepa, a he Kanaka Maoli nō kekahi. Ua mau aku nō ka pa'i 'ia 'ana o *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* no ho'okahi makahiki me 'ewalu wale nō mahina. Akā, i nā makahiki ma hope mai, ua ho'okumu 'ia aku nō he mau nūpepa o kona 'ano i nā makahiki ma hope mai, e like me *Ko Hawaii Ponoi* (1873-1874), *Ka Makaainana* (1887-1893), a

[14] *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 16 Kēkēmapa 1861.
[15] *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 16 Kēkēmapa 1861.
[16] Chapin, 1996, 57. Penei kā Chapin i kākau ai no ko Wini mana'o, "Love and hate—love for the islands and the Hawaiian language; contempt for Hawaiians."

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me *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui* (1889-1896).[17] E like me *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika,* he mea nui ke kākau ʻana no nā mea Hawaiʻi a me nā manaʻo Hawaiʻi ma loko o ia poʻe nūpepa. ʻIke ʻia aku nō kēia ʻano manaʻo ma kā lākou moʻolelo i paʻi ai a me ka inoa i kapa ʻia aku ai nā nūpepa. Ua hoʻāʻo nō hoʻi nā Luna Hoʻoponopono e hoʻokō i ia mau pahuhopu ma o ka paipai ʻana i ka mana o ka poʻe Hawaiʻi ma ko kākou ʻāina, me ka manaʻo hoʻi, na ko Hawaiʻi ponoʻī e alakaʻi a e kuhikuhi i ke ala hele o ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi a me ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi e hele ai

No Nā Nūpepa Aloha ʻĀina: 1893-1898

PUA KIELE[18]

Nani wale oe e KA LEI MOMI,
Kuu lei kahela i ka nani
O oe kaʻu i kui ai a lawa
I ke ano liula ahiahi
Kau aku ka manao la e inu,
Ka alohi wai o ke kiaha
Elua kaua la i ike
Na mea huna o ke kuikele
I kolu i ke kiaha kini
Helu ekahi o ke onaona
Auhea wale oe e ka Noio
E ka manu nuku uli o kai
Huehue oe a umi tausani
A kau pono i ke aki,
Hooheno oe e KA LEI MOMI
I ka lawe no a hanaio
Ku ai no ke kaena
Onipaa ke aloha aina
Pehea oe i manao ai
E hui Hawaii me Maleka
Ua sila no oe a paa
Na mana nui o ke ao nui
Hookahi Hawaii i ka piko
A Maleka e upu mai nei
Puana aku au o mai oe
Eiwa pua rose lawa kuu lei.

LULUHIPOLANI

[17] Mookini, 21, 27,
[18] Luluhipolani, "Pua Kiele," *Ka Lei Momi,* 16 ʻOkakopa 1893.

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Ma waena o nā makahiki 1893 a me ka makahiki 1898, e pa'i 'ia ana he 21 nūpepa 'oko'a. 'O kekahi, ua ho'omaka ka pa'i 'ia 'ana ma mua o ka makahiki 1893 a ua mau aku nō ma hope o ka makahiki 1898, e la'a me *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* (1861-1927), a 'o kekahi, ua pa'i 'ia no ka wā pōkole maoli nō, e la'a me *Ka Liberale* (Kepakemapa 1892-'Apelila 1893). 'O kekahi, he nūpepa pili i ka hale pule, e la'a me *Ka Hoolaha Manaoio* (1882-1898) a me *Ka Hoa Hana* (1895-1902). 'O ka hapanui na'e o nā nūpepa e pa'i 'ia ana i ia manawa, he mau nūpepa aloha 'āina nō, e la'a me *Ka Makaainana* (1887-1902), *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui* (1889-1896), *Hawaii Holomua* (1891-1895), *Ka Lei Momi* (1893), *Ke Aloha Aina* (1895-1920), *Nupepa Ka Oiaio* (1894-1896), a me *Ka Loea Kalaiaina* (1897-1899). Ma kekahi o kēia mau nūpepa i pa'i 'ia ai nā mele lāhui.

He mea nui nō kēia mau nūpepa aloha 'āina no ka Lāhui Hawai'i, no ka mea, 'o ka nūpepa aloha 'āina kahi i leo 'ia ai ko lākou mau mana'o. Ua hō'ike mai ka Lāhui Hawai'i i ko lākou mahalo a me ke aloha ho'i i nā nūpepa aloha 'āina ma o ka haku 'ana i nā mele lāhui e hanohano ai ka inoa a me ke kūlana o ia po'e nūpepa nei, e like me ke mele 'o "Pua Kiele" o luna a'e nei. Ua haku 'ia kēia mele 'o "Pua Kiele" na Luluhipolani a ua 'pa'i 'ia ma ka lā 16 o 'Okakopa M. H. 1893. Ma loko o *Ka Leo Momi* i pa'i 'ia ai a 'o ia nūpepa nō ka mea e ho'ohanohano 'ia ana ma loko o kēia mele. Ma nā lālani mua, ho'ohanohano 'ia kēia nūpepa ma kona 'ano he lei e "kui ai a lawa" (l. 1-3). A laila, ma lalo iho, ho'ohālikelike 'ia 'o *Ka Lei Momi* me ka manu Noio (l. 11-12). He manu nō ka noio, akā, pili nō ho'i ka mana'o o noi'o me noi'i, 'o ia nō ka 'imi 'ana i ka 'ike, a 'o ia noi'o 'ana kahi kuleana nui i 'auamo 'ia e kēia mau nūpepa. Ho'henoheno pū 'ia ka "huehue" 'ana o ia manu "a kau pono i ke aki" (l. 13-14). Pili kēia i ko *Ka Lei Momi* noio 'ana a me kona ho'omaopopo 'ana mai i ka lehulehu no na hana

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o ke aupuni hou. Ma ka hopena o ke mele, hōʻike ka haku mele i kona kākoʻo ʻana i ka "Onipaa" o "ke aloha aina" (l. 18) a me kona kūʻē ʻana i ka "hui" ʻana o "Hawaii me Maleka" (l. 19-22). Ma o kēia mau hua ʻōlelo, hōʻike mai ka haku mele i ka nui o kona mahalo i kēia nūpepa aloha ʻāina.

I ka makahiki 1893, ua paʻi ʻia nā mele lāhui i loko o ʻekolu nūpepa aloha ʻāina. ʻO *Hawaii Holomua* kekahi a ma lalo nō ia o ka Luna Hoʻoponopono ʻana o John G. M. Sheldon, ʻo ia hoʻi ʻo Kahikina Kelekona. He kuleana nui ko nā Luna Hoʻoponopono, no ka mea, ʻo lākou nā leo kūkala o ka lāhui, ʻoiai, na lākou i hoʻoholo a wae i nā mea i paʻi ʻia ma ka nūpepa, e like me nā mele lāhui.

KA'U MELE[19]

Pehea la e hiki ai,
Ia'u ke uumi iho,
I ko'u aloha e ka aina hanau,
Nau wau i hoohua mai.

O kou kuakoko no'u ia,
Eha oe, no'u ia eha,
Mailani oe ia'u, he milimili,
I ola ai kakou, ma o ka Haku

E ka Haku—e—Puuhonua,
Kalahea o ko ke ao nei,
Ina ua hewa au, ke noi nei au,
Ma Ou 'la, e ola au.

KAHIKINA KELEKONA.

He mea nui nō ka manaʻo o ka haku mele, akā, he koʻikoʻi maoli nō hoʻi ke kākoʻo ʻia o ia mau manaʻo e ka poʻe luna hoʻoponopono o nā nūpepa a me nā hale paʻi palapala kekahi. Ma kēia mele i luna aʻe nei, hōʻike ʻia mai nō ka manaʻo kākoʻo o kekahi o nā luna hoʻoponopono, ʻo ia hoʻi ʻo Kahikina Kelekona, ʻo John Sheldon hoʻi kekahi inoa. Hoʻokahi mele hou aku a Kelekona i haku ai, akā, ʻaʻohe nō i ʻike ʻia kekahi mele hou aku i haku ʻia e kekahi luna hoʻoponopono.

[19] Kelekona, Kahikina, "Ka'u Mele," *Hawaii Holomua*, 25 Ianuali 1893.

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Eia nō na'e, no lākou nō ho'i ka mana'o o nā mele lāhui, a ua hō'oia 'ia mai kēia mana'o ma o ka nui o nā mele a lākou i wae ai no ka pa'i 'ana ma loko o ka nūpepa.

Ma kēia mele i haku 'ia e Kahikina Kelekona, 'ike kākou i ke 'ano o nā mana'o o ka po'e Luna Ho'oponopono a 'ike 'ia ko Kelekona mana'o ma kona kūlana he aloha 'āina. 'O ke aloha 'āina nō kona mana'o nui i kona "uumi" 'ana i kona "aloha e ka aina hanau" (l. 1-3). Mele mai 'o ia no ke kumu o ia aloha 'āina no ka mea, na ka 'āina nō "i hoohua mai" iā Kelekona me he makua lā (l. 4). A laila, ma ka paukū 'elua, mele mai 'o ia no ke 'ano pili "kuakoko" mai o ka 'āina iā ia, a ua pili pa'a mai ia pilina ma ke kino a me ka na'au, a kohu mea lā, he mana ko ka 'āina, no ka mea, ua kāhea pololei aku nō 'o Kelekona i ka 'āina. Penei kāna i mele ai, "O kou kuakoko no'u ia/Eha oe, no'u ia eha" (l5-6). Eia kekahi, hō'ike mai 'o Kelekona i kona kūlana he keiki na ka 'āina a hō'ike pū 'o ia i kona kauka'i 'ana aku i ka 'āina penei, "Mailani oe ia'u, he milimili/I ola ai kakou" (l. 7-8). A ma lalo mai, ma ka paukū 'ekolu o ke mele, kāhea aku nō 'o Kelekona i "ka Haku," 'o ia ho'i ke Akua Kalikiano, a kapa aku ho'i 'o Kelekona i ka Haku he "Puuhonua" a me ke "Kalahea o ko ke ao nei" (l. 9-10), a ma ka hopena o ke mele, mele mai nō 'o Kelekona no kona 'auamo 'ana i nā pilikia o ka Lāhui a me ke Aupuni Hawai'i, a no laila, noi 'o ia i ka huikala mai o ka haku penei, "Ina ua hewa au, ke noi nei au,/Ma 'Ou la, e ola au" (l. 11-12).

No laila, he kuleana nui nō ko nā Luna Ho'oponopono i ka pa'i 'ana aku i nā mele lāhui i lohe 'ia ka leo aloha a me ka leo nonoi o ka Lāhui Hawai'i. Eia ma lalo iho nei kekahi papa kuhikuhi e hō'ike mai ana i ka nui o nā mele i 'ohi'ohi 'ia mai nā nūpepa mai.

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Makahiki	Nā Nūpepa	Nā Luna Ho'oponopono	Nā Mele 'Oko'a	Ka Huina o Nā Mele
1893	*Hawaii Holomua*	Kahikina Kelekona	50	80
	Ka Lei Momi	W. H. Kapu	27	29
	Ka Leo O Ka Lahui	John E. Bush Joseph K. Nawahi	53	74
	Ka Huina – 1893		**130**	**183**
1894	*Hawaii Holomua*	Kahikina Kelekona	3	3
	Ka Leo O Ka Lahui	John E. Bush	28	28
	Ka Makaainana	W. H. Kapu	7	8
	Nupepa Ka Oiaio	John E. Bush	3	19
	Ka Huina – 1894		**41**	**58**
1895	*Ka Lei Momi*	W. H. Kapu	1	1
	Ka Leo O Ka Lahui	John E. Bush, Simon P. Kanoa	15	15
	Ka Makaainana	W. H. Kapu	20	20
	Ke Aloha Aina	Joseph K. Nawahi	0	1
	Nupepa Ka Oiaio	John E. Bush	4	18
	Ka Huina – 1895		**40**	**55**
1896	*Ke Aloha Aina*	Joseph M. Nawahi, Edward Like	1	1
	Ka Huina – 1896		**1**	**1**
1897	*Ka Loea Kalaiaina*	K. W. Kamaliikane	2	2
	Ke Aloha Aina	Edward Like	4	4
	Ka Huina – 1897		**6**	**6**
1898	*Ka Loea Kalaiaina*	K. W. Kamaliikane	22	25
	Ke Aloha Aina	Edward Like	2	2
	Ka Huina – 1898		**24**	**27**
Ka Huina Nui			**242**	**330**

Papa Kuhikuhi 3. No ka nui o nā mele lāhui i pa'i 'ia ma loko o kēlā me kēia nūpepa, 1893-1898. Helu 'ia "Nā Mele 'Oko'a" ma lalo o ka nūpepa, inā 'o ia kahi i pa'i mua 'ia ai ia mele lāhui. 'O nā mele a pau i pa'i 'ia ma kekahi nūpepa, inā 'o ia ka manawa mua a me ka lua paha, helu 'ia nā mea a pau ma lalo o "Ka Huina o Nā Mele."

Hō'ike pū 'ia mai nā inoa o nā Luna Ho'oponopono o kēlā me kēia makahiki no kēlā me kēia nūpepa. He mea nui nō lākou no ka pa'i 'ia 'ana o nā mele lāhui, akā, he kuleana ko'iko'i nō ho'i ko nā haku mele, 'oiai 'o ko lākou leo ka i puana 'ia mai me ko lākou mau mana'o kūpa'a a kū'ē ho'i.

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No Nā Haku Mele

ALOHA NO
HAWAII[20]

1. Aloha no Hawaii
Ka moku oi ae
Hawaii o Keawe
Ka mua o na lii.

HUI. Hawaii nui a kane
E mau ke ea ou
A kau i kau mau mano
E mau ke ea ou

2. E mau no kou alii
E mau kou kuokoa
E mau ke ea ou
Hae nani o Hawaii

3. E kau e kau na hae
Maluna o kakou
Ka momi o na kai
Aupuni o Hawaii

4. Hawaii imi loa
E mau ke aho e
E mau ka pule ou
A lanakila no.

ALOHA AINA.
Puneo, Hilo, Hawaii.

He mea nui nō nā haku mele, no ka mea, na lākou nā mele lāhui i haku mai loko mai o ko lākou waihona mana'o a me ko lākou na'au. Haku 'ia nā mele lāhui e lākou a ho'ouna 'ia aku i nā nūpepa a me nā hale pa'i palapala a lawe kino 'ia nō ho'i paha. No ka hapanui o nā mele, pūlima 'ia ka inoa o ka haku mele ma lalo o ke mele, akā, 'a'ole i nā manawa a pau. I kekahi manawa, pūlima 'ia kekahi pa'i 'ia 'ana o ke mele, akā, 'a'ole pūlima 'ia nā mea a pau. No nā mele 'oko'a he 242 i 'ohi'ohi 'ia mai loko mai o ka nūpepa, ua maopopo ka inoa o ka haku mele o 173 o ia mau mele (he 71.5% ia). Inā hō'ike 'ia he inoa, he pa'akikī nō

[20] Aloha Aina, "Aloha No Hawaii," *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, 3 Ianuali 1894.

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na'e paha ka ho'omaopopo 'ana i ka inoa maoli o ka haku mele, no ka mea, i kekahi manawa, hō'ike wale 'ia mai nā hua palapala mua o nā inoa, a i 'ole ia, pa'i 'ia mai he ho'okahi wale nō inoa, a 'a'ole maopopo pono, 'o ke kanaka hea lā ia kanaka. Eia kekahi, he inoa kapakapa ka i pūlima 'ia e kekahi o nā haku mele, e like me ke mele o luna a'e nei.

Wahi a ka nūpepa, 'o Aloha Aina ka inoa o ia kanaka nāna i haku i kēia mele, a kohu mea lā, 'o ke aloha 'āina nō kona mana'o nui. Ma ka paukū mua o ke mele, hō'ike 'ia ke "aloha no Hawaii" a ho'ohanohano 'ia ho'i ke Ali'i Nui nona ia moku, 'o "Keawe" ho'i, a laila, kapa 'ia 'o Hawai'i 'o "ka mua o na lii" (l. 1-4). Me kēia mana'o, hō'ike 'ia mai nō ka pilina o ke kanaka a me ka 'āina. Wahi a nā kupuna, "He ali'i ka 'āina, he kauwā ke kanaka,"[21] 'O ka mana'o o kēia 'ōlelo no'eau, ua pili nō ia i ke kuleana o ke kanaka ma ka mālama a me ka ho'ohanohano i ka 'āina me he ali'i lā, a ma ke kapa 'ana aku o ka haku mele i ka 'āina he ali'i a 'o ke ali'i mua ho'i, he hō'ailona ia no ko ka haku mele ho'omaopopo 'ana i kona kuleana a me ke kuleana o ka Lāhui Hawai'i e mālama i ka 'āina me he ali'i lā.

Ma ka hui o ke mele, nonoi 'ia ka mau 'ana o ke "ea" o "Hawaii" a e mau ho'i ke "ea" a "kau i kau mau mano," 'o ia ho'i nā kānaka o ka 'āina, 'o ka Lāhui Hawai'i ho'i ia (l. 4-8). Ma ka lua o nā paukū, kokoi 'ia nō ho'i ka "mau" 'ana o ke "alii," "ke kuokoa," "ke ea," a me ka "Hae nani o Hawaii" (l. 9-12). Ma nā paukū ma lalo mai, 'o ka hae nō ka mea nui ma kona kūlana he hō'ailona no "ka momi o na kai," 'o ia ho'i ke "Aupuni o Hawaii" (l. 13-16). Ma ka paukū hope loa, kāhea 'ia nō 'o "Hawaii imi loa" 'o ia ho'i ka po'e o Hawai'i a kokoi 'ia, "E mau ke aho" a me "ka pule ou/A lanakila no" (l. 16-20).

[21] Pukui, 1983, 62.

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No laila, e like me ka'u i luna a'ela, 'o ke aloha 'āina nō ka mana'o nui o ka haku mele o kēia mele, 'o ia nō 'o Aloha Aina. 'Ike 'ia aku nō kēia 'ano inoa kapakapa ma kekahi o nā mele lāhui o ia wā. He mea paha kēia mau inoa kapakapa e ho'omaopopo 'ole 'ia ka inoa maoli o ia mau kanaka, 'oiai he wā haunaele kēia ma Hawai'i nei, a nui paha ka hopohopo 'ana o nā kānaka o ho'opilikia 'ia auane'i e ke Aupuni Kūikawā a me ke Aupuni Repubalika. 'A'ole na'e ia he mea e ho'ālo wale aku ana i ka ho'opilikia 'ia mai, no ka mea, he mana nui ka inoa o ke kanaka i 'ano like me ka mana o ka hua 'ōlelo ke ho'opuka 'ia aku. Ma ka puana 'ana aku i ka inoa a me ka hua 'ōlelo paha, he mea ia e ola ai ia kanaka a he mea ho'i ia e ho'okō 'ia aku ai kekahi hana a kuleana paha.[22] 'O ia nō ke kumu i koho 'ia ai kēia mau inoa kapakapa, e la'a me Hawaii Ponoi,[23] Kilo a ka Lahui,[24] a me Puuwai Aloha.[25] Ma muli o ka mana o ka inoa ke ho'opuka 'ia a ho'opuka hou 'ia aku, he mea nui ka hō'ike 'ana aku i kēia mau inoa ma lalo o nā mele, no ka mea, i ka heluhelu 'ana o ka po'e heluhelu nūpepa, he mea ia e puana 'ia ai kēlā inoa a he mea ho'i ia e kō ai ka 'i'ini a me ka mana'o nui i hō'ike 'ia ma ka inoa.

No ka hapanui o nā haku mele, he ho'okahi wale nō mele a lākou i haku ai, akā, no kekahi o nā haku mele, 'ano nui kā lākou po'e mele, e la'a me Miss Kekoaohiwaikalani. 'O Kekoaohiwaikalani paha ka haku mele kaulana a punahele o ka lāhui, a no ka mea, nui nō kāna mau mele i pa'i 'ia. Ma ka lā 'ekolu

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[22] Pukui, Mary Kawena, E. W. Haertig, M.D., a me Catherine A. Lee, *Nānā I Ke Kumu*, Puke 1, (Honolulu: Hui Hānai, 1972), 94. Wahi a lākou, "Even more precious [than personal possessions] was each man's most personal possession, his name. One's *inoa* was both owned property and a kind of force in its own right. Once spoken, an *inoa* took on an existence, invisible, intangible, but real. An *inoa* could be a causative agent, capable of marshaling mystic elements to help or hurt the bearer of the name. And, so went the belief, the more an *inoa* was spoken, the stronger became this name-force and its potential to help or harm. This is consisten with the belief that certain words, once spoken, existed, and might even set in motion events of consequence."
[23] Hawaii Ponoi, "Moeuhane Pololei," *Hawaii Holomua*, 4 'Apelila 1894.
[24] Kilo o ka Lahui, "He Kanaenae no Liliuokalani," *Ke Aloha Aina*, 26 Kēkēmapa 1896.
[25] Puuwai Aloha, "He Wehi No Liliulani," *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, 16 Pepeluali 1893, a me 'ewalu mele hou aku i pūlima 'ia e Puuwaialoha a i pa'i 'ia ma waena o ka makahiki 1894 a me 1895.

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o Pepeluali, M. H. 1893, i pa'i 'ia ai ke mele mua loa a Kekoaohiwaikalani i haku ai. He 14 nō ka huina nui o nā mele 'oko'a a Kekoaohiwaikalani i haku ai, akā, ua pa'i 'ia nō ia mau mele he 29 manawa ma nā nūpepa a me nā puke like 'ole. He mea nui ko Kekoaohiwaikalani mana'o, a no ka mea, he leo nō ia no ka wahine, a ma muli o ka nui o nā mele i pa'i 'ia ma lalo o kona inoa, he hō'ailona nō ia no ke 'ano kūpono o kona mana'o a me kona leo i ka puana 'ana aku i kona mau mana'o a me nā mana'o i mahalo nui 'ia e ka lāhui. (E waiho ana kekahi Waihona 'Ike no kēia mau mele ma ka Hale Waihona Puke 'o Hamilton ma ke Kula Nui o Hawai'i ma Mānoa.)

He lālā 'o Kekoaohiwaikalani no kahi 'āuna wahine nāna i haku i nā mele lāhui he nui wale. He mea nui kēia, no ka mea, 'o ka hapanui o nā mo'olelo nūpepa, kākau 'ia nō e ke kāne, 'oiai, he mau kāne nō ka hapanui o ka po'e lima hana a me ka luna ho'oponopono o nā nūpepa. Eia na'e, ma nā mele lāhui i pa'i 'ia i ia manawa, 'ike 'ia nō ka mana'o o nā wāhine. Mai loko mai o nā mele 'oko'a he 242 i 'ohi'ohi 'ia mai, ua haku 'ia he 68 e ka wahine (he 29.3%), a ua pa'i 'ia ia mau mele he 112 manawa ma nā nūpepa a me nā lā like 'ole. No ka ho'omaopopo 'ana, he wahine ka haku mele, ua kuhi 'ia ma o ka hō'ike 'ia 'ana mai o ka hua 'ōlelo "Miss" a i 'ole "Mrs." Ma mua o ka inoa. No kekahi mele, ua hō'ike 'ia ka inoa penei, "Kalani Girl" a me "Hilo Girl" a no kekahi mele, kuhi 'ia mai, na "na kaikamahine o Ke Aloha Aina" i haku. Mali'a he 'oi loa aku ka nui o nā wāhine nāna i haku i nā mele lāhui ma luna o kēlā 68 i helu 'ia i luna a'e nei, no ka mea, inā hō'ike 'ia ho'okahi wale nō inoa a i 'ole ia, hō'ike 'ia kekahi o nā hua palapala o ka inoa, he wahine paha ia, 'a'ole na'e i maopopo maila. (E nānā 'ia ka Waihona 'Ike no kēia mau mele e waiho aku ana ma ka Hale Waihona Puke 'o Hamilton ma ke Kula Nui o Hawai'i ma Mānoa.)

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HE INOA NO ROYALIST KEALOHAALII LAAKAPU CAMPBELL[26]

Imua e Kealohaalii Laakapu
A lei i ka lei o ka Lanakila
A he milimili oe na makou
He pua lei nani Aloha Aina
Ke kilohana oe nana i oni
Hoihoi ia mai ke Kuokoa
Eia Hawaii ua lokahi
Hookahi puuwai me ke aloha
Nana i nai a puni Hawaii
Ke Aloha o ka Aina hanau
O ka hana hanohano a ka Lahui
I lanakila mau oe Hawaii
O ka onohi hiwahiwa i ka puuwai
O Kealohaaina a e o mai.

Hakuia e na kaikamahine o ke Aloha Aina.
May 14, 1894.

He mele inoa kēia no kekahi keiki i hānau 'ia i ka lā 12 o Mei i ka makahiki 1893. He keiki 'o ia na James lāua me Abigail Kuaihelani Maipinepine Campbell, a 'o Royalist nō ka inoa mua i kapa 'ia ai ke keiki.[27] E like me ke 'ano mau o ke mele inoa no ke keiki, ua piha kēia mele i nā mana'o aloha no ke keiki ma kona kūlana he "milimili" (l. 3) a "He pua lei nani" (l. 4) a kapa 'ia ho'i 'o ia 'o "Ke kilohana" (l. 5). Kohu mea lā, ua koho 'ia kēia keiki e ka makua a me nā kūpuna paha a ua mana'olana 'ia mai, 'o ia ana nō kekahi me'e o ka Lāhui Hawai'i. Hō'ike 'ia kēia mana'o ma ka inoa i kapa 'ia ai ke keiki. E like me ka'u ma mua a'e nei, he mana ko ka inoa a me kona puana 'ia 'ana, he mea ia e kō ai ka mana'o o ka inoa. 'Ike 'ia nō kēia mana'o ma loko o ke mele i ka ho'opili 'ia 'ana i ke 'ano a me ke ola o ke keiki i ka Lāhui Hawai'i, no ka mea, koikoi 'ia 'o ia e holo "I mua.../A lei i ka lei o ka lanakila" (l. 1-2). Kapa 'ia ho'i ke keiki "He pua lei nani Aloha Aina" (l. 4) a kuhikuhi 'ia ke keiki, 'o ia ka mea "nana i oni/Hoihoi ia mai

[26] Na kaikamahine o ke Aloha Aina, "He Inoa No Royalist Laakapu Campbell," *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, 17 Mei 1894.
[27] Anonymous source, Campbell genealogy.

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ke Kuokoa" (l 5-6). Ma nā lālani ʻē aʻe, mele ʻia mai no ka "lokahi" o Hawaiʻi, ʻoiai he "Hookahi puuwai me ke aloha" (l. 7-8). Mele pū ʻia mai no "Ke Aloha o ka Aina hanau" (l. 10) a me ka "hana hanohano o ka Lahui" (l. 12). He mau mea naʻe kēia i hana ʻia "I lanakila mau oe Hawaii" (l. 12). A ma ka hopena, kapa ʻia ʻo Hawaiʻi a me ke keiki, "O ka onohi hiwahiwa i ka puuwai" (l. 13), a laila, kāhea ʻia ke keiki "e o mai" i kona inoa ʻo "Kealohaaina" (l. 14).

Wahi a ka nūpepa, ua haku ʻia kēia mele e "na kaikamahine o ke Aloha Aina" ma ka lā 14 o Mei, 1894, i ka piha ʻana o kona makahiki mua. ʻO kēia mau kaikamahine o ke Aloha Aina," ʻo ia nō nā wāhine o ka Hui Aloha ʻĀina o nā Wāhine" a ma kēia mele, e hoʻohanohano ana lākou i kēlā kama hou a ka lāhui, a he mea hoʻi ia e henoheno ai ko lākou alakaʻi aloha nui ʻia, ʻo Abigail Kuaihelani Campbell kona inoa, a ʻo ia nō ka makuahine o kēia kama.

I ka makahiki 1893 i kūkulu ʻia ai kēia Hui Aloha ʻĀina o nā Wāhine a ua hoʻolaha ʻia ka hālāwai mua o ia hui no "na wahine Hawaii Aloha Aina a pau... no ke kuka ana no na manao aloha aina, me ka hiipoi ana i ke kuokoa mau o keia Pae Aina."[28] Kauoha ʻia nā wāhine e "hana wiwo ole aku no ka pono o ko oukou aina oiwi, mai hoi hope, mai kunana, mai hilahila no ka hana ana i ka mea e pono ai ko oukou aina."[29] Ma ka lā 27 o Malaki o ka makahiki 1893 i mālama ʻia ai ia hālāwai ʻana a ma hope, ua hālāwai pū aʻela kēia poʻe wāhine me Blount i kona kipa ʻana mai i Hawaiʻi nei e noiʻi ai no ka hoʻokahuli aupuni. Ua wehewehe aku nō lākou i ko lākou manaʻo kūʻē i ke komisina a hāʻawi pū ʻia akula nō he palapala iā ia e kūʻē ana i ka hoʻokahuli aupuni a kākoʻo ana i ke kūʻokoʻa mau o Hawaiʻi.

[28] *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, 27 Malaki 1893.
[29] *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, 27 Malaki 1893.

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Ma *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, mo'olelo 'ia maila nō kēia hālāwai 'ana o nā wāhine me Blount, a kuhihewa 'ia he hana ia e hilahila ai kā lākou po'e kāne.[30] 'O kekahi ha'awina nui o ka po'e Kalikiano a me ka po'e kolonaio 'ē a'e o 'Amelika i koikoi ai i ka lāhui Hawai'i, 'o ia nō ko lākou mana'o no ke 'ano e pono ai ka wahine.[31] No ka po'e mikionali o ia wā a me ke 'ano o ko 'Amelika i ia wā, 'a'ohe nō nui ka mana o ka wahine. 'O ka pono, he noho ma ka hale a mālama i ia hale me ka 'ohana. He pono ho'i kona hahai 'ana i ka makemake a me ke kauoha a kāna kāne. No ka lāhui Hawai'i nō na'e, he mana ko ka wahine ma nā 'ano a pau. Ma ka ho'omana Kalikiano, he kāne ke Akua a hana lima 'ia ke kanaka he kāne nō ia, a ma hope mai ka wahine, akā, no ka lāhui Hawai'i, nui nō nā Akua wahine i ho'omana 'ia e ka wahine. No 'Amelika, 'a'ohe wahine i lilo i Pelekikena no lākou a he mea kāka'ikahi nā wāhine ma ka 'Aha'ōlelo a i ke au nei. No Hawai'i, aia nō nā Mō'ī wahine a Ali'i wahine ho'i i kū i ka moku, e la'a me Kalaimanuia no O'ahu a me Keakealani no Hawai'i. I ka ho'okumu 'ia 'ana o ke Aupuni Mō'ī, he kūhina kekahi mau wāhine no ka Mō'ī, 'o Kīna'u kekahi a pēlā pū 'o Miriam Kekauluohi. No laila, he kuleana ko ka wahine e ho'okō ai no ke Aupuni a me ka Lāhui Hawai'i. No laila, i ka wā o ka ho'okahuli aupuni, ua mau nō ka mahalo o ka Lāhui i ka mana'o a me ka leo o ka wahine.

Hō'ike 'ia nō kēia mahalo o nā kāne i ke 'ano kūpa'a o nā wāhine ma ka lā 19 penei,

> Ke hooia nei makou me ka apono loa, ua loaa ia makou na kane, ka Hanohano Pookela lua ole, mamuli o ka hana Aloha Aina a ka makou mau wahine i hana ai, no ka pono o ka makou aina, ko makou Lahui a me ko makou Moiwahine.[32]

[30] *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 18 'Apelila 1893.
[31] *Ka Hae Hawaii*, 18 a me 25 Kepakemapa 1861.
[32] Na Kane Aloha Aina, *Hawaii Holomua*, 19 'Apelila 1893.

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No ka po'e haole, he mea hilahila paha ia iā lākou, inā hele kā lākou po'e wāhine ma mua o ka lehulehu ma kēia 'ano hana, akā, no ka Hawai'i, 'a'ohe hewa a 'a'ohe hilahila o ka hana pono a me ka hana aloha 'āina. A 'o ka mana o ka wahine a me ka no'ono'o a hana paha o ka wahine, 'a'ole nō ia he mea e hilahila ai kāna kāne. He mea nō ia e ha'aheo ai ke kāne. 'O ia ha'aheo paha ke kumu i pa'i 'ia ai nā mele lāhui o nā wāhine, no ka mea, ho'omaopopo 'ia mai nō ka mana o ka wahine a no ia kumu, mahalo nui 'ia ho'i ka mana'o o ka wahine.

No Nā Mele Lāhui

HOOHENO NO LILIU[33]

Kaulana Liliu Ahaolelo,
Ma ka Poaono hookuu ia
Aia o Kalani i Iolani
Me na komite o ka lehulehu
He hana ua holo like ka manao
I aupuni Kumukanawai hou
Punihei o Kalani i ka mali leo
Hookohu i na Kuhina o ke aupuni
Kau nui ka manao no na kupa
I pono kaulike no ka lahui
Hea aku no au o mai oe
Lanakila kamahao ko Hawaii
Haina ia mai ana ka puana
A kau o Liliu i ke Kalaunu

Kaulana o Liliu i ka maluhia
Ma na welelau o ka honua
He honua ia a he lani keia
Noho ia iho Ko noho Kalaunu
E Uli eia ko pulapula
O ka Wohi kukahi ku i ka moku
E Hawaii e hohoi mai oe
A pipili me Liliuokalani
Kulia i paa kou kuokoa
I mau ke ea o ka aina
Kohia i paa Ko heiau

[33] Mrs. Kawohikapulani, "Hooheno No Liliu," *Hawaii Holomua*, 9 & 11 Pepeluali 1893.

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Welo haaheo Ko hae Hawaii
Hea aku no au o mai Oe
Lanakila kamahao ko Hawaii
Haina ia mai ana ka puana
A kau o Liliu i ke Kalaunu.

Kaulana mai nei oe Kakina
Huakai paoa aohe hope
He hana kumu ole aohe koo
He ulu lau wale aohe mole
Hokai ua manu a'e hewa
Kolea kahu ole no ke kai mai
E lilo i mea ole na enemi
Lehelehe eueu hana lapuwale
E Kane, Kanaloa kii ia aku
E hoihoi mai oe ia Hawaii
E ola o Kalani a mau loa
A kau i ke ao malamalama
Hea ia aku no au o mai oe
Lanakila kamahao ko Hawaii
Haina ia mai ana ka puana
A kau o Liliu i ke Kalaunu.

Haku ia e MRS. KAWOHIKAPULANI.

Ua pa'i 'ia nō ka hapanui o nā mele lāhui i ka makahiki 1893. I ia makahiki, nui wale nā mele e mo'olelo ana no nā hana kiko'ī o ia makahiki—no nā hana ma mua iho a ma hope mai o ka Ho'okahuli Aupuni, e la'a me kēia mele o luna a'e nei, 'o "Hooheno No Liliu." 'O kēia mo'olelo i wehewehe 'ia maila ma loko o nā mele, 'o ia nō ke kumuhana nui o ka palapala nui o kēia mea kākau nei no ka ho'okō 'ana i ke kēkelē laeo'o ma ke Ke'ena Mo'olelo o ke Kula Nui o Hawai'i ma Mānoa.[34] Ma ia palapala, nui ka wehewehe 'ia 'ana no kēia mau hana kiko'ī no ka makahiki 1893 a hō'ike 'ia a ho'ākāka 'ia nō ho'i kekahi la'ana no nā mele lāhui mai ka makahiki 1894 a i ka makahiki 1898. Mo'olelo pū 'ia mai no nā mea ma'a mau 'ē a'e o nā mele lāhui ma loko o nā nūpepa. No ia kumu, 'a'ole au e mo'olelo nui ana no ia mau mele lāhui ma loko o nei palapala. E wehewehe

[34] Basham.

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pōkole ana nō na'e au no ia mau mele i maopopo i ka mea heluhelu o nei palapala e pili ana i kēia mau mele.

He la'ana maika'i ke mele o luna a'e nei no ke 'ano o nā mele o ka makahiki 1893. Ma nei mele, mo'olelo 'ia mai no nā mea i hana 'ia i nā lā ma mua a ma hope pono iho o ka Ho'okahuli Aupuni, e like me ke noi 'ana o ka Lāhui Hawai'i i "Kumukanawai hou" mai ka Mō'īwahine mai a me kona ho'ā'o 'ana e ho'okō 'ia aku nō ia noi no ka pono o ke kū'oko'a 'ana o ke Aupuni a me ka Lāhui Hawai'i (l. 4-6). Mo'olelo pū 'ia mai no ka 'Aha Kuhina a me ko ka Mō'īwahine "puni" 'ana aku i ko lākou "mali leo," 'oiai ua 'ae mua lākou e pūlima i ke kumukānāwai hou a he hō'ole aku ma hope o ko ka Mō'īwahine "hookohu" 'ana aku iā lākou i nā kūlana kūhina (l. 7-8). He mana'o kūamuamu nō ho'i ko kēia mele no ka po'e nāna i ho'okahuli aku i ke Aupuni Hawai'i a mo'olelo mai ho'i 'o Mrs. Kawohikapulani no ko lākou 'imi 'ana i ke alahele e ho'ohui ai 'o Hawai'i ma lalo o 'Amelika (l. 31-38). Ma ka lua o nā paukū, 'o ka ho'ohanohano aku i ka Mō'īwahine Lili'uokalani ˜o ka mea nui a helu papa 'ia mai kona "kaulana" (l. 15) a me kona kūlana he "lani" e noho ana i ka "noho Kalaunu" (l. 17-18). Hō'ike pū 'ia ka mana o kona mo'okū'auhau ma o ke kapa 'ana aku iā ia he pulapula na Uli, he Akua mana nui nō (l. 19).

He kumuhana nui kēia ho'ohenoheno 'ana i ka Mō'īwahine Lili'uokalani i loko o nā mele lāhui a he keu ho'i ka nui o nā mele e ho'ohanohano ana iā ia a e noi ana e ho'i 'o ia i kona noho kalaunu, e la'a me "He Inoa No Liliuokalani,"[35] a "He Pule No Ke Aliiaimoku,"[36] a "He Wehi No Ke Kalaunu-Liliu Song."[37] Haku 'ia ho'i nā mele no ka hana a ka po'e 'enemi o ka lāhui, e la'a me ke mele 'o

[35] Miss Kekoaohiwaikalani, "He Inoa No Liliuokalani," *Hawaii Holomua*, 3 & 4 Pepeluali 1893; *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, 7 Pepeluali 1893.
[36] "He Pule No Ke Aliiaimoku," *Hawaii Holomua*, 7 & 11 Pepeluali 1893.
[37] Hikiau, Mrs. Lusinia K., "He Wehi No Ke Kalaunu-Liliu Song," *Hawaii Holomua*, 19 'Apelila 1893.

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"Kelaudina Song," he mele no nā komisina o ke Aupuni Kūikawā a me ko lākou holo 'ana no 'Amelika e noi ai i ka ho'ohui 'āina.[38]

I nā pule a me nā mahina ma hope mai o ka ho'okahuli aupuni, ua noke nō ka po'e aloha 'āina i ko lākou pahuhopu e ho'i hou ka Mō'īwahine i kona noho kalaunu. Ho'ouna 'ia he mau komisina i Wakinekona, D. C. i ia makahiki a me ka makahiki 1894 no ka ho'opale 'ana i ke Kū'ikahi Ho'ohui 'Āina i ho'okomo 'ia ma ka 'Aha'ōlelo o 'Amelika a haku 'ia nō he mele no ia po'e komisina, e la'a me "He Hooheno No Paulo Numana,"[39] a 'o "He Ohu No Kawananakoa."[40] Ua hālāwai maila nā 'ahahui aloha 'āina a mālama 'ia nā hālāwai no ka 'imi 'ana i ke alahele e ola hou ai ke Aupuni Hawai'i. Hālāwai nō kēia po'e o nā 'ahahui me ko 'Amelika komisina, 'o ia ho'i 'o James Blount, i kona wā e 'imi noi'i ana no ka hihia ma Hawai'i nei. Haku 'ia nō ho'i nā mele no ua komisina nei, 'o ia ho'i 'o "He Inoa No Komisina Balauna (Blount)."[41] Ma ia hālāwai 'ana, hō'ike aku nō nā 'elele o nā Hui Aloha 'Āina i ko lākou mana'o, mo'olelo 'ia kā lākou mo'olelo, a hā'awi pū 'ia he mau palapala e hō'ike aku ana i ko lākou mana'o kū'ē i ka ho'okahuli 'ia o ke Aupuni Hawai'i a e kū'ē ana ho'i i ka Aupuni Kūikawā. Nonoi ana ho'i lākou iā Balaunu e kāko'o i ka ho'okumu hou 'ia o ke Aupuni Hawai'i me ka ho'i 'ana aku o Lili'uokalani ma kona noho kalaunu.

A ua kāko'o 'ia mai nō ia mana'o o ka po'e aloha 'āina no ka ho'okumu hou 'ana i ke Aupuni Hawai'i e ua Komisina Balaunu ala, a kāko'o 'ia nō ho'i e ka Pelekikena o 'Amelika, 'o Kalivilana ho'i ia.[42] Eia na'e, hō'ole wale aku ka Pelekikena o ke Aupuni Kūikawā, 'o ia nō 'o Sanford Dole, i ka mana o

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[38] Ekamokulaweopiuma, "Kelaudina Song," *Hawaii Holomua*, 18 Pepeluali 1893.
[39] Miss Kekoaohiwaikalani, "He Hooheno No Paulo Numana," *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, 16 Malaki 1893.
[40] Miss Kepeohookalani, "He Ohu No Kawananakoa." *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, 28 Malaki 1893.
[41] Rose, Miss Mary, "He Inoa No Komisina Balauna (Blount)," *Hawaii Holomua*, 10 'Apelila 1893.
[42] U.S. Congress,, 458. Penei kā Kalivilana i ho'oholo a ho'olaha ai ho'i i kona mana'o kāko'o iā Kuhina Willis ('o ia ke Kuhina hou no Hawai'i). Kauoha 'ia 'o Willis penei, "to advise the Queen and her supporters of my desire to aid in the restoration in of the status existing in before the lawless landing of the United States forces at Honolulu."

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'Amelika.[43] No 'Amelika ho'i, ma ka waha wale nō ko lākou kāko'o 'ana mai, 'oiai, 'a'ohe ho'ouka hou 'ia mai ko lākou pū'ali koa i mea e ho'oponopono ai i ko lākou pilikia i komo hewa ai.

I kekahi makahiki 'ana aku, ua hō'ike hou ke Aupuni Kūikawā i ko lākou 'i'ini e pili aku me 'Amelika ma o ke kūkala 'ana i Aupuni Repubalika o Hawai'i ma ka lā like me ko 'Amelika Lā Kū'oko'a, 'o ia ho'i ka lā 4 o Iulai. Haku 'ia nō kekahi mele no ia aupuni hou i kūkala 'ia, 'o "He Moewaa No Ka Repubalika" ka inoa.[44] 'O ka moewa'a, he inoa ia no kekahi moe 'uhane e pili ana i kekahi wa'a e ha'alele mai ana i ka 'āina. 'O ka hō'ailona o ia 'ano moe 'uhane 'ana, 'o ia nō ka make 'ana o kekahi kanaka. No laila, ma ke kapa 'ana aku i kēia mele "He Moewaa No Ka Repubalika," he hō'ailona nō ia no ka make 'ana o ka Repubalika.

No ka po'e aloha 'āina, ua mau aku nō ko lākou 'imi 'ana i lā a i alahele ho'i e kū'oko'a hou ai ke Aupuni Hawai'i. No ka ho'okō pono 'ana i ko lākou pahu hope, ua huli ho'i ko lākou mana'o i ka 'āina, a ho'ola'a 'ia he māla pua, nona ka inoa 'o Uluhaimalama ma ke awāwa 'o Pauoa, O'ahu. He māla pua nō ia i ho'ola'a a ho'ohenoheno 'ia ho'i no ka Mō'īwahine a ma laila i kanu 'ia ai nā mea kanu like 'ole no ke kāko'o 'ana i ke Aupuni Hawai'i.[45] 'O "Onaona o Uluhaimalama" kekahi mele i haku 'ia no ia māla.[46] 'Imi ho'i ka po'e aloha 'āina i ke alahele e ho'okumu hou 'ia ai ke Aupuni Hawai'i ma o ke kaua 'ana aku i ka pū'ali koa o ke Aupuni Repubalika. 'O nā luna ho'oponopono nō o nā nūpepa

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[43] U.S. Congress, 1276. Penei kā Dole i pane ai i ko Kalivilana mana'o e ho'iho'i 'ia ke kūlana kū'oko'a o ke Aupuni Hawai'i. Wahi āna, "We do not recognize the right of the President of the United States to interfere in our domestic affairs... The Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands respectfully and unhesiutatingly declines to entertatin the proposition of the President of the United States that it should surrender its authority to the ex-Queen."
[44] "He Moewaa No Ka Repubalika," *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, 6 'Aukake 1894; *Nupepa Ka Oiaio*, 10 'Aukake 1894.
[45] *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, 16 'Okakopa 1894.
[46] "Onaona o Uluhaimalama," *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, 16 'Okakopa 1894; *Nupepa Ka Oiaio*, 22 Malaki 1895.

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kekahi o ka poʻe nāna i alakaʻi i kēia hoʻolālā ʻana. A lohe ʻia e ke Aupuni Repubalika, a ua lawe pio ʻia ua poʻe alakaʻi ala, a ʻaʻole nō i paʻi ʻia nā nūpepa no kekahi mau mahina.

Mau nō naʻe ka hoʻomākaukau ʻana o ka poʻe aloha ʻāina i ke kipi ʻana aku i ke Aupuni Repubalika. Hoʻolako ʻia mai nā pū raifela, hoʻolālā ʻia ka hana ʻana, a hoʻonohonoho ʻia ka poʻe aloha ʻāina ma nā pūʻali. ʻOiai, ua lawe pio ʻia kekahi o nā alakaʻi a paʻa nō ka noho ʻana ma ka hale paʻahao, ua pono e ʻimi ʻia kekahi alakaʻi hou ma mua iho o ka hoʻomaka ʻana, ʻo ia hoʻi ʻo Lopaka Wilikoki.

Ma ka pule mua o Ianuali o ka makahiki 1895 i hoʻomaka ai kēia kaua kūloko ʻana. ʻO Wilikoki ke alakaʻi o kekahi pūʻali a ʻo Kamuela Nolena, kekahi aloha ʻāina, ʻo ia nō ke alakaʻi o kekahi pūʻali. No hoʻokahi pule i mau ai ia kaua ʻana aku; ua lawe pio ʻia nō naʻe nā koa aloha ʻāina e ka pūʻali koa o ke Aupuni Repubalika a hoʻopaʻa hao ʻia a hoʻopiʻi ʻia nō e ke Aupuni Repubalika. Hōʻike hou ʻia kēia moʻolelo e pili ana i ke kaua kūloko o ka makahiki 1895 ma ka Mokuna 3 o kēia palapala nei, ʻoiai, ua paʻi ʻia nō kekahi o nā mele lāhui ma loko o kekahi puke i kākau ʻia e pili ana i ke kaua kūloko.

Ua hōʻike ʻia mai nō ka lana ʻana o ka manaʻo o ka poʻe aloha ʻāina ma o ko lākou haku a paʻi ʻana i nā mele lāhui. Ma muli o ka hoʻopaʻa hao ʻia ʻana o kekahi o nā Luna Hoʻoponopono o nā nūpepa, ʻaʻole i paʻi ʻia nā nūpepa i nā mahina mua o ka makahiki 1893. No ia kumu, ʻaʻole hoʻi i paʻi ʻia nā mele lāhui. Aia a hoʻokuʻu ʻia nā Luna Hoʻoponopono, ua hoʻomaka hou mai ka paʻi ʻia ʻana mai o ka nūpepa ma ka mahina ʻo Malaki, paʻi ʻia nō nā mele lāhui e moʻolelo mai ana no kēia kaua ʻana. ʻO "Alohaloha Ehuehu Poka,"[47] "Kaalawai,"[48] a me

[47] "Alohaloha Ehuehu Poka," *Ka Makaainana*, 18 Malaki 1895.
[48] "Kaalawai," *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, 19 Malaki 1895; *Nupepa Ka Oiaio*, 22 Malaki 1895.

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"Ua Kilihune A O Manoa,"[49] kekahi o ia po'e mele. E like me nā mele o ka makahiki 1893, mele 'ia mai ka mo'olelo kiko'ī no ia hana 'ana. Ho'oheno 'ia nā inoa o nā me'e o ka po'e aloha 'āina a kūamuamu a ho'ohilahila 'ia nā inoa o ka po'e 'enemi. Ho'ohenoheno 'ia nō ho'i nā mea nui ko'iko'i 'ē a'e o ka Lāhui Hawai'i, e la'a me ke aloha 'āina, ke aloha i ka Mō'ī, a me ke kū'oko'a o ka Lāhui a me ke Aupuni Hawai'i.

I kekahi makahiki 'ana mai, kāka'ikahi maoli nō nā mele i 'ohi'ohi 'ia, he ho'okahi wale nō, kapa 'ia "He Kanaenae No Liliuokalani," a pa'i 'ia ma ka hopena o ia makahiki 1896 ma loko o *Ke Aloha Aina*. Kāka'ikahi ho'i nā mele lāhui i 'ohi'ohi 'ia mai mai ka makahiki 1897. He 'ehiku wale nō mele i 'ohi'ohi 'ia mai loko mai o *Ke Aloha Aina* a me *Ka Loea Kalaiaina*. E like me nā mele lāhui o nā makahiki ma mua, pili ho'i kēia mau mele i ka Mō'īwahine a me kona kū'oko'a 'ana, e like me ke mele 'o "Hoi Hou o Liliu I Ke Kalaunu."[50]

I ka makahiki 1898, ua ulu hou maila ka nui o nā mele i 'ohi'ohi 'ia maila (he 24 mele 'oko'a). 'O ka hapanui o nā mele o ia makahiki, pa'i 'ia nō ma hope o ka mahina 'o 'Aukake, ma hope ho'i ia o ka ho'ohui 'āina aku me 'Amelika. Ua lilo ia hana 'ana i mea e hō'eu hou ai i ka mana'o kūpa'a a me ka mana'o kū'ē ho'i o ka po'e aloha 'āina a haku 'ia nō a pa'a ia mau mana'o i loko o nā mele, e la'a me, "Kue Ke Aloha Aina,"[51] a me "Kuu Hae Hawaii Aloha."[52]

'O kēia mau mele a me kēia mau mo'olelo, he waihona 'ike nui nō ia e hō'ike mai ana i ka mana'o o nā kūpuna o ia wā, ka wā ho'i i pilikia loa ai ke Aupuni Hawai'i a me ka Lāhui Hawai'i. 'O nā nūpepa kekahi waihona o ia mau mele a he waihona waiwai nō ia, akā, 'a'ole 'o ia 'o ka waihona ho'okahi. Aia ho'i

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[49] "Ua Kilihune A O Manoa," *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, 25 'Apelila 1895; *Nupepa Ka Oiaio*, 3 Mei 1895.
[50] "Hoi Hou o Liliu I Ke Kalaunu," *Ke Aloha Aina*, 15 Mei 1897.
[51] "Kue Ke Aloha Aina," *Ka Loea Kalaiaina*, 1 'Okakopa 1898.
[52] Kamakaia, Sam K., "Kuu Hae Hawaii Aloha." *Ke Aloha Aina*, 20 'Aukake 1898.

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he mau mele lāhui e waiho ana i loko o kekahi mau puke, a 'o ke *Kaua Kuloko 1895* kekahi o ia mau puke.

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MOKUNA 3
KE ALOHA 'ĀINA PA'A MAU LOA: NO NĀ MELE LĀHUI O *KAUA KULOKO 1895*

KE ALOHA AINA PAA MAU LOA[1]

A Leahi au ike i ka nani
Ke Kaua Kuloko a ka Lahui
Ua hui lokahi na puuwai
E imi i ka pono o ka aina

I ka lihi-kai au Kaalawai
Ke aloha aina e hoolulu nei
Ke hea mai nei Kaukaopua
E hui launa me Daimana Hila

He aloha ka makani a he Ukiu
Ka makani halihali lau kukui
E kuhi ana au ua lokahi
Hookahi puuwai no ka lanakila

Ua sila iho au i ko'u manao
Ke aloha kupaa i ka aina
He aloha au i kuu Moi
Me ka Hae Kalaunu o Hawaii

Haina ia mai ana ka puana
Ke Aloha Aina paa mau loa

'O ke mele o luna a'e nei ke mele mua loa i pa'i 'ia i loko o ka puke 'o *Kaua Kuloko 1895: Ka Hoao Ana e Hookahuli i ke Aupuni i Lokahi ole ia, ka Repubalika o Hawaii.* 'O ia puke a me nā mele lāhui o loko o ia puke, 'o ia nō ke kumuhana nui o kēia mokuna nei. E ho'ākāka 'ia aku ana no kēia puke a me ka mo'olelo o kona pa'i 'ia 'ana. E mo'olelo pū 'ia ana no ke kaua kūloko o ka po'e aloha 'āina, ka ho'omaka 'ana o ke kaua, ke 'ano o kona holo 'ana, a me ka lawe pio 'ia 'ana o ka po'e aloha 'āina nō ho'i. A laila, e mo'olelo 'ia ana no ke 'ano o ka ho'opa'ahao

[1] Kamali, J. K., "Ke Aloha Aina Paa Mau Loa," *Kaua Kuloko 1895*, vii. (I ka pa'i mua 'ia 'ana o kēia puke i ka M.H. 1895, 'a'ole nō i hō'ike 'ia ka helu o nā 'ao'ao mua loa. No laila, na'u nō i helu aku i nā 'ao'ao mua o ka puke. 'O ka 'ao'ao nona ke ki'i o ka Mō'īwahine Lili'uokalani, 'o ia nō ka'u i ho'omaka ai i ka helu 'ana, 'o ka 'ao'ao "i" nō ia, a ma hope mai ka 'ao'ao "ii" a pēlā wale aku.)

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ʻia, ka hoʻopiʻi ʻia, a me ka hoʻāhewa ʻia ʻana o ka poʻe aloha ʻāina a pēlā pū ka Mōʻīwahine Liliʻuokalani.

ʻO ke mele ʻo "Ke Aloha Aina Paa Mau Loa" ke mele mua o kēia puke a ʻo ia hoʻi ke mele ʻano kaulana no ka makahiki 1895, ʻoiai, ua paʻi ʻia kēia mele he ʻelua manawa ma ka nūpepa ma mua o ka hoʻopuka ʻia ʻana mai o kēia puke, a laila, paʻi hou ʻia ke mele ma ka *Buke Mele Lahui* i ka mahina ʻo Kepakemapa o ka makahiki 1895.[2] ʻOkoʻa iki kekahi o nā lālani mele a hoʻoheno ʻia ke mele, "No ka poe i aloha i ka aina" ma nā nūpepa me ka *Buke Mele Lahui*, akā, ʻo ke mele like nō ia. Ma ka paʻi ʻia ʻana o ke mele ma *Kaua Kuloko 1895*, ʻaʻole nō i hōʻike ʻia ka inoa o ka haku mele, akā, ma nā wahi ʻē aʻe ʻekolu i paʻi ʻia ai nei mele, ua hōʻike ʻia mai nō, na J. K. Kamali i haku i ke mele. ʻO Kamali nō kekahi o nā aloha ʻāina a i loko o kāna mele, ua hōʻike mai nō ʻo ia i kona aloha i ka ʻāina o Hawaiʻi a me ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi.

Ma nā lālani mua, mele ʻo ia no kona ʻike maka ʻana i ka nani o Lēʻahi, ʻo ia nō kahi i hoʻomaka ai "Ke Kaua Kuloko a ka Lahui" (l. 1-2). Mele mai nō hoʻi ʻo Kamali no ka "hui lokahi" ʻana o "na puuwai/E imi i ka pono o ka aina" (l. 3-4). Ma ka paukū ʻelua, mele ʻia mai no nā wahi pana kahi i haunaele ai ke kaua, "I ka lihikai Kaalawai" (l. 5) a me "Daimana Hila" hoʻi (l. 8). Ma ka paukū ʻekolu, hoʻohālikelike ʻia ka hana a ka poʻe aloha ʻāina me ka makani "Ukiu" (l. 9). He makani hōʻeha ʻili nō ia a he ʻano hoʻonāukiuki nō kona ʻano. Akā, wahi a ka haku mele, "He aloha" ia makani a kapa ʻia aku ʻo "Ka makani halihali lau kukui" (l. 9-10) me ka manaʻo hoʻi, he makani hoʻonāukiuki aku i ke Aupuni Repubalika, akā, he makani nō ia e pā mai ana me ke aloha a he makani hoʻi nāna e hoʻomālamalama mai mai me he kukui ala. Ma ka paukū ʻehā, ʻo ka "sila"

[2] Kamali, J. K.,, "Ke Aloha I Ka Puuwai," *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, 19 Malaki 1895; *Nupepa Ka Oiaio*, 22 Malaki 1895; *Buke Mele Lahui*, 15.

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a me ke "kupaa" o ka mana'o a me ke aloha o ka haku mele i ka 'āina a me kona aloha i kona Mō'ī a me kona Hae Kalaunu, 'o ia nō nā mea nui (l. 13-16). Ma ka hopena o ke mele, puana 'ia mai "Ke Aloha Aina Paa Mau Loa" (l. 17-18). Pa'a mau loa nō ia aloha 'āina ma kēia mau mele a ma loko nō ho'i o kēia puke nei.

Mālamalama Ka Paia Lani: No ka Mo'olelo 'Ia 'Ana O Ke Kaua Kuloko

I ka hopena o ka M. H. 1894, ua ho'oholo ka po'e aloha 'āina e ho'okumu hou aku i ke Aupuni Hawai'i ma o ke kaua 'ana aku i ke Aupuni Repubalika me ke kā'ili 'ana aku i nā hale aupuni a kūkala hou aku i ke Aupuni Hawai'i ma lalo o ka Lāhui Hawai'i a me ka Mō'ī Hawai'i. 'O nā Luna Ho'oponopono nō o nā nūpepa kekahi o ka po'e nāna i alaka'i i kēia ho'olālā 'ana. Mālama 'ia nā hālāwai, ho'olako 'ia nā pū laipela a hūnā 'ia aku nō ma kahi kokoke mai i mākaukau lākou i ka hiki 'ana mai o ia makahiki 1894. Ma mua na'e o ke kaua 'ana, ua ku'i aku nō ka lono no ia ho'omākaukau 'ana a puni 'o Honolulu, a i ka mahina 'o Kēkēmapa o ka makahiki 1894, ua hopu 'ia a ho'opa'ahao 'ia nō ho'i kekahi o nā lālā o ka Hui Aloha 'Āina, 'o John E. Bush, Joseph Nāwahī, F. J. Testa, a me Thomas Spencer kekahi. 'O lākou nō ho'i nā Luna Ho'oponopono a me nā lima hana o nā nūpepa. 'O Testa ka Luna Ho'oponopono no *Ka Makaainana.*[3] Na Bush 'o *Ka Leo o ka Lahui* a me *Nupepa Ka Oiaio* a ua hana pū 'o Nāwahī ma laila, no laila, i ko lākou ho'opa'ahao 'ia 'ana i ka mahina 'o Kēkēmapa, ua pani 'ia nō nā nūpepa i ka hopena o ka makahiki 1894 a i nā mahina mua o ka makahiki 1895.[4] No ia kumu, i ka wā i ho'ouka 'ia ai ke Kaua Kūloko e ka po'e aloha 'āina, 'a'ole i mo'olelo nui 'ia mai ma nā nūpepa aloha 'āina. Mo'olelo 'ia mai nō ma ka *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* a pēlā pū ma *Ka*

[3] Mo'okini, 28-29.
[4] Silva, 2004, 138.

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Nupepa Kuokoa, eia na'e, ma ia mau nūpepa, kāko'o 'ia ka 'ao'ao o ke Aupuni Repubalika a ho'āhewa 'ia nō ka po'e aloha 'āina a me kā lākou hana.

Ma loko o *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, hō'ike 'ia ke kāko'o 'ole 'ia o ka po'e aloha 'āina ma kēlā me kēia po'o mana'o o kā lākou mo'olelo. Kapa 'ia ka po'e aloha 'āina 'o "Na Anee Alii o Honolulu!" He mea 'ino ka 'āne'e ali'i, no ka mea, he kanaka lapuwale nō ia, he kanaka ho'opilimea'ai ho'i. Hō'āhewa 'ia nō ka po'e aloha 'āina ma o ke koikoi 'ana e lī 'ia aku lākou ma ka "Puana Ai O Ke Kolohe." Wahi a *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, ua "puaa" aku nō ka pū'ali o ke Aupuni Kūikawā, akā ua "kaawale" ka pū'ali o ka po'e aloha 'āina; ua "wikani launa ole" ke Aupuni Kūikawā a "mokumoku" ka pū'ali o ka po'e aloha 'āina. Ma o kēia mau hua 'ōlelo i hō'ike 'ia ai ka mana'o kāko'o o ia nūpepa i ke Aupuni Repubalika.

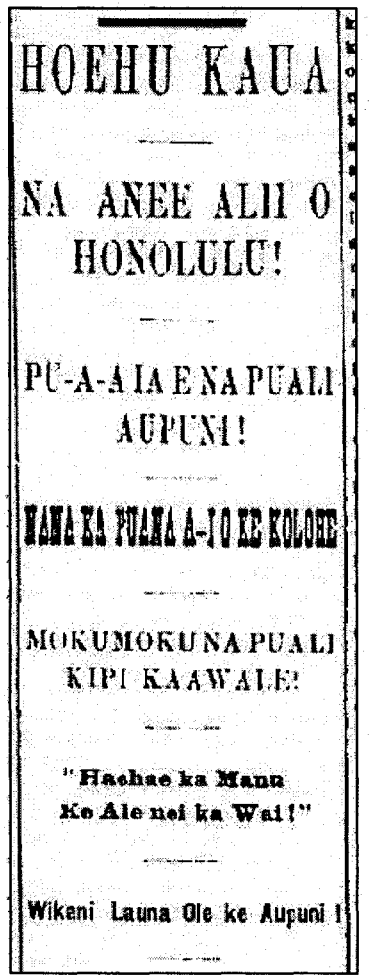
Ma ka lā 12 o Ianuali, M. H. 1895, ua piha ho'okahi 'ao'ao a me kekahi hapa hou aku o *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* i nā mo'olelo e pili ana i kēia kaua 'ana, a pēlā i mau ai no kekahi mau mahina. Ma kēia mau mo'olelo, kapa 'ia kēia kaua 'ana he "kaua hohe wale," 'o ia ho'i kahi kaua me ka po'e keu a ka maka'u a me ka nāwaliwali. Kapa 'ia ka po'e aloha 'āina 'o "ka poe enemi" a kapa 'ia ka Mō'īwahine Lili'uokalani ma ka inoa 'o "Liliuokalani Dominis" a i 'ole ia 'o "Mrs. Dominis." 'O ke kapa 'ana aku i ka Mō'īwahine ma ka inoa o kāna kāne, he mea ia e ha'aha'a ai kona kūlana.[5]

'Oko'a maoli nō ke 'ano o ka mo'olelo 'ana mai o *Ka Makaainana* i ia mau lā. Ua pono nā luna ho'oponopono a me nā lima hana e akahele loa i ke 'ano o ko lākou mo'olelo 'ana, i 'ole e hō'āhewa 'ia lākou no ka hō'eu 'ana i ka haunaele. Ma ka lā mua o ia kaua 'ana, ua kūkala 'ia ke Kānāwai Koa a pāpā 'ia nō nā mana'o kū'ē i ke Aupuni Repubalika. No ia kumu, ma *Ka Makaainana*, ho'olaha wale 'ia aku ka "Onene" o ke "Kaua Kuloko" ma ke 'ano he "Hoakaka Ano Nui

[5] "Kaua Hohe Wale A na Anee Alii," a me "Hoehu Kaua," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 12 Ianuali 1895.

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no na Hana i Lawelaweia," a he mau kōlamu wale nō ka lō'ihi. 'Oko'a ho'i kēia mau po'o mana'o a me nā mo'olelo, ke nānā aku.



HOEHU KAUA

NA ANEE ALII O HONOLULU!

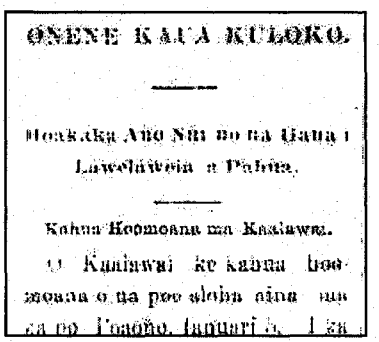
PU-A-A IA E NA PUALI AUPUNI!

MOKUMOKU NA PUALI KIPI KAAWALE!

"Hachae ka Mana Ke Ale nei ka Wai!"

Wikeni Launa Ole ke Aupuni!

Ki'i 1. *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa,* 12 Ianuali 1895.



ONENE KAUA KULOKO.

Hoakaka Ano Nui no na Hana i Laweiawela a Paha.

Kahua Hoomoana ma Kaalawa.

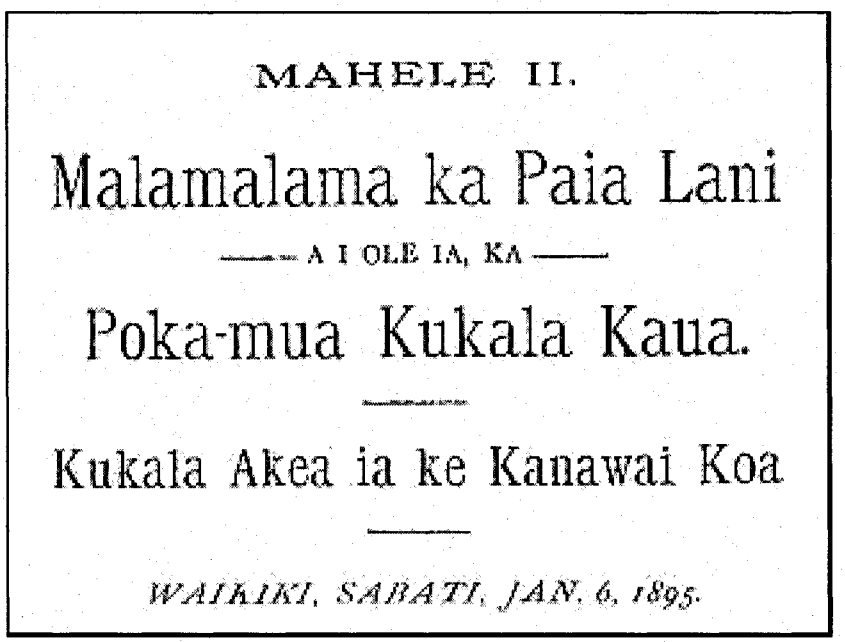
Ki'i 2. *Ka Makaainana,* 12 Ianuali 1895.

'O ia pāpā a ho'ohāmau 'ia 'ana o ka leo o ka po'e aloha 'āina nō ho'i ke kumu i 'oko'a loa ai ka nanaina o nā nūpepa 'elua. (E nānā i ke Ki'i 1 a me ke Ki'i 2 i luna a'e nei.) Ma *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa,* he 'ano hō'eu'eu nō ka pa'i 'ana i nā po'o mana'o he nui wale (he 'ehiku nō po'o mana'o 'oko'a). 'O ke kinona hua ho'i, ua 'ano nui a kau pū 'ia nā kiko pū'iwa i mea e ho'ohoihoi a ho'opīhoihoi ai ho'i i ka maka heluhelu. Ma *Ka Makaainana* na'e, 'a'ole nō i pa'i 'ia nā po'o mana'o he nui, a eia kekahi, 'ano li'ili'i ke kinona hua i koho 'ia, a aia nō he mau kiko pū'iwa i

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mea e ho'ohoihoi ai i ka mo'olelo. Pēlā nō ka mo'olelo 'ana ma ka nūpepa a ho'oku'u hou 'ia mai nā luna ho'oponopono o nā nūpepa aloha 'āina.

Ma ka mahina 'o Malaki, ua ho'oku'u 'ia ke Kānāwai Koa a ma hope iho nō i pa'i 'ia mai ai ka puke 'o *Kaua Kuloko 1895*.[6] 'O kēia nō kahi i mo'olelo pono 'ia mai ai ke kaua i ho'ouka 'ia, a 'o ia nō ho'i kahi i mo'olelo 'ia mai ai nā mana'o nui a ko'iko'i o ka po'e aloha 'āina. 'O Thomas Spencer ka Luna Ho'oponopono o ka puke, a 'o ia nō kekahi o nā kānaka aloha 'āina i ho'opa'a hao 'ia aku e ke Aupuni Repubalike i ka hopena o ka makahiki 1894.



MAHELE II.

Malamalama ka Paia Lani

— A I OLE IA, KA —

Poka-mua Kukala Kaua.

Kukala Akea ia ke Kanawai Koa

WAIKIKI, SABATI, JAN. 6, 1895.

Ki'i 3. *Kaua Kuloko 1895*, March 1895, 'ao'ao 16.

Ma kēia pa'i 'ia 'ana o ka mo'olelo, ua 'ano like nā po'o mana'o o nā mokuna me ke 'ano i 'ike 'ia ma *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* ma ka nui o ke kinona hua i koho 'ia. He mea ia e hoihoi mai ai ka maka o ka mea heluhelu, ke nānā aku. Koho 'ia nō ho'i nā hua 'ōlelo kūpono no ke kūkala 'ana i kēia mo'olelo. He 'elua nō paha mana'o o ia po'o mana'o mua loa. Wahi a ka mo'olelo, "Malamalama ka

[6] Spencer, Thomas, luna ho'oponopono, *Kaua Kuloko 1895: Ka Hoao Ana e Hookahuli i ke Aupuni i Lokahi Ole ia ka Repubalika o Hawaii* (Honolulu: Papapai Manu Press Publishing Co., 1895).

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Paia Lani," a ma lalo mai, ho'ākāka 'ia kekahi mana'o, no ka pili o ia mālamalama i ka "Poka mua" o ke kaua, 'o ia nō ka mea i mālamalama ai 'o ka lani. Eia nō na'e, pili nō ho'i ka hua 'ōlelo "malamalama" i ka na'auao a me ke akamai o kekahi mea, a no laila, i ka hō'ike 'ana i ka "Malamalama" o ka "Paia Lani," he hō'ailona nō ho'i ia no ka na'auao a me ke akamai o ia hana 'ana. 'O kēia nō ka pahuhopu o ka Luna Ho'oponopono o kēia puke a me nā alaka'i 'ē a'e o ka po'e aloha 'āina, i "Malamalama" hou ko lākou "Paia Lani." Pili nō ho'i ka mana'o o kēia po'o mana'o i ka mālama 'ana o ka paia lani i ka 'āina a me ka Lāhui Hawai'i. He pilina nō ho'i ko ka paia lani i nā Akua a me nā 'aumakua no laila, he hō'ailona ho'i kēia no ka mālama 'ana o nā Akua a me nā 'aumākua i ka Lāhui Hawai'i.

I ka makahiki 2000, ua pa'i hou 'ia kēia puke e ka Halepa'i o ka Hale Hō'ike'ike 'o Pīhopa a kākau 'ia he wahi 'ōlelo ho'ākāka a 'ōlelo ho'olauna paha e Puakea Nogelmeier. He pōkole nō ia ho'ākāka 'ana; helu papa 'ia nā mea o loko o ka puke, a wahi a ka mea kākau, ma kēia mo'olelo, kālele 'ia ka 'ao'ao o ke Aupuni Repubalika. Penei kona wehewehe 'ana,

> 'Oiai pili ka nui o ka 'ike ma kēia pō'ai i ka 'ao'ao o ke aupuni repubalika, ho'okomo 'ia ka 'ike mai ka 'ao'ao aloha 'āina ma kahi i hiki ai. He kumu ko kēia kālele 'ana i ka 'ao'ao aupuni repubalika, 'o ia ho'i ka nui a'e o ka 'ike no ia 'ao'ao i loa'a ma ka lima o ka luna ho'oponopono 'o Thomas Spencer. Ma ka 'ao'ao o ke aupuni repubalike, ua 'oi ae ka nui o nā palapala i hana 'ia, nā hō'ike i kākau 'ia iho a me nā palapala i mālama 'ia ma nā ke'ena, nā waihona a me nā nūpepa o ia wā.[7]

Ke heluhelu 'ia aku na'e, he mea mōakāka, he kuhihewa ko Nogelmeier i ke kākau 'ana aku no ko Spencer "kālele" 'ana i ka 'ao'ao o ke Aupuni Repubalika. Inā nānā pono 'ia nā mea o loko o ka puke a ho'ohālikelike 'ia me ka

[7] Wenzel, Duane, Luna Ho'oponopono, *Kaua Kūloko 1895: Ka Ho'ā'o 'ana e Ho'okahuli i ke Aupuni i Lōkahi 'Ole 'ia ka Repubalika o Hawai'i (Civil War 1895: The Attempt to Overthrow the Discordant Government, the Republic of Hawai'i)*, (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 2000), 6. (Ua 'ano hemahema ka helu 'ana i nā 'ao'ao o kēia pa'i hou 'ana, 'oiai, ua like nō nā helu o ia mau 'ao'ao hou o ka pa'i hou 'ana me nā helu o ka puke i kona pa'i mua 'ia 'ana i ka M. H. 1895, no laila, 'o kēia 'ao'ao 6 i kuhikuhi 'ia a'e nei, 'o ia nō ka 'ao'ao 6 o loko o ka pa'i hou 'ana.)

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mo'olelo i kūkala 'ia ma ka nūpepa, e 'ike 'ia ana, 'o kā Spencer i hana ai, 'o ia nō ke kālele 'ana i ka 'ao'ao o ka po'e aloha 'āina. He aloha 'āina nō 'o Spencer, 'o ia ka Luna Ho'opono o ka *Hawaii Holomua* i ka makahiki 1893, he nūpepa aloha 'āina nō ia.

Ua pono na'e 'o Spencer e akahele loa i ke 'ano o kāna 'ōlelo ma *Kaua Kuloko 1895* i 'ole e hō'āhewa a lawe pio hou 'ia e ke Aupuni Repubalika no ka ho'ohaunaele 'ana i ka lehulehu. Eia na'e, ma ka 'Ōlelo Ho'ākāka, hō'ike mai nō 'o ia i ia aloha. Wahi āna, pa'i 'ia ka puke "Mamuli o ke noi ana mai a na makamaka, e hoopuka aku i ka moolelo piha o ke ala ana mai o ke kaua kuloko." Ma kēia 'ōlelo, e hō'ike mai ana nō 'o Spencer, 'o kona pahuhopu nui ka ha'i 'ana i ka 'ao'ao o ka po'e aloha 'āina, 'oiai, 'o ka 'ao'ao o ka Repubalika, ua nui nā mea i kākau 'ē 'ia ma nā nūpepa 'ōlelo haole, e la'a me ka *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* a pēlā pū ma *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* ma ka 'ōlelo Hawai'i.

Hō'ike pū mai nō ho'i 'o Spencer i kona mana'o no ke Aupuni Repubalika ma ka 'ili a me nā 'ao'ao mua o ka puke. Ma ka 'ili, kapa 'ia aku ke Aupuni Repubalika 'o "Ke Aupuni i Lokahi Ole ia." Ma nā 'ao'ao mua loa, hō'ike 'ia he mau ki'i o nā mea nui ma ia kaua 'ana; 'o Lili'uokalani kekahi, a laila, kekahi o Sanford Dole, ka Pelekikena o ke Aupuni Repubalika, a ma hope aku, 'o J. H. Fisher, ka lukenela konela o ka pū'ali o ke Aupuni Repubalika, a hō'ike pū 'ia kahi ki'i no ke "Kahua Kaua o Waikiki." Ma ia ki'i hope loa iho, hō'ike 'ia mai ka pū'ali koa o ka po'e aloha 'āina me ko lākou luna 'o Kamuela Nolena ma kahakai o Waikīkī. He mea nui nō ia ka'ina 'ana, no ka mea, 'o Lili'uokalani nō ka mea mua, he wahi kūpono no kona kūlana hiehie no ka lāhui a no ia kaua 'ana.

Ma hope o nā ki'i, pa'i 'ia mai nō he 'elua mele lāhui, a pa'i hou 'ia he mau mele ma ka hopena o ka puke. Ma nei puke, 'a'ole nō nā mele lāhui 'o ka mea nui loa, no ka mea, 'o ka mo'olelo o ia kaua nō ka mea nui loa. Akā, ua pa'i 'ia nō he

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'ewalu mele lāhui ma ka puke; aia nō 'elua mele ma nā 'ao'ao mua o ka puke, a aia he 'eono mele hou aku ma ka hopena, ma hope o ka mo'olelo a me ka papa inoa o ka po'e aloha 'āina. He mea nui nō na'e nā mele, a ua ho'ākāka 'ia mai nō e ka luna ho'oponopono, 'o ia ho'i 'o Thomas P. Spencer. Wahi āna,

> Ua loaa mai keia mele ia makou, mai na koa Hawaii ponoi mai o ka mahele Leahi, oiai lakou ma ke alahele naku iloko o ka ululaau ooi o ka lanatana no na awawa o Palalo me Manoa, a ma ke awawa o ka inoa hope, i hoao ai lakou e kupaa i ka iho makawalu mai o ka poka a hiki i ke auhee ana.
>
> Ua haku iho lakou i keia mau lalani mele oiai ma ke alahele malihini aloehuehu, a hooheno ia malalo o ka puana—"UO-IA i ka Puuwai e na Koa o ke Aloha Aina."[8]

Ma kēia ho'ākāka 'ana, hō'oia mai nō 'o Spencer i ke kūlana nui ko'iko'i o nā mele a me ka pili pa'a o nā mele i ka pu'uwai o ka po'e aloha 'āina a pau, a he aloha nō ia e pa'a mau loa ana. He mea nui kēia uō 'ana o ka leo o ka po'e aloha 'āina, no ka mea, 'a'ole nō i lohe 'ia ia leo i nā manawa a pau.

Hō'ike mai nō ho'i 'o Spencer i kona kāko'o 'ana i ke Aupuni Mō'ī ma kāna mo'olelo i hō'ulu'ulu ai. Ma ka Māhele I, pa'i 'ia he mau palapala no ke kūkulu 'ana i ke "kūlana wehe mo'olelo" i maopopo i ka maka heluhelu nā mea i hana 'ia ma mua o ka ho'ouka 'ia 'ana o ke kaua. He hō'ailona hou nā palapala i pa'i 'ia no ko Spencer kūlana he aloha 'āīna. Ma ia māhele, mo'olelo pōkole 'ia no "Ke Kuahaua Aupuni Hou" ma ka lā 17 o Ianuali, M. H. 1893, a wahi āna, he mea ia e "kuni mau ia na hoomanao mai kekahi hanauna a komo i kekahi." Ma hope iho, pa'i 'ia "Ke Kukala Kue a ka Moiwahine" i ia ho'okahuli 'ia 'ana o kona aupuni, a laila, pa'i 'ia ka "Palapala Hoakaka a Liliuokalani ia Peresidena Harikona." 'O ka palapala hope loa i pa'i 'ia ma kēia māhele, 'o ia nō ka "Palapala Elele a Peresidena Kalivilana Imua o ka Ahaolelo no ka Ninau no Hawaii" ma ka mahina 'o Kēkēmapa o ka makahiki 1893, 'o ia nō ka palapala e

[8] Spencer, vii.

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hōʻoia ana i ka hewa o ke kuhina o ʻAmelika ma ka hoʻouka ʻana i ka pūʻali koa o ʻAmelika i ka wā o ka hoʻokahuli aupuni.

Ma ka hopena o ka moʻolelo, paʻi ʻia ka papa inoa "o na poe i hopu ia ma ka Haunaele Kaua Kuloko o Ianuari 17, 1895," a hōʻike pū ʻia ko lākou kūlana he "poe hoohuoi ia" no ke komo ʻana i loko o ke kaua me ka hoʻolālā ʻana ma nā "halawai ohumu malu no ka hookahuli i ka Repubalika," akā, ma ka hopena, ʻaʻole lākou i kapa ʻia he poʻe kipi a he poʻe ʻenemi, a no ka mea, kapa ʻia lākou ʻo nā "koa aloha aina." ʻAʻole nō i helu papa ʻia nā inoa o nā pūʻali koa o ka ʻaoʻao o ke Aupuni Repubalika.

I ka hoʻopuka mua ʻia ʻana o nei puke i ka M. H. 1895, ua paʻi ʻia nā mele lāhui hou he ʻeono ma ka hopena o ka puke, ma hope o ka papa inoa o nā hoa aloha ʻāina. I ka paʻi hou ʻia ʻana o kēia puke i ka makahiki 2000, ʻaʻole nō i paʻi pū ʻia kēia mau mele ma ka hopena. He minamina maoli nō kēia, no ka mea, ʻo ka poʻe aloha ʻāina nō ka poʻe nāna i haku i kēia mau mele, a he mea nui ko kākou hoʻomaopopo pono ʻana i ko lākou mau manaʻo a pau loa. He mea nui nō nā mele a pau, no ka mea, he hōʻailona nō ia no ka nui palena ʻole o ke aloha o nā kānaka o ia au. He aloha lākou i ka ʻāina a me kā lāhui Hawaiʻi. No ia kumu, wili pū ʻia kēia mau mele a pau loa i loko o kēia mokuna i ʻike ʻia aku nō a i uō ʻia aku nō ko lākou leo a lohe ʻia e ko ke au nei.

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Ke Ala Malihini Aloehuehu: No Ke Kaua Kūloko

KE ALA MALIHINI ALOEHUEHU[9]

(Hooheno ia mahope iho o ke
kaua, oiai e naku ana iloko o
kanahele.)

Aia i ka luna Daimana Hila
Ke aloha aina e hoolulu nei
Ilaila makou i ike iho ai
Ka uwahi noe o ka pu-raifela

O ke kani kuilua a ka pukuniahi
E nakolo i ke kai la'i o Kahala
Ekolu poka i ka neo ia
Houhewa i ka lepo o ka aina

A ka hora 4 auwina la
Alo ana i ke kula o Waialae
Ilaila makou i ike iho ai
Ka iniki walania a ka Lanatana

Palekana kakou e na hoa
Ua hiki i ke ala a ka malihini
A hiki i ka piko o Palolo
Nana i ka nani o Kauhelemoa [*pn*]

Ke Kupua kaulana o ia uka
Ia uka kamahao i ko'u maka
Hookahi makamaka o na hoa
Na hoa aloehuehu i ka inea

A hiki i ka olu o Manoa
Ike i ka wai lelehune Akekua
O ka ulu-ohia e memele ana
Hamu ana i ka hua o ke kuawa

E aho ia la e na hoa
Kamau ka hele'na o ke kula loa
A Manoa ike i ka ehuehu
Aloalo poka me ka enemi

Hanohano Pauoa i ka uhiwai
Haaheo i ka uka o Kupanihi
Haina ia mai ana ka puana
Ke Aloha Aina paa mau loa

[9] "Ke Ala Malihini Aloehuehu," *Ke Kaua Kuloko*, viii.

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'O kēia nō ke mele 'elua i pa'i 'ia i loko o ka puke 'o *Kaua Kuloko 1895.* E like me ke mele mua o ia puke, 'a'ole nō i hō'ike 'ia mai ka inoa o ka haku mele. A 'a'ole nō i 'ike 'ia nei mele ma kekahi nūpepa a puke paha, no laila, 'a'ole nō i maopopo ka inoa o ka haku mele. Eia nō na'e, ua hō'ike mai nō ka haku mele i kona kūlana he aloha 'āina me kona ho'ākāka 'ana i ka wā a me kahi i haku 'ia ai ke mele, "oiai e naku ana iloko o kanahele". Nui nō ho'i nā mea kiko'ī i loko o ke mele e pili ana i kēia kaua.

'O ka Pō'akahi, ka lā 7 o Ianuali 1895 ka lā i koho 'ia a i ho'olālā 'ia no ka ho'omaka 'ana o ke kaua. Ua hui pū kekahi o ka po'e aloha 'āina ma ka hale o Henry Bertelmann, 'o ia ho'i 'o Bakalamana a 'o Bekelamana ho'i, ma kona hale ma Waikīkī, ma ka 'ao'ao 'Ewa o Lē'ahi, 'o ia ho'i 'o Daimana Hila a 'o Kaimana Hila kekahi inoa. Ma ka hale o Bakalamana nō lākou i ka 'auinalā a me ke ahiahi o ka Lāpule, lā 6 o Ianuali, e ho'omākaukau ana i nā pū laipela no ke kakahiaka 'ana a'e. Aia nō ho'i kekahi o ka po'e aloha 'āina me Robert Wilcox, 'o ia ho'i 'o Wilikoki ma kekahi 'ao'ao o Lē'ahi ma Kā'alawai e ho'omākaukau ana a e kakali ana. 'O ka po'e aloha 'āina 'ē a'e, aia nō me Samuel Nowlein, 'o Kamuela Nolena ho'i, ma ka uapo o Mō'ili'ili e ho'omākaukau ana. Wahi a Wilikoki, ua ho'olālā 'ia ke ka'i 'ana o 'elua pū'ali ma nā ala nui 'elua e holo ana no ke kaona ('o kekahi pū'ali, ma Waikīkī e hele ai, he ala hele 'ano pili i kahakai, a 'o kekahi pū'ali, ma ke ala nui 'o Wai'alae e holo ai). A hālāwai a'ela ma ke kaona a ma ka hale ali'i ma nā hale aupuni e kūkala hou 'ia ai ke Aupuni Mō'ī o Hawai'i ma lalo o ka malu o ka Mō'īwahine a me ka Lāhui Hawai'i.[10]

I ke kali 'ana na'e o ia po'e aloha 'āina i ke ao 'ana a'e o ka lā 7, ua ho'opū'iwa 'ia maila lākou ma ka hale o Bakalamana e nā māka'i o ke Aupuni Repubalika. Ua hiki aku nō ua po'e māka'i lā i laila me kahi palapala huli no ka

[10] Spencer, 84-86.

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huli ʻana i ka pū laipela. I ko lākou hoʻāʻo ʻana e komo aku ma ka pā hale o Bakalamana, ua ʻike ʻia ka poʻe aloha ʻāina me nā pū laipela. E hoʻāʻo ana ka poʻe mākaʻi e lawe pio i ka poʻe aloha ʻāina, a e hoʻāʻo ana hoʻi ka poʻe aloha ʻāina e pakele aku. I ia manawa, ʻo ke kīpū akula nō ia o nā pū laipela i ʻō a i ʻaneʻi. Kū nō kekahi mākaʻi i ka pōkā, lawe pio ʻia kekahi o ka poʻe aloha ʻāina, a pakele kekahi i uka ala o Lēʻahi.[11] Wahi a Wilikoki,

> I ka hora 6 ahiahi ka pau pono ana o ka hoomaemae i ka pu, a haawi ia i na poe i hiki mai; i kela manawa i hoike pu ia mai ai iaʻu, aia he huina mahuahua o na makai i hiki ae i kahi o H. Bakalamana ma Waikiki, no ka hopu iaia, a me ke pani i ka hoaoana o na koa Hawaii e komo iloko o ke kulanakauhale; ua haawi koke aku au i ke kauoha ia 12 kanaka mahele ekahi, e makaukau me na pu panapana no ka hele a hoopuni i na makai mawaho o ka hale o Bakalamana, a e hele koke i kela manawa ano.[12]

Ua kīpū aku a kīpū ʻia mai, a ma ka hopena o ia kīpū ʻana, ua pakele aku ʻo Wilikoki mā me nā koa ʻē aʻe nāna i pakele mai ka hale o Bakalamana a holo aʻela lākou i uka ala o Lēʻahi kahi e peʻe ai no ia pō.

Ma uka nō o Lēʻahi i noho paʻa ai ʻo Wilikoki mā, a aia ʻo Nolena mā ma kahi o Kamōʻiliʻili. Ua pakele aku a holo ma ʻō a ma ʻaneʻi kēia poʻe aloha ʻāina mai Lēʻahi aku a i Kāhala a i Pālolo hoʻi. Mai Pālolo aku i uka o ke kualapa ʻo Waʻahila a hiki aku i Mānoa, a mai laila aku i uka o ʻUalakaʻa a i Pauoa, a mai laila aku a i Nuʻuanu.

ʻIke ʻia nō, he mea nui kēia kūpaʻa ʻana no ka pono o ka ʻāina no kēia haku mele, no ka mea, ma kēlā me kēia paukū o ke mele, moʻolelo ʻia mai no nā wahi i hoʻouka ʻia ai kēia kaua ʻana. ʻO Daimana Hila kahi mua i hoʻoheno ʻia, (l. 1), a laila, ma Kahala nō (l. 6), a ma ka paukū 3, ʻo Waiʻalae kahi i hoʻoheno ʻia (l. 10). ʻO Pālolo aku kekahi wahi (l. 19) me Mānoa ma ka paukū ʻelima me ʻeono (l. 21, 27), a laila i Pauoa ma ka paukū ʻewalu (l. 29). Eia kekahi, ma nā wahi a lākou i

[11] Spencer, 18-21.
[12] Spencer, 85.

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hele aku ai, nui nō nā mea i "'ike" a "nānā" 'ia e ka "maka" o ka haku mele. He 'eono nō manawa o kona mele 'ana no nā mea i 'ike maka 'ia e ia (l. 3, 11, 16, 18, 22, 27), e la'a me ka "uwahi noe o ka pu-raifela" (l. 3), ka "iniki o ka lanatana" (l. 11), kēlā mea kanu hihia a kukū ho'i, a pēlā pū kona 'ike 'ana i ka "nani" a me ke "kamahao" o ka uka o Pālolo (l. 16, 18).

Mele mai nō ho'i ka haku mele no nā mea i lohe pepeiao 'ia, e la'a 'o "ke kani kuilua a ka pukuniahi" (l. 5). Ma kēlā me kēia wahi, kīpū aku ka po'e aloha 'āina i ko lākou pū laipela, a pēlā pū ka pū'ali o ke Aupuni Repubalika. Eia na'e, he pūkuniahi nō ho'i ko ke Aupuni Repubalika, a i ke kūpa'a 'ana mai o ka po'e aloha 'āina ma kekahi o nā wahi i helu papa 'ia i luna a'e nei, lawe 'ia mai nō ia pūkuniahi o ka Repubalika i ō lākou ala, a pahū aku nō nā pōkā pūkuniahi. Ma muli o ka ikaika o ia pūkuniahi, ma kēlā me kēia wahi, lawe pio 'ia kekahi o ka po'e aloha 'āina a 'auhe'e akula kekahi.

AIA I KA LUNA O KAIMUKI[13]

O Kaimuki no ka'u Aloha
I ke ani peahi a ka makani
Ka makani kapa ia no ka aina
Ke nihi ae la ma na pali
Aia i ka luna o Daimana-hila
Keiki Wilikoki Puuwai-kila
Ua sila iho au i ko'u manao
Hookahi Puuwai o ka Lokahi
O ka pu raipela ka'u aloha
Ka uwahi noe i ka pua o ka Ilima
E hana lima au i kuu aina
I hoi e ka pono o Hawaii nei
Auhea na kiai aumakua
Kalokalo ia'e i ola makou
Ku'i aku e ka lono lohe o Maleka
Eia Hawaii ua haunaele
He aloha au la i kuu Moi
Me ka hae kalaunu o Halealii
Haina ia mai ana ka puana
No ka poe i Aloha i ka Aina.

[13] "Aia I Ka Luna O Kaimuki," *Ke Kaua Kuloko 1895*, 140. ('A'ole nō i helu 'ia nā 'ao'ao hope loa o ia puke, no laila, na'u nō i ho'omau wale aku i ka helu 'ana i kuhikuhi pono 'ia ma 'ane'i.)

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Kapa ʻia kēia mele ʻo "Aia I Ka Luna O Kaimuki," a ua paʻi ʻia ma ka hopena o *Kaua Kuloko 1895*. ʻAʻole nō i hōʻike ʻia ka inoa o ka haku mele, a ʻaʻole i paʻi ʻia kēia mele ma kekahi wahi, no laila, ʻaʻole nō i maopopo ka inoa o ka haku mele. Akā, e like me "Ke Ala Malihini Aloehuehu" o luna aʻela, mele mai kēia haku mele no ko lākou noho ʻana aku ma Kaimukī. Wahi āna, "O Kaimuki no kaʻu aloha" a laila, hoʻohālikelike ʻia ka poʻe aloha ʻāina no ka makani a he "ani peahi" kā lākou hana a he "kapa ia no ka aina" a "ke nihi ae la ma na pali" (l. 1-4). A ma lalo iho, hōʻike mai ka haku mele i kona aloha i kona hoa aloha ʻāina, ʻo ia nō kona pū laipela i ke mele ʻana, "O ka pu raifela kaʻu aloha (l. 9). A kapa ʻia ka uahi o ia pū ʻo "Ka uwahi noe i ka pua o ka Ilima" (l. 10) me ka manaʻo hoʻi, e ola ana ka pua o ka ʻilima, ʻo ia nō nā keiki o Oʻahu i ia uahi noe e like me ke ola ʻana o ka pua ʻilima i ka noe. Akā, lilo kēia uahi i mea e ola ai ke kanaka, ʻoiai, he alahele ia e ola ai ka Mōʻī, ke Aupuni, a me ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi.

Mele ʻia mai nō hoʻi no ka huli ʻana aku o ka lima o ka haku mele i kona ʻāina me he mahi ʻai lā, akā, i kona mele ʻana, "E hana lima au i kuu aina/I hoi e ka pono o Hawaii nei" (l. 11-12), ua maopopo maila, ʻo ka huli ʻana o kona lima i ka pū laipela, he hana ia e ʻimi ana i ke ola a me ka pono o ka ʻāina a me ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi. A laila, kāhea aʻela ka haku mele i nā "kiai aumakua" e maliu mai i kona "kalokalo" ʻana aku iā lākou "i ola makou" (l. 13-14). No ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi, ua nui wale ka poʻe e hoʻomana aku ana i ke Akua Kalikiano, eia nō naʻe, nui nō hoʻi ko lākou kaukaʻi ʻana aku i nā ʻaumākua a me nā Akua Hawaiʻi e like me kēia. Ma ka hopena o ke mele, huli ka manaʻo o ka haku mele i ka Mōʻīwahine a mele ʻia mai no ke aloha i ka "Moi" a me ka "hae kalaunu" (l. 17-18) a puana ʻia mai ke mele "No ka poe i Aloha i ka Aina" (l. 19-20).

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Ho'ohanohano pū 'ia kekahi o nā me'e o kēia Kaua Kūloko ma waena o ke mele. Wahi a ka haku mele, "Aia i ka luna o Daimana Hila" a me ka noho 'ana o "Keiki Wilikoki puuwai-kila" i laila (l. 5-6). Kohu mea lā, ma kēia mau lālani i hō'ike 'ia ai kekahi mana'o nui o ka haku mele, 'oiai kapa 'ia ka inoa o ke mele no kēia māhele o ke mele. Mali'a paha, ma muli nō ia o ka mahalo nui 'ia 'o Wilikoki e ka po'e aloha 'āina.

Keiki Wilikoki Pu'uwai Kila: No Lopaka Wilikoki

KEIKI WILIKOKI PUUWAI-KILA.[14]

Aia i ka luna o Daimana-hila
Keiki Wilikoki Puuwai-kila
Nana ikaulana e ke akamai
Poka Poniuniu Ailana
Ua lana hakukoi ko'u manao
E hui me na koa o ke Aupuni
Kahea e ka leo o ke kapena
Paaia a paa e ke kulana
E koa ka manao me ka wiwo ole
A hopo ole hoi i ka nui manu
Mea ole na poka pukuniahi
Na keiki Hawaii Puuwai-kila
Imua kakou e o'u mau hoa
A puka i ke ao malamalama
Aole makou e hopo ana
Na kanawai o ke Aupuni
    Hainaia mai ana ka puana
    E Ola Hawaii a mau loa.

'O "Keiki Wilikoki Puuwai-kila" ka inoa o kekahi mele ma *Kaua Kuloko 1895*. Pa'i 'ia nō ho'i nei mele ma ka 'ao'ao 78 o ka *Buke Mele Lahui*. 'A'ole i hō'ike 'ia ka inoa o ka haku mele ma *Kaua Kuloko 1895*, akā, ma loko o ka *Buke Mele Lahui*, ua hō'ike 'ia 'o J. C. ka haku mele. Mali'a paha, 'o Joe Clark (Kalaka) ia a i 'ole ia 'o J. Cranstone, 'o ia nō nā inoa o kekahi o ka po'e aloha 'āina, akā 'a'ole nō

[14] "Keiki Wilikoki Puuwai-Kila," *Kaua Kuloko 1895*, 139-140.

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i maopopo pono ka inoa o ka haku mele, akā, hōʻike ʻia mai nō naʻe i kona komo maoli ʻana i loko o kēia hana kūpaʻa no ka pono o ka ʻāina.

Ma kēia mele, e like me ke mele o luna aʻela, kapa hou ʻia aku ʻo Wilikoki ʻo ia nō ke "Keiki Wilikoki Puuwai-kila" (l. 2), a ʻo ia nō ka inoa a me ka manaʻo nui o kēia mele i paʻi ʻia ma ke *Kaua Kuloko 1895*. Hoʻohanohano wale ʻia ko Wilikoki "kaulana" i kona "akamai" ma ka hana kaua (l. 3-4). Ma nā lālani ma lalo, hōʻike mai nō hoʻi kēia haku mele i ke ʻano o kona naʻau, iā lākou e hoʻouka ana i kēia kaua. Mele mai ʻo ia no ka "lana hakukoi" o kona manaʻo "E hui me na koa o ke Aupuni" (l. 5-6), a mele mai hoʻi ʻo ia no kona mahalo nui ʻana i ka leo "kahea... o ke kapena" e paipai ana i ka poʻe aloha ʻāina "e paa e ke kulana" (l. 8), "E koa ka manao me ka wiwoole" (l. 9), "A hopo ole i ka nui manu" (l. 10), no ka mea, he "Mea ole na poka pukuniahi" (l. 11). Kapa ʻia ka poʻe aloha ʻāina a pau ma kēia inoa kaulana o Wilikoki. Wahi a ka haku mele, ʻo lākou "Na keiki Hawaii Puuwai-kila" (l. 12), a laila, kāhea akula ka haku mele i kona mau hoa penei, "Imua kakou e oʻu mau hoa/A puka i ke ao malamalama" (l. 13-14). Ma kēia mau lālani, uō hou ʻia kēlā manaʻo a Spencer i hōʻike mai ai ma kāna moʻolelo ʻana mai no ka mālamalama o ka paia lani. ʻAno like kēia manaʻo, no ka mea, ʻo ka puka ʻana i ke ao mālamalama, he hōʻailona nō ia no ke ola a me ka lanakila ʻana ma muli o ka naʻauao a me ke ʻano pono o ka hana ʻana a ma muli hoʻi ia o ka ʻāpono a me ka hoʻopōmaikaʻi ʻia ʻana e nā Akua a me nā ʻaumākua. Ma ka hopena o ke mele, hōʻike mai ka haku mele i ka hopohopo ʻole ʻana mai o ka poʻe aloha ʻāina e pili ana iā lākou iho me ke mele ʻana, "Aole makou e hopo ana/Na kanawai o ke Aupuni" (l. 15-16), no ka mea, ʻo ko lākou mea e hopohopo ana, ʻo ia nō ke ola a me ke kūʻokoʻa o ke Aupuni a me ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi. Ua mākaukau hoʻi kēia poʻe aloha ʻāina no ka mōhai ʻana aku i ko lākou ola a me ko lākou kūʻokoʻa ponoʻī no ka pono o ka Mōʻī, ke Aupuni, a me ka Lāhui. A ma nā

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lālani hope loa o ke mele, hō'oia mai nō ka haku mele i ia mana'o nui ona, no ka mea, puana 'ia kēia mele "E Ola Hawaii a mau loa" (l. 17-18), no laila, ma ka nānā pono 'ana i kēia mau lālani 'ehā ma ka hopena o ke mele, 'a'ohe nānā o ka po'e aloha 'āina no ko lākou pono pono'ī, no ka mea, 'o Hawai'i nō ka mea nui, ka mea e ola mau loa ai.

'O Robert William Wilcox nō ka mea ho'ohenoheno 'ia ma ke mele nei, 'o ia ho'i 'o Lopaka Wilikoki. Ma Maui i hānau 'ia ai 'o Wilikoki a ma ke kula 'ōlelo Pelekane 'o ia i ho'ona'auao 'ia ai.[15] 'Eleu 'o Wilikoki ma ke kula a akamai ho'i ma kāna mau ha'awina a ua lilo nō i punahele na kāna po'e kumu. I ka makahiki 1880, ua piha nā makahiki he 25 iā Wilikoki i ia manawa, a ua ho'ouna 'ia aku 'o ia i 'Īkalia e ho'ona'auao 'ia ai ma ka 'oihana pū'ali koa.[16] A pau kona ho'ona'auao 'ia 'ana, ho'i maila 'o WIlikoki i kona one hānau.

I ka makahiki 1887, ka wā ho'i e noho Mō'ī 'ana ka Mō'ī Kalākaua, ua koikoi 'ia ka pūlima 'ia 'ana o kekahi kumukānāwai hou nāna e ho'ēmi nui ana i ka mana ho'okō o ka Mō'ī o ke Aupuni Hawai'i. A hala 'elua makahiki, a i ka mahina 'o Iulai i ka makahiki 1889, ua 'imi 'o Wilikoki i alahele e ho'oponopono 'ia ai kēia pilikia o ke Aupuni Hawai'i. Ua mālama 'ia he hālāwai no ka hō'eu 'ana i kēia "hookahuli aupuni" 'ana. Ma ia hālāwai, penei kā Wilikoki i ha'i'ōlelo aku ai,

> He oiaio, ua akoakoa mai nei oukou ma keia wahi i keia po mamuli o ka'u kauoha ia oukou, nolaila, eia na hana a'u i makemake ai e hoike aku ia oukou, oia no ko kakou lokahi ana i hookahi puuwai, no ke aloha i ka aina a me ka Moi. He oiaio, o ka hoao ana e hookahuli i ke Aupuni a me ke Kumukanawai, he mea nui kela, oiai, na ka Ahaolelo wale no e hana ia mea, a oiai hoi, he manawa loihi a hiki mai i kela manawa. Nolaila, ua koho paa loa au no'u iho, ua hiki loa ia kakou ke hookahuli i keia noho'na Aupuni, ke lokahi kakou malalo o ka'u mau alakai ana... ina e kupaa

[15] Nakanaela, Thomas K., *Ka Buke Moolelo o Hon. Robert William Wilikoki*, (Honolulu: Lake me Nakanaela, 1890), 1-2.
[16] Nakanaela, 17.

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> oukou me ka wiwo ole, alaila, o ko kakou palekana no ka hoi ia, hoi hou ka pono o ka aina, ka pono o ka Moi a me ka lahui e like me ka mau.[17]

Ua ho'ā'o nō 'o Wilikoki a me kekahi po'e hou aku ma lalo ona e ho'okahuli 'ia ke kumukānāwai a me ke aupuni e kū ana, akā, 'a'ole na'e i ho'okō pono 'ia aku. Ua lilo nō na'e 'o Wilikoki i me'e no kona Lāhui, ma muli o kona kūpa'a 'ana no ka pono o ka 'āina. I ia manawa, ua haku 'ia nō he mau mele e ho'ohanohano aku ana iā ia, a ua pa'i 'ia kekahi o ia po'e mele ma loko o ka nūpepa, e la'a me "Hooheno No Wilikoki."[18] I kekahi makahiki 'ana aku, i ka mahina 'o Iulai M. H. 1890, ua ho'opuka 'ia mai he puke mo'olelo no ke ola o Wilikoki, a ma loko o ia puke, pa'i 'ia nō he 20 mau mele e ho'ohanohano ana i ka inoa o Wilikoki, he mele hou i kapa 'ia kona inoa 'o "He Hooheno No Wilikoki,"[19] a "He Puuwai Aloha Ko Wilikoki."[20]

He me'e nō 'o Wilikoki no ka lāhui mai kēlā makahiki 1889 mai a i ka makahiki 1895, ua mau loa nō ia kūlana me'e. Eia na'e, 'a'ole 'o Wilikoki kekahi o ka po'e aloha 'āina nāna i ho'olālā i ke Kaua Kūloko o ka makahiki 1895. Wahi a Wilikoki,

> Ua hoomaka ko'u lohe mua i keia haunaele e hapai ia aku ana iloko o hookahi wale no pule, a e hoolawaia ana na Kanaka Hawaii me na lako kaua no ka hooko i ko lakou makemake, oia no ka hoihoi hou i ke aupuni kahiko, i hookele ia e na Kanaka Hawaii, malalo o kela kumu i hooholo ai au i ko'u manao, e haawi no au i na kokua a pau ma ko'u aoao e like me ka hiki no ka hookoia o kela hopena, mamua o ko'u ku wale aku no oiai lakou e hakoko ana no ka pono pili lahui o Hawaii.[21]

No ia kumu, ua komo mai nō 'o Wilikoki i kēia hana 'ana a lilo i alaka'i no kekahi o nā pū'ali aloha 'āina, e like me ka mea i 'ōlelo 'ē 'ia. Nāna nō i alaka'i i kona pū'ali me ka wiwo'ole mai ko lākou wahi i ho'omaka ai ma Lē'ahi ho'i, a i

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[17] Nakanaela, 25.
[18] Kaanoiokalani, Annie K., "Hooheno No Wilikoki," *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 10 Kepakemapa 1889.
[19] Leikinihene, W. H., "He Hooheno No Wilikoki," *Ka Buke Moolelo o Hon. Robert William Wilikoki*, xvi.
[20] Maile, Mrs. C. B., "He Puuwai Aloha Ko Wilikoki," *Ka Buke Moolelo o Hon. Robert William Wilikoki*, xvii.
[21] Spencer, 86.

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Kaimukī me Pālolo. I ka lā 'ekolu o ia kaua 'ana, aia nō 'o Wilikoki mā ma uka o Pālolo a aia nō 'o Nolena mā ma ke kualapa ma Mānoa, he 'elua paha mile ka mamao aku. Aia ho'i nā koa o ke Aupuni Repubalika e ālai ana i ke alahele e iho mai ai ka po'e aloha 'āina i kula. Wahi a ka mo'olelo,

> Ua hoomauia keia kaua hahana mawaena o na aoao elua a hiki wale i ka wa i uhi mai ai o ka po, aole i lilo pio mai ke kahua kupaa o na koa Hawaii iloko o na kipoka pukuniahi a na koa aupuni. E lohe mau ia ana ka lakou mau kipoka i kela me keia manawa mai loko mai o ka ulunahele hihipea, a ua hiki ole i na koa aupuni ke pii iluna o ke kualapa, ke ole lakou e halawai mai me kekahi puupuu oolea loa iloko o ka ulunahele holookoa, oiai e kani kupinai like mai ana ka pu a na Hawaii imua o na koa aupuni i kela me keia minute a hiki i ka po ana.[22]

A ao a'ela i ka lā 'ana a'e, ua pakele 'o Wilikoki mā i uka o Mānoa a 'o Nolena mā me kekahi po'e aloha 'āina kāka'ikahi, ua pakele aku i Kamō'ili'ili.

SAMU NOLENA UA
MUHEE.
AUWE! HEHENE![23]

Kaulana na Pua a o Hawaii
Aia i ka luna o Daimana hila
Ilaila wau la i ike iho ai
Keiki Wilikoki Puuwai hao
Aia Kaala i ka Boe-bele
E ana i ka loa o Mamala
Hoomau ka manao i Kaimuki
E i ae o Eleu a hiki mai
Aole makou a e hopo ana
Na pukuniahi i ka oneki
Hookahi mea hou i loheia mai
O Samu Nolena ua MUHEE
A ka hora ekolu o ke ahiahi
Pau ka manaolana no ka lanakila
Pane mai e ka leo a o Wilikoki
Mahea kakou a e pono ai
Kuhikuhi na lima i ke kuahiwi
Maanei e ke ola e hiki aku ai
O ka pa konane a ka mahina
Ahuwale na kualono o ka uka
Kumaka ka ikena ia Palolo
I ka peki wawae i ke kula loa
Mea ole ka loa o ia kula

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[22] Spencer, 51-52.
[23] Ai-Pohaku, "Samu Nolena Ua Muhee. Aue! Hehene!" *Kaua Kuloko 1895*, 141-142.

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Ka piina laula o ka aina
I ahona i ka hua o ke kaona
Me ka hua Lanatana kau i ka waha
Mukiki wai o ke Kehau
Ia wai e alohi a i kuu maka
A hiki makou a i Puuwai
I Waiomao noho i ka lai
Haina ia mai ana ka puana
No ka poe i Aloha i ka Aina.

'O "Samu Nolena ua Muhee. Aue! Hehene!" ke mele hope loa o ka puke *Kaua Kuloko 1895*. Na "Ai-Pohaku" i haku i kēia mele nei, a kohu mea lā, 'a'ole nō 'o Nolena ka mea nui o loko o ke mele. Ma nā lālani mua 'o "na Pua a o Hawaii" a 'o "Keiki Wilikoki Puuwai hao" ka i ho'ohanohano nui 'ia. Mele 'ia mai nō ho'i no kekahi o nā hana o ke Kaua Kūloko 'ana, e la'a me ke kakali 'ana o ka po'e aloha 'āina i ka moku "Kaala" me ka mana'o, 'o ia paha ka mea e lawe aku iā lākou i Maui. Mele 'ia nō ho'i no ka "Eleu" he moku ia no ka Repubalika, nāna nō i lawe aku i ka pūkuniahi o ka Repubalika i 'ō a i 'ane'i a 'o ia ho'i ka moku i ho'ouna 'ia aku e ka Repubalika no ka 'imi 'ana i ka moku Kā'ala i 'ole e pakele nā aloha 'āina ma ua moku nei.[24] Kohu mea lā, aia paha ka haku mele o kēia mele me Wilikoki, no ka mea, mele mai 'o ia penei, "Hookahi mea hou i loheia mai/O Samu Nolena ua MUHEE" (l. 11-12).

I ko Nolena mā pe'e 'ana aku ma Kamō'ili'ili, aia nō ia "malalo o ka ululaau kuku-ooi o ka lanatana."[25] E 'imi ana a e kakali ana ho'i 'o Nolena mā i wa'apā a i moku paha nāna e lawe iā lākou i Maui. I laila e hui hou ai me ka po'e aloha 'āina e ho'omau ai i ka 'imi 'ana i ka pono o ka Lāhui a me ke Aupuni Hawai'i. Kuhikuhi 'ia na'e ia wahi pe'e a hele akula ka pū'ali koa o ka Repubalika a po'ipū aku i ia wahi pe'e. Ho'ouna 'ia he leka iā Nolena mā e

[24] Spencer, 38.
[25] Spencer, 59.

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wehewehe ana i ka "makehewa" o ko lākou ho'omau 'ana i ke kaua 'ana i ka Repubalika. Kūkākūkā ihola 'o Nolena mā a hā'awi pio aku. Wahi a ka mo'olelo,

> O na olelo o keia leta i loaa aku ia Sam Nolena me kona mau hoa, ua haawi ia he kuka mawaena o lakou iho, i ka mea pono e hana ai iloko o ia hora o ke kupilikii, oiai na wahi a pau ua paniku ia mai ka hiki ia lakou ke pakele. He mau minute pokole wale no ia a na koa e ku makaukau nei ma ia kulana, ua ike ia aku na pio e puka mai ana malalo o ka hihipea o ka laau lanatana, hele mai la lakou a imua o na poo alakai o ka pualikoa makaainana.[26]

Ma ke mele, 'o kēia hā'awi pio 'ana ka i lohe 'ia e Wilikoki mā a ma ka hopena o ke mele, mo'olelo 'ia mai no kā lākou hana i hana ai. Wahi a ka haku mele, "Kuhikuhi na lima i ke kuahiwi/Maanei e ke ola e hiki aku ai" (l. 17-18). A ho'omau aku nō ka haku mele i kona mo'olelo 'ana no ko lākou "peki wawae i ke kula loa" mai Pālolo aku i uka ala o 'Ualaka'a. He loa ka helena, a 'o ka "hua Lanatana" ka mea 'ai i "kau i ka waha," a ua pono ho'i e "Mukiki wai o ke Kehau/Ia wai e aloha a i kuu maka" (l. 26-28). I ka hiki 'ana aku o Wilikoki a me ka po'e aloha 'āina kāka'ikahi e koe mai ana ma Pauoa, iho mai lākou i kula akā ua pa'apio nō i ka pū'ali koa o ka Repubalika.

Ma hope mai, ulu hou maila ko Wilikoki kūlana he me'e no ka lāhui. Ma loko o nā mele lāhui ma ka nūpepa a me ka puke, kapa 'ia 'o ia 'o "ke alakai wiwo ole o ka lahui,"[27] a me ke "Kaeaea o ke ki pololei."[28] 'A'ohe nō o'u 'ike i kekahi mo'olelo a me kekahi mele nō ho'i paha e kūamuamu ana iā Wilikoki a me kāna hana 'ana ma kēia kūpa'a 'ana no ka pono o ka 'āina.

[26] Spencer, 60.
[27] Paaoao, Keoni, "Anoai a ke Aloha Aina," *Ka Makaainana*, 15 Iulai 1895.
[28] Puuwaialoha, "Ua Kilihune A O Manoa," *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 25 'Apelila 1895.

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Ke Aloha ʻĀina Ua Sila ʻIa: No Ka Hoʻopaʻahao ʻIa ʻAna o Ka Poʻe Aloha ʻĀina

KE ALOHA AINA UA SILA IA[29]

[Haku ia iloko o ka Halekoa e J.H., kekahi Aloha Aina i hopu ia.]

Ua ike kumaka i ka Halekoa
Mea hoonui hana a ka Puakea
He papa ka moena me ka Huluhulu
Pukui i ke anu o ka Hooilo
Ka iniki walania ka ke Kehau
Houou i ka ili me he ipo la
He ole nae ia i kuu manao
Ke Aloha Aina ua Sila ia
A ka hora ehiku kakahiaka
Hoolana na Sela o ke Kakela
He belena oolea me ka bokiwai
Ua lawa ia no koʻu ai ana
Iho mai kela lou keia
Mahi poke kamano mailuilu
Like ole me ka hale o ka makua
Ka lawe ae a ai hookano
Ka hora ekolu o ke ahiahi
Kamau wahi poi awiliwili
Hui me kahi io bipi olala
Halele ke kai i ko lehelehe
Kahi hua papapa maneoneo
Ono ole i ka puu ke moni aku
Ua lawa no ia no ka Puakea
Aole no ke kupa o ka aina
Haina ia mai ana ka puana
Ke Aloha Aina ua Sila ia

—o—

Ke Aloha Aina kau i ka hano
Kaulana i ka waha o ka lehulehu
O ka hea ia la i ka umauma
Puni ai ka lono oi na mokupuni
Aia Honolulu i ke ehuehu
Ua wela ka luna i Kaimana Hila
Aia i ka luna a i Manoa
Kela kuahiwi pii a ka ohu
O ka pii no ia hiki i Farani
Kela Aupuni aiwaiwa
Hoeu mai nei a o Pelekane
Pehea o Maleka a e apa nei
Hoihoi i ka pono a o Hawaii
Me ka noho kalaunu o Liliulani
O ka nihi a ka ua i na pali
Haaheo i ka uka o Kupanihi

[29] Heleluhe, Joe, "Ke Aloha Aina Ua Sila Ia," *Kaua Kuloko 1895*, 137.

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Ilaila makou me hiki ole
Ninau e ke Alamaka maluna
E huli e hoi no ke taona
I ike i ka nani o ke Capitala
Hoi Malihini me kuu Aloha
Na paia pohaku o ka Halekoa
Haina ia mai ana ka puana
Ke Aloha Aina ua Sila ia.

'O ka Halewai ma Kawa a 'o ka Halekoa nō ho'i kahi i ho'opa'a hao 'ia ai nā koa o ke aloha 'āina ma mua o ko lākou ho'opi'i 'ia 'ana e ka 'Aha Ho'okolokolo Kānāwai Koa. 'A'ole hō'ike 'ia ka inoa piha o ka haku mele, 'o J. H. wale nō ka i hō'ike 'ia. 'A'ole nō i pa'i 'ia kēia mele ma kekahi wahi, akā, i ko'u nānā 'ana i ka papa inoa o ka po'e aloha 'āina, aia ho'okahi wale nō kanaka me ia mau hua palapala ma kona inoa, 'o ia ho'i 'o Joe Heleluhe, no laila, ke kuhi wale nei nō ka mea kākau o kēia pepa nei, 'o Heleluhe nō ka haku mele. He aloha 'āina nō 'o Heleluhe a he kāko'o mau i kona Lāhui Hawai'i a me kona Mō'īwahine ma ka lilo 'ana i kākau 'ōlelo a i ukali ho'i no ka Mō'īwahine i nā makahiki ma hope aku.[30]

Ua komo maoli mai nō 'o Heleluhe ma kēia kaua 'ana a lawe pio 'ia aku nō e ka Repubalika, no laila, e like me nā haku mele 'ē a'e o loko o *Kaua Kuloko 1895*, he 'ike maka nō 'o ia no kēia mau hana 'ana a haku 'ia nō kēia mau 'ikena i loko o kāna mele i haku ai. 'A'ole na'e 'o ia i mele mai no kona wā ma ke alahele me kona po'e aloha 'āina e kaua aku ana me ka Repubalika, no ka mea, 'o kāna mea i mele mai ai, ua pili nō i ka Halekoa kahi i ho'opa'ahao 'ia ai ka poe aloha 'āina. Mele mai nō ho'i 'o ia no ke 'ano o ka noho 'ana ma ia hale. Ma ka paukū mua, 'o ka 'olu'olu 'ole o ka Halekoa ke kumu mana'o nui, 'oiai "he papa ka moena" a he anuanu nō ka noho 'ana i ia wā "Hooilo" (l. 3-4). Ho'ākāka 'ia ka 'eha o ia anu ma o nā hua 'ōlelo "pukui," "iniki," a me "hoouou," (l. 4-6). Akā,

[30] Silva, 2004, 193.

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wahi a ka haku mele, he "mea ole" ia anu, no ka mea, ua "sila ʻia" nō a paʻa "ke aloha aina" (l. 26).

Hoʻomau nō ka haku mele me ia kumu manaʻo nui ma nā lālani ma lalo mai, akā, ʻo ka ʻono ʻole o ka mea ʻai ka mea i pilikia ai ka haku mele. Wahi āna, lawe ʻia ka ʻai he ʻelua wale nō manawa o ka lā, ma ka "hora ehiku" o ke "kakahiaka" a laila, i ka "hora ekolu o ke ahiahi" (l. 9, 17). He "belena oolea" a me ka "poke kamano mailuilu" wale nō ka ʻai o ke kakahiaka (l. 11, 14). A ʻo "kamau wahi poi awiliwili/Hui me kahi io bipi olala" a "Halele ke kai i ko lehelehe" me "Kahi hua papapa maneoneo" (l. 18-21) ka ʻai o ke ahiahi. Wahi a ka haku mele, he "ono ole i ka puu ke moni aku," a laila, hoʻākāka mai ʻo ia penei, "Ua lawa no ia no ka Puakea/Aole no ke kupa o ka aina" (l. 22-24). He ʻoiaʻiʻo nō paha ka ʻoluʻolu ʻole o ka nohona a me ka ʻono ʻole o ka ʻai ma ia Halekoa. Eia nō naʻe, he kaona nō hoʻi ko kēia mau lālani, a e hoʻohālikelike ana ka haku mele i kona ʻono ʻole i kā lākou ʻai me kona ʻono ʻole a hoihoi ʻole i ke ʻano o ko lākou noho ʻana aupuni.

Pēlā nō kona mele ʻana mai ma ka paukū ʻelua o ke mele, akā, ma ia paukū, hōʻike ʻia ke kākoʻo o nā aupuni mana nui ʻē aʻe, ʻo "Palani" (l. 35) me "Pelekane" (l. 37). E nīnau ana ka haku mele a pēlā pū ia mau aupuni ʻelua no ka hana o "Maleka e ʻapa nei" a e koi hou ana e "hoʻihoʻi i ka pono a o Hawaiʻi/Me ka noho kalaunu o Liliʻulani" (l. 38-40). Ma ka hopena, puana ʻia mai ke mele no "Ke Aloha Aina ua Sila ia" (l. 49-50), e like me ka inoa o ke mele. ʻO kēia nō ka manaʻo nui koʻikoʻi o kēia aloha ʻāina, no ka mea, he ʻino a he koʻekoʻe ka noho ʻana aku ma ka hale paʻahao, eia naʻe, ʻaʻohe kanalua iki o ka haku mele i ka pono o kona hana ʻana ma ka ʻimi ʻana i ka pono o kona ʻāina, no ka mea, ua sila ʻia aku nō kēia poʻe aloha ʻāina ma loko o kēia hale keu a ka ʻoluʻolu ʻole, he wahi hoʻi ia e maʻi ai ke kanaka a e make ai hoʻi kekahi, akā, ua sila ʻia nō hoʻi ke aloha

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'āina a pa'a pono i loko o ko lākou na'au, a 'o ia ka mana'o nui o ka po'e aloha 'āina.

Akā, 'o ia noho 'ana ma ka hale pa'ahao, he kakali wale nō ia a ho'oholo 'ia ko lākou pāna'i 'ia 'ana aku e ke Aupuni Repubalika ma ka 'Aha Ho'okolokolo Kānāwai Koa.

Hale Kaupoku Ole o Ke Aupuni: Ka 'Aha Ho'okolokolo Koa

ALOHA AINA OIAIO[31]

[Hakuia iloko o ka Halepaahao e Kaua e Jas. K. K. & H. P.]

Kaulana Hawaii Aloehuehu
Kau hana nui e Kakuhihewa
Nawai keia pu-a hipa
E kai hele nei i ke Alanui
Pu-a hipa ia na ka lahui
He Aloha Aina ka Oiaio
Kumaka ka ikena i ke Kakela
Hale kaupoku ole o ke Aupuni
Ilaila makou ike iho ai
Na Rumi Liilii o Eha ka Manao
He nakeke ka'u i lohe aku nei
Ka haloke a ke ki a ka Wiliki
Ku mai ana Lo e ka Luna Nui
Palua e ka rumi paa i ka laka
I alawa iho au e waiho ana
Kahi Pela Ahamaka kahulihuli
Hakukoi ka manao hana ia loko
E ake no a hoi i ka Home
Ui aku kela ui keia
Pehea kakou e na hoa?
Owau o ia ala hoi kakou
Aohe pilikia o nei hana
Ua ike o Kane me Kanaloa
Ua ike na Mana Kiekie Loa
Kuu paku ia kuu Alakai
He palekana ia no kuu kino
Lilo a i mea ole na enemi
Na hookelakela ike o ke ao
Ua ao ka manao e noho nei
Ua kau i ka piko o ka lanakila
Hea aku no au, o mai oe

[31] Jas. K. K. & H. P. ('o ia paha 'o James K. Kaulia a me Haiela), "Aloha Aina Oiaio," *Kaua Kuloko 1895*, 138.

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Ua puka hemo loa hoi makou
Haina ia mai ana ka puana
No ka Poe i Aloha i ka Aina.

'O "Aloha Aina Oiaio" kekahi o nā mele o loko o *Kaua Kuloko 1895*. Wahi a ke *Kaua Kuloko 1895*, haku 'ia nei mele e "Jas. K. K. lāua me H. P."[32] Pa'i 'ia nō ho'i kēia mele ma 'elua wahi 'ē a'e, ma ka nūpepa 'o *Ka Makaainana* ma ka lā 23 o Malaki 1895 a ma ka 'ao'ao 'elua o ka *Buke Mele Lahui* nō ho'i. Ma loko o *Ka* Makaainana, ua pūlima 'ia ke mele e "Haiela & Keau," a ma loko o ka *Buke Mele Lahui*, ua pūlima 'ia e "H. J. Kapu & J. K. Kaulia." I ka ho'ohālikelike 'ana aku o kēia mau inoa me nā inoa o ka po'e aloha 'āina, ua maopopo maila, 'o James Keau Kaulia kekahi, akā, 'ano pa'akikī ka ho'omaopopo pono 'ana i ka lua o nā kānaka, akā, mali'a paha, 'o Haiela Kapu nō ia.

Ho'omaka ke mele me ka ho'ohanohano 'ana iā Hawai'i no ka po'e "Alohehuehu" o ke kaua 'ana (l. 1). A laila, mo'olelo mai lāua no ko lāua ka'i hele 'ana mai ka hale pa'ahao a i kahi i mālama 'ia ai ka 'Aha Ho'okolokolo Kānāwai Koa me he mau "pu-a hipa/E kai hele nei i ke Alanui" (l. 3-4). Akā, hō'ike mai ka haku mele i kona kūlana he "Pu-a hipa ia na ka lahui" (l. 5), a hō'ike pū 'o ia kona kumu i hana ai, 'o ia nō ke "Aloha Aina ka Oiaio" (l. 6). A hiki aku nō ia ka'i hele 'ana a i kahi o ka 'Aha Ho'okolokolo, 'o ia nō ka Haleali'i 'o 'Iolani ma loko o ka Lumi Kalaunu. Eia kekahi, ma ka lā 17 o Ianuali i ho'omaka ai ka 'Aha Ho'okolokolo Kānāwai Koa no ka ho'opi'i 'ana i ka po'e i kūpa'a no ka pono o ka 'āina. No laila, he wahi a he lā ho'i ia e 'eha ai ka na'au o nā Kānaka Maoli, 'oiai ma loko o ka Lumi Kalaunu, kahi i noho mana ai ka Mō'ī o ke Aupuni Hawai'i kahi i mālama 'ia ai a, ua ho'omaka ho'i ma ka lā i piha ai nā makahiki he 'elua mai ka lā i ho'okahuli 'ia ai ke Aupuni Hawai'i.

[32] Spencer, 139.

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Ho'omau 'o Kaulia mā no ko lākou komo 'ana aku i loko o ia hale "Kakela." 'O ka mea ma'a mau ma nā mele lāhui, he hō'ailona ka Haleali'i 'o 'Iolani no ke kū'oko'a a me ke ea o ke Aupuni a me ka 'āina, akā nō na'e, ma loko o kēia mele, kapa 'ia aku ka Haleali'i he "Hale kaupoku ole o ke Aupuni" (l. 7-8). 'O ka hale kaupoku 'ole, he mea pono 'ole nō ia, a ua pili paha ia mana'o i ka mo'olelo o ka po'e Wa'awa'a Iki Na'aupō. Ma muli o ke 'ano hūpō o kēia po'e Wa'awa'a Iki Na'aupō, uhi 'ia aku ka hale holo'oko'a i ka pili a 'a'ohe wahi mālamalama o loko o ka hale. I mālamalama 'o loko, ua wehe lākou i kaupoku a hemo loa, a he ao maila 'o loko, akā, i ka helele'i 'ana mai o ka ua, ua pulu ihola nā mea a pau. Ua kapa 'ia kēia po'e he Wa'awa'a Iki Na'aupō, a he hō'ailona ka hale kaupoku 'ole no ia 'ano hūpō, no laila, i ke kapa 'ana aku i ka Haleali'i he "Hale Kaupoku ole," he hō'ailona ia no ka hūpō o ka po'e e noho ana i loko o ka hale i ia manawa. Mele mai nō ho'i nā haku mele no ke 'ano o ke komo 'ana aku i ka hale me nā lumi "paa i ka laka" (l. 14). Hō'ike pū mai 'o ia i kona "ake no a hoi i ka Home" (l. 18), akā, mele mai nō ho'i 'o ia no ka pilikia o ia hana penei. Wahi āna, "Aohe pilikia o nei hana" (l. 22). Mele mai nō ho'i 'o ia no ka lilo 'ana o nā 'enemi i "mea ole" a mele mai ho'i 'o ia no ke kau 'ana i "ka piko o ka lanakila" (l. 30) a no ka "puka hemo loa hoi [o] makou" (l. 32). Ma ka hopena o ke mele, puana 'ia nō ke mele "No ka Poe i Aloha i ka Aina" (l. 33-34).

Ma Muli O Ke Aloha I Ka 'Āina: No Ka Po'e Aloha 'Āina

WEHE I KA POLI O KA IPO[33]

Mamuli o ke Aloha i ka Aina
Wehe ai i ka poli o ka Wahine
Aia i ka luna o Daimana-hila
Ke Aloha Aina e hoolulu nei
Aia i ka luna o Kaimuki 5

[33] Olepau, William, "Wehe I Ka Poli O Ka Ipo," *Kaua Kuloko 1895*, 140-141.

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Ka uwahi noe o ka pu raipela
Ua kau e ka weli i na haole
Hoolale poka ki pololei
He aloha e ka leo o Wilikoki
Kupaa mahope o ka Aina
E Liliu e, E Loloku hoi
Eia makou ko Lahui
    Haina ia mai ana ka Puana
    No ka poe i Aloha i ka Aina

WILLIAM OLEPAU

'O "Wehe I Ka Poli" kekahi o nā mele o loko o *Kaua Kuloko 1895*, a pūlima 'ia kēia mele e William Olepau. He aloha 'āina nō 'o ia a ua haku 'ia maila he mau mele lāhui e ia i pa'i 'ia i loko o ka nūpepa a me ka *Buke Mele Lahui* kekahi.

Ma loko o ke mele o luna a'e nei, ho'ohenoheno 'ia nō nā mea a pau i mahalo a i aloha nui 'ia e ka po'e aloha 'āina. Ho'ohenoheno 'ia ka 'āina ma o ke mele 'ana no ko lākou mau wahi i ho'ouka ai i kēia kaua 'ana, e la'a me "Daimana-hila" (l. 3) a me "Kaimuki" (l. 5). Ho'ohenoheno ho'i 'ia nā me'e o ka Lāhui. 'O Wilikoki kekahi a ho'ohanohano 'ia mai kona "ki pololei" 'ana (l. 8-9). He mea nui nō ho'i ka ho'ohenoheno pū 'ana aku i ka inoa o ka Mō'īwahine Lili'uokalani me ke kāko'o 'ana mai o kona "Lahui" (l. 11-12). He mea nui kēia, no ka mea, he me'e nō ho'i ka Mō'īwahine no kona Lāhui. Ma ka hopena, puana 'ia mai ke mele "No ka poe i Aloha i ka Aina" (l. 13-14).

Minamina nō ka ho'okō 'ole 'ia 'ana mai o ka pahu hopu a kēia po'e aloha 'āina i kūlia aku ai. 'A'ole nō i lanakila, eia nō na'e, ua sila 'ia nō ko lākou aloha 'āina a mau loa a i kēia au nei. No kekahi mau makahiki, ma nā mo'olelo i kākau 'ia a i ho'opuka 'ia aku, kohu mea lā, 'a'ohe ho'ā'o iki o ko kākou po'e kūpuna no ka pono o ka 'āina, akā, i kēia manawa, ma o ko kākou heluhelu 'ana i ka nūpepa a me nā puke a lākou i pa'i aku ai, ua lanakila nō ko lākou mana'o, no ka mea, mau nō ke mele 'ia 'ana o ko lākou mele.

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He mea nui nō kā lākou mau mele i haku ai a i pa'i ai ho'i i nā wahi a me nā wā like 'ole, no ka mea, mele 'ia no kā lākou hana i hana ai, no nā me'e o ka Lāhui, a mele 'ia ho'i no ko lākou mau mana'o no ko lākou 'āina, ko lākou aupuni, a me ko lākou lāhui. He hō'ailona kēia mau mele no ke kūpa'a a me ke kū'ē o ka Lāhui Hawai'i i ka hana 'ino 'ia mai o ko lākou Aupuni a me ka Lāhui Hawai'i. Ma loko o kekahi o nā mea i kapa 'ia he mo'olelo Hawai'i, 'a'ole nō 'ike iki 'ia ka mana'o maoli o ka Lāhui Hawai'i, no ka mea, 'a'ole nō nānā iki 'ia a 'a'ole nō i 'imi iki 'ia ka leo o ka Lāhui Hawai'i. 'A'ole nō ho'i lawa ka noi'i a me ka 'imi wale 'ana nō i ka 'ike ma nā mo'olelo a nā kānaka i kākau ai, no ka mea, he 'oko'a ke 'ano o nā mana'o i haku 'ia i loko o nā mele. Haku 'ia ke aloha o ka na'au i loko o nā mele a ho'ākāka 'ia nā mea ma o kekahi loina i pili pono i ka Lāhui Hawai'i, a me ke 'ano o ko lākou mele 'ana me ke kaona a pēlā wale aku.

Inā 'a'ole 'imi 'ia kēia leo o ka Lāhui Hawai'i, a inā nō ho'i paha, 'a'ole pa'i 'ia nā mele, (e like me ka pa'i 'ole 'ia o nā mele o kēia puke i ka pa'i hou 'ia 'ana o kēia puke i ke au nei), 'o ia nō ka mea e nalowale hou ai ka mana'o maoli o nā kūpuna. Ma ka pa'i hou 'ia 'ana aku o kēia mau mele i loko nei me ka mo'olelo pū 'ana aku no nā mele, ke lana nei ko'u mana'o, 'a'ole nō hiki ke ho'opoina hou 'ia ka mana'o o ko kākou po'e kūpuna, a 'a'ole hiki ke ho'ohāmau 'ia ko lākou leo. He hō'ailona nui nō kēia puke 'o *Kaua Kuloko 1895* a me kona mau mele no ke aloha 'āina a me ke aloha lāhui. 'Ike hou 'ia kēia 'ano aloha ma loko o nā mele lāhui i pa'i 'ia i loko o ka *Buke Mele Lahui*.

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MOKUNA 4
PA'Ē ANA KA LEO NAHENAHE:
NĀ MELE LĀHUI O KA *BUKE MELE LAHUI*

HOONANEA A HOOKUENE LILIU[1]

Ia'u e nanea ana ma Wakinekona,
Pa-e ana ka leo nahenahe,
Auhea wale ana oe e Kalani,
E i ae na hauna o ke Aupuni,
Nana e hanu mai pau i ka ikea,
Na mea nui, na mea liilii,
O ka hana ia a Waipa,
Kapena makai o ka Pi Gi,
Eia ko hewa la e Kalani,
No kou aloha i ka lahui,
Na ke kaapio Hope Ilamuku
I hii ia Kalani i Halealii;
    Hookahi puana kou puuwai,
    No na poe i aloha i ka aina.
Kaumaha wale kuu ike'na,
Na paia hanohano o Iolani Hale,
Ea mai Laeahi ma ka hikina,
Kela kuahiwi alo i ke kai,
Kahi a na oiwi o kuu aina,
I imi ai i ka pono o ka lanakila,
Anoano ke aloha ka hika'na mai,
No kuu lahui i ka ehuehu,
E na Mana Lani e aloha mai,
Hookuu mai i na poe pilikia;
    Hookahi puana kou puuwai,
    No na poe i aloha i ka aina
Ike hou ana i ka nani hanohano
O Iolani Halealii,
Elua maua e lualai nei,
Me kuu hoa noho i ka ihikapu,
Ka noho'na kohu a ka mea waiwai,
Hookulana ana i mua a i hope,
Nou o luna, nou o lalo,
Nou na wahi a pau,
O ka hana no ia e ikea nei,
Ke aloha hoohakukoi waimaka,
Mai na puka alohi ka ike'na iho,
Ka maalo ana o ke aloha aina,
I ukaliia ma na aoao,
E na poe menehune aiwaiwa,
Ua ko ae nei kuu makemake,

[1] Haimoeipo, "Hoonanea a Hookuene Liliu," *Buke Mele Lahui*, F. J. Testa, luna ho'oponopono, (Honolulu: Halepai Makaainana, 1895), 4-5.

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Ua hookuuia kuu lahui,
Hookahi puana kuu puuwai,
O na poe i aloha i ka aina.

HAIMOEIPO

I ka mahina ʻo Kēkēmapa o ka makahiki 1895, ua hoʻopuka ʻia mai he puke i piha i nā mele lāhui, a kapa ʻia hoʻi ka inoa o ia puke ʻo *Buke Mele Lahui*. He 96 mele ʻokoʻa o loko o ia puke a ua hoʻonohonoho ʻia nā mele e ka Luna Hoʻoponopono, ʻo ia hoʻi ʻo Francisco Jose Testa, ʻo ia nō hoʻi ʻo Hoke kekahi inoa ona. (E nānā ʻia ka Waihona ʻIke no kēia mau mele e waiho aku ana ma ka Hale Waihona Puke ʻo Hamilton ma ke Kula Nui o Hawaiʻi ma Mānoa.) Wahi a ke mele o luna aʻe nei, "Pa-e ana ka leo nahenahe," a he ʻoiaʻiʻo maoli nō ia manaʻo, no ka mea, he leo nahenahe nō ko kēia mau mele, a i ka paʻi ʻia ʻana o kēia puke, he mea nō ia e paʻē ai ka leo nahenahe o ka poʻe aloha ʻāina. Ma ia leo ʻia ʻana o nā mele, he mea nui ka hoʻohanohano ʻana aku i ka poʻe aloha ʻāina a me kā lākou kūpaʻa ʻana no ka pono o ka ʻāina a me ka lāhui. He mea nui nō hoʻi ke kūʻokoʻa a me ke ola mau o ka Mōʻīwahine a me kona aupuni.

ʻO ia paʻē ʻana o ka leo o ka poʻe aloha ʻāina ma loko o ka *Buke Mele Lahui* ke kumuhana nui no kēia mokuna nei. He mau mele ko ka puke i haku ʻia a i paʻi ʻia i nā makahiki ma mua aku o ka Hoʻokahuli Aupuni, akā nō naʻe, ua pili ka hapanui o nā mele i ke Kaua Kūloko o ia makahiki a ua haku ʻia nō kekahi e ka poʻe aloha ʻāina nāna nō i hoʻouka aku i ia kaua ʻana. Haku ʻia kekahi o nā mele e ka Mōʻīwahine Liliʻuokalani i kona wā e hoʻpaʻahao ʻia ana ma loko o Hale ʻIolani. He mau manaʻo a ʻikena kū hoʻokahi ko ka Mōʻīwahine a haku ʻia nō ia mau meama kāna mau mele i haku ai. E moʻolelo pū ʻia ana e pili ana i ka *Buke Mele Lahui* a me kona paʻi ʻia ʻana. E like me nā mokuna ma mua iho, he ʻano hōʻikeʻike kēia mokuna i nā mele lāhui ma loko o ia *Buke Mele Lahui*. ʻAʻole

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nō hiki ke hōʻike a moʻolelo aku no nā mele a pau, no laila, ua koho ʻia aku kēia mau mele no ko lākou ʻano kū hoʻokahi a kū hoʻi i ka hoihoi.

ʻO ke mele ʻo "Hoonanea Hookuene Liliu" o luna aʻe nei ke kolu o nā mele ma nei puke. ʻO ke mele mua loa o kēia puke, ʻo ia nō kēlā mele lāhui punahele loa o ka lāhui i haku ʻia e Ellen Kekoaohiwaikalani Prendergast. ʻO "He Ohu No Ka Poe Aloha Aina" ka inoa o ke mele i kona paʻi mua ʻia ʻana i ka makahiki 1893, akā, ua kaulana iā kākou i ke au nei i ka inoa ʻo "Kaulana Nā Pua." ʻO "Mele Aloha Aina" ka inoa o ia mele punahele i kona paʻi ʻia ʻana i loko o ka *Buke Mele Lahui*. ʻAʻole i paʻi ʻia kēia mele ma ka mokuna nei, no ka mea, ua hōʻike ʻē ʻia ia mele ma ka ʻaoʻao mua loa o kēia palapala ma muli o kona kūlana kaulana a punahele hoʻi no ka lāhui. ʻO ke mele ʻelua hoʻi i paʻi ʻia i loko o ka *Buke Mele Lahui*, ʻo ia nō paha kekahi o nā mele punahele i haku ʻia no ka hoʻohanohano ʻana i ka poʻe aloha ʻāina i kūpaʻa no ka pono o ka ʻāina ma ke Kaua Kūloko. Ua kapa ʻia kēia mele ʻo "Na Paia Laumania o Kawa" ma loko o ka *Buke Mele Lahui*, akā he mele hoʻi ia i paʻi ʻē ʻia ma loko o ka puke ʻo *Kaua Kūloko 1895* a ua hōʻike ʻē ʻia nō hoʻi ia mele ma loko o ka Mokuna 3 o nei palapala. Hoihoi nō kēia kaʻina ʻana o nā mele, no ka mea, ma ka hoʻonohonoho ʻana o ka Luna Hoʻoponopono i nā mele ma ka *Buke Mele Lahui*, ua noʻonoʻo pono nō ʻo ia ma ke kau ʻana i kēlā mele kaulana loa o ka makahiki 1893, ʻo ia ka mea mua, a me ke kau ʻana i kekahi mele e pili ana i ka hana koʻikoʻi o ke Kaua Kūloko, ʻo ia ka mea ʻelua. A ma hope mai o ia mele, hōʻike ʻia ke mele o luna aʻe nei, ʻo ia hoʻi ʻo "Hoonanea a Hookuene Liliu." Wahi a ka *Buke Mele Lahui*, ʻo Haimoeipo ka inoa o ke kanaka nāna i haku i kēia mele.

Kainō, he mele lāhui wale nō kēia i like me nā mele lāhui ʻē aʻe, eia kā, ʻo ka ʻoiaʻiʻo, he mea nui nō nā manaʻo o kēia haku mele, a no ka mea, ʻo

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Haimoeipo, 'o ia nō ka inoa kapakapa o ka Mō'īwahine Lili'uokalani.[2] Maopopo iā kākou, na ka Mō'īwahine Lili'uokalani kēia mele i haku, no ka mea, ua kikokiko 'ia nō ia mele ma loko o kekahi puke i kapa 'ia *He Buke Mele Hawaii* a i piha ho'i i nā mele a ka Mō'īwahine. Kikokiko 'ia nā mele a palapala 'ia nō ho'i ka leo o nā mele, a laila, ho'oponopono 'ia nō nā mele e ka lima o ka Mō'īwahine, a pūlima 'ia nō ho'i ka hapanui o nā 'ao'ao e ia.

Ma loko o ka *Buke Mele Lahui*, he 'ekolu nō paukū o ke mele o luna a'e nei, 'o "Hoonanea a Hookuene Liliu" hoi. Akā, ua pa'i 'ia nō ho'i kēia mele ma 'elua wahi 'oko'a. E like me ka'u i kākau aku ai i luna a'e nei, ua pa'i 'ia ke mele i loko o kā Lili'uokalani wahi puke o ka makahiki 1897. A ua pa'i 'ia nō ho'i ua mele nei ma loko o ka nūpepa 'o *Ka Makaainana* ma ka lā 1 o 'Apelila i ka makahiki 1895 ma lalo o ka inoa 'o "Mai Wakinekona A Iolani Hale." Ma ka pa'i 'ia 'ana ma ka nūpepa a ma kā Lili'u puke, he 'elua wale nō paukū o ke mele, 'o ia nō ka paukū mua me ka paukū 'elua o ke mele ma ka *Buke Mele Lahui*. 'O ka paukū 'ekolu ho'i, ua pa'i 'ia nō ma ke 'ano he mele 'oko'a. Ma *Ka Makaainana* ma ka lā 22 o ia mahina 'o 'Apelila, 'o "Ike Hou Ana I Ka Nani" ka inoa o ke mele, a ma loko o kā ka Mō'īwahine Lili'uokalani puke, 'o "He Inoa Wehi No Ka Oiwi Pokii" ka inoa.

Pili kā Lili'uokalani mele i haku ai i ka wā ma hope o ke Kaua Kūloko. Ma ka lā 6 o Ianuali i ho'omaka ai ke kaua 'ana a ma ka lā 14 o ia mahina i lawe pio 'ia ai nā aloha 'āina hope loa. Ma ka lā 16 o Ianuali i hiki aku ai kekahi mau 'elele o ke Aupuni Repubalika i ka hale o ka Mō'īwahine Lili'uokalani me kahi palapala e kauoha ana i ka hopu pio 'ia. Wahi āna, "Ia'u e nanea ana ma Wakinekona/Pa-e ana ka leo nahenahe" (l. 1-2). 'O kēia nō ka leo nahenahe o ka

[2] Silva, 2004, 182; Nogelmeier, M. Puakea a me Amy Stillman, 'ōlelo mua no *Buke Mele Lahui*, (Honolulu: Hawaiian Historical Society, 2003), xi.

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po'e aloha 'āina a me ke kani o kā lākou pū laipela i ka 'imi 'ana i ka pono o ka 'āina.

'O kēia Wakinekona kahi o ka Mō'īwahine e nanea ana, 'o kona hale pono'ī nō ia, a kapa 'ia kona inoa 'o Wakinekona Hale, ka mea e kū mau ana ma ke ala nui 'o Beretania a i kēia lā. Mele mai nō ho'i ka Mō'īwahine no kona lawe pio 'ia 'ana mai Wakinekona Hale aku. He 'elua 'elele o ke Aupuni i hiki aku i ke alo o ka Mō'īwahine no ia hana 'ana, 'o lāua ho'i ka Hope 'Ilamuku Arthur Brown a me ke Kāpena Māka'i Nui 'o Samuel Waipa Parker.[3] 'O ko Waipa inoa wale nō kai hō'ike 'ia ma ke mele o ka Mō'īwahine. Wahi āna, "O ka hana ia a Waipa/Kapena makai o ka Pi Gi" (l. 7-8). Kohu mea lā, he mana'o ko Waipa i hō'ike aku ai i ka Mō'īwahine e kuhi ana i kona hewa. Penei paha ka puana'ī a Waipa, "Eia ko hewa la e Kalani/No kou aloha i ka lahui" (l. 9-10). A laila, wahi a ka Mō'īwahine, "Na ke kaapio Hope Ilamuku/I hii ia Kalani i Halealii" (l. 11-12).

Hoihoi nō ho'i ko ka Mō'īwahine kapa 'ana aku iā Waipa he kāpena māka'i o ka "Pi Gi." 'O ka "Pi Gi," 'o ia ho'i ka inoa kapakapa no ka "Provisional Government," 'o ke Aupuni Kūikawā ho'i. E ho'omana'o maila, 'eā, e ka maka heluhelu, i ka wā i haku 'ia ai kēia mele, ua ho'ololi 'ē 'ia ka inoa o ke Aupuni Pī Gī, a kapa 'ia aku 'o ka Repubalika Hawai'i. Eia nō na'e, 'a'ole nō ia aupuni kū i ke 'ano pono no ia mea he "repubalika," 'oiai, 'a'ole nō i koho pāloka 'ia nā luna o ia aupuni. Ma ka 'ōlelo Hawai'i, ua kapa 'ia 'o ke Aupuni Pī Gī ka inoa a 'o ke Aupuni Kūikawā nō ho'i kahi kapa 'ana, me ka mana'o ho'i, 'a'ole ia he mea e kū ana no ka manawa lō'ihi. Eia kekahi, no ka lāhui a no ka Mō'īwahine nō ho'i, ua lilo 'o "Pī Gī" i inoa 'ino no ia aupuni, no nā kānaka nāna i alaka'i i ia aupuni, a

[3] Spencer, 66.

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no nā kānaka ho'i nāna i ho'okahuli i ke Aupuni Hawai'i. Wahi a ka Mō'īwahine, e ho'oili ana nō ho'i ia inoa ma luna o kā lākou po'e keiki.[4]

Ma ka paukū 'elua, ho'omau 'ia ka mo'olelo 'ana o ka Mō'īwahine no kona lawe pio 'ia 'ana. Wahi a nā lālani mua o ia paukū, "Kaumaha wale kuu ike'na/Na paia hanohano o Iolani Hale" (l. 15-16). Kaumaha nō ka 'ike 'ana i ia hale, no ka mea, ua lilo ia hale i hale ke'ena no ke Aupuni Repubalika. I laila i ho'opa'a hao 'ia ai ka Mō'īwahine a i laila ho'i i mālama 'ia ai ka 'Aha Ho'okolokolo Kānāwai Koa. Ma nā lālani ma lalo iho, mele 'ia mai ka hana ma "Laeahi... kela kuahiwi alo i ke kai," i hana 'ia e "na oiwi o [ka] aina" (l. 17-19). Ma ka paukū 'ekolu o kēia mele, mele mai ka Mō'īwahine no kona "ike hou ana i ka nani hanohano/O Iolani Hale" (l. 27-28). E ho'omana'o maila, 'eā, e ka maka heluhelu, i ka pa'i mua 'ia 'ana o kēia mau lālani mele o luna a'e nei, he mele 'oko'a kēia paukū 'ekolu a pēlā pū ma ko ka Mō'īwahine puke mele. A he pololei paha ia no ka mea, ma ka hopena o ka paukū 'elua, noi ka Mō'īwahine e "hookuu mai i na poe pilikia" (l. 24). No laila, kohu mea lā, ua haku 'ia ia mau paukū ma mua o ka ho'oku'u 'ia 'ana o ka po'e aloha 'āina.

Ma ke kolu o nā paukū, mele 'ia no ko ka Mō'īwahine "lualai" mau 'ana ma ka "Hale Iolani" (l. 28-29). A laila, ma ka hopena o ka paukū 'ekolu, mele mai ka Mō'īwahine no "ke aloha hoohakukoi waimaka" o ka Mō'īwahine, no ka mea, wahi āna, "Mai na puka alohi ka ike'na iho/Ka maalo ana o ke aloha aina" (l. 36-38). Ho'omau kona mele 'ana penei, "Ua ko ae nei kuu makemake/Ua hookuuia kuu lahui" (l. 40-41). No laila, kohu mea lā, haku 'ia kēia mau lālani mele ma hope o ka ho'oku'u 'ia 'ana o ka po'e aloha 'āina.

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[4] Lili'uokalani, *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen*, (Honolulu: Mutual Publising, 1990), 257-258. Penei ka puana'ī a ka Mō'īwahine no nā kānaka i ho'okahuli i kona aupuni. Wahi āna, "the scornful title of 'P. G.' has clung to them, to their children, and will be passed down to their children's children."

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'O kekahi o nā kānaka i ho'oku'u 'ia, 'o ia nō ke keiki hanauna a ka Mō'īwahine, 'o Jonah Kūhiō Kalaniana'ole.

INOA WEHI NO KA OIWI POKII[5]

Hiki mai e ka lono i o'u nei,
Aia ou pokii la i Kawa,
I ke kakela nui o ke Aupuni,
Kahi i noho ai me ka maluhia,
Umia ke aloha i paa iloko,
No ke one oiwi ou e Hawaii,
Eha ai ka ili ou kupuna,
O Keawe, o Kalani-I-a-Mamao,
Ka hua i ka umauma mailaniia,
Papahiia ke aloha aina,
Hiipoiia ko lei hanohano,
I kahiko mau nou e ka lehua,
A oi alina i ka ike ana,
Ia paia kaulana hoihoi ole,
Hookahi ike pu ana ka inea,
Me ou pokii makaainana,
    Hookahi puana kou puuwai,
    No ka poe i aloha i ka lahui.

HAIMOEIPO

He mele hou aku kēia i pūlima 'ia e Haimoeipo, 'o ka Mō'īwahine Lili'uokalani ho'i. Ua pa'i mua 'ia kēia mele ma ka nūpepa 'o *Ka Makaainana* ma ka lā 15 o 'Apelila, M. H. 1895, akā, kapa 'ia kona inoa 'o "Umia Ke Aloha I Paa Iloko" i laila. Ma ia pa'i 'ana, 'a'ohe nō hō'ike 'ia mai ka inoa o ka haku mele. Ma loko na'e o ka *Buke Mele Lahui*, 'o Haimoeipo ka inoa i hō'ike 'ia no ka haku mele. Pa'i hou 'ia nō ho'i nei mele ma loko o kā ka Mō'īwahine puke mele o ka makahiki 1897. Ma ia pa'i 'ana, ua kikokiko mua 'ia ka inoa penei, 'o "He Inoa Wehi No Ka Oiwi Pokii." Eia na'e, ua ho'oponopono 'ia nō ia inoa. Kahakaha 'ia nā hua 'ōlelo o "Oiwi Pokii," a ho'oponopono 'ia ka inoa. Wahi a ka lima o ka Mō'īwahine, 'o "He Inoa Wehi No Kalanianaole" ka inoa.[6] 'O Jonah Kūhiō

[5] Haimoeipo, "Inoa Wehi No Ka Oiwi Pokii," *Buke Mele Lahui*, 10-11.
[6] Liliuokalani, 1897, 127

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Kalaniana'ole kēia, he keiki 'o ia na Kekaulike Kinoiki, 'o ia ho'i ke kaikaina o Kapi'olani a he mau mo'opuna lāua na Kaumuali'i, kēlā Mō'ī kaulana o Kaua'i.

Wahi a ke mele, "Hiki mai e ka lono i o'u nei/Aia ou pokii la i Kawa/I ke kakela nui o ke Aupuni/Kahi i noho ai me ka maluhia" (l. 1-4). 'O Kalaniana'ole nō kēia "pokii" a 'o Kawa nō kahi e kū ana ka hale pa'ahao o ke Aupuni Repubalika, ka mea a ka Mō'īwahine i kapa aku ai 'o ia ke "kakela nui o ke Aupuni." No laila, ma kēia mau lālani, e mele ana ka Mō'īwahine no ka lawe pio 'ia 'ana o Kalaniana'ole ma ka hale pa'ahao. Ma ka puke 'o *Kaua Kuloko 1895*, ua hō'ike 'ia ka "papainoa o na kipi me na poe i hoohuoi ia no ka ohumu," a 'o "Keikialii Kalanianaole" ka mea mua.[7] Ma ke koena o ke mele, he mau mana'o ko ka Mō'īwahine i kona pōki'i, iā Kalaniana'ole ho'i. Wahi āna, e "umia ke aloha i paa iloko" (l. 5), a e "papahiia ke aloha aina" (l. 10).

Ho'okahi mele hou aku a ka Mō'īwahine i pa'i 'ia ma loko o ka *Buke Mele Lahui*. Ma kona ka'ina 'ana ma ia puke, 'o ia ke kolu o nā mele a ka Mō'ī. Eia nō na'e, e like me nā mele 'ē a'e, ua pa'i mua 'ia kēia mele ma ka nūpepa 'o *Ka Makaainana*. Pa'i 'ia ma ka nūpepa ma ka lā 8 o Pepeluali, a 'o ia ka helu 'elua o nā mele a ka Mō'īwahine i pa'i 'ia ma ka nūpepa.

AHA-KOA KEIKEI O KE KULANA[8]

Mea e ka manao e hana nei,
I ka lohe ana mai i na hana,
Ka aku ke aho ia Waitina,
Ka peresidena nui o ka Aha Koa,
Nana e kaana mai i ka pono,
No kuu lahui i alohaia,
Hana e launa ole o Wiii [*pn*] Kini,
Haole lelepi o Waialae,
Kana hana o ka pelo i ke kanaka,
E hai pau mai i ola oe,
Mai puni aku oe i kana mali,
E i aku e ke ola ia Kalani,

[7] Spencer, 49.
[8] Haimoeipo, "Aha-Koa Keikei O Ke Kulana," *Buke Mele Lahui*, 11.

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I molia kona ola no ka lahui,
I ola nou e ke aloha aina
Hookahi puana kuu puuwai,
No na poe i aloha i ka aina.

HAIMOEIPO

Pili nō kēia mele i ko ka Mō'īwahine mana'o no ka 'ahakoa nāna i ho'āhewa i ka po'e aloha 'āina no ko lākou ho'ā'o 'ana e ho'okumu hou i ke Aupuni Hawai'i ma lalo o ka mana o ka Mō'īwahine. Ma ka inoa, hō'ike ka Mō'ī i kona mana'o no ke "keikei o ke kulana" me ka mana'o ho'i, 'a'ohe mana maoli o ia 'ahakoa. Ma nā lālani o ke mele, kuhi pono nō 'o ia i nā inoa o nā luna 'elua o ia 'ahakoa, 'o Waitini kekahi, 'o ia ho'i 'o Konela William A. Whiting, ka Pelekikena o ka 'Ahakoa (l. 3-4). 'A'ohe mahalo o ka Mō'iwahine i kona mana e "kaana i ka pono/no kuu lahui i alohaia" (l. 3-6). A 'o Kini kekahi, 'o ia ho'i 'o Kāpena William A. Kinney, ka Lunakānāwai 'Ahakoa. He mau mana'o nemanema ko ka Mō'īwahine no Kini. Kapa 'ia 'o ia he "haole lelepi" a kapa 'ia kāna hana he "hana e launa ole" a he "pelo i ke kanaka" (l. 7-9). Wahi a ka Mō'īwahine, ua pelo aku 'o Kini i ka po'e aloha 'āina i ho'opa'ahao 'ia ma kona koikoi 'ana iā lākou e "hai pau" no ko lākou hewa i hana ai a no ka hana ho'i a ka po'e 'ē a'e "i ola" lākou (l. 10). Pēlā nō ho'i i koikoi 'ia ai ka Mō'īwahine i kona ho'opa'a hao 'ia 'ana ma ka Hale 'Iolani. Koikoi nō na'e ka Mō'īwahine i nā kānaka, "Mai puni aku oe i kana mali" (l. 11). A laila, hō'ike aku ka Mō'īwahine i kona mākaukau e "molia kona ola no ka lahui/I ola nou e ke aloha aina" (l. 13-14). A he pololei nō paha ia 'ōlelo 'ana, akā, ua mākaukau nō paha 'o ia e mōhai i kona ola pono'ī. 'Oko'a nō na'e ka mea i koikoi 'ia ai ka mō'īwahine. Inā 'o kona ola pono'ī kai ho'opilikia 'ia e ke Aupuni, he mōhai 'ia aku nō paha, akā, ua koikoi 'ia ka Mō'īwahine e pūlima i kekahi palapala a e ho'ohiki mai i kona ha'alele maoli 'ana i ka noho ali'i no nā kau a kau. Inā 'a'ole pūlima 'ia ua

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palapala nei, wahi a ke Aupuni, 'a'ole ka Mō'īwahine 'o ka mea e make ana; 'o ka po'e aloha 'āina nō ke make ana i ka lima o ke Aupuni.[9]

He mea hoihoi loa nā mana'o o ka Mō'īwahine i mele mai ai a he pōmaika'i maoli nō ka 'ike 'ana i kona mau mana'o no kona lāhui a me kā lākou hana i hana ai no ka 'āina. Pēia nō ho'i paha ka mana'o a me ka mahalo o ka Luna Ho'oponopono o ka *Buke Mele Lahui* no nā mele a ka Mō'īwahine a me ka po'e aloha 'āina 'ē a'e.

'Ālana 'Ia I Ka Lāhui 'Ōiwi: No Ka *Buke Mele Lahui*

Ma kekahi o nā 'ao'ao mua loa o ka *Buke Mele Lahui*, ma ka 'ao'ao i hō'ike 'ia ai nā 'ike a pau e pili ana i ka puke, e la'a me kona inoa, kona Luna Ho'oponopono, ka inoa o ka Hale Pa'i Palapala a me kona wahi e kū ana. Ma ia 'ao'ao nō, ua kākau 'ia penei, "Alanaia i ka Lahui Oiwi." Ua hō'oia hou 'ia kēia mana'o o ka Luna Ho'oponopono ma ka hopena o kona 'Ōlelo Ho'ākāka i kākau ai no ka *Buke Mele Lahui*. Wahi āna, "Ke alana nei au i keia buke no ka LAHUI OIWI."[10] No laila, he 'elua nō manawa o ko ia nei wehewehe 'ana i kona kumu nui i pa'i ai i kēia wahi puke a no ka lāhui nō ia.

A hō'ike hou mai nō 'o Testa i kona aloha a me kona kāko'o 'ana i kona lāhui ma o nā mea 'ē a'e o loko o ka puke. Wahi āna, ua pa'i 'ia kēia puke "mamuli o ke noi maoli ana mai a kekahi poe lehulehu e hana buke ia na mele 'aloha aina.'"[11]

Ma ka hopena o ka makahiki 1895 i ho'opuka 'ia mai ai kēia puke, akā, ua ho'ā'o mai 'o Testa no kekahi mau mahina. Penei kona wehewehe 'ana mai,

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[9] Lili'uokalani, 1991, 274. Penei ka puana'ī a ka Mō'īwahine i kākau ai, "For myself, I would have chosen death rather than to have signed it; but it was represented to me that by my signing this paper all the persons who had been arrested, all my people now in trouble by reason of their love and loyalty towards me, would be immediately released."
[10] Testa, vi.
[11] Testa, iii.

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> E kala kahiko i hoolahaia ai no ke pai ana i keia wahi buke palanaiki, iloko o Aperila. Ua halawai no me na kuia i kinohi a ua nui no hoi na hooluaieleia ana a hiki wale no i ka wa i loaa ai he halepai no ka oiwi i lako pono me na mea paahana a pau, a ia wa a mai ia manawa mai a hiki i nei wa, ua hoawiwiia ka hooholomua ana aku i ka hana imua.[12]

A ma muli o ko Testa noke ʻana i ka hana, ua kō nō ka ʻiʻini. Maopopo ihola iā ia, he mea nui ka manaʻo ma loko o nā mele lāhui no ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi. Hōʻoia hou ʻia ko Testa ʻālana ʻana i ka puke no ka lāhui ma o kekahi mau manaʻo hou aku ona. Kākau akula hoʻi ʻo ia ma ka ʻŌlelo Hoʻākāka, ua hoʻopuka ʻia ka puke "ma ke ano pananaiki, i mea hoi e hiki pono ai ke lawe hele ia ma o a maanei me ka hookuanui ole, a me ka hiki pono hoi iloko o na pakeke o kela a me keia mea puni mele."[13] Eia kekahi, ma kona kumu kūʻai i hoʻoholo ai, ʻike ʻia hoʻi ko Testa ʻālana ʻana i ka puke no ka lāhui. Wahi a kāna mea i kākau ai, "Ua hooholo iho au i Hapaha Dala (25 keneta) wale no ke kumukuai, i hiki ai hoi i kela a me keia e makemake ana ke kuai mai."[14] No laila, ua moakaka maoli nō ko Testa manaʻo, ʻo ka *Buke Mele Lahui*, he puke ia no ka Lāhui ʻŌiwi Hawaiʻi, a no laila, he puke ia e kākoʻo ana i ke kūʻokoʻa a me ke ola mau o ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi. He puke hoʻi ia e kūʻē ana i ka poʻe nāna i hana ʻino a hoʻopilikia mai i ka Lāhui a me ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi.

I mea e emi ai ke kumu kūʻai o ka puke, he pono ko Testa ʻimi ʻana i kekahi alahele e uku ai no ka paʻi ʻana i ka puke. Kākau ihola ʻo ia,

> Ma ia hooholo ana no ke kumukuai, ua kakoo nui ia mai koʻu manao hoemi e na kokua nui mai na poe hoolaha mai, a e ikeia iho ana no hoi ia e kela a me keia pakahi o na poe e kuai mai ana i nei wahi buke pakeke uuku.[15]

Eia naʻe, ʻaʻole nō i kuhikuhi wale mai ʻo Testa i ka poʻe e kūʻai hele ma nā hale kūʻai a pau i hoʻolaha ʻia ma loko o ka puke. Penei kona kākau ʻana,

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[12] Testa, iii.
[13] Testa, iv.
[14] Testa, v.
[15] Testa, v.

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> Ua pono loa ke heluhelu akahele ia na hoolaha like ole, a malia o komo iho no hoi ka iini iloko no kahi mea e makemake ai, alaila, aole no e hewa ke kipa aku, a e wae a ikemaka no oukou iho.[16]

He mea hoihoi ko Testa koikoi 'ana i ka"pono loa" o ka "heluhelu akahele" i nā ho'olaha. I heluhelu akahele 'ia ua po'e ho'olaha nei, 'ike 'ia nō he 29 mau ho'olaha 'oko'a i pa'i 'ia ma nā 'ao'ao mua o ka puke, ma ka hopena, a ma waena nō ho'i o kekahi o nā mele. (E nānā 'ia ka Waihona 'Ike no kēia mau mele e waiho aku ana ma ka Hale Waihona Puke 'o Hamilton ma ke Kula Nui o Hawai'i ma Mānoa.) Ma ka hapanui o nā ho'olaha, hō'ike 'ia ka inoa o ka mea e ho'olaha 'ia ana, inā he hale kū'ai paha, he nūpepa paha, a he loio paha. Ho'olaha pū 'ia kahi e kū nei ko lākou hale kū'ai a hale ke'ena ho'i, a hō'ike 'ia ho'i kā lākou mea e kū'ai aku ai a i 'ole ia, kā lākou hana e hana ai.

Ma kekahi o nā ho'olaha (he 11 o nā ho'olaha he 29), hō'ike pū mai ka hale kū'ai a me ka 'oihana paha i ko lākou kāko'o 'ana i ka po'e lāhui 'ōiwi o ka 'āina. Kohu mea lā, he mea nui no kekahi o nā hale kū'ai ka hō'oia 'ana i ko lākou kūlana he kama'āina a he kupa paha no ka 'āina. Ma ka ho'olaha no ka "Hui Waina Hawaii," kono 'ia ka lehulehu e "kipa mai a e ike i kamaaina o kauhale,"[17] a pēlā pū ka ho'olaha no ka po'e "kamaaina" ma J. Hopp & Co., H.E. McIntyre & Bros., a me ka Empire Saloon.[18] A ikaika ho'i ka 'ōlelo ma kekahi ho'olaha me kēia 'ano mana'o, "Ia'u i kupaa ai... Mahope o na Kupa Oiwi o keia Aina, ua hoikeia mai la ia'u he hoa'loha oukou no'u."[19]

Ma kekahi o nā ho'olaha, he mea nui ka hō'ike 'ana, he po'e 'ōiwi ke hana ana ma ko lākou hale kū'ai. Ma ka ho'olaha o Wile Kaimana, 'o ia ho'i 'o W.W.

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[16] Testa, vi.
[17] Testa, H-7. ('A'ole i hō'ike 'ia ka helu no nā 'ao'ao o nā ho'olaha ma ka puke no laila, na'u, na ka mea kākau o kēia palapala, i helu aku i nā 'ao'ao o nā ho'olaha a hō'ike 'ia me ka hua palapala "H-" a me ka helu o ka 'ao'ao ho'olaha, ke helu 'ia mai kīnohi a ka hopena o ka puke.)
[18] Testa, H-16, H-25 a me H-10.
[19] Testa, H-27.

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Dimond, kono ʻia ka poʻe e kipa mai a "e ike ia Kakou Oiwi o ka Aina nei."[20] Ma ka hoʻolaha o Lawekeoe Mā., ʻo ia nō ʻo Lovejoy & Co., kono ʻia ka poʻe e hele mai a "ike ia kakou hoa kanaka o kipa hewa ke aloha i ka ilio."[21] Aia hoʻi he ʻelua hoʻolaha no ka nūpepa ʻo *Ka Makaainana* kekahi a me kahi nūpepa i kapa ʻia kona inoa ʻo *The Independent* a i ʻole ia ʻo *Ke Kuokoa Namu*. Wahi a ka hoʻolaha no *Ka Makaainana*, he "Kupaa no ka Pono o ka Aina" ia nūpepa, a ʻo ia hoʻi, "ke Alakai o ka Lahui, ka Lamaku o ka Lehulehu, ka Hoa Haiahaiolelo hoi o na Kupa Oiwi, a o ke Koa Wiwo Ole iho hoi o ke Au."[22] Wahi a ka hoʻolaha no *Ke Kuokoa Namu*, "O ka Wahaolelo Namu hookahi keia ma ko ka Lahui Hawaii aoao, aohe lua."[23]

No laila, e like me ka mea i luna aʻe nei, ʻike ʻia kēia ʻano manaʻo ma 11 o nā hoʻolaha he 29 ka huina. Kohu mea lā, he kākoʻo nō kēia mau hale kūʻai a ʻoihana i ka poʻe aloha ʻāina, eia naʻe, ʻo kekahi o nā ʻoihana, he mau hale nō ia no ka poʻe nāna i kākoʻo i ka hoʻokahuli ʻia ʻana o ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi, a nāna hoʻi e kākoʻo ana i ke Aupuni Pī Kī a me ke Aupuni Repubalika. ʻO Kākela & Kuke, ʻo ia hoʻi ʻo Castle & Cook, kekahi, a pēlā pū ʻo Walakahauki, ʻo ia hoʻi ʻo J. T. Waterhouse, kekahi o nā mea e kākoʻo nui ana i ka poʻe Pī Kī a me ke Aupuni Repubalika. No laila, he pono nō ka heluhelu a me ka wae akahele ʻana aku o nā kānaka aloha ʻāina i nā hale kūʻai a me nā ʻoihana e kākoʻo ai, no ka mea, ʻo kekahi hapa o nā hale kūʻai a ʻoihana paha (he 12 o nā hui mai ka 29 hui a pau o ka puke), ua kākoʻo nō lākou i ke Aupuni Repubalika ma o ka makana ʻana aku he puʻu kālā. Ma ka nūpepa ʻo *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* i mahalo ʻia ai kēia poʻe nāna i kākoʻo i ke Aupuni Repubalika, a hōʻike pū ʻia mai ka nui o ke kālā i makana ʻia i

[20] Testa, H-12.
[21] Testa, H-11.
[22] Testa, H-17.
[23] Testa, H-17.

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ke Aupuni Repubalika, e la'a 'o Castle & Cook ($100), W.G. Irwin & Co. ($100), H. Hackfeld & Co. ($100), and J.T. Waterhouse ($100).[24]

Eia kekahi, no 'elua o nā hui 'oihana i ho'olaha 'ia aku ma ka *Buke Mele Lahui*, ua 'imi ho'i lākou i ke kāko'o mai o ka lehulehu ma o ka pa'i 'ana ma ka ho'olaha penei. Wahi a ka ho'olaha no Luisa Mā, 'o ia ho'i 'o Lewis & Co., "Lehulehu na poe oiwi ma ia halekuai, a hewa ole ai no hoi ke kipa mai."[25] A pēia nō ho'i ka mea i pa'i 'ia ma ka ho'olaha o ka Hui Lako Hao Hawaii, 'o ia ho'i ka Hawaiian Hardware Co. Wahi a ua ho'olaha nei, "E hoomanao, he poe kupa makou a pau i kuluma i ko Hawaii aina o ka noho'na. Aohe hewa ke kipa mai mamua ae o ka hele ana aku i kahie."[26] Eia na'e, 'o lāua nō ho'i kekahi o nā hui i lūlū aku i pu'u kālā i ke Aupuni Repubalika i ka wā o ke kaua 'ana; he $50 i makana 'ia e Luisa mā a he $100 i makana 'ia e ka Hui Lako Hao Hawaii.[27]

Ma ko Testa kuhikuhi 'ana mai i ka po'e e "heluhelu akahele" i nā ho'olaha, a laila, 'ike 'ia kēia 'ano mana'o ma ka ho'olaha, he hō'ailona ia no ka ho'omaopopo 'ana o ka Hawai'i i ka ikaika o kāna kālā a me ka mana o kona ho'olilo 'ana aku i kāna kālā ma kekahi hale kū'ai, 'a'ole ma kekahi, no ka mea, 'a'ohe pono o ka ho'owaiwai 'ana i ka po'e 'enemi o ka Lāhui Hawai'i. No ka Lāhui Hawai'i, he pono nō ke kāko'o 'ana i ka pono o ka Lāhui a me kona kū'oko'a 'ana.

Ma muli o ka pa'a pio 'ia mai o nā Luna Ho'oponopono nūpepa ma ka hopena o ka makahiki 1894 me nā mahina mua o ka makahiki 1895, 'a'ole i pa'i pono 'ia ka mo'olelo o ka po'e aloha 'āina ma ka nūpepa, a 'o ia ke kumu a Spencer i ho'opuka mai ai i ke *Kaua Kuloko 1895*. Pololei nō ho'i kēia no ka pa'i 'ole 'ia 'ana o nā mele lāhui ma loko o nā nūpepa no ia mau mahina. E like me kā

[24] *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 16 Pepeluali 1895.
[25] Testa, H-26.
[26] Testa, H-28.
[27] *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 16 Pepeluali 1895.

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Spencer, ua pono ho'i 'o Testa e pa'i i nā mele lāhui ma loko o kāna puke i pa'ē mai nō ka leo o nā kūpuna a kani mai i ka pepeiao.

Nā 'Ōiwi Hawai'i Aloha Kūpa'a I Ka 'Āina Hānau: No Nā Mele

NA OIWI HAWAII[28]

Nani wale ke kaona e waiho nei
Aia i ka piko o ka aina,

Oahu neia Kakuhihewa,
Ikeia i ke koo a Polohiwa,
Wilikoki iho ia a he luli ole,
Imi ana i ka pono o ka lehulehu,

He ui ninau na Williama,
Ahea kakou hoolale ae?
Waiho ka manao hooho wale,
Alana i ke ola no ka aina,
Ilaila a o Loka nui e ka i'o,
I na olelo hoolanalana,

Aia i Kahala kumu o ka hewa,
Loaa i ke one Kaalawai,
Oahu na kini o ia kaha,
Hauwalaau ana a i Leahi,
Aia Palolo ua ohuohu,

Kahiko ana hoi i ka ua noe;
Ua nani Manoa i ka uhiwai,
Papa olelo me Kawaikini,
A kini a mano ko'u aloha,
Aloha aina i ke kupaa,

Ilihia ka manao ke lohe aku,

Ka uwalo a ka leo e maliu mai,
Aloha e ka luna a o Hapuu,

Aniani na hana Waipuhia,
I aha ia oe Leihauola,
Nanaia mai au pulapula,
Aia Waolani ua malie,

Hoolulu ka makani ke ike mai,
Aole makou a i hopo iho,

[28] Kamanawa, "Na Oiwi Hawaii," *Buke Mele Lahui*, 43-44.

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Na nui leo hoi e wa nei,
A hea aku au o na pua
Ua ao Hawaii malamalama

KAMANAWA

Ua pa'i 'ia maila he 96 mele 'oko'a ma loko o ka *Buke Mele Lahui*, a wahi a Testa, ua "hoopuka mua ia iho nei [ia mau mele] maloko o ka Nupepa KA MAKAAINANA a me kahi mau nupepa e ae."[29] Eia na'e, ma ko'u 'ohi'ohi 'ana i nā mele lāhui mai nā wahi like 'ole, 'ike 'ia ka pa'i 'ia 'ana o 41 wale nō mele ma kekahi wahi 'oko'a, ma ka nūpepa paha a me kekahi puke paha. No 55 o nā mele, 'o ka *Buke Mele Lahui* kahi ho'okahi i 'ike 'ia ai ke mele. No ia mau mele, 'a'ole nō maopopo pono inā he hō'ailona ia no ka nui o nā mele i ho'ouna 'ia aku i ka pepa a i 'ohi'ohi 'ia ma laila, 'a'ole na'e i kō ka pa'i 'ana aku ma loko o ka nūpepa. Ua maopopo maila, pa'i 'ia ka *Buke Mele Lahui* ma ka Halepai Makaainana, 'o ia nō ka hale pa'i o ka nūpepa *Ka Makaainana*.

No ka 'imi 'ana i ke mele ma o kona inoa, ua ho'oma'alahi maila nō 'o Testa i ka loa'a 'ana o kekahi mele ma ka papa kuhikuhi, no ka mea, ua helu papa 'ia kēlā me kēia mele ma lalo o nā hua 'ōlelo a pau o loko o kona inoa, e la'a me ke mele o luna a'e nei, 'o ia ho'i 'o "Na Oiwi Hawaii." Kuhikuhi 'ia akula ua mele nei he 'elua manawa, ma lalo o ka hua 'ōlelo "Oiwi," a laila, ma lalo o "Hawaii" nō ho'i.

Ua pūlima 'ia kēia mele 'o "Na Oiwi Hawaii" na Kamanawa. 'A'ole nō i 'ike 'ia ko Kamanawa inoa ma ka papa inoa o nā kānaka aloha 'āina, akā, kohu mea ala, 'o ia nō kekahi o nā kānaka aloha 'āina i komo pū aku i ke Kaua Kūloko o ka makahiki 1895, 'oiai ua mele mai nō 'o ia no ka "Nani wale" o "ke kaona e waiho nei" (l. 1). Wahi a Kamanawa, "Aia i ka piko o ka aina" (l. 2). Ma ka māhele 'elua o ke mele, ho'ohanohano 'ia ka mokupuni 'o O'ahu me kona Ali'i

[29] Testa, iii.

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Nui ʻo "Kakuhihewa" (l. 3), a wahi a ka mele, "Ikeia i ke koo a Polohiwa" (l. 4). ʻO ke ao "Polohiwa" kahi e hele ai nā ʻuhane ma hope o ka hala ʻana aku, no laila, ma kēia lālani no "ke koo a Polohiwa," pili hoʻi ia i ke kākoʻo ʻana mai o ia ʻāina a me ka poʻe ʻuhane a pau o ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi e noho ana ma laila. Mele ʻia mai nō hoʻi no ke ʻano "luli ole" o Wilikoki i kona "imi ana i ka pono o ka lehulehu" (l. 6). Ma ke kolu o nā māhele, mele ʻia mai no kahi "ui ninau" i hapai ʻia no ko lākou wahi e holo ai, a laila, ma ka māhele ʻehā, mele ʻia mai no nā wahi like ʻole a ka poʻe aloha ʻāina i naue ai ma ia kaua ʻana, e laʻa me "Kahala," "Kaalawai," "Leahi," me "Palolo" (l. 13-17).

A laila ma nā māhele ma lalo iho, mele ʻia mai no kekahi mau wahi pana hou aku e laʻa me "Mānoa" (l. 19), "Hapuu" (l. 25), "Waipuhia" (l. 26), "Leihauola" (l. 27), me "Waolani" (l. 29). ʻAno hoihoi kēia mele ʻana no nā wahi pana ma Nuʻuanu, no ka mea, ʻaʻole nō i hiki aku ʻo Wilikoki mā a i laila. Eia nō naʻe, he mau wahi pana mana nō kēia, a he mana nō ko ka haku ʻana i ia mau wahi pana i loko o ke mele, ʻoiai, ʻo Waolani kahi i kūkulu ʻia ai ka heiau mua loa o Hawaiʻi,[30] a me kahi hoʻi i hānau ʻia mai ai ʻo Wākea.[31] ʻO Hāpuʻu me Leihauola (ʻo Laihauola me Kalaihauola kahi inoa) kekahi mau pōhaku ma Waolani, a he mau pōhaku kahi i waiho ʻia aku ai nā piko o nā kamaliʻi o ia ʻāina i pōmaikaʻi ke ola o ua keiki ala.[32] No laila, ma ke kāhea ʻana aku i kēia mau wahi pana, he hōʻailona nō ia no ke kākoʻo ʻana o ka ʻāina, nā heiau, a me nā pōhaku i ka hana a ka poʻe aloha ʻāina.

Ma ka hopena o ke mele, mele mai ʻo Kamanawa no ka "Hoolulu" ʻana mai o ka makani (l. 30) a me ka "hopo" ʻole iho o ka poʻe aloha ʻāina (l. 31). A laila, mele ʻia mai no ka nui o ka "leo... e wa nei" (l. 32) a me ka "hea aku" o ka

[30] Beckwith, Martha, *Hawaiian Mythology*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1976), 26.
[31] Beckwith, 1976, 301.
[32] Sterling, Elspeth P. a me Catherine C. Summers, mea hōʻuluʻulu, *Sites of Oahu*, (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1993), 312-314.

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haku mele. Wahi a kēia leo hea, "Ua ao Hawaii malamalama" (l. 34). He hō'ailona kēia no ka lanakila 'ana o Hawai'i, akā he lanakila ia no ka na'auao a me ka mālamalama. Ma ka Mokuna 5 o nei palapala, e noi'i 'ia ana ke ea o ka 'āina a me ka pilina o ia ea me kēia ao mālamalama.

Ma waho o kēia mau mana'o i haku 'ia i loko o nā lālani mele, he mana'o nui hou aku nō ho'i ko Kamanawa no kākou, no ka mea, ua haku pū 'o ia i kekahi mana'o ma nā hua palapala mua o kēlā me kēia lālani mele. Ke heluhelu 'ia ia mau hua palapala mai luna a lalo, 'ike 'ia nō kēia mana'o nui o ka haku mele. 'Ālana 'ia kāna mele no, "NA OIWI HAWAII ALOHA KUPAA I KA AINA HANAU." He mana'o nui kēia no kēia haku mele a 'ano like kēia 'ālana 'ana o ka haku mele i ko Testa mana'o i 'ālana ai i nei puke.

Ma loko o *Ka Buke Mele Lahui*, aia nō he mau mele i haku 'ia i kekahi makahiki ma mua o ke Kaua Kūloko o ka makahiki 1895 a ma mua ho'i o ka Ho'okahuli Aupuni o ka makahiki 1893.

HOOHENO NO WILIKOKI[33]

Kaulana mai nei a o Wilikoki,
O ke koa wiwo ole o ke ao nei,
Ua kohu anela ke ike aku,
I ke ku kilakila i Halealii,
Aohe poka e ku ai,
Aohe akamai e loaa aku,
Keiki Hawaii alo ehuehu,
I ka waha o ka pu e kani nei,
Noho mai Waipa i ka uahoa,
Opu lokoino he aloha ole,
No Hawaii oe, no Hawaii au,
Hookahi ke kupuna o Kakuhihewa,
Hoohewahewa oe ia kaua,
Ia'u nei la ko pilikoko,
Kuhi ae kuu pono ia Kahalewai,
I ka lutanela helu ekahi,
Akahi kuu lohe a ikemaka,
Ke kaua kuloko o Hawaii,
Ua kui e ka lono lohe Pelekane,

[33] Kaanoiokalani, Mrs. Annie K., 'Hooheno No Wilikoki," *Buke Mele Lahui*, 92.

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He Italia ka'u wahine,
Pehea mai oe Kahu Aupuni?
I ko lahui i ka Halewai;
E hookuu ae me ka maikai,
E puka Wilikoki a hemo loa;
Haina ka puana ua ikeia,
He aloha lahui ko Wilikoki.

I ka la kanakolu o Iulai,
He kaua weliweli ma Honolulu,
He kaua kuloko na Wilikoki,
He kanaka ikaika he makau ole,
I ka halahalakau a na pu,
I ka oloolohi'o a ka poka.
Alo iho, alo ae, alo aku ma ke kua,
Aohe manuheu o Wilikoki,
O ka hana ana ia a ka iwikani,
Keiki akamai Italia,
Alia oukou e ka lahui,
E ke aupuni nui Kelekiela,
E ala, e Uli, eia au,
A owau keia ko pulapula,
E Uli, e nanaia mai,
A e uli hewa, a e uli pono,
E lohe i ka leo me ka uwalo,
E puka Wilikoki a hemo loa,
Haina ka puana ua ikeia
He aloha lahui ko Wilikoki.

ANNIE K. KAANOIOKALANI.

Ua pa'i 'ia kēia mele a Annie K. Kaanoiokalani he 'ekolu manawa 'oko'a. Pa'i mua 'ia i ka makahiki 1889, ma ka lā 10 o Kepakemapa ma *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*. Pa'i hou 'ia i ka makahiki 1891 ma loko o *Ka Buke Moolelo o Hon. Robert William Wilikoki*, ka mea i haku 'ia a ho'oponopono 'ia e Thomas K. Nakanaela. A 'o ke kolu o ko kēia mele pa'i 'ia 'ana, ma loko nō ia o ka *Buke Mele Lahui*.

Inā 'a'ole maopopo no kēia pa'i 'ia 'ana o kēīa mele ma mua o ka *Buke Mele* Lahui, a nānā wale 'ia ma laila, kohu like ia me nā mele lāhui i haku 'ia no Wilikoki i ka makahiki 1895 ma hope o ke Kaua Kūloko, no ka mea, mele 'ia mai no ko Wilikoki "Kaulana" a kapa 'ia 'o ia 'o "ke koa wiwo ole o ke ao nei" (l. 1-2), a me ke "Keiki Hawaii alo ehuehu" (l. 7). E like me ka mea i kākau 'ia ma ka

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Mokuna 3 o nei palapala, mali'a paha, 'o kekahi kumu i ho'ohanohano nui 'ia ai 'o Wilikoki i loko o nā mele no ke Kaua Kūloko, ma muli nō ia o kāna hana mua i hana ai i ka makahiki 1889, 'oiai, 'o ia nō kona wā i lilo ai i me'e no ka Lāhui Hawai'i.

Akā, ke nānā pono aku ka maka a heluhelu pono i kēia mele, 'ike 'ia nō kekahi mau mea i 'oko'a me nā mele o ka makahiki 1895, no ka mea, ma kēia mele nei, ho'ohanohano 'ia 'o Wilikoki no kāna hana ma ka "Halealii." A ma lalo mai, ma ka paukū 'elua, wahi a ke mele, aia nō "I ka la kanakolu o Iulai/He kaua weliweli ma Honolulu," a kapa 'ia kēia kaua, "He kaua kuloko na Wilikoki" (l. 28-30). A ma kēia mele 'ana no ka lā o kēia kaua 'ana, maopopo maila, 'o kēia nō ka ho'ouka kaua a Wilikoki i alaka'i ai i ka makahiki 1889. I ia manawa, e ho'ā'o ana 'o Wilikoki e ho'iho'i 'ia aku ka mana hookō o ke Aupuni Hawai'i i ka Mō'ī, nāna e noho ali'i 'ai moku ana.

'O Kalākaua nō ka Mō'ī i ia manawa, akā, ua hihia ihola kona noho Mō'ī 'ana he 'elua makahiki ma mua iho. Penei i wehewehe 'ia ai kēia hihia e Nakanaela i loko o *Ka Moolelo o Hon. Robert William Wilcox*,

> O ke au hooponopono Aupuni ana o Hawaii iloko o ia mau la, aia no ia iloko o na lima o ka poe nana i hooulu i ka haunaele kipi o ka M. H. 1887, a o ke Kumukanawai i hookikina ia ai o ka Moi e kakauinoa, ka mea nana e hoomalu ana i ke Aupuni, a o ke Kumukanawai hoi i kapaia ke "Kumukanawai elau pu." A mamuli o keia Kumukanawai; ua lilo iho la ka hoomalu ana i ke Aupuni iloko o na lima o na Kuhina eha, a o ka Moi ma ka Nohoalii, ua noho mumule iho la Oia, a o na mea a keia poe eha e hooholo ai, o ka ka Moi wale no ia e apono mau aku ai.[34]

I ka mahina 'o 'Apelila, i ka makahiki 1889, ua ho'i mai nō 'o Wilikoki i Hawai'i nei, a huli koke kona mana'o i hana e ho'oponopono 'ia ai kēia pilikia o kona Aupuni a me kona Lāhui. Mālama 'ia he hālāwai no ka lehulehu, a komo aku nō 'o Wilikoki mā ma ia ho'ouka kaua 'ana i ho'okahuli 'ia ka nohona o ke

[34] Nakanaela, 24.

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Aupuni Hawai'i. Eia na'e, i ko lākou hiki 'ana aku ma kahi o ka Pā o ka Haleali'i 'o 'Iolani, aia nō he māka'i e kia'i ana i ka 'īpuka. 'O Robert Waipa Parker nō kēia, 'o ia kanaka ho'okahi nāna i ki'i aku i ka Mō'īwahine a lawe pio iā ia i loko o 'Iolani Hale e noho pa'a ai. Hō'ole ikaika akula 'o Waipa i ke komo 'ana aku o Wilikoki mā. Kauoha akula 'o Waipa i nā koa o ke Aupuni e ho'omākaukau no ke kaua 'ana. A komo malū wale mai nō na'e 'o Wilikoki mā i loko o ka pā, noho pa'a mai nō a nonoi ana e komo aku a hā'awi pio 'ia mai ka Haleali'i. Hō'ole hou mai nō kahi Waipā. A hala kekahi lā, a hopu pio 'ia 'o Wilikoki a hā'awi pio mai nō ka po'e kipi 'ē a'e.

Ma muli o kēia hana wiwo 'ole o Wilikoki, lilo mai nō 'o ia i me'e a ho'ohanohaho 'ia kona inoa ma loko o kahi puke i haku 'ia nona a i loko ho'i o kekahi mau mele i haku 'ia nona. A lilo mai ho'i 'o Waipa i mea e kūamuamu nui 'ia ai kona inoa. Wahi a ka haku mele, "Noho mai Waipa i ka uahoa/Opu lokoino he aloha ole" (l. 9-10). Ma nā lālani ma lalo mai, hō'ike mai ka pilina o ka haku mele me Waipā penei, "No Hawaii oe, no Hawaii au,/Hookahi ke kupuna o Kakuhihewa" (l. 11-12) a mele pū 'ia mai no ka hewa o Waipā ma kekahi lālani. Wahi a Mrs. Kaanoiokalani, "Hoohewahewa oe ia kaua,/Ia'u nei la ko pilikoko" (l. 13-14). No laila, he hilahila nō ka haku mele i ka hana a Waipa i hana ai, 'oiai 'o Wilikoki kai 'imi i ka pono o ka 'āina a me ka Lāhui, a 'o Waipa kai ālai aku.

Ma hope mai, i ka makahiki 1895, ho'āhewa hou 'ia ka inoa o Waipa ma kona kūlana he māka'i no ke Aupuni Repubalika, no kona hele kino 'ana aku a i Wakinekona Hale e lawe pio ai i ka Mō'īwahine. No laila, i ka pa'i hou 'ia 'ana o kēia mele "Hooheno No Wilikoki" ma loko o ka *Buke Mele Lahui*, he mea ia e kūkala hou 'ia aku ai ka hilahila o kahi Waipa. Ma kekahi 'ano, ua ili aku kēia mele nei no ka hana ma ka makahiki 1889 ma luna o Waipa me kāna hana i ka makahiki 1895. Ua kaulana maila a laha ho'i kēia mele, no ka mea, wahi a Kakae

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Kaleiheana, kekahi wahine e ola ana i ia manawa, ua kama'āina nō ia mo'olelo a me ia mele iā ia.

'Oko'a iki a huikau iki paha ko Kaleiheana mau mana'o, no ka mea, wahi āna, ua pili nō kēia mele i kā Waipa hana i ke ki'i 'ana aku i ka Mō'īwahine a lawe iā ia no ka ho'opa'a hao 'ia 'ana. Wahi a Kaleiheana, 'o Waipa ka "māka'i nui o Honolulu nei, o ke kaona," a he "kāne mālama i ka maluhia... he kāne maika'i," 'o ia. Eia kekahi, ma ka mo'olelo o Kaleiheana, he mana'o maika'i ko Waipa i kona ki'i 'ana aku i ka Mō'īwahine. Wahi a Kaleiheana,

> 'Ōlelo aku 'o Waipa, waiho oukou na'u. Inā 'oukou 'olu'olu, hā'awi mai 'oukou i kēlā kuleana. Na'u e hele, ki'i iā ia, a ho'i mai... ma ke 'ano, no'ono'o 'o ia, hiki iā ia ke wala'au lāua me ke aloha kekahi i kekahi a i maopopo iā ia, 'a'ole 'ano 'ē kona no'ono'o i ka hoopilikua. He mea o kona koko hookahi, kona ili hookahi.[35]

Wahi a Kaleiheana, he kuhihewa ko ka po'e i ko lākou mele 'ana no Waipa, a kohu mea lā, he mea laha nō ia, no ka mea, ua pa'a nō kekahi o nā hua 'ōlelo o kēia mele i ka na'au o Kaleiheana a ua mele mai nō 'o ia ma kēia ninauele i ho'opa'a leo 'ia i ka makahiki 1975.

Pololei paha kēia mana'o o Kaleiheana no ke 'ano o ko Waipa na'au i kona ki'i 'ana aku i ka Mō'īwahine. 'A'ole na'e paha 'o ia i hō'ike aku i ia mana'o i ka Mō'īwahine, no ka mea, i loko o ke mele a ka Mō'īwahine i haku ai, 'o "Hoonanea a Hookuene Liliu" ka inoa, 'o ia ke mele mua loa ma kēia mokuna, 'a'ohe wahi mahalo o ka Mō'īwahine iā Waipā. Ho'āhewa 'ia aku nō 'o ia ala no kona komo 'ana mai ma kēia hana 'ino 'ana i ka Mō'īwahine a me ka Lāhui Hawai'i.

Ma kekahi hapa aku o kēia mele o ka makahiki 1889, ho'ohanohano hou 'ia ka inoa o Wilikoki, kāna hana, a me ka hana a ka po'e aloha 'āina a kāhea 'ia

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[35] Kaleiheana, Kakae, ho'opa'a leo 'ia, *Ka Leo Hawaii*, (mai ka waihona o ke Kula Nui o Hawai'i ma Mānoa, HV 24.94 B), 13 'Apelila 1975.

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akula nō hoʻi kekahi Akua wahine, ʻo ia hoʻi ʻo Uli, he Akua ʻo ia no ka hoʻōla ʻana a me ka hoʻomake ʻana i ke kanaka ma o ka pule ʻana. ʻO Uli nō kekahi o nā Akua i kāhea nui ʻia ma loko o kēia poʻe mele lāhui, a he mea maʻa mau ka hōʻike ʻana i ka pilina o ka moʻokūʻauhau iā Uli. Wahi a Kaanoiokalani, "E ala, e Uli, eia au,/A owau keia ko pulapula" (l. 39-40). Noi ʻia hoʻi penei, "E Uli, e nanaia mai,/A e uli hewa, a e uli pono" (l. 41-42). Hoihoi maoli nō kēia, no ka mea, ua like hoʻi kekahi manaʻo o uli me ka hoʻokele, no laila, noi ʻia mai ʻo Uli e uli mai i ke ala hele o ka Lāhui. Noi ʻia ʻo Uli "E lohe i ka leo me ka uwalo," a e kōkua mai "E puka Wilikoki a hemo loa," mai ka hale paʻahao mai.

Ma ka hopena o kēia mele, puana ʻia mai no ke "aloha lahui" o Wilikoki (l. 45-46). Wahi a ka haku mele, "He aloha lahui ko Wilikoki," a he ʻelua nō paha manaʻo o kēia lālani. Ma kekahi ʻano, ua kanu ʻia a paʻa ke aloha lāhui i loko o ka naʻau o Wilikoki a nui wale kona aloha i kona lāhui, akā, eia kekahi, aloha nui ʻia nō hoʻi ʻo Wilikoki e kona Lāhui Hawaiʻi, no laila, i ka puana ʻana o Kaanoiokalani, "He aloha lahui ko Wilikoki," he hōʻailona ia no ko Kaanoiokalani a me ko ka Lāhui aloha iā Wilikoki me ka mahalo hoʻi i kona ʻano kūpaʻa no ka pono o ka ʻāina.

ʻIke ʻia nō kēia ʻano o ke "aloha lāhui" ma loko o nā mele lāhui a pau o ka *Buke Mele Lahui*. ʻIke ʻia ma loko o nā mele i haku ʻia no ka wā ma mua o ka Hoʻokahuli Aupuni, e like me kēia mea no Wilikoki. ʻIke ʻia nō hoʻi kēia aloha lāhui ma nā mele i haku ʻia no ka wā o ka Hoʻokahuli Aupuni, e laʻa me ke "Mele Aloha Aina," ʻo ia hoʻi ke mele "Ai-Pohaku" i paʻi ʻia ma ka ʻaoʻao mua o ka *Buke Mele Lahui* a i hoʻākāka ʻia hoʻi ma nā ʻaoʻao mua loa o kēia palapala nei. ʻIke ʻia hoʻi ke aloha lāhui ma kekahi mele i haku ʻia no ka māla pua o ka Mōʻīwahine, ʻo

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ia ho'i 'o "Malapua o Uluhaimalama."[36] Nui wale nā mele e pili ana i ke Kaua Kūloko o ka makahiki 1895.

'Ike 'ia ho'i he mau mele i hiki paha ke kuhi 'ia, 'a'ole he mea pili i ka Lāhui Hawai'i. Eia nō na'e, ke nānā pono 'ia aku ka hana a ka kama, 'ike 'ia nō ia pilina.

MA'I KOLERA MA HONOLULU[37]

Hookahi mea hou ma Honolulu,
O ka ma'i kolera kau e ka weli,

Pane mai e ka leo a o na ona,
A e hoi oukou i ka home lana,

Aia a pau e ka hoomalu,
Ike hou aku i ke ao aina,

Ilaila makou ike iho ai,
Ua kapu a puni ke kaona nei,

Hu mai ke aloha i ka ohana,
Me ke kulu walohia o ka waimaka,

Akahi a ikeia e ka hana,
A na kolea aea o Kahiki,

Ua aku, ui mai na keiki,
I ka hora hoi o ke kupilikii,

Kii'na e ke ola i ka Makua Lani,
I pono ai hoi e ka lehulehu,

A waho o ka nuku a o Mamala,
Hu mai ke aloha i ka aina,

Huli aku e ke alo a i Manoa,
Ka nenee mai a ka Ua Kuahine,

Kahikoia mai la e ka uhiwai,
Ia uka leo lea a ke kahuli;

Hea aku no au e o mai oe,
E ola Hawaii a mau loa;

[36] Waiola, "Malapua o Uluhaimalama," *Buke Mele Lahui*, 25-26.
[37] Kanalu, S., "Ma'i Kolera Ma Honolulu," *Buke Mele Lahui*, 74. (Ma loko o ka puke, pa'i hewa 'ia ka inoa o ke mele penei, "Ma'i Korela Ma Honolulu," akā, ho'oponopono 'ia kēia pa'i hewa ma ka 'ao'ao xvi. No ia kumu, ua hō'ike 'ia ka inoa pololei ma kēia palapala nei.)

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Hainaia mai ana ka puana, 25
Hookahi no leo kau e ka weli.

S. KANALU.

Ma hope o ke Kaua Kūloko i ho'ouka 'ia i ka mahina o Ianuali, a ma hope o ka 'Aha Ho'okololo Kānāwai Koa, ua ku'i mai ka lono no kahi mea weliweli hou aku e laha mai ana ma Honolulu nei. Penei i mo'olelo 'ia mai ai ma ka nūpepa,

> O ke kolera io no nei ma'i e ahulau nei ka ulupa ana i na oiwi o ka aina nei, ka weli hoi o Asia. Eia na poe ma'i a pau loa i loaa ke lawelaweia nei no ia ano ma'i, aka, o ka make no ka hapanui loa.[38]

Aia nō he ho'okahi mele hou aku no kēia ma'i kolera ma loko o ka *Buke Mele Lahui*, 'o "Hoomaluia No ke Kolera"[39] ka inoa. Ma kēia mau mele, 'Ike 'ia nō ka pilina o ke ola o ke kanaka a me ke ola o ka Lāhui Hawai'i. Ma muli o ka weliweli a me ka 'eha'eha o ka na'au o ke kanaka i ke ahulau 'ana mai o kēia 'ano ma'i ma Honolulu, ua lilo ho'i i mea pili pa'a i ka Lāhui Hawai'i a me ko kākou mo'olelo. Eia kekahi, he kuleana ko ka Mō'ī e mālama i ke ola o kona mau kānaka. No laila, he hō'ailona kēia ma'i no ka pono 'ole o ke Aupuni Repubalika.

Ma nā paukū mua, mele mai 'o Kanalu no ka "weli" o "Honolulu" nei (l. 1-2) a me ka pāpā 'ia 'ana, 'a'ole e hele 'auana nā kānaka ma waho o ko lākou hale pono'ī, 'oiai ua "kapu a puni ke kaona nei" (l. 6) i 'ole e 'ahuwale hou aku ka ma'i. Mele 'ia mai nō ho'i no "ke aloha i ka 'ohana" a me "ke kulu walohia o ka waimaka" (l. 9-10) i ko lākou minamina 'ana i ka ma'i a me ka make 'ana o ka po'e.

A laila, he mana'o nemanema nō ho'i ko Kanalu ma kona ho'āhewa 'ana aku i ka po'e haole no kēia ma'i 'ino. Wahi a ka haku mele, "Akahi a ikeia e ka

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[38] *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 2 Kepakemapa 1895, 4.
[39] Pinao, S., "Hoomaluia No ke Kolera," *Buke Mele Lahui*, 57.

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hana,/A na kolea aea o Kahiki" (l. 11-12). I ia manawa, ua hoʻomaopopo ihola ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi i ke ʻano o ko lākou hoʻopilikia ʻia ʻana e ka poʻe haole ma nā ʻano like ʻole, ʻo ke ola o ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi kekahi, a pēlā pū ke ola o kānaka. A ma ka hopena o ke mele, kohu mea ala, e haʻalele mai ana ka haku mele i kona ʻāina, ʻoiai mele ʻia mai no ka hala ʻana "A waho o ka nuku a o Mamala," a me ka "Huli aku e ke alo a i Manoa" (l. 17, 19). Maliʻa paha, ma muli o ka "weli" i "kau" maila ma Honolulu i haʻalele mai ai ka haku mele a ʻimi i wahi e "ola Hawaii a mau loa" (l. 24-26) e like me kona puana ʻana ma ka hopena o ke mele.

Paʻi ʻia kekahi mele hou aku i ʻano pili i kēia ʻano maʻi e laha ana ma waena o ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi. ʻO ka maʻi lepera naʻe kēia maʻi, a pili hoʻi ia mau mele i kekahi meʻe kāʻeʻaʻeʻa o ka Lāhui. ʻO Kaluaikoʻolau nō ka inoa o kēia kāne, a ua kupa kēia pilikia ma muli o ke kauoha ʻana o ke Aupuni Repubalika e haʻalele aku ʻo Koʻolau i kona ʻohana no ka hele hoʻokahi ʻana aku i Kalawao, Molokaʻi, ma muli o ka maʻi lepera. Hōʻole akula ʻo Koʻolau i ka haʻalele mai i kāna wahine aloha nui ʻia a me kā lāua keiki kāne nō hoʻi. Hoʻāʻo nā mākaʻi a me nā koa o ke Aupuni e lawe pio iā Koʻolau, a ʻo ko Koʻolau kīpū akula nō ia i kekahi o nā mākaʻi. A laila, ua pakele akula ka ʻohana i uka ala o Kalalau ma Kauaʻi. Hahai ʻia akula nō lākou i uka o ka ʻāina e nā koa o ke Aupuni Repubalika. Lawe pū ʻia mai he pūkuniahi ma luna o kahi moku ma ke kai ma waho ala o Kalalau a kī ʻia akula nā pōkā iō Koʻolau mā. Pakele nō naʻe lākou i ka nahele a nalowale no kekahi makahiki a hala ʻo Koʻolau a hala pū ke keiki, a ma hope aku, ua puka mai nō ka wahine ʻo Piʻilani mai kona wahi e peʻe ana i loko o ka ulu lāʻau.

Ua paʻi ʻia he ʻelua nō mele e hoʻohanohano ana i ka inoa o Koʻolau a me kona kī pololei ʻana aku i nā mākaʻi o ke Aupuni ma loko o ka *Buke Mele Lahui.*

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ʻO "Koolau Ki Pololei"[40] kekahi a ʻo "Ai Manu Koolau"[41] kekahi. Ma loko o kēia mau mele, hoʻohālikelike ʻia nō ʻo Koʻolau me kona ʻano koa a wiwoʻole a kūpaʻa no ka pono me ko Wilikoki ʻano koa, wiwoʻole, a kūpaʻa hoʻi. Wahi a Kamali, "Keiki Wilikoki ko ke kaona,/Keike [*pn*] Koolau ko Kauai." No laila, he meʻe nō hoʻi ʻo Koʻolau no ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi, no ka mea, he kanaka ʻo ia i kūʻē aku i ke Aupuni a kūpaʻa hoʻi no kāna mea i noʻonoʻo ai he pono. ʻAʻole ona kanalua , ʻaʻohe ona ʻoni iki, he kūpaʻa wale nō.

Aia nō kekahi mau mele hou aku i ʻano paʻakikī ka hoʻomaopopo ʻana aku i nā manaʻo a me nā kaona a pau o ka haku mele. ʻO "Kue Hao o Ka Lanakila" kekahi o ia ʻano mele.[42] Kohu mea lā, he mele wale nō ia e pili ana i ke kaʻaahi hou e holo aku ana mai Honolulu a i Waiʻanae, akā, ma muli o ka noiʻi nowelo ʻana aku o kekahi loea ma ka noiʻi mele, ʻo ia hoʻi ʻo Kīhei de Silva, ua ʻike ʻia nō ke kaona o ia mele, a he mele ia e nemanema ana no ke Aupuni Repubalika a me kona ʻano pono ʻole.[43]

ʻO ka Hoʻohui ʻĀina nō hoʻi kahi mea i mele ʻia maila.

HOOHUI AINA PALA KA MAIA[44]

Auhea wale oe kahi Palaama,
Hoohuiaina pala ka maia,

Hapapa hewa ana ou maiuu,
I ka pahu hinuhinu a Paleka,

E kala no au i aku ai,
He aloha aina na Hawaii;

Pehea mai nei kahi Kakina,
O ka moo nihoawa hoowalewale.

[40] Kamali, J. W., "Koolau Ki Pololei," *Buke Mele Lahui*, 69.
[41] Kamanawa, "Ai Manu Koolau," *Buke Mele Lahui*, 111-112.
[42] Pinao, S., "Kue Hao o Ka Lanakila," *Buke Mele Lahui*, 98.
[43] de Silva, Kīhei, "Hōʻalo i ka Ihu o ka Lanakila," haʻiʻōlelo ma Wakinekona Hale, Honolulu, no ka Hawaiian Historical Society, 27 Kepakemapa 2003; *Kaʻiwakīloumoku*, http://kaiwakiloumoku.ksbe.edu/kaleinamanu/4-lanakila.php.
[44] Pinao, S., "Hoohui Aina Pala Ka Maia," *Buke Mele Lahui*, 63.

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Ua like pu oe me Satana,
Kepolo nui o ke ao nei,

Auhea wale oe e Kawainui,
Ua paa ko maka i ke kepau,

Paulele o e i ka mikanele,
Aihue aina makakeleawe,

He keu oe a ke aloha ole
I ka hae aloha a o Hawaii nei,

Ka makou ia kalokalo nei,
E mau Hawaii la i ka pono;

Haina ia mai ana ka puana,
Hoohuiaina pala ka maia.

S. PINAO.

He mele kēia i piha ʻū i ka ʻōlelo nemanema a kūamuamu hoʻi no nā hana a me ka poʻe like ʻole. ʻO S. Pinao ka haku mele, a ʻo ia nō kekahi o ka poʻe aloha ʻāina i komo pū aku i ke Kaua Kūloko. He ʻelima nō āna mele i paʻi ʻia i loko o ka *Buke Mele Lahui*. Ma kēia mele, ʻo ka Hoʻohui ʻĀina nō ka mea nui a ka haku mele e kūamuamu ana. Wahi a kona manaʻo, he mea ʻino loa ka Hoʻohui ʻĀina. Hoʻohālikelike ʻia me ka "Pala" o "ka maia" (l. 1-2), he mea ʻino hoʻi a ua pau ka pono. Mai poina, ʻeā, e ka maka heluhelu, ʻaʻole nō i kō maoli ka Hoʻohui ʻĀina me ʻAmelika a i ka makahiki 1898, akā, ma hope pono o ka Hoʻokahuli Aupuni, ua lilo nō i mea i makemake nui ʻia a i hoʻāʻo nui ʻia hoʻi e nā alakaʻi o ke Aupuni Kūikawā a me ke Aupuni Repubalika, ma hope o kona hoʻokumu ʻia ʻana.

Hoʻomau aku nō ʻo Pinao i kona nemanema ʻana no ke ʻano o ka hana a kēia poʻe. Wahi āna, "Hapapa hewa ana ou maiuu,/I ka pahu hinuhinu a Paleka" (l. 3-4). ʻO ka "hapapa hewa," ua pili nō ia i ke ʻano hemahema a hewa paha o ka hoʻokō ʻana aku i kekahi pahuhopu, a ʻo ka "maiuu," ua pili nō kona manaʻo i ka hana wawaʻu o ka lima i ka piʻi ʻana aku i kekahi pali kiʻekiʻe; he hōʻailona nō ia no ka paʻakikī a me ka nui o ka hana. No laila, ma kēia lālani,

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mele ʻia mai no ke ʻano hewa o ka pahuhopu a ka poʻe e ʻimi aku ana. ʻO ia mea, ia pahu e ʻimi ʻia ana, ua kapa ʻia ʻo "ka pahu hinuhinu a Paleka." Pili paha ia lālani iā Paulet, kēlā kāpena mokukaua o Pelekane, nāna i hoʻokahuli mai i ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi i ka makahiki 1843. Ua hoʻāʻo mai hoʻi ia kanaka e lawe lilo ʻia ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi ma lalo o ka malu o ke Aupuni Pelekane, ʻaʻole naʻe i kō kona ʻiʻini ma laila. ʻO kēia lawe lilo ʻana, ʻo ia nō ka "pahu hinuhinu a Paleka," akā, wahi a Pinao, ʻaʻole nō lākou e hoʻokō pono aku ana i ia pahuhopu.

Ma nā lālani ma lalo mai, hōʻike mai nō ʻo Pinao i ke kumu e kō ʻole aku ai ka pahuhopu o ka poʻe e ʻimi ana i ka Hoʻohui ʻĀina. Wahi a Pinao, ʻo ke aloha ʻāina nō ia, no ka mea, wahi āna, "E kala no au i aku ai,/He aloha aina na Hawaii;" (l. 5-6). ʻOiai, ʻo ke aloha ʻāina, he mea ia na kahiko, no laila, he mea ʻole ko lākou ala wawaʻu "maiuu" ʻana mai i kēia manawa, no ka mea, he mea paʻa no kahiko mai ke "aloha aina na Hawaii."

Ma nā paukū ma lalo iho, hoʻāhewa ʻia ka inoa ʻo Kakina, ʻo ia hoʻi ʻo Lorrin Thurston, kekahi o nā alakaʻi o ka Hoʻokahuli Aupuni a ʻo ia hoʻi ka i hele aku i Wakinekona, D. C., e noi ai i ka Hoʻohui ʻĀina me ʻAmelika. Kapa ʻia aku ʻo Kakina, ʻo ia nō "ka moo nihoawa hoowalewale" (l. 7-8), a ma kekahi paukū aku, hoʻohālikelike ʻia ʻo ia me "Satana,/Kepolo nui o ke ao nei" (l. 9-10). A laila, ma nā paukū ma lalo mai, hoʻāhewa ʻia maila ʻo Kawainui, ʻo ia paha ʻo J. Kawainui, ka Luna Hoʻoponopono o *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*. Wahi a Pinao, ʻo ko Kawainui pilikia, ʻo ia nō ka "paa" o ka "maka i ke kepau" (l. 11-12) a me kona "paulele" ʻana aku "i ka mikanele," ʻo ia hoʻi ka poʻe "Aihue aina makakeleawe" (l. 13-14). Ma muli paha kēia o ko Kawainui hana ʻana ma *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, he nūpepa ia e kākoʻo aku ana i ka Hoʻohui ʻĀina. Hoʻomau akula nō ʻo Pinao i kona kūamuamu ʻana. Wahi āna, "He keu oe a ke aloha ole,/I ka hae aloha a o

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Hawaii nei" (l. 15-16). ʻAʻole naʻe i moākāka, inā e hoʻāhewa ʻia ana ʻo Kawainui no ke aloha ʻole, a i ʻole ia, ʻo ia poʻe mikanele ka poʻe e hoʻāhewa ʻia ana.

Ma nā paukū hope o ke mele, hōʻike mai nō ʻo Pinao i kona pahuhopu no kona Aupuni a me kona Lāhui Hawaiʻi, ma o kona "kalokalo" ʻana aku, "E mau Hawaii la i ka pono" (l. 17-18). A laila, ma ka hopena, puana hou ʻia mai ka "Hoohuiaina" me ke noi hoʻi e "pala ka maia," (l. 19-20) o ia Hoʻohui ʻĀina, i pau a i make hoʻi ia manaʻo.

Ma nā mele lāhui nō i leo ʻia mai ai nā manaʻo nui koʻikoʻi o ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi no ka pilikia nui o ko lākou ʻāina, ko lākou aupuni, a me ko lākou ola nō hoʻi. Ma nā mele o loko o ka *Buke Mele Lahui*, lohe ʻia mai nō ka leo o ka Mōʻīwahine Liliʻuokalani i kona wā kūpilikiʻi loa iā ia e noho paʻahao ana i loko o Hale ʻIolani. Lohe ʻia nō hoʻi nā leo o nā kānaka aloha ʻāina no kā lākou hoʻāʻo ʻana e hoʻokumu hou ʻia ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi a e hoʻi hou aku ka Mōʻīwahine i kona noho kalaunu e noho mana ai. He mea nui nō hoʻi ka hoʻohanohano ʻia o nā meʻe a me ka nemanema ʻia mai o ka poʻe ʻenemi o ka ʻāina. Mele ʻia nō hoi nō ke aloha o ke kanaka i ka ʻāina a me ke ea o ia ʻāina, a me kona pilina i ka moʻokūʻauhau o nā Akua, nā Aliʻi, a me nā kānaka. He mau mea kēia poʻe mele e ʻike ai kākou, nā kānaka o ke au nei, i nā manaʻo nui o ko kākou poʻe kūpuna i ia wā haunaele. Na Testa nō i hoʻopaʻa maila i kēia mau mele ma kona paʻi ʻana i ka *Buke Mele Lahui* i paʻē maila ko lākou leo i ko kākou pepeiao. He māhele nui a koʻikoʻi nō kēia mau mele no ka moʻolelo o Hawaiʻi nei, no ka mea, moʻolelo ʻia no ke ʻano o ka naʻau a me ka manaʻo ʻana o nā kānaka ma o kekahi hana i hoʻomaopopo ʻole ʻia e ka poʻe haole. No ia kumu, paʻē akula nō ia leo a kani nō i ke au nei.

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MĀHELE II

KE EA O KA 'ĀINA, KA PONO O KA LĀHUI: NĀ KUMUMANA'O NUI O NĀ MELE LĀHUI

HOI HOU O LILIU I KE KALAUNU[1]

Leo:—Alanui Puuwai Lokahi.

1. Kaulana mai nei o Liliulani,
Ke aloha lahui oi kelakela,
Hopo ole i ka hana a ka enemi,
: I ka mea nui he aloha :
Nau i alo aku nei na kai,
E imi pono Nou me Kou lahui,
Hoi hou mai Oe me ka lanakila.
: Kau hou i ka hanohano :

Hui: Hoi hou o Liliu i ke Kalaunu,
Hoi hou e ka Ea o ka aina,
Hoi hou e ka pono o ka lahui,
: Welo mau e ka Hae Hawaii :

2. Pili paa ke aloha o ka lahui,
Mamuli Ou e Liliuokalani,
O Kamohailani o Hawaii,
: Moi puuwai kila :
Mea ole na leo hoomalimali,
Na olelo pelo a ka enemi,
Hookahi mea nui a ka manao,
: Ke aloha i ka aina :

3. Hiki aku o Kalani a Bosetona,
Malihini kaulana o Hawaii,
Lokahi na puuwai a pau,
: O Liliulani ke Alii :
Ilaila ike ia mai ai Oe,
He Alii Ihikapu hanohaweo,
Noiau, Paa Rula no Hawaii,
: Hawaii no e ka oi :

4. E niniu ka huila i ka alahao,
Ka pii'na ka iho'na a he ole ia,
Aia ka ilina i Wasinetona,
: I ka malu Hale Keokeo :
Lilo a i mea ole na Rula paa,

[1] "Hoi Hou O Liliu I Ke Kalaunu," *Ke Aloha Aina*, 15 Mei 1897, 7.

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O ka noho hanohano Peresidena,
I ka noiau nui Ou e kalani,
: Pookela o Hawaii :

5. Kali aku makou me ke ahonui,
Ka hopena lanakila o Hawaii,
Hiki mai e ka lono hoohauoli,
: Ua ola hou o Hawaii :
Hoike ke Akua i kona mana,
Kokua mamuli Ou e Liliu,
Hookomo i ke aloha i ka puuwai,
: O Kou mau enemi :

'O ke ea o ka 'āina, ka pono o ka lāhui. Ma ka noi'i nowelo 'ana aku i nā mele lāhui, ua 'ike pinepine 'ia kekahi mau kumumana'o i loko o nā mele lāhui he keu a ka nui. Ma muli o ka nui o nā manawa i haku 'ia ai kēia mau kumumana'o i loko o nā mele lāhui, ua ulu a'ela ho'i ka hoi i loko o'u e 'imi pono aku a e no'ono'o aku ho'i no ka mana'o maoli o kekahi o ia mau kumumana'o nui—'o ke ea, ka 'āina, ka pono, a me ka lāhui. 'O ka ho'omaopopo 'ana aku i ka mana'o o kēia mau kumumana'o 'ehā ka pahuhopu nui o kēia Māhele II o ka palapala nei.

Ma ko'u noi'i 'ana, he mau mana'o nui a ko'iko'i kēia mau kumumana'o i ke au i kala loa aku, 'oiai, 'ike 'ia nō ma nā mele a me nā mo'olelo kahiko. He mau mana'o nui a ko'iko'i ho'i kēia mau kumumana'o i ke au ma hope o ka hiki 'ana mai o ka po'e haole, a pēlā pū i ka wā a Kamehameha e na'i ana i kona aupuni. Ua mau kēia kūlana ko'iko'i a i ka wā i ho'okumu 'ia ai he Aupuni Kumukānāwai ma Hawai'i nei, a mau ho'i a i ka wā o ka Ho'okahuli Aupuni a me ka Ho'ohui 'Āina. A i ke au nei nō ho'i, ua mau aku ko kākou mana'o 'ana no kēia mau mea, a mau nō ko kākou ho'ā'o 'ana e 'imi a e mālama ho'i i ia mau mea no ko kākou aupuni, ko kākou lāhui, a me ko kākou 'āina.

No laila, ma ka Mokuna 5 o kēia Māhele II nei, 'o ke ea a me ka 'āina nā kumumana'o e 'imi noi'i 'ia ana. 'O ka ho'omaopopo 'ana aku i ka pono ka mea e

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kūlia ʻia ana ma ka Mokuna 6, a ʻo ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi nō ka mea e noiʻi ʻia ana ma ka Mokuna 7. Ma kēlā me kēia mokuna, e ʻimi ʻia ana ka manaʻo o kēia mau hua ʻōlelo, ke ʻano o ka wehewehe ʻia ʻana a me ka hoʻākāka ʻia ʻana o kēia mau kumumanaʻo ma loko o nā mele a me nā moʻolelo like ʻole. A laila, ma hope o ka hoʻomaopopo ʻana mai i ka manaʻo o kēia mau kumumanaʻo, ma ka hopena o kēlā me kēia mokuna, e huli ana ko kākou maka i nā mele lāhui no ka ʻimi ʻana a me ka hoʻomaopopo pono ʻana i ke kūlana koʻikoʻi o kēia mau kumumanaʻo i loko o nā mele lāhui o nā makahiki 1893 a 1898.

Hoihoi maoli nō kēia mau kumumanaʻo ʻehā, a hoihoi au i ka hoʻomaopopo pono ʻana i ka manaʻo o ko kākou poʻe kūpuna no kēia mau mea a me ke ʻano o ko nā kūpuna wehewehe ʻana i kēia mau kumumanaʻo nui ma ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi. E like me nā hua ʻōlelo a pau o nā ʻōlelo like ʻole o kānaka, loli nō ka manaʻo o nā hua ʻōlelo i ka hala ʻana o ka manawa. ʻAʻole nō i like loa ka manaʻo o kekahi hua ʻōlelo i kona wā mua i hoʻopuka ʻia ai me kona manaʻo i ka hoʻopuka ʻia ʻana aku he haneli a ʻoi makahiki ma hope mai.

I ka nānā pono ʻana aku i nā mele lāhui i haku ʻia a i paʻi ʻia ma waena o ka makahiki 1893 a me 1898, he keu wale ka nui o nā mele i haku ʻia me kēia mau kumumanaʻo ʻehā, e like me ke mele ʻo "Hoi Hou O Liliu I Ke Kalaunu" i hōʻike ʻia ma luna aʻe nei. Ma ka lā 15 o Mei i ka makahiki 1897 i paʻi ʻia ai ia mele ma ka nūpepa ʻo *Ke Aloha Aina*, a minamina hoʻi ka pūlima ʻole ʻia mai o ka inoa o ka haku mele. Ma kāna mele, ua moʻolelo ʻia mai no kekahi huakaʻi ʻana aku o ka Mōʻīwahine. Ma hope kēia o ko ka Mōʻīwahine noho paʻa ʻana ma loko o ʻIolani Hale (Ianuali-Kepakemapa 1895) a ma loko o kona hale ponoʻī hoʻi ma

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Wakinekona Hale (Kepakemapa 1895-Pepeluali 1896). A laila, i ka hopena o ka makahiki 1896, ua ha'alele ka Mō'īwahine iā Hawai'i e huaka'i aku i 'Amelika.[2]

Kohu mea lā, e mele pololei aku ana ka haku mele i ka Mō'īwahine, no ka mea, wahi āna, "Nau i alo aku nei na kai" (l. 5). A laila, ma nā paukū ma lalo iho, ho'omau 'ia ka mele 'ana no nā wahi i kipa 'ia e ka Mō'ī, no Bosetona (l. 21) a no Wasinetona nō ho'i (l. 29-31). Ma kēia huaka'i 'ana, e 'imi aku ana ka Mō'īwahine i ke ea o kona 'āina a me ka pono o kona lāhui. Ma nā lālani mua o ke mele, ho'ohanohano 'ia ka Mō'īwahine a mahalo 'ia ho'i kona 'ano, a wahi a ka haku mele, 'o "ke aloha lahui oi kelakela" nō kona mea e mahalo ana, a pēlā pū ka wiwo'ole o ka Mō'īwahine no kona 'ano, "Hopo ole i ka hana a ka enemi" (l. 3). A laila, ma ka hopena o ia paukū mua, nonoi 'ia ko ka Mō'īwahine ho'i 'ana i Hawai'i nei penei, "Hoi hou mai Oe me ka lanakila/Kau hou i ka hanohano" (l. 7-8). He 'elua nō mana'o o ka haku mele no kēia ho'i 'ana. Ma kekahi 'ano, makemake nō ka haku mele e ho'i kino mai nō ka Mō'īwahine i kona 'āina hānau, akā, nonoi pū 'ia ka ho'i mai, "me ka lanakila" a me ka hanohano. 'O kēia lanakila me ka hanohano, 'o ia ka lanakila me ka hanohano o ka noho mana 'ana no kona Aupuni Hawai'i. Hō'ike 'ia nō ho'i kēia 'i'ini nui o ka haku mele ma ka Hui o kāna mele. Nonoi hou 'ia mai keia "Hoi hou" 'ana mai he 'ekolu manawa. Noi mua 'ia ka ho'i mai o "Liliu i ke Kalaunu" (l. 8), 'o ia nō kona wahi e noho mana ai. A laila, ma nā lālani 'elua o waena o kēia Hui, mele 'ia mai no nā kumumana'o nui o kēia māhele nei. Noi mua 'ia ka ho'i hou mai o "ka Ea o ka aina" (l. 10), a ma kekahi lālani aku, noi 'ia ka ho'i hou mai o "ka pono o ka lahui" (l. 11). Ma ka lālani hope o ka Hui, hō'oia hou 'ia kēia pahuhopu nui no ke Aupuni Hawai'i a me ka Lāhui Hawai'i ma ke noi 'ana e "Welo mau e ka Hae Hawaii" (l. 12).

[2] Liliuokalani, 1990, 267-297.

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Mele hou ʻia mai kēia mau kumumanaʻo ma nā lālani ʻē aʻe o kēia mele. Ma ka paukū ʻelua, mele ʻia mai no "Ke aloha i ka aina" (l. 20), a mele ʻia mai hoʻi no "Hawaii" he ʻeono manawa (l. 15, 22, 27, 35, 37, 40). ʻAʻole ʻike hou ʻia ka hua ʻōlelo ea ma waho o ka hui o nei mele, akā, ʻike ʻia ka manaʻo o ke ea ma nā ʻōlelo like ʻole, e laʻa me ka "Paa Rula no Hawaii" (l. 27), ka "lanakila" (l. 38), a me ke "ola hou o Hawaii" (l. 40). Mele ʻia mai nō hoʻi no ka pono. Ua mele aku ka haku mele i ka Mōʻīwahine me ka mahalo ʻana aku i ke kumu o kona huakaʻi ʻana i ʻAmelika, "E imi pono Nou me Kou Lahui" (l. 6). ʻO ka lāhui nō hoʻi kahi mea mele ʻia—e like me "ke aloha lahui oi kelakela" (l. 2), a me ka "Pilipaa [o] ke aloha o ka lahui" (l. 13).

Ma kēia mele ʻana, ʻike ʻia nō, he pahuhopu nō ke kūʻokoʻa no ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi, akā, ʻaʻole ke kūʻokoʻa ʻo ka pahuhopu hoʻokahi o ka lāhui, no ka mea, noi pū ʻia mai ke "ea o ka aina" a me ka "pono o ka lahui." He kahua a he kumumanaʻo nō kēia mau mea no kākou. Wehewehe ʻia mai nō ke ʻano o kēia mau kumumanaʻo ma nā puke wehewehe ʻōlelo a Andrews a me Pukui mā, a he kōkua nui ia i koʻu hoʻomaopopo ʻana i ke ʻano o kēia mau kumumanaʻo, ʻaʻole naʻe i lawa ia wehewehe ʻana a me ia hoʻomaopopo ʻana mai. I koʻu noiʻi ʻana i kēia mau mea ma ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi, na Joseph M. Poepoe ma kāna moʻolelo i kapa ʻia ʻo "Ka Moolelo Hawaii Kahiko," i aʻo nui mai a kuhikuhi pono mai iaʻu i koʻu hoʻomau ʻana aku i ke alahele ʻimi naʻauao. A pēlā pū nā mea ʻē aʻe o ka nūpepa a me nā puke o ke au i hala, e laʻa me nā mea kākau a me nā luna hoʻoponopono o nā nūpepa, e laʻa me John E. Bush, F. J. Testa, Thomas Nakanaela, a me Kahalemaile.

He mea nui nō hoʻi nā mea i noiʻi ʻia e nā Kānaka Maoli o ke au nei a me kā lākou mau mea i kākau ai no kēia mau kumumanaʻo. ʻO Haunani-Kay Trask nō kekahi o ia poʻe noiʻi, nāna ka puke i kapa ʻia ʻo *From a Native Daughter:*

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Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i. Ua pa'i mua 'ia ka hapanui o nā mokuna o loko nei ma kekahi puke 'oko'a ma ke 'ano he mokuna kū ho'okahi ia ma loko o ia puke, ma waena o ka makahiki 1987 me 1993. Ma kāna puke, mo'olelo mai 'o Trask no ka hana a me ka mana'o no ka hana polokika o ke au nei, akā, 'o ka mo'olelo a me ka loina Hawai'i nō ke kahua o kāna mo'olelo. Kākau ihola 'o ia no ka pilina o ka 'āina a me ke kanaka a me ka pilina o ia mau mea i ke ea a me ke kū'oko'a o Hawai'i a me ka Lāhui Hawai'i. Kākau nō ho'i 'o ia no ke kūpa'a 'ana o ka Lāhui Hawai'i a hiki i kēia au nei.[3]

'Oko'a maoli nō ke 'ano o ka mo'olelo i kākau 'ia e Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa. Kapa 'ia ka inoa o kāna puke 'o *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai?* a ua pa'i 'ia i ka makahiki 1992. Pili kāna mo'olelo i ke au kahiko a me ka loli 'ana o ka ho'omana Akua, ka loina, a me ka nohona ma Hawai'i nei. He mea nui nō ho'i ka loli 'ana o ka mālama 'āina ma muli o ka lilo 'ana o ka 'āina i mea kū'ai 'ia. Nui a moakāka nō ko Kame'eleihiwa wehewehe 'ana no ka pono a me ka loli 'ana o ka pono ma muli o ka po'e mikionali a me ke 'ano o ko lākou ho'omana 'ana i ke Akua Kalikiano. Wahi āna, no ka Lāhui Hawai'i, he mea pili nō ka noho Ali'i 'Ai Moku 'ana me ka hana ho'omana Akua, i ka lilo 'ana o ka po'e Ali'i i kanaka Kalikiano, ua loli pū ke 'ano o ka hana Ali'i 'Ai Moku.[4]

I ka makahiki 2002 i ho'opuka 'ia ai ka puke a Jonathan Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio. Kapa 'ia ka inoa o ia puke 'o *Dismembering Lāhui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887*, a ma loko o ia puke, ua 'imi akula nō 'o Osorio no ka Lāhui Hawai'i a me ke Aupuni Hawai'i a i ka makahiki 1887. 'O nā kumukānāwai a me nā kānāwai nō ho'i kekahi o nā kumuhana nui a Osorio i

[3] Trask, 1993, 4-19, 58-62, 65-74.
[4] Kame'eleihiwa, 13. Penei kā Kame'eleihiwa, "In traditional times, the Hawaiian polity was religious and Hawaiian religion, at the level of the Chiefs, was political. The two were inseparably entwined and their purpose was to keep the universe in a state of pono, or "perfect equilibrium." As political decisions could not be made without religious sanction, the Hawaiian polity was transformed when it accepted the Calvinist missionaries as its new priests.

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kākau ai, no ka loli ʻana a me ke emi ʻana aku o ka mana o ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi a pēlā pū ke emi ʻana o ka mana hoʻokō o ka Mōʻī ma ke alakaʻi ʻana i kona ʻāina a me kona aupuni ponoʻī.[5]

ʻO Noenoe Silva nō hoʻi kekahi o nā mea noiʻi no ka hana kūpaʻa a kūʻē hoʻi o ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi i ka hana kolonaio o ka poʻe haole. Ua paʻi ʻia kona moʻolelo ma loko o kāna puke ʻo *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism*, M. H. 2004. He mea nui hoʻi kā Silva noiʻi ʻana i ka leo a me ka manaʻo o nā kūpuna ma ka ʻōlelo ʻōiwi o ia poʻe kūpuna. Kākau mai ʻo ia e pili ana i ka hoʻokumu ʻana o nā Kānaka Maoli i ko lākou nūpepa ponoʻī i lohe ʻia ko lākou mau manaʻo. Hoʻokumu ʻia aku nō hoʻi he mau hui aloha ʻāina nāna i ʻimi i ke alahele e hoʻokumu hou ʻia ai ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi a i alahele hoʻi e hoʻopale ʻia aku ai ka Hoʻohui ʻĀina aku me ʻAmelika.[6]

A hua a pane a pane ka waha, he hoʻolono ko ʻoneʻi. E like me kaʻu ma mua, ʻo ko lākou ʻike i moʻolelo mai ai, e like me nā ʻike i moʻolelo ʻia e nā kūpuna, ʻo ia nō ke kahua o kēia palapala nei, i mau aku nō ke ea o ka ʻāina a me ka pono o ka lāhui.

[5] Osorio, 2002.
[6] Silva, 2004.

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MOKUNA 5
I MAU KE EA O KA ʻĀINA

HOOHENO NO LILIU[1]

Kaulana Liliu Ahaolelo,
Ma ka Poaono hookuu ia
Aia o Kalani i Iolani
Me na komite o ka lehulehu
He hana ua holo like ka manao
I aupuni Kumukanawai hou
Punihei o Kalani i ka mali leo
Hookohu i na Kuhina o ke aupuni
Kau nui ka manao no na kupa
I pono kaulike no ka lahui
Hea aku no au o mai oe
Lanakila kamahao ko Hawaii
Haina ia mai ana ka puana
A kau o Liliu i ke Kalaunu

Kaulana o Liliu i ka maluhia
Ma na welelau o ka honua
He honua ia a he lani keia
Noho ia iho Ko noho Kalaunu
E Uli eia ko pulapula
O ka Wohi kukahi ku i ka moku
E Hawaii e hohoi mai oe
A pipili me Liliuokalani
Kulia i paa kou kuokoa
I mau ke ea o ka aina
Kohia i paa Ko heiau
Welo haaheo Ko hae Hawaii
Hea aku no au o mai Oe
Lanakila kamahao ko Hawaii
Haina ia mai ana ka puana
A kau o Liliu i ke Kalaunu.

Kaulana mai nei oe Kakina
Huakai paoa aohe hope
He hana kumu ole aohe koo
He ulu lau wale aohe mole
Hokai ua manu a'e hewa
Kolea kahu ole no ke kai mai
E lilo i mea ole na enemi
Lehelehe eueu hana lapuwale
E Kane, Kanaloa kii ia aku
E hoihoi mai oe ia Hawaii
E ola o Kalani a mau loa

[1] Mrs. Kawohikapulani, "Hooheno No Liliu," *Hawaii Holomua*, 9 Pepeluali 1893.

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A kau i ke ao malamalama
Hea ia aku no au o mai oe
Lanakila kamahao ko Hawaii
Haina ia mai ana ka puana 45
A kau o Liliu i ke Kalaunu.

Haku ia e MRS. KAWOHIKAPULANI.

He "Hooheno No Liliu" kēia mele lāhui o luna a'e nei. Ua haku 'ia e Mrs. Kawohikapulani, kekahi o nā wāhine haku mele. Ho'okahi wale nō mele o Mrs. Kawohikapulani, akā, he keu ka nahenahe o kona leo ma ia mele. Ma loko o nei mele, he keu ka nui o nā 'ike no nā hana a me ka mo'olelo kiko'ī no ka Ho'okahuli Aupuni. Ua mo'olelo nui 'ia kēia ma ka'u palapala i kākau ai no ke Kēkelē Laeo'o ma ka Mo'olelo.[2] Eia nō na'e, he mana'o nui hou aku nō ho'i ko Mrs. Kawohikapulani, no ka mea, nui nō ho'i kona ho'oheno 'ana i ka Mō'īwahine ma o ke mele 'ana mai no ke ea o ka 'āina, ke kū'oko'a o ke Aupuni, a me ke kau hou 'ana o ka Mō'īwahine ma ka noho kalaunu. He mau mea pili pa'a maoli no kēia mau mana'o kekahi i kekahi. He mea ma'a mau kēia mana'o no ke ea o ka 'āina ma nā mele lāhui he nui wale. 'Oiai, he mea nui ko'iko'i ke ea o ka 'āina ma loko o nā mele lāhui, he pono ka ho'omaopopo mua 'ana i ka mana'o o ia mea he ea a he 'āina. 'O kēia nō ke kumuhana nui o kēia mokuna. E ho'ākāka mua 'ia ana ka mana'o o kēia mau hua 'ōlelo, a laila, e nānā 'ia ana ke 'ano o ke ea a me ka 'āina ma loko o nā mele, nā mo'olelo, a me nā wā like 'ole, i ulu hou ai ka ho'omaopopo 'ana mai i ia mea he ea a he 'āina. Ma ka hopena, e huli hou ana ko kākou maka a nānā hou i ke 'ano o ke ea a me ka 'āina ma loko o nā mele lāhui o nā makahiki 1893 a ka makahiki 1898.

[2] Basham, 'ōlelo Hawai'i, 63-81; 'ōlelo haole, 72-94.

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He aha ia mea he ea? A he ʻāina?

Minamina nō, ʻeā, ʻaʻohe loaʻa he puke wehewehe ʻōlelo e wehewehe mai ana i ka manaʻo o nā hua ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi ma ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi. He mau puke wehewehe ʻōlelo kā kākou no ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi, a mahalo nui ʻia hoʻi ka maikaʻi o ia mau puke, eia naʻe, ma ka ʻōlelo haole nō i wehewehe ʻia ai nā hua ʻōlelo. No laila, e hoʻāʻo ana nō kēia mea kākau nei e wehewehe i nā mea o ia mau puke wehewehe ʻōlelo ma ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi. Wahi a ka puke wehewehe ʻōlelo a Pukui me Elbert, hōʻike ʻia he mau manaʻo no ka hua ʻōlelo "ea."

Wahi a ia puke, ua pili nō ke ea me ke kūʻokoʻa ʻana mai o kekahi aupuni a lāhui paha a pili pū i ke kū ʻana o ka Mōʻī i ka moku. Eia kekahi, pili hoʻi ia hua ʻōlelo i ke ola a me ka hanu o ke ola, a me ka ʻuhane o ka mea ola. Eia kekahi, ʻo ea nō hoʻi ka hua ʻōlelo no ka puka ʻana mai o kekahi mea mai loko mai o ka moana, e laʻa me ka mokupuni. No laila, ma o ka nānā ʻana i kēia mau manaʻo like ʻole, ʻike ʻia nō ka pilina o kēia mau mea, ʻo ke kūʻokoʻa me ke ola a me ka ʻāina.

ʻO ka ʻāina hoʻi, ʻo ia nō ka hua ʻōlelo no ka mokupuni a no ka honua nō hoʻi paha. Ua kapa ʻia ka lālani mokupuni o Hawaiʻi nei he pae ʻāina, ʻoiai ua ʻano pili kokoke mai ia mau mokupuni i ka pae hoʻokahi. Wahi a nā kūpuna, ua pili nō ka ʻāina me ka ʻai, ʻoiai, no ka ʻāina mai ka mea ʻai a kākou e ʻai ai no ke ola o ko kākou kino. He mea nui nō ka ʻāina no ka lāhui kanaka o kēia pae ʻāina nei, a ʻike ʻia kēia kūlana koʻikoʻi ma loko o nā moʻolelo Hawaiʻi like ʻole. Hoʻomaka "Ka Moolelo Hawaii" a Davida Malo a me "Ka Moolelo Hawaii Kahiko" a Joseph M. Poepoe me ka moʻolelo no ka ʻāina ʻana o Hawaiʻi nei.

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'O ka Mokuna 1 a kā Malo mo'olelo, he 'ano 'Ōlelo Ho'ākāka ia, a ho'omaka 'o ia i kona mo'olelo "No Ka Aina Ana" ma ka Mokuna 2.[3] Pēlā nō ho'i ka ho'omaka 'ana o kā Poepoe mo'olelo. Ma ka lā mua o kona mo'olelo, ua pa'i 'ia ka 'Ōlelo Ho'ākāka, a laila, ma ka lua o ka lā, mo'olelo mai nō 'o Poepoe no ka pae 'āina o Hawai'i a hō'ike nō 'o ia i ke kuana 'ike o ka Hawai'i ma kona mo'olelo 'ana. He mea nui nō ka 'āina no ka lāhui Hawai'i, no ka mea, inā 'a'ohe pae 'āina o Hawai'i, 'a'ohe nō kanaka o Hawai'i.

I nānā hou aku ka hana i ke mele o luna a'e nei, 'o ia ho'i ke mele a Mrs. Kawohikapulani i haku ai a 'ike 'ia nā mea o loko a maopopo, he la'ana maika'i wale kēia mele o luna a'e nei no ke a'o 'ana a me ka ho'omaopopo 'ana nō ho'i i ka mana'o a me ka waiwai o ke ea, ka 'āina, a me ko lāua pilina kekahi i kekahi no ka lāhui Hawai'i, no ka mea, nui ka haku 'ia 'ana o kēia 'ano mana'o i loko o kēia mele. 'O ke ola o ka Mō'īwahine Lili'uokalani nō kahi mana'o nui o nā haku mele o nā mele lāhui. Wahi a kēia mele o luna a'e nei, "E ola o Kalani a mau loa/A kau i ke ao malamalama" (l. 41-42). He mea nui nō ke ola o ka Mō'ī, akā, he hō'ailona ho'i kona ola no ke ola 'ana o ke aupuni, ka 'āīna, a me ka lāhui. Kohu make ka hiki 'ole i ka Mō'ī ke ho'okō aku i kona mau kuleana. He mea nui nō ho'i ka pilina o kēia ola 'ana o ka Mō'ī me kona kau 'ana i ke ao mālamalama, no ka mea, 'o ke ao mālamalama, he hō'ailona ia no ka na'auao, a 'o ke kū'oko'a mau 'ana o ke Aupuni Hawai'i, 'o ia nō ke ala e na'auao a e mālamalama ai hoi 'o Hawai'i.

'O kēia ola 'ana o ka Mō'īwahine a me ke kū'oko'a 'ana o kona aupuni, ua pili nō ho'i ia i ka welo 'ana o ka hae Hawai'i. Wahi a Mrs. Kawohikapulani, "Welo haaheo Ko hae Hawaii" (l. 26), a ma ia lālani mele, he hō'ailona ka welo

[3] Malo, Davida, *Ka Moolelo Hawaii*, (Honolulu: The Folk Press, Kapi'olani Community College, 1987), 2.

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'ana o ka hae Hawai'i no ke ola o ka lāhui Hawai'i a me ke kū'oko'a o ke Aupuni Hawai'i. Ma hope pono o ka ho'okahuli 'ia 'ana o ke Aupuni Hawai'i, huki 'ia iho ka hae Hawai'i e ke Aupuni Kūikawā, a kau 'ia ka hae 'Amelika i luna o 'Iolani Hale. He mea 'eha'eha ho'i ia huki 'ia 'ana i lalo i ka na'au o nā kānaka Hawai'i, 'oiai, he hō'ailona ia no ka pilikia o ke Aupuni Hawai'i. A laila, i ka hiki 'ana mai o ke Komisina 'Amelika 'o Balaunu i Hawai'i nei no ka noi'i 'ana i ka hana a ko 'Amelika kuhina a me ka pū'ali koa 'Amelika ma ia hana 'ana, ua kauoha 'o Balaunu e huki 'ia mai ka hae 'Amelika i lalo, a ma ka lā 1 o 'Apelila, M. H. 1893, ua ho'iho'i hou 'ia nō ka hae Hawai'i i luna o 'Iolani Hale.[4] 'Ano like kēia me ko ka hae Hawai'i huki 'ia 'ana iho a me kona ho'iho'i hou 'ia 'ana aku i luna i ka makahiki 1843, ma lalo o ka noho aupuni 'ana o Kamehameha III, Kauikeaouli. No ia kumu, ho'ohanohano pū 'ia nō ka hae Hawai'i ma loko o nā mele lāhui a he 'ano hō'ailona nō ia no ke ea o ka 'āina, ka lāhui, a me ke aupuni.

He mea nui nō ho'i ka pilina ma waena o ke ea a me ka 'āina, no laila, he mea nui ka pilina o ka Mō'īwahine iā Hawai'i, i ke Aupuni Hawai'i, a me ka Lāhui Hawai'i kekahi. Mele 'ia nō kēia pilina e Mrs. Kawohikapulani ma kāna mele. Wahi āna, "E Hawaii e hohoi mai oe/A pipili me Liliuokalani" (l. 21-22). Ma kēia lālani, hō'ike 'ia ka mana o ka 'āina, ka mana o Hawai'i e ho'i aku a pili aku me Lili'uokalani. Kohu mea lā, he koho ko ka 'āina a he mana paha, a i ka mana'o o ka po'e 'ōiwi o Hawai'i nei, he aloha ko ka 'āina i ke kanaka a i ka Mō'i ho'i, e like me ke aloha o ke kanaka a me ka Mō'ī i ka 'āina.

E like me ke 'ano mau o ia wā, hō'ike 'ia ka mana'o nui o ke mele ma nā lālani hope o ke mele. Inā he 'elua nō a 'oi paukū o kekahi mele, i kekahi manawa, 'ike 'ia nō nā mana'o like loa ma nā lālani hope o kēlā me kēia paukū.

[4] "Hoopau ia ka Noho Hoomalu ana o ke Aupuni Amerika," *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, 4 'Apelila 1893.

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Ma kēia mele, he ʻehā nō lālani i mele ʻia mai ma ka hopena o kēlā me kēia paukū. A pēia nō i haku ʻia ai ia mau lālani e Mrs. Kawohikapulani. Wahi āna,

Hea aku no au o mai oe[5]
Lanakila kamahao ko Hawaii
Hainaia mai ana ka puana
A kau o Liliu i ke Kalaunu

No ka hoʻolauna ʻana i kēia mau manaʻo nui, ua kākau ka haku mele penei, "Hea aku no au o mai oe" (l. 11, 27, 43) a ma kekahi lālani hou aku, "Haina ia mai ana ka puana" (l. 13, 29, 45). Ua lilo kēia mau lālani ʻelua i mea maʻa mau ma nā mele Hawaiʻi no ka hōʻike ʻana i ka manaʻo nui o ka haku mele. A laila, ma ka lālani ʻelua, hōʻike ʻia ka manaʻolana nui o ka haku mele no ka "lanakila" ʻana o Hawaiʻi (l. 12, 28, 44). No ka lāhui, ʻo ke kūʻokoʻa ʻole ʻana mai o Hawaiʻi, he eo nō ia, no laila, he pahuhopu nui nō ka lanakila.

A laila, ma ka lālani hope loa o nā paukū, hoʻākāka ka haku mele i kona kūpaʻa ʻana, kona puana mau ʻana i kona manaʻolana, ʻo ia hoʻi ke "kau" hou ʻana o ka Mōʻīwahine ma luna o ka noho "Kalaunu" (l. 14, 30, 46). ʻO ka noho kalaunu o ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi a me ka noho ʻana o ka Mōʻī ma ia noho kalaunu he hōʻailona hoʻi ia no ke kūʻokoʻa o Hawaiʻi a me ke ea o ka ʻāina. I maopopo pono kēia mau manaʻo, he pono nō ka ʻimi ʻana a me ka noiʻi ʻana no ke ea a me ka ʻāina ma nā mele a me nā moʻolelo.

Eia Hawaiʻi: He Moku A He Kanaka ʻO Hawaiʻi

Eia Hawaiʻi, he moku, he kanaka[6]
He kanaka Hawaii—E.
He kanaka Hawaii,
He kama na Kahiki,
He pua Alii mai Kapaahu,
Mai Moaulanuiakea o Kanaloa,

[5] Mrs. Kawohikapulani, "Hooheno No Liliu," l. 11-14, 27-30, 43-46.
[6] Poepoe, 2 Pepeluali 1906.

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He mo'opuna na Kahiko lāua o
Kapulanakehau
Na Papa i hanau,
Na ke kama wahine o
Kukalaniehu laua me
Kauakahakoko,
Na pulapula aina i paekahi,
I nonoho like i ka Hikina, Komohana,
Pae like ka moku i lalani
I hui aku, hui mai me Holani.
Puni ka moku o Kaialea ke kilo,
Naha Nuuhiwa, lele i Polapola;
O Kahiko ke kumu aina,
Nana i mahele kaawale na moku.
Moku ka aholawaia a Kahai,
I okia e Kukanaloa:
Pauku na aina na moku,
Moku i ka ohe kapu a Kanaloa.
O Haumea Manukahikele,
O Moikeha, ka Lani nana e noho,
Noho kuu Lani ia Hawaii—a—
Ola, Ola, o kalana ola!
Ola ke Alii, ke Kahuna,
Ola ke Kilo, ke Kauwa,
Noho ia Hawaii a lu lana,
A kani moopuna i Kauai.
O Kauai ka moku—a
O Moikeha ke Alii.

'O kēia ke mele mua loa ma loko o kā Joseph M. Poepoe mo'olelo i kākau ai a pēlā pū kā Fornander mo'olelo Hawai'i, a 'ike 'ia nō ho'i ma kā Beckwith puke no nā mo'oka'ao o Hawai'i. I luna a'e nei, 'ike 'ia ke mele e like me kā Fornander i hō'ike ai, no ka mea, 'o ia no ka mea e hō'ike ana i nā lālani he nui. Ma nā mea 'ē a'e, 'ano like nā hua 'ōlelo o nā lālani i hō'ike 'ia, akā, 'a'ole nō i pa'i 'ia nā lālani a pau e like me kēia. Wahi a ia po'e kākau mo'olelo, 'o kēia nō kekahi mele i oli 'ia e Kamahualele, ke kilo hōkū o Mo'ikeha, ma ko lākou wā i ho'i mai ai mai Kahiki mai.[7] Aia nō a 'ike 'ia mai ka mokupuni 'o Hawai'i e ea mai ana mai loko mai o ka moana, oli akula nō 'o Kamahualele i ua mele nei.

[7] Poepoe, 2 Pepeluali 1906.

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Ma kēia mele, kapa ʻia ʻo Hawaiʻi "he moku [a] he kanaka" (l. 1), a kapa ʻia nō hoʻi he "kanaka Hawaii" (l. 2-3). A laila, kapa ʻia "he kama na Kahiki" (l. 4) a he "pua alii" (l. 5). Ma kēia mau lālani ʻehā, hōʻike ʻia ko Hawaiʻi ʻano he kanaka, a laila, hōʻike ʻia kona pilina ʻohana i ke kapa ʻana iā ia he kama, he keiki hoʻi na Kahiki. A laila, ma ke kapa ʻana iā ia he ʻano pua, he hua ʻōlelo hoʻi ia no ke keiki a me ka pulapula hoʻi, a he hua ʻōlelo e hōʻike hou ana i ka pili i ka ʻāina, ʻoiai, ulu nō ka pua mai loko mai o ka ʻāina. Hōʻike pū ʻia he ʻelua wahi pana, ʻo ia hoʻi ʻo Kapaʻahu me Moaʻulanuiākea (l. 5-6), a wahi a ka moʻolelo, he mau wahi pana kēia ma Kahiki.[8]

A laila, ma kekahi lālani aku, hōʻike ʻia ka moʻokūʻauhau o Hawaiʻi. Penei kā Kamahualele i mele mai ai, "He moʻopuna na Kahiko laua o Kapulanakehau/Na Papa i hanau/Na ke kama wahine a Kukalaniehu laua me Kauakahakoko" (l. 7-9). Moʻolelo ʻia mai nō kēia moʻokūʻauhau e nā haumāna o Lāhainaluna, ka poʻe nāna i kākau i "Ka Mooolelo Hawaii." Wahi a ia moʻolelo,

> Eia na inoa o kekahi mau mea i noho mua ma keia pae aina, o Kahiko ke kane, o Kupulanakahau ka wahine; hanau mai ka laua keiki, o Wakea, he kane ia. Eia hoi na inoa o kahi mau mea o lakou i hele mua mai, o Kukalaniehu ke kane, a o Kahakauakoko ka wahine; hanau mai ka laua kaikamahine, o Papa, he wahine ia.
>
> A o Wakea, laua o Papa oia no na kupuna mua o ko Hawaii nei lahuikanaka, na kanaka a me na ʻlii.[9]

Ma nei moʻolelo a nā haumāna a Lāhainālunа, ʻo nā pulapula a Papa me Wākea, ʻo ia nō ʻo Hoʻohokukalani a i ka moe pū ʻana o Wākea me kāna kaikamahine, me Hoʻohokukalani, hānau maila ʻo Hāloa a me nā pulapula hou aku o ia ʻohana. Eia naʻe, ma ke mele a Kamahualele, he keiki nō hoʻi ʻo Hawaiʻi na Wākea me Papa. Kapa ʻia nā mokupuni a pau ʻo "Na pulapula aina i paekahi,/I nonoho like i ka Hikina, Komohana,/ Pae like ka moku i lalani/I hui

[8] Fornander, Alexander, *Memoirs of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum of Polynesian Ethnology and Natural History*, Puke IV, (Millwood, NY: Kraus Reprint: 1985)., 18, 51-53; Beckwith, 1976, 353-355.
[9] Nā Haumāna o Lāhainālunа, *Ka Mooolelo Hawaii*, luna hoʻoponopono, Sheldon Dibble, (Lahainaluna: Mea Pai Palapala No Ke Kula Nui, 1838), 32.

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aku, hui mai me Holani" (l. 10-13). No laila, he ʻāina a he kanaka nō ʻo Hawaiʻi a pili hoʻi ia mele i ka moʻokūʻauhau a me ka moʻolelo i ka ʻāina ʻana a me ka laha ʻana o ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi ma Hawaiʻi nei.

No Kamahualele, he mea nō hoʻi kona hoʻohanohano ʻana i kona Mōʻī, ʻo ia hoʻi ʻo Moʻikeha, a mele ʻia mai penei, "Noho kuu Lani ia Hawaii—a—/Ola, Ola, o kalana ola!/ Ola ke Alii, ke Kahuna,/Ola ke Kilo, ke Kauwa,/Noho ia Hawaii a lu lana" (l. 24-28). Ma ka lālani mua o kēia māhele, mele ʻia mai e like me ka noho ʻana o ke kāne i ka wahine, a e like me ia noho ʻana, pēlā hoʻi e ola ai kā lāua keiki. No Moʻikeha, noho ʻo ia "ia Hawaii" a he mea ia e "ola" a e "kalana ola" ai "ke Alii," "ke Kahuna," "ke Kilo" a me ke "Kauwa." No laila, ʻo kēia ola, pili ia i kona noho aliʻi ʻana ma Hawaiʻi nei a hoʻōla i kona poʻe. A laila, ma ka hopena, he mea kona ola ʻana a me kona noho aliʻi ʻana e "lu" ai nā hua ona, a ulu a laha loa aku nā pulapula ona i ka ʻāina, inā ʻo ke keiki paha a ʻo ka ʻāina nō hoʻi paha.

Eia kekahi, mai poina, ʻeā, he ʻāina a he kanaka ʻo Hawaiʻi, no laila, pili nō hoʻi ka "noho" ʻana o "ka Lani" iā Hawaiʻi i ka pilina o ka lani a me ka ʻāina. Hoʻōla nō ka lani i ka ʻāina me ka helele'i ʻana o ka ua a me ka pā ʻana o ka lā i ka ʻāina. He mea ia e ulu ai ka ʻāina, ka ʻai, a me ke kanaka. Nani wale a kupaianaha maoli nō kēia ʻano kaona a ma o kēia ʻano mele ʻana, hoʻākāka ʻia ka pilina o ka ʻāina a me ke kanaka me ka moʻokūʻauhau, ka moʻolelo, a me ke mele.

Ea Mai Hawaiʻinuiākea: Ea Ka ʻĀina, Hānau Ka ʻĀina, Kū I Ka ʻĀina

KA MELE A KAHAKUIKAMOANA[10]

1. Ea mai Hawaiinuiakea
   Ea mai loko, mai loko mai o ka po
   Puka mai ka moku, ka aina

[10] Fornander, Puke IV, 2-5.

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Ka lalani aina o Nu'umea
Ka pae aina o i kukulu o Kahiki
2. Hanau o Maui he moku he aina
Na kama o Kamalalawalu e noho
3. Na Kuluwaiea o Haumea he kane
Na Hinanuialana he wahine
Loaa Molokai ke akua, he kahuna
He pualena no Nuumea
4. Ku mai ke alii ka lani
Ka haluku wai ea o Kahiki
Loaa Lanai he keiki hookama
5. Na Keaukanai i moe aku
Moe ia Walinuu o Holani
He kekea kapu no Uluhina
Hanau Kahoolawe, he lopa
6. Kiina aku Uluhina
Moku ka piko o ke kamaiki
Ka apeape kai aleale,
Loaa ka malo o ke kama,
O Molokini ka moku,
He iewe ia-a, he iewe ka moku.
7. Ku mai Ahukinialaa
He alii mai ka nanamu,
Mai ka ape o ka ia,
Mai ka ale poi pu o Halehalekalani,
Loa'a Oahu, he wohi,
He Wohi na Ahukinialaa.
8. Na Laakapu he kane ia,
Na Laamealaakona he wahine,
Hookauhua hoiloli i ka Nuupoki alii
Ka heiau kapu a Nonea
I kauila i ka po kapu o Makalii,
Hanau Kauai, he alii, he kama, he pua alii,
He huhui alii a Hawaii,
Na ke poo kelakela o na moku.
9. I pahola ia e Kalani,
Holo wale na moku i Holani,
I ka wewehi kapu a ka lanakila,
Kulia i ka moku a Kanekanaloa,
Ka ihe laumaki i Polapola,
Nana i mahiki Wanalia,
10. O Wanalia ke kane,
O Hanalaa ka wahine,
Hanau Niihau he aina, he moku,
He aina i ke aa i ka mole o ka aina,
Ekolu lakou keiki,
I hanau i ka la kahi,
O Niihau, o Kaula, Nihoa pau mai,
Pa ka makuahine,
Oili moku ole mai ma hope,
11. Na Kalani e hoolaa na moku,

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Kau i luna o Nuumea,
I ka ahui alii o Kaialea,
Na ka lanakila e au na moku
I huia na kolu e Kalani,
O Hilo, o Puna, o Kau, lele wale,
Ku mai Kalani me ke kahuna,
Kilohi mai ia Maui a Kama,
Aole e u aku puni ka aina,
Ke kalele a Kalanimakahakona,
A ka ui aa i kilakila,
Ke koa nui o lanakila,
Nana i keehi Oahu,
Nakolo na moku i ka pea,
I ka maha o Kauai, malia
Puni na aina ia Kalani,
Ia Kalanialonoapii,
Ke kumu alii o Haloa,
Ea mai Hawaii ka moku
Ea pu me ka lanakila la.

He mele koʻihonua kēia na Kahakuikamoana, "he kahuna nui i ke au kahiko."[11] E like me ke ʻano mau o ke mele koʻihonua, helu papa ʻia ka loaʻa ʻana mai o nā mea like ʻole o ke au Hawaiʻi, e laʻa me nā mokupuni me nā kānaka. Hoʻomaka ia helu papa ʻana me ka hiapo o nā mokupuni, ʻo ia hoʻi ʻo Hawaiʻi. Mele ʻia mai no Hawaiʻinuiākea, he inoa ia no ka mokupuni ʻo Hawaiʻi a, kohu mea lā, he inoa nō hoʻi ia no ka pae ʻāina holoʻokoʻa. Wahi a Handy me Pukui, he kūlana kiʻekiʻe ko ka mokupuni ʻo Hawaiʻi mai ke au kahiko loa mai, ma mua loa o ko Kamehameha naʻi ʻana i ia aupuni.[12] Eia kekahi, mele ʻia mai penei, "Puka mai ka moku, ka aina/Ka lalani aina o Nuumea/Ka pae aina o i kukulu o Tahiti" (l. 3-5). ʻO Hawaiʻinuiākea nō ia moku, ia ʻāina, a me he mea lā, ʻo Hawaiʻinuiākea nō hoʻi ka inoa o ka lālani ʻāina a me ka pae ʻāina.

He mea nui nō hoʻi ke ea ma kēia mele, ʻoiai, mele ʻia mai nō ke ea ma nā lālani mua me nā lālani hope loa o ke mele. Ma nā lālani mua, penei ka mele ʻana, "Ea mai Hawaiinuiakea/Ea mai loko mai loko mai o ka pō." Ke noʻonoʻo

[11] Poepoe, 3 Pepeluali 1906.
[12] Handy, E. S. Craighill a me Mary Kawena Pukui, *The Polynesian Family System in Ka'-u, Hawai'i*, (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company, Inc. 1972, xv.

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iho kākou no ka mana'o o kēia mau lālani, he pono nō ka ho'omana'o 'ana i nā mana'o a pau o "ea." Wahi a Fornander, ua pili wale nō ia "ea" 'ana o Hawai'inuiākea i ka puka 'ana mai o nā mokupuni mai ka moana mai.[13] Akā, 'a'ole paha he pono ka ho'ohāiki 'ana i ka mana'o o ia hua 'ōlelo ma ia 'ano ho'okahi, no ka mea, ke nānā 'ia a no'ono'o 'ia nā 'ano 'ē a'e o ka mele 'ana no nā mokupuni, 'ike 'ia nō ka pilina i ke ola nō ho'i, 'a'ole i pili wale i ke ea 'ana mai loko mai o ka moana.

Mele 'ia kēia mana'o no ke ola 'ana o nā mokupuni ma o ke kapa 'ana aku i ka puka 'ana mai o nā mokupuni he "hanau" (l. 6, 18, 36, 47). Pili nō ho'i ia "ea" 'ana i ke 'ano kū'oko'a o ka mokupuni a me kona aupuni nō ho'i paha. 'Ike 'ia kēia 'ano mana'o ma o ka hō'ike 'ana mai i ke kū 'ana mai o nā ali'i like 'ole i nā mokupuni like 'ole, e la'a me ke kū 'ana mai o ke ali'i a "Loaa Lanai" (l. 12-14), a pēlā pū ke kū 'ana o "Ahukinialaa" a "Loaa Oahu, he wohi" (l. 25, 29). No laila, ma ka mele 'ia 'ana no nā mokupuni a pau o ka pae 'āina 'o Hawai'i, ua "ea" mai kekahi, ua "hanau" kekahi, a ua "ku" ke Ali'i i kekahi o nā moku. No laila, ma ke mele 'ana, "Ea mai Hawaiinuiakea/Ea mai loko mai loko mai o ka po," he hō'oia nō ia i ka puka 'ana mai o ka mokupuni mai ka moana lipolipo mai; he hō'oia ho'i i ke ola 'ana o nā mokupuni ma ke 'ano he pili 'ohana no ke kanaka; a he hō'oia pū i ke kū'oko'a 'ana o nā mokupuni. A mai poina, 'eā, he 'āina a he kanaka 'o Hawai'i, no laila, ea mai nō ke kanaka a ola ma Hawai'i nei.

Ma ka paukū hope loa, helu papa hou 'ia mai nā moku a me nā mokupuni (l. 54-73). A laila, ma nā lālani hope loa, mele hou 'ia no ke ea o Hawai'i penei, "Ea mai Hawaii, ka moku/Ea pū me ka lanakila lā" (72-73). Wahi a Fornander, pili kēia paukū hope loa a me kēia mau lālani i ko Kamehameha na'i 'ana i ka

[13] Fornander, Alexander, *Ancient History of the Hawaiian People*, (Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 1996), 11.

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pae ʻāina holoʻokoʻa. No laila, he hōʻailona hou aku nō ia no ka pilina o ke ea o ka ʻāina, ke ola maoli ʻana o ka ʻāina ma o ka hānau ʻana, a me ke kūʻokoʻa ʻana.

Ua Mau Ke Ea O Ka ʻĀina I Ka Pono: Ke Ea, Ke Ola, A Me Ka Hae Hawaiʻi

HE MELE NO KA HOI HOU MAI
O KA EA O KA AINA.[14]

E mele me ka hoomaikai,
Hauoli pu kakou a pau,
Ka ea o Hawaii nei,
Ua lilo a ua hoi mai.

Mai pio ko Hawaii nei,
Mai noho kauwa hoi na lii,
I keia wa, ua hoi hou mai,
Ka ea o ka aina nei.

Aloha ko kakou moi,
Aloha hoi na lii a pau,
E ola me ka pomaikai,
Ke aupuni me ka nani mau.

Aloha ke lii kaua hoi,
E kau ka lei ma kona poo,
Ka haole holo kiki mai,
E hoopakele ia kakou.

E ke Akua nani e,
He kamahao kau hana nei,
Ia oe no ka hoomaikai,
No keia hae i kau mai nei.

I ka makahiki 1843, ka wā a ka Mōʻī Kauikeaouli, Kamehameha III, e noho aupuni ana, ua pilikia loa ke kūlana kūʻokoʻa o ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi. I kekahi mau makahiki pōkole wale nō ma mua iho, ua hoʻokumu ʻia he aupuni kumukānāwai. ʻAʻole naʻe i pale aku ia kumukānāwai i nā pilikia me nā aupuni ʻē o ka honua. I ka mahina ʻo Pepeluali o ka makahiki 1843, ua hiki mai kahi moku manuā no Pelekane, nona ka inoa ʻo H.B.M.S. *Carysfort*, ma ke awa ʻo

[14] "He Mele No Ka Hoi Hou Mai O Ka Ea O Ka Aina," *Ka Nonanona*, 12 Dekemaba 1843, 71.

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Honolulu. ʻO George Paulet ka kāpena o ia moku a "aole oluolu ka manao o keia alii manuwa; aole kani mai na pu aloha; ua oleloia no ka hoole ana o na alii i ke Kanikela hou no Beretania ka pilikia."[15]

Ma nā palapala i hoʻouna ʻia aku i ka Mōʻī Kauikeaouli e Paulet, koi ʻia akula ka Mōʻī e hoʻokō aku he ʻeono mau kauoha. Koikoi ʻia ka ʻāpono koke ʻana o ka Mōʻī i ke Kanikela Hope hou o Pelekania, ʻo ia hoʻi ʻo Mr. Simpson, a koikoi ʻia nō hoʻi ka hoʻomalu ʻia ʻana o ka poʻe Pelekane e noho ana ma Hawaiʻi ma lalo o ka malu o nā kānāwai o Pelekania; ʻaʻole ma ke kānāwai o Hawaiʻi. A, inā hoʻopiʻi ʻia kekahi o ia poʻe Pelekane, a hoʻokolokolo ʻia e ke kiure, "he hapalua o lakou he poe haole Beretania ua ae ia lakou e ke Kanikela."[16]

ʻAʻole nō i ʻāpono iki aku ka Mōʻī Kauikeaouli i ia mau mea. Hōʻole akula nō ʻo ia iā Paulet ma kahi palapala i hoʻouna ʻia aku i ka lā 24 o Pepeluali, a pane koke mai ʻo Paulet i ia lā hoʻokahi. Wahi āna,

> E hoomakaukauia ka H.B.M. Moku o Carysfort malalo iho oʻu e kaua koke aku i keia kulanakauhale ma ka hora 4 o ka la apopo (Satude) ke ae ole ia mai na mea au e koi aku nei maluna o ke ʻLii o keia pae aina.[17]

A ma ka lā 25 o Pepeluali, M. H. 1843, ua kākau ʻia he palapala e ka Mōʻī e hoʻomaopopo aku ana iā Paulet i kāna pane. Ma ia palapala, ua paneʻe aku ka Mōʻī

> i ka Pae Aina i kapaia ko Hawaii Pae Aina na Rt. Hon. Haku Geo. Paulet, Kapena o ko ke ʻLii Wahine o Beretania Nui a me Irelani mai keia la aku, a no keia manawa e noho nei.[18]

Ma ua palapala nei, wehewehe mai nō hoʻi ka Mōʻī e pili ana no kona hoʻouna ʻana aku i mau Luna Hoʻoponopono i ke aupuni ʻo Pelekane i mea e hoʻoponopono ʻia ai kēia hihia. Ma ka lā 26 o Iulai, ua kū mai kahi moku manuā Pelekane hou aku, ʻo H.B.M.S. *Dublin* ka inoa. ʻO Rear Admiral Richard Thomas

[15] *Ka Nonanona*, 14 Pepeluali 1843.
[16] *Ka Nonanona*, 7 Malaki 1843.
[17] *Ka Nonanona*, 7 Malaki 1843.
[18] *Ka Nonanona*, 7 Malaki 1843.

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"ke alii" o ia moku, a ʻo ia nō ke aliʻi nui no nā moku manuā a pau o Pelekania no ka Pākīpika. Ma ka lā 31 o Iulai, ua mālama ʻia he ʻaha nui a ua kū mai nō ʻo Thomas a kūkala aku i ka hoʻihoʻi ʻia o ke ea o ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi i ka Mōʻī Kauikeaouli. Wahi a ka moʻolelo no ia lā,

> ma ka hora 10, hele mai no ke alii [Kauikeaouli] me kona poe koa, a hiki, alaila, ua weheia ko Hawaii nei hae, a ua kuuia ko Beritania hae malalo ma ka papu, a ua kau ia ko Hawaii nei hae ilaila, a mauka hoi kekahi ma ka puu o puawaina; a ua ki nui mai na pu aloha mai o a o;... a ua hookaniia no hoi na bele. Ua paapu na moku manuwa i na hae maikai, nani loa ke nanaʻku.[19]

Wahi a ka moʻolelo nūpepa no ia lā, "Lehulehu na kanaka i akoakoa mai e nana i keia hana kupaianaha, he umi paha tausani o lakou a pau."[20] Ua kū mai nō ka Mōʻī ma mua o ke anaina a haʻiʻōlelo akula. Wahi āna, "Ua hoihoiia mai ka ea o ka aina iaʻu i keia la, e like me koʻu manao lana mamua,"[21] a i ka hopena, ua hoʻopuka akula ʻo ia i ka puanaʻī, "Ua mau ke ea o ka ʻāina i ka pono."

Ma kāna haʻiʻōlelo ʻana, hōʻike mai ka Mōʻī i kekahi manaʻo koʻikoʻi o ka lāhui Hawaiʻi, no ka mea, ʻaʻole i ʻōlelo ka Mōʻī no ke ea o ke Aupuni, akā, ʻo ke ea nō o ka ʻāina ka mea i hoʻokumu hou ʻia. A ʻo ke ea nō hoʻi ka mea nui o ke mele o luna aʻela ʻo "He Mele No Ka Hoi Hou Mai O Ke Ea O Ka Aina." ʻAʻole i pūlima ʻia mai ka inoa o ka haku mele, no laila, ʻaʻole nō i maopopo ka haku mele. Ua paʻi ʻia kēia mele ma loko o *Ka Nonanona* he mau mahina ma hope o ka hoʻihoʻi hou ʻia mai o ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi i ka mahina ʻo Iulai o ka makahiki 1843. Kapa ʻia mai ke mele no ke ea, a ma kēlā me kēia paukū, mele ʻia mai nō hoʻi no ke ea.

Ma ka paukū mua, hōʻike ʻia ka hauʻoli i "ka ea o Hawaii nei,/Ua lilo a ua hoi mai" (l. 3-4). Hoʻohanohano hou ʻia mai kēia hoʻi ʻana mai o "Ka ea o ka aina

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[19] *Ka Nonanona*, 8 ʻAukake 1843.
[20] *Ka Nonanona*, 8 ʻAukake 1843.
[21] *Ka Nonanona*, 8 ʻAukake 1843.

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nei," na kekahi lālani (l. 7-8). Ma ka paukū 'ekolu, mele 'ia mai no ke aloha i ka "Moi" a me "na lii a pau" (l. 9-10) a noi 'ia "E ola me ka pomaikai/Ke aupuni me ka nani mau" (l. 11-12). 'O ke kau 'ia mai o "Ka lei ma kona poo" ka mea ho'ohanohano 'ia ma ka paukū 'ehā, a 'o ia lei o ka po'o o ka Mō'ī, 'o ke kalaunu nō ia, kekahi hō'ailona hou aku no ke kū 'ana o ka Mō'ī i ka 'āina, no laila, he mea pili ho'i ia i ke ea. 'O ke "kau mai nei" o ka hae ka hō'ailona o ke ea ma ka paukū 'elima.

No laila, ma o kēia mele ho'okahi, 'ike 'ia nā mea nui i mahalo 'ia e kānaka i ia wā—'o ke ea o ka 'āina, ke ola o ka Mō'ī, ke kau 'ia o kona lei ma kona po'o a me ka welo 'ana o ka hae Hawai'i.

Ka Lā Ho'iho'i Ea: Aloha I Ka 'Āina, I Ke One Hānau

1. Aloha i ka aina,[22]
I ke one hanau,
O ke ao lewa he inoa,
O ka Haku ka Moi,
Na keiki kamaaina,
Na pua ala mau,
Ua hoihoi mai ka ea,
Kau hou ka Hae Hawaii.

2. Nolaila e na hoa,
E ku a mele pu,
Hauoli like kakou,
Ma keia waoakua,
Ua nui na la i hala,
Aole kakou i hoomanao,
Ua hoihoi mai ka ea,
Kau hou ka Hae Hawaii.

3. O Thomas ka mama,
Ma na ale o ke kai,
A hiki ma Hawaii,
Kuka me ka Moi,
Me na Luna Aupuni,
Holo ke kuikahi,
Ua hoihoi mai ka ea,

[22] H. R. N. & M. N., "Aloha I Ka Aina," (lālani mua), *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 6 Kepakemapa 1862.

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Kau hou ka Hae Hawaii.

4. Hoopauia o Lokeoki,
Hoi nele aku ia,
Ka moana Pakipika,
Hauoli Hawaii,
I ka la hope o Iulai,
Ala ae kakou,
Ua hoihoi mai ka ea,
Kau hou ka Hae Hawaii.

5. E ala e na keiki,
O ka Ehu Hau,
Mele me ka hauoli,
Hoonani ke Akua,
Nana kokua mai,
Ka ea o ka aina,
Ua hoihoi mai ka ea,
Kau hou ka Hae Hawaii.

I nā makahiki ma hope o ka hoʻihoʻi hou ʻia mai o ke ea o ka ʻāina, ua lilo ka lā 31 o Iulai i "Lā Hoʻihoʻi Ea" a he lā nui hanohano nō ia no ka lāhui me ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi. I ka makahiki 1843 i hoʻokahuli ʻia ai a i hoʻihoʻi hou ʻia ai ke ea o ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi ma lalo o ka Mōʻī Kauikeaouli. A i ka makahiki ʻana aʻe, ua hoʻolauleʻa a hoʻohanohano ʻia nō ia "Lā Hoʻihoʻi Ea" ma ka lā 31 o Iulai i ka M. H. 1844. I ia makahiki mua, mālama ʻia nō he ʻahaʻaina no "na lii me na kanaka, me na haole alii a me na haole kanaka, na kane, na wahine... Kokoke paha 300 lakou a pau loa ke heluia."[23] He ʻehā nō lā ka lōʻihi o kēia hoʻohanohano ʻana; ma ka lā 31 o Iulai nō i hoʻomaka ai,

> A ia mau la mahope mai, Aug. 1 a me ka 2, ahaaina hou na lii a me na kanaka, ma ia hale hookahi no. He nui wale ka poe hele ilaila, a he nui wale hoi ke kani ana o na pu a me na pahu, a me ka Huro, Huro, Huro. Aole okana mai o ka walaau. I ka la eha o ka ahaaina, holo nui na lii i Waikiki, malaila e paina ai.[24]

[23] "Ka Ahaaina," *Ka Nonanona*, 8 Aukake, 1844, 48.
[24] "Ka Ahaaina," *Ka Nonanona*, 8 Aukake, 1844, 48.

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Ma kekahi ʻano, he mahalo nō ko ka mea kākau i ke ʻano o ka hoʻohanohano ʻana i ia lā nui o ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi, akā i kona wahi manaʻo, ua ʻike ʻia nō kekahi hewa ma ia hana ʻana. Penei ʻo ia i moʻolelo mai ai,

> Eia wale no na hewa a'u i ike ai iloko o keia hana, eia, ua ona kekahi poe, a hula no ma ko lakou hale i ka po. Aole hiamoe na haole i ka po no keia ino.
>
> Eia kekahi hewa; o ka hooloihi loa i keia hana a pau na la eha. Ina paha hookahi la, a elua paha, e aho ia. He nui ka poho no ka hooloihi; poho ka manawa o na kanaka, a me ka hana, a me ka waiwai; a no ka hooloihi, aneane hehena kekahi poe i ka lealea.[25]

ʻO Reverend Richard Armstrong ka Luna Hoʻoponopono o *Ka Nonanona* a he nūpepa nō ia i pili loa i kona hale pule, no laila, ma loko o kāna mau moʻolelo i kākau ai, ʻike ʻia aku nō ke ʻano o ko Armstrong hoʻāʻo ʻana aku i nā Kānaka Maoli i nā mea āna i manaʻo ai he hana pono no ka Mōʻī, no ke Aupuni, a no ka nohona o kānaka kekahi. Mahalo ʻia nō kona moʻolelo ʻana mai no ke ʻano o ka hoʻolauleʻa ʻana, no ka mea, he mau lā nō kēia hoʻolauleʻa ʻana i hiki i ka poʻe a pau ke launa pono aku a launa pono mai. Eia kekahi, e kani ana nā pū, me nā pahu, a e hula ana nō hoʻi i ka pō. Pili nō paha kekahi o nā mele a me nā hula i kēia hoʻihoʻi ʻia ʻana o ke ea o ka ʻāina. He mau mele hoʻohanohano i ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi, ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi, a me ka Mōʻī nō hoʻi. He kani leʻa maoli nō ia.

Eia naʻe, ʻaʻole nō i piha wale ko Armstrong moʻolelo ʻana i ka leʻa o ia hana ʻana. He leo nemanema hoʻi kona a he leo aʻoaʻo i ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi a me ka Mōʻī no ke ʻano pono o ia hoʻolauleʻa ʻana, no ka mea, wahi āna, aia nō he palena no ka lōʻihi o ia ʻano hana ʻana a me ka nui o ka waiwai e hoʻolilo ʻia aku. He hana hoʻokolonaio nō kēia a he ʻano hoʻokolonaio i pohihihi ka hoʻomaopopo a me ka ʻike pono ʻana, no ka mea, kohu mea lā, he leo kākoʻo nō ko Armstrong i ke kūʻokoʻa o ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi, akā, makemake nō naʻe ʻo ia e kuhikuhi i ke ʻano e pono ai ia kūʻokoʻa ʻana. ʻAʻole na ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi e kuhikuhi a e

[25] "Ka Ahaaina," *Ka Nonanona*, 8 Aukake, 1844, 48.

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ho'oholo wale ma ke 'ano o nā mea o kākou e 'ike ai he pono no ko kākou lāhui. 'A'ole kā. No Armstrong, kāko'o 'ia ke kū'oko'a 'ana o ke Aupuni Hawai'i a me ka Lāhui Hawai'i ma ke 'ano o ko 'Amelika ho'omana akua 'ana a me ke 'ano o ko 'Amelika noho aupuni 'ana.

A hala kekahi mau makahiki a hiki mai ka makahiki 1862, ua hala ka Mō'ī Kauikeaouli a lilo maila 'o Alexander Liholiho i Mō'ī no Hawai'i nei, 'o ia ho'i 'o Kamehameha IV. I kona wā e noho Mō'ī 'ana, ua ho'omaka maila nō ka ho'ēmi 'ia 'ana o ka mana ho'okō o ka Mō'ī a nui maila ka mana o ka 'Aha'ōlelo.[26]

Ua mau nō na'e ka ho'olaule'a 'ia 'ana o ka Lā Ho'iho'i Ea a i ia makahiki 1862. Ua ho'olaule'a 'ia ma Hawai'i nei a ho'olaule'a 'ia ho'i e nā Kānaka Maoli ma waho o Hawai'i kekahi. Wahi a "Na Keiki o ka Ehu Hau." 'O lākou

> na keiki kupa o ka aina Hawaii, e noho ana ma keia aina malihini; no ko [lakou] aloha i ka aina hanau, nolaila, ua hoolilo [lakou] i ua la la, i la hoomanao, a i la haipule hoi, e waiho ana i na hana lima.[27]

'A'ole nō i ho'ākāka pono 'ia mai ma ka mo'olelo ka inoa o ko lākou 'āina malihini e noho ana. Hō'ike wale 'ia mai, 'o lākou "na keiki o ka Ehu Hau," akā, 'a'ole maopopo pono, inā he inoa 'āina ia ma 'Amelika paha a ma kekahi o nā mokupuni o ka Pakipika paha. Mali'a paha, 'o ka "Ehu Hau," he inoa ia no ko lākou hui a 'a'ole paha i pili i ko lākou wahi pana e noho ana.

Wahi a ka mo'olelo ma ka nūpepa, ua mālama 'ia nō he 'aha 'aina e kēia po'e kupa o Hawai'i e noho ana ma ka 'āina malihini. 'O ke mele o luna a'ela, me ka lālani mua, "Aloha i ka aina," 'o ia kahi mele i haku 'ia a i hīmeni 'ia ho'i e ua po'e "Keiki o ka Ehu Hau." E like loa me nā mele lāhui i haku 'ia a i pa'i 'ia ho'i ma Hawai'i nei i nā makahiki ma hope mai, 'o ke "aloha i ka aina,/I ke one hanau," kahi mana'o nui o ka paukū mua (l. 1-2). Ma nā paukū o lalo, mo'olelo

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[26] Osorio, 002, 108-109.
[27] N., H. R. a me M. N., *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 6 Kepakemapa 1862.

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'ia mai no "Thomas," kēlā ali'i moku no Pelekane mai, nāna i ho'iho'i mai i ke ea o ke Aupuni Hawai'i (l. 17-22). Kūamuamu 'ia ka inoa 'o "Lokeoki," kēlā ali'i moku i kapa 'ia 'o Paulet, ka mea nāna i ho'okahuli aku i ke Aupuni Hawai'i a mele 'ia mai no kona "hoi nele" 'ana aku me ka hau'oli o Hawai'i "i ka la hope o Iulai," he lā ia e "ala a'e" ai nā kānaka (l. 25-30). Ma ka paukū hope loa kāhea 'ia, "E ala e na keiki,/O ka Ehu Hau," a mele me ka hau'oli i "ke Akua" i kōkua mai 'o ia me "Ka ea o ka aina" (l. 33-38).

E like me kekahi o nā mele 'ē a'e i hō'ike 'ē 'ia, ua like loa nā lālani hope o kēlā me kēia paukū, ma ke 'ano he mana'o nui ko'iko'i ia no ka haku mele. Wahi a kēia po'e keiki o ka Ehu Hau ma kā lākou mele, "Ua hoihoi mai ka ea,/Kau hou ka Hae Hawaii" (l. 7-8, 15-16, 23-24, 31-32, 39-40). Ma o kēia leo 'ana a me ka leo hou 'ana aku, he mea nō ia e ulu a'e ai ka mana o ia mana'o a e lilo i mea e mau ana no nā kau a kau.

Wahi a ka mo'olelo, ma hope o ka hīmeni 'ana o ua po'e keiki ala, ua pā'ina akula lākou, a laila, ua kū mai 'o L. H. Kapuaa a ha'i akula i ka mo'olelo no ke 'ano o "na 'lii mai ka wa kahiko mai," a ma hope mai, kū mai kekahi mau kānaka hou aku a ha'i 'ia ka mo'olelo no ka ho'okahuli 'ia 'ana a me ka ho'iho'i 'ia 'ana o ke Aupuni Hawai'i i ka makahiki 1843. Kupaianaha wale kēia hana 'ana, no ka mea, ua hala he 18 makahiki mai ka wā i kahuli ai ke Aupuni Hawai'i, a aia nō kēia po'e ma kahi 'āina malihini, eia na'e, mau nō ko lākou mālama 'ana i ke aloha i ko lākou 'āina hānau a mau nō ho'i ko lākou no'ono'o nui 'ana a mo'olelo 'ana i kā lākou pulapula i pa'a ke aloha 'āina a me ke aloha no ke Aupuni Hawai'i i loko o ko lākou na'au no ke 'ano kū'oko'a o ke Aupuni Hawai'i.

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Ke Ea O Ko Hawaii Pae Aina: 'O Ia Nō Ka Noho Aupuni 'Ana

A hala he 10 makahiki hou aku, a mau nō ka ho'ohanohano 'ana i ia lā. Ma O'ahu nei, no ka Lā Ho'iho'i Ea o ia makahiki 1871, ua 'ākoakoa mai nā kānaka he nui ma Honolulu. He lā nanea a he lā e launa pū ai ka lehulehu, akā, 'a'ole nō i mo'olelo mai no ka hana le'ale'a a ao ka pō e like me ka makahiki 1844. Mau nō na'e ka hō'oia 'ana o nā kānaka i ke ea o ka 'āina a me ke kū'oko'a o ke Aupuni Hawai'i. I ia lā, ua ha'i'ōlelo mai kekahi o nā kānaka aloha 'āina a ho'ākāka mai nō 'o ia i kona mana'o no ke ea. 'O Davida K. Kahalemaile kona inoa, a ma kāna ha'i'ōlelo 'ana, ua ho'omaka 'o ia me kahi nīnau. Penei 'o ia i ui aku ai i ka lehulehu o ka po'e aloha 'āina nāna i 'ākoakoa aku ma Mānoa i ia lā. Wahi āna, "Heaha la ke ano o ia hopounaolelo, "Ka la i hoihoiia mai ai ke Ea o ko Hawaii Pae Aina?" No ka pane 'ana i kāna nīnau, ho'omaka 'o ia ma ka "uiui" a me ka "ninaninau" 'ana "i ke ea e pili ana i na mea ola o ka honua" a me kekahi mau mea 'ē a'e. A laila, helu papa mai 'o Kahalemaile penei,

> 1. Ke ea o ka i-a, he wai. 2. Ke ea o ke kanaka, he makani. 3. O ke ea o ka honua, he kanaka. 4. Ke ea o ka moku, he hoeuli... 5. Ke ea o ko Hawaii Pae Aina..., Oia no ka noho Aupuni ana.[28]

He māhele pōkole nō kēia i loko o kāna ha'i'ōlelo 'ana, akā, nui wale nā mana'o. Ma ka helu 'ekahi, hō'ike 'ia ka mea e ola ai ka i'a, a 'o ka wai nō ia, a laila, ma ka helu 'elua, hō'ike 'ia ia mea no ke kanaka, 'o ka makani ia, ' o ia ho'i ka hanu o kānaka. Wahi a ka helu 'ekolu, 'o ke ea o ka honua, he kanaka nō ia. Mali'a paha, ma muli o ko ke kanaka kanu 'ana i ka 'āina, no kona noho 'ana ma ka 'āina e like me ko Mo'ikeha me ko nā Ali'i 'ē a'e, 'o ke kanaka, he mea ia e ola ai ka 'āina. He pili 'ohana nō ho'i ka 'āina a me ke kanaka, a 'o Wākea a me Papa nā mākua o ka 'āina, no laila, 'o ke kanaka nō ka mea e ea ai ka 'āina.

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[28] Kahalemaile, Davida K., "Haiolelo a Davida K. Kahalemaile," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 12 August 1871.

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Ma ka helu 'ehā, hō'ike 'ia, 'o ke ea o kahi moku, 'o ia nō ka hoeuli, 'o ia ho'i ka mea e ho'okele 'ia ai ka moku. Ma kēia mea, hō'ike 'ia ke kūlana ko'iko'i o ka mea nona ka moku i kona koho 'ana i kona ala hele e holo ai. He mea nui ia no ka moku, no ke kanaka, a no kona aupuni ho'i ka mau 'ana o ka mana e koho i ke alahele. He mea nui ho'i kēia mana hoeuli no ka helu 'elima o kā Kahalemaile mo'olelo, no ka mea, wahi āna, 'o ka noho aupuni 'ana ke ea o ko Hawai'i pae 'āina. Ua pili nō ia noho aupuni 'ana me kēia mana e ho'okele i ke Aupuni Hawai'i me ka hoeuli pa'a i ka lima o ka mea nona ia moku, a nona ho'i ia aupuni.

Ho'omau akula nō 'o Kahalemaile i kāna ha'i'ōlelo me ka wehewehe 'ana no "kahi i hookahua ia ai keia mamala olelo, oia ke ea," a wahi āna, lohe 'ia nō ma ka wā e paupauaho mai ai kekahi e make, a nīnau 'ia "pehea mai la o mea?" A i kekahi manawa, lohe 'ia ka pane, "Ke kamau la no kahi ea," a i 'ole ia pane, penei paha ia, "Ua lele loa mai la ke ea." A inā he ola hou, he mea nō ia e 'oli'oli ai ke kanaka, a pēlā nō ho'i kona mana'o no ia lā a lākou e 'oli'oli ana, 'o ia nō ka Lā Ho'iho'i Ea. Wahi āna,

> Pehea hoi ka poe kupa Hawaii, ka poe nona ke one hanau, aole anei e lilo ka la i make ai o Hawaii a ola hou mai ka mai mai, i la no kakou e hauoli ai me ka olioli nui loa, no ka hoihoiia ana mai o ke ola o ko kakou aupuni, ke ola o ka lahui kanaka, ke ola o Ka Moi Kapuaiwa ka Elima hoi o na Kamehameha.[29]

A pololei maoli nō kēia mana'o o Kahalemaile. 'O ke ola a me ke ea nō ka makemake nui o ko kākou lāhui kanaka. E mau ke ea o ka 'āina i ka pono a 'ike 'ia ho'i ia ola 'ana ma ko kākou mana e ho'okele i ko kākou Aupuni pono'ī. Ma ka nānā 'ana i nā mele lāhui o nā makahiki 1893 a ka makahiki 1898, 'ike nui 'ia kēia kūlana ko'iko'i o ke ea a me ka 'āina no ka Lāhui Hawai'i. Nolaila, e nānā aku ka maka i nā mele lāhui a 'ike 'ia aku nō ka nui o ke koikoi a nonoi 'ia 'ana e

[29] Kahalemaile, Davida K., *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 12 'Aukake 1871.

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ea ka ʻāina, e ola ka Mōʻī, e welo ka hae kalaunu, a e noho hoʻi ka Mōʻī ma ka noho kalaunu.

Nā Mele Lāhui

KA PULE A KA LAHUI[30]

E —Iehova Sabaota
O —na kaua,—ke Kahikolu
L —aahia Hemolele,
A —lana ia no ko ke ao nei.
O —ka makou pule e maliu mai—
K —a puuhonua o makou nei,
A —lakai, hoopakele, nana mai,
L —awe aku i na popilikia
A —hoolilo i mea ole.
N —inini mai i Kou Hemolele,
I —ola ai makou ma Ou ʻla.
L —alau mai Kou aloha
I —hilinai manawalea,
L —aahia makamae
I —ko makou Lei Aliʻaimoku.
U —hi Iaia me Kou mana,
O —ka palekana a lanakila;
N —a kou nani e hoomohala,
A —mao ae na pilihua.
M —a Ou la—e ka Haku,
O —ko ke ao nei a pau,
K —a makou e pule nei,
U —hane Hemolele Kahikolu.

E —Iehova Sabaota,
M —akua o Aberahama me Davida.
A —lakai o ko ka Isaraela,
U —a ikea a hoonani ia.
K —e haliu aku nei makou,
E —waiho aku ma Kou mau wawae,
E —maliu mai i ka makou pule,
A —e hoopakele ia Hawaii.
O —Oe hookahi e ka Haku,
K —o makou palekana,
A —lakai a Alihikaua,

[30] "Ka Pule A Ka Lahui Hawaii," *Hawaii Holomua*, 20 Ianuali 1893.

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A —ia no ma Ou la,
I —Kinohi a Hoikeana,
N —a lahui me na aina,
A —puni ko ke ao nei,
I —paulele ai no ka malu,
K —a maalahi a me ke ola,
A —Kou Mana Lani i haawi mai ai
P —ule makou e ka Makua,
O —Hawaii e mau aku,
N —o na kupa na oiwi,
O —ka aina—ma Ou la.

'O kēia nō ke mele lāhui mua loa i pa'i 'ia ma hope o ka Ho'okahuli Aupuni o ke Aupuni Hawai'i ma ka lā 17 o Ianuali 1893. Ua pa'i 'ia kēia mele 'o "Ka Pule a ka Lahui," he 'ekolu wale nō lā ma hope mai, ma ka lā 20 o Ianuali 1893 ma loko o ka *Hawaii Holomua*. 'A'ole nō i pūlima 'ia ke mele, no laila, 'a'ole nō maopopo ka inoa o ka haku mele. Piha kēia mele i nā 'ano 'ōlelo ho'oheno like 'ole no ke Akua Kalikiano, 'oiai, 'o ia nō ka mea e pule 'ia ana. Kāhea 'ia kona inoa 'o "Iehova Sabaota" (l. 1) a kapa 'ia 'o ia 'o "ke Kahikolu" (l. 2) a he "Laahia Hemolele," ka mea ho'i i "A—lana ia no ko ke ao nei" (l. 4). Kapa 'ia ho'i 'o Iehova 'o "K—a puuhonua" (l. 6) a me ka "U—hane Hemolele Kahikolu" (l. 23). He mau noi nō ho'i ko ka haku mele i ke Akua Kalikiano "e maliu mai" (l. 5), e "A—lakai, hoopakele, nana mai" (l. 7), a e "L—awe aku i na popilikia,/A—hoolilo i mea ole" (l. 8—9). Noi 'ia nō ho'i kekahi mea no ka Mō'īwahine, 'o ia ho'i, e "U—hi Iaia me Kou mana" (l. 16), "A—mae ae na pilihua" (l. 19). Eia kekahi, he noi ko ka haku mele no Hawai'i, penei "A—e hoopakele ia Hawaii" (l. 31).

No laila, ke heluhelu 'ia nā lālani mele ma ke 'ano ma'a mau, mai ka hema a i ka 'ākau, 'ike 'ia nō he mele pule e noi ana i ke kōkua 'ana mai o ke Akua Kalikiano i ka "mau" 'ana aku o Hawai'i "N—o na kupa na oiwi,/O—ka aina" (l. 43-45). Akā, he mana'o hou aku ko ka haku mele, a 'ike 'ia ua mana'o nei, ke

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heluhelu ʻia nā hua palapala mua loa o kēlā me kēia lālani mai luna a i lalo. I heluhelu ʻia pēia, wahi a ka haku mele ma ka paukū mua, "E OLA O LILIU O NA MOKU," a laila, ma ka paukū ʻelua, "E MAU KE EA O KA AINA I KA PONO." ʻO kēia nō paha nā manaʻo nui loa o ka haku mele, a ma kona koikoi ʻana i kēia mau mea ʻelua, hōʻoia hou mai ʻo ia i ka pilina o ke ola o ka Mōʻīwahine, ke kūʻokoʻa o ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi, a me ke ea o ka ʻāina. ʻAno like ka hopuna ʻōlelo o ka paukū ʻelua me ka puanaʻī a ka Mōʻī Kauikeaouli i ka makahiki 1843 i ka hoʻihoʻi ʻia ʻana mai o ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi. Eia naʻe, hoʻokahi mea ʻokoʻa, a ʻo ia nō ka hua ʻōlelo mua. Wahi a kā ka Mōʻī Kauikeaouli, "Ua mau ke ea o ka ʻāina i ka pono," akā ma kēia mele, a pēlā pū ma nā mele lāhui ʻē aʻe o ia au, ʻo ka mea i mele ʻia a puana ʻia, ʻo ia nō kēia, "E mau ke ea o ka ʻāina i ka pono." ʻOkoʻa maoli nō kēia, no ka mea, i ko ka Mōʻī Kauikeaouli puana ʻana, ua paʻa nō ke kūlana kūʻokoʻa o ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi, akā, ma ka wā ma hope o ka Hoʻokahuli Aupuni, ʻaʻole nō i paʻa, no laila, hoʻololi ʻia ka manaʻo a lilo nō ka mau ʻana o ke ea o ka ʻāina i mea e koikoi ʻia, he mea nō ia e pono ai, ʻoiai, ma ka wā i haku a i paʻi ʻia ai kēia mele ʻaʻole nō i mau ke ea o ka ʻāina i ka pono. ʻO ke ea nō ko lākou mea e ʻimi ana a e ʻiʻini nui ana.

Ma loko o nā mele lāhui a pau i paʻi ʻia ma waena o ka makahiki 1893 a me 1898, nui wale nā manaʻo i mele ʻia mai e pili ana i ke ea o ka ʻāina. Eia ma lalo iho nei kahi mele no ke Kaua Kūloko o ka makahiki 1895 i paʻi ʻia ma loko o ka *Buke Mele Lahui*.

NA HANA POINA OLE[31]

Aia i ka nani Daimana Hila,
I ka uka iuiu a i Manoa,

Ilaila na hana poina ole,
Kaulana i ke ao malamalama,

[31] Ulumaheihei, K. P., "Na Hana Poina Ole," *Buke Mele Lahui*, 30-31.

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Pane mai Wilikoki me ka nahenahe,
Malama i ke ola no ka aina,

A ka lihi kai a o Kaalawai,
Me na hoa hoi i ka inea.

E aloha oukou i ka Moi,
E aloha pu hoi i ka aina,

I mau ai hoi kona nani ana,
O ka Ea o ka aina i ka pono.

Ku mai Wilikoki me ka hanohano,
I ka luna hoi a o Daimana Hila,

Hilahila wale au i ka lohe ana,
Aia Nolena i ka Halewai,

Lohe mai makou i ka elele,
Aia o Kapu i ka hale nui,

Nui no ke aloha i ka aina,
Me ka hae Kalaunu e welo ana;

Haina ia mai ana ka puana,
O ka hae Hawaii ku kilakila.

K. P. ULUMAHEIHEI

Ma kēia mele o luna nei, ʻo ke ea a me ka ʻāina nō ka manaʻo nui o K. P. Ulumaheihei, ka haku mele. Kohu mea lā, ma ke ʻano o kona mele, he hoa aloha ʻāina paha ʻo ia, akā, ʻaʻole nō i ʻike ʻia kona inoa ma ka papa inoa o nā kānaka aloha ʻāina. Ua hoʻomaka mai ʻo K. P. Ulumaheihei i kāna mele me ka hoʻohanohano ʻana aku i nā wahi pana, e laʻa me "Daimana Hila," "Manoa," a me "Kaalawai" (l. 1, 2, 7). Ma ka paukū ʻekolu, mele ʻia mai no kahi puanaʻī a Wilikoki i ka poʻe aloha ʻāina e paipai ana iā lākou e "Malama i ke ola no ka aina" (l. 5-6). A laila, ma kekahi paukū aku, koikoi ʻia ka poʻe aloha ʻāina "E aloha oukou i ka Moi,/E aloha pu hoi i ka aina" (l. 9-10). Ma kēia mau lālani, hōʻike ʻia ke kūlana kiʻekiʻe o ia mau mea a ʻelua, ʻo ka Mōʻī a me ka ʻāina. He pono ke aloha like ʻana aku iā lāua ʻelua a he mea nui nō lāua ʻelua no ka Lāhui

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Hawai'i. A laila, hō'ike 'ia nō ke kumu e aloha ai i ka Mō'ī a me ka 'āina, "I mau ai hoi kona nani ana,/O ka Ea o ka aina i ka pono" (l. 11-12). A ma kēia mau lālani, mele 'ia mai no kēia pilina o ke aloha i ka Mō'ī, ka 'āina a me ka mau 'ana o ke ea o ka 'āina. Ma nā paukū ma lalo, mele hou mai 'o Ulumaheihei no ka hana ma ke Kaua Kūloko a mele mai nō ho'i 'o ia nō nā alaka'i o ke kaua 'ana, 'o ia ho'i 'o "Wilikoki me ka hanohano" (l. 13-14) a me "Nolena i ka Halewai" (l. 15-16). E like me ka mea ma'a mau a me ka mea i mo'olelo 'ia i ka Mokuna 3, ha'aheo nō ka haku mele iā Wilikoki a "Hilahila" nō iā Nolena i kona ho'opa'a hao 'ia 'ana. Ma ka hopena o ke mele, mele hou 'ia mai no ka nui o "ke aloha i ka aina,/Me ka hae kalaunu e welo ana" (l. 19-20), a laila, puana hou 'ia mai no ia "hae Hawaii ku kilakila" (l. 22). He hō'ailona ka hae Hawai'i, kona welo 'ana a me kona kū kilakila 'ana no ke kū'oko'a o ka Lāhui Hawai'i a me ke Aupuni Hawai'i.

Ma kekahi mele, 'oko'a ke 'ano o ke mele 'ana mai no kēia ea a 'o ke ola ka mea nui i noi a mele 'ia mai.

HE KANAENAE NO LILIUOKALANI[32]

O Liliu, o Loloku i ke kapu,
O ka lamaku o ka noeau,
O ka waihona o ke akamai,
O ke aniani o ka pololei,
E imi ana i ka makemake,
I ke ola nui o ka lahui,
Ola Hawaii nui no Keawe,
A kau i ka pua aneane,
E ola ka pua i poniia,
O Liliuokalani he inoa.

Aia o Loloku i Maleka,
I ka piko la i Wakinekona,
Haku ia, kui ia ka wehi,
Ko Hae Kalaunu e Kalani,
I kahiko nou e Liliu,
No ko la nui hanohano,

[32] Kilo a ka lahui, "He Kanaenae No Liliuokalani," *Ke Aloha Aina*, 26 Kēkēmapa 1896.

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I ola na Makaainana,
A kau i ka pua aneane,
E ola ka pua i poniia,
O Liliuokalani he inoa,

Ei ae o ka Lanikiekie,
Me ka pono nui o ka lahui,
Pono Hawaii nui o Keawe,
Ola Molokai nui a Hina,
Ola pu o Maui o Kama,
Oahu o Kakuhihewa,
Kauai o Mano o Kalani,
Niihau i ka mole o Lehua,
E ola ka pua i poniia,
A kau i ka pua aneane,
Ko wehi Kalaunu i ke kapu,
O Liliuokalani he inoa.

KILO A KA LAHUI

Ua pūlima ʻia kēia mele e "Kilo a ka lahui," a maliʻa paha, ʻo ka inoa maoli nō kēia o ka haku mele, koho ʻia paha no kona kilo ʻana mai nō i ka lāhui. Akā, he inoa kapakapa paha ia i lawe ʻia e ka haku mele no ka hōʻike ʻana aku i kona kuleana e ʻauamo nei. Kapa ʻia ke mele "He Kanaenae No Liliuokalani," ʻo ia nō kekahi ʻano pule i oli ʻia no ke noi ʻana i ke kōkua paha a me ka hoʻopōmaikaʻi paha. Ma kēia kānaenae, e noi aku ana ʻo Kilo a ka lahui i ke "ola" o nā mea like ʻole. Hoʻomaka kāna mele me ka hoʻohanohano ʻana i nā ʻano maikaʻi o ka Mōʻīwahine Liliʻuokalani, e laʻa me kona "kapu" (l. 1). Kapa ʻia nō hoʻi ka Mōʻīwahine ʻo "ka lamaku o ka noeau," "ka waihona o ke akamai," a me "ke aniani o ka pololei" (l. 2-4). A ma nā lālani ma lalo mai, mele ʻia mai no ka ʻimi ʻana o ka Mōʻīwahine "I ke ola nui o ka lahui" (l. 5).

I ka makahiki 1896, ka wā i paʻi ʻia ai kēia mele, ʻaʻole ka Mōʻīwahine ma Hawaiʻi nei. Ua pau kona hoʻopaʻahao ʻia ʻana i loko o ka Hale Aliʻi ʻo ʻIolani, a pau hoʻi ka pāpā ʻia ʻana o kona haʻalele ʻana aku i kona hale ponoʻī ma Wakinekona Hale. I ka makahiki 1896, aia a hoʻokuʻu loa ʻia ka Mōʻīwahine, ʻo kona huakaʻi akula nō ia i ke kapikala o ʻAmelika e ʻimi a e noi ai i ka pono o

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kona Aupuni Hawai'i (l. 1-2). 'O kēia huaka'i 'ana nō ka mea e mele 'ia mai ana ma ka paukū 'elua, no ko ka Mō'īwahine 'imi 'ana i kona lei e "kui" a e "wehi" ai i kau pono hou aku 'o ia ma kona "Hae Kalaunu," i "kahiko" nona" (l. 11-15). Ma ka paukū hope loa, mele mai 'o Kilo a ka lahui no ke ola o nā mea nui ko'iko'i. Hō'ike mai nō 'o ia i ka pilina o ka Mō'ī, ka pono, a me ka lāhui ma nā lālani mua o ka paukū ma ke mele 'ana, "Ei ae o ka Lanikiekie,/Me ka pono nui o ka lahui" (l. 21-22). A laila, ma nā lālani ma lalo mai, kāhea 'ia nā inoa o nā mokupuni a hō'ike pū 'ia mai ka pono a me ke ola 'ana o nā mokupuni. Wahi a Kilo a ka lahui, "Pono Hawaii o Keawe," "Ola Molokai nui a Hina," a pēlā pū ke "Ola pu o Maui o Kama," a ma nā lālani 'ē a'e, kāhea pū 'ia nā inoa o "Oahu," "Kauai," "Niihau," a me "ka mole o Lehua" (l. -23-28). E like me ka mea mau, i ke kāhea 'ia 'ana o kēia mau mokupuni, kāhea pū 'ia ka inoa o ko lākou Ali'i Nui a Mō'ī nui nō ho'i paha. He mea kēia e hō'ike mai ana i ka pilina o ka 'āina me kona Mō'ī a me kona po'e maka'āinana, 'oiai he pili 'ohana ia mau mea.

'Ano like ka hopena o kēlā me kēia paukū. Ma nā lālani hope 'ehā o nā paukū, mele hou 'ia mai no ke "ola." Ma ka paukū mua, penei nā lālani,

Ola Hawaii nui o Keawe,
A kau i ka pua aneane,
E ola ka pua i poniia,
O Liliuokalani he inoa.

Ma ka lua o nā paukū, 'oko'a iki ka lālani mua o ia mau lālani, penei ia,

I ola na Makaainana,
A kau i ka pua aneane,
E ola ka pua i poniia,
O Liliuokalani he inoa,

A pēlā pū nō ho'i ka paukū hope loa, 'oko'a iki kekahi mau lālani penei,

E ola ka pua i poniia,
A kau i ka pua aneane,
Ko wehi Kalaunu i ke kapu,
O Liliuokalani he inoa.

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'A'ole i like loa kēia mau lālani 'ehā ma kēlā me kēia paukū, akā, kohu like a pili nō ka mana'o. Ma ka lālani mua, noi 'ia ke ola o kekahi mea. Ma ka paukū mua, 'o ke ola o "Hawaii nui o Keawe" (l. 7) ka i noi 'ia, 'o ia nō ka 'āina a 'o ia ho'i nā Ali'i o ka 'āina. Ma ka lua o nā paukū, nonoi 'ia ke ola o nā "Makaainana" (l. 17), 'o kēia nō ke kanaka a me ka Lāhui Hawai'i. A laila, ma kekahi paukū, noi 'ia ke ola o "ka pua i poniia" (l. 29). 'O kēia pua, 'o ia nō ka Mō'īwahine, akā, 'a'ole wale nō ka Mō'īwahine 'o ka mea nui ho'okahi, no ka mea, he mea nui nō ho'i kona kūlana poni 'ia, 'oiai, he hō'ailona ia no ke kū'oko'a o ke Aupuni Hawai'i a no ko ka Mō'ī kūlana he Ali'i nona ka moku, nāna ho'i e 'ai i ka moku.

Ua like loa ka lua o nā lālani ma nā paukū 'ekolu ma ke noi 'ana i kēia ola o ka 'āina, ke kanaka, a me ka noho mana 'ana o ka Mō'īwahine no ka wā lō'ihi loa. Wahi a ka haku mele, e ola nō ia mea, "A kau i ka pua aneane" (l. 8, 18, 30). A laila, ma kekahi lālani aku ma ka paukū mua a me ka paukū 'elua, noi 'ia "E ola ka pua i poniia" (l. 9, 19), 'o ia nō ke ola o ka Mō'īwahine a me kona kū'oko'a 'ana. Ma ia lālani ma ka paukū 'ekolu, noi 'ia nō kēia mana kū'oko'a o ka Mō'īwahine ma o ke noi 'ana i kona "wehi" i ke "Kalaunu i ke kapu" (l. 31). Ma ka lālani hope loa o kēlā me kēia paukū, ho'ohanohano like 'ia nō ka inoa o "Liliuokalani," i mea nō e ola ai ka inoa o ka Mō'īwahine, ka puana 'ia 'ana aku o kona inoa, a i mau ho'i kona noho 'ana ma ke 'ano he Mō'ī no kākou. A ma muli nō paha o ia puana mau 'ia ana o kona inoa, ua ola nō ka Mō'īwahine a me ke aloha o ka Lāhui Hawai'i iā ia ma kona kūlana he Mō'īwahine no kākou a hiki mai nei nō i ke au nei. I loko nō o ko kākou na'au, ua ola nō ka inoa o ka Mō'ī.

Ua hō'ike aku nō 'o Kahalemaile i kēia 'ano mana'o i kona ha'i'ōlelo 'ana e pili ana i ke ea o ka 'āina a me ke Aupuni Hawai'i ma ka Lā Ho'iho'i Ea i ka makahiki 1871. Ua hō'ike aku 'o ia i kēia mana'o i kona mau hoa o kona wā, akā,

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e pa'ē mai ana nō kona leo iō kākou nei nō ho'i, a he 'oia'i'o mau nō kona mana'o. Wahi āna,

> E hoomanao oe i ka la i hoihoiia mai ai ke "Ea o ke Aupuni," ke ola o ko Hawaii Pae Aina, ina no aole malama na Poo Aupuni, malama no kakou, o ko kakou malama ana, o ko ke alii malama ana no ia... E ola ka Moi i ke Akua!!! Ua mau ke Ea o ka Aina i ka Pono!!!![33]

I kona wā, e hō'oia ana 'o Kahalemaile i kona kuleana a me ke kuleana o ka Lāhui Hawai'i e mālama i "ke ola o ko Hawaii Pae Aina." Akā, e like me ka'u i luna a'e nei, pa'ē mai nō kona leo iō kākou i ke au nei, a hō'ike pū 'ia nō ho'i ko kākou kuleana ma ka ho'ā'o 'ana e 'imi a e mālama ho'i i ke ea o ka 'āina. 'O ia ea o ka 'āina, he mea nui ia mai ke au kahiko mai nō, a i ka wā i loli nui ai ka nohona, ke aupuni, ka ho'omana, a me ka hana kālepa ma Hawai'i. Ua loli nui nō ia mau mea, akā, mau akula nō ho'i ka 'imi 'ia 'ana o ke ea o ka 'āina e ka Lāhui Hawai'i. I ke au iā Kamehameha III i puana aku ai i kona mana'o no ka mau 'ana o ke ea o ka 'āina, he hō'oia nō ia i kahi mana'o nui o kona po'e mākua a me kona po'e kūpuna o ke au kahiko. 'A'ole i pau ko ka Mō'ī mālama 'ana a me kona 'imi 'ana i ke ea o ka 'āina. A i nā makahiki ma hope o ia puana 'ana, a 'oko'a ho'i ka Mō'ī, akā, he mea mau ia mālama 'ia 'ana o ke ea o ka 'āina e ka po'e e noho ana ma Hawai'i nei, a lawe pū 'ia e nā kānaka i ko lākou noho 'ana aku ma nā 'āina 'ē e like me nā keiki o ka Ehu Hau. 'A'ole ho'i i pau ia mālama 'ana i ia ea o ka 'āina i ka wā i pilikia nui ai ke Aupuni Hawai'i i ka Ho'okahuli Aupuni a me ka Ho'ohui 'Āina 'ia aku iā 'Amelika. Haku 'ia nō ka waiwai a me ke kūlana ko'iko'i o ke ea o ka 'āina i loko o nā mele lāhui. A i ke au nei, 'a'ole ho'i i pau akula, he mea nō ia e 'imi 'ia nei. Mau nō ka haku 'ia 'ana o kēia 'ano mana'o i loko o nā mele a kākou e haku nei a mau nō ko kākou 'imi 'ana a me ka mālama 'ana i ke

[33] Kahalemaile, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 12 August 1871.

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ea o ka ʻāina. Eia kekahi mea hou aku e alakaʻi ana iā kākou i ia ʻimi ʻana, a he mea hoʻi ia i alakaʻi i ka ʻimi ʻana ma ke au i hala kekahi—a ʻo ka pono nō ia.

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MOKUNA 6
KŪLIA I KA PONO

HE WEHI NO LILIULANI[1]

He inoa keia nou e Liliu
No ka wohi kapu o Hawaii
Kulia i ka pono ko aupuni
Ma ka paepae o ka mea Mana Loa
I mau ka pono i ko lahui
Me ka aekai o ka Pakipika
E hoi e Liliu i kou kapu
I noho i ka Ihi o ke Kalaunu
Ua poni ia oe me ka maemae
I makua nui hoi no ka lehulehu
Ke lana nei no kahi manao
E i aku ka pono a hiki mai
Ke hii ia mai la e ke Kiakolu
Me ka hae lanakila ou e Kalani
Kohia i paa kou manao
I ku ai ko makaia
Kulia i ka pule a ke Kahuna
E Kane Kanaloa mailuna mai
He noi aloha ia Kihawahine
E maliu mai oe i ka leo uwalo
Eia ko liko ko pulapula
Milimili a Hawaii o Keawe
Kakoo mai o Maui o Kama
I ka pono nui o Liliuokalani
E ike e ka lani me ka opua
I ka hana a ka opu lokoino
Palea ia ka manao lili
Ka manao haakei ma ka lokoino
Ke i mai nei a o Haumea
E ola o Hawaii a mau loa
O Liliuokalani no ka Hooilina
Ke poo hoi o ka noho Kalaunu
Kukulu paa la ko Makia
Onipaa i ka piko o Kakuihewa
Haina ka inoa ua lanakila
O Liliu o Wewehilani i ke Kapu.

He inoa keia no Wewehilani
Ke Kuini hoi o ka Pakipika
Ke Aliiwahine o Hawaii nei
Ke hai mai nei ka Hokuloa
Ke alakai o ka malamalama
Ke i mai nei ka pae opua

[1] Puuwai Aloha, "He Wehi No Liliulani," *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, 16 Pepeluali 1893, 3.

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Eia Poloula ka Hokualii
Nana i kaohi ko aupuni
I paa a paa e Kumuhonua
I mau ka noho'na o ko pulapula
Ko kaku *[pn]* ai o ke ao nei
Oia ka uwalo ia oukou
Na kini o ka la me kaulana
E lana ka manao e ka lahui
E lokahi like na puuwai
E haliu like ae i ka Mana Lani
I na Kolukahi o ke ola mau
I like ka noho ana me ke au mua
Me ke au ia Kalani Kapuaiwa
A loaa mai nei i nei Lani
O ke Kahiwauli ka Onohilani
Ka onohi i kokoni ai o ka eha
I loku ai o ka maka i ka puu kai
Akahi a ola Hawaii nui
Ua loaa ka Mohai a me ka Alana
O ka leo ka ua me ke aloha
E kali a hiki mai ka Elele
O ka wahaolelo o ke aupuni
Mai punihei mai oukou
I ka poe anunu kohuole
Makee i ka pono o Hawaii
Nana i poi ou kupuna
A loaa mai hoi oukou
E na hanauna moo nihoawa
Haina ka inoa o ka lanakila
O Liliu o Wewehilaniikekapu.

PUUWAI ALOHA.

Ma kēia mokuna, 'o ka pono nō ke kumuhana nui ko'iko'i, a e like me nā mokuna ma mua a ma hope pono aku o kēia, e ho'omaka ana nei mokuna me ka 'imi noi'i 'ia 'ana o ka mana'o o kēia hua 'ōlelo a me kona kūlana ko'iko'i ma ka mo'olelo kahiko o Hawai'i nei, a pēlā pū kona kūlana no nā Ali'i a me nā Mō'ī nona ka 'āina i ke au kahiko. Ma hope o ka hiki 'ana mai o ka po'e haole no 'Europa a me 'Amelika mai, ua loli nō ka mana'o o kēia hua 'ōlelo ma kekahi 'ano, ma muli o ke 'ano kālepa o ka po'e haole, a ma muli nō ho'i o ke 'ano o ko lākou ho'omana Kalikiano 'ana. 'A'ole nō na'e i loli loa ka mana'o o ia hua 'ōlelo, a 'a'ole nō i emi mai kona kūlana ko'iko'i no ke aupuni a me ka lāhui Hawai'i.

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Ma ka hopena o ka mokuna, e noi'i nowelo 'ia ana ke 'ano o kēia hua 'ōlelo i kona haku 'ia 'ana a pa'a i loko o nā mele lāhui. E hō'ike 'ia ana a e wehewehe 'ia ana nō kekahi mau mele piha, a laila, no ka 'ike 'ana i ka nui a me ke 'ano like 'ole o ka pono ma loko o nā mele lāhui, e hō'ike wale 'ia ana kekahi mau lālani mai loko mai o kekahi mau mele, i lohe 'ia ka nahenahe o nā leo like 'ole o ka Lāhui Hawai'i no ia mea he pono.

Ma ke mele o luna a'e nei i haku 'ia e Puuwai Aloha a i pa'i 'ia i loko o *Ka Leo o ka Lahui* he mau pule wale nō ma hope o ka ho'okahuli 'ia 'ana o ke aupuni, he mea nui ka pono no ka haku mele. He 'elima nō manawa i haku 'ia ai kēia mana'o no ka pono i loko o nei mele ho'okahi. Ma muli wale nō o ka nui o ko Puuwai Aloha haku 'ana i ka pono i loko o kāna mele, 'ike 'ia nō ke kūlana nui ko'iko'i o ia mea i loko o ka na'au o kānaka. Ma ka lālani 'ekolu o ke mele, hō'ike mai 'o Puuwai Aloha i kona mana'o no ka Mō'īwahine Lili'uokalani e "Kulia i ka pono ko aupuni," a laila, hō'ike mai 'o ia i kona kumu i makemake ai i ia mea, "I mau ka pono i ko lahui" (l. 5). A ma lalo iho, mele mai nō 'o Puuwai Aloha no ka pili o ka pono me ka ho'omana Kalikiano, me ke mele 'ana "E ia aku ka pono a hiki mai/Ke hii ia mai la e ke Kiakolu" (l. 12-13). Ma lalo iho, 'ike 'ia ka pilina o ka pono me ka Mō'ī i kona noho 'aimoku 'ana. Wahi a Puuwai Aloha, "Kakoo mai o Maui o Kama/I ka pono nui o Liliuokalani" (l. 23-24). A laila, ma ka lua o ka mokuna, hō'ike hou 'ia mai ka pilina o ka pono me ka 'āina o Hawai'i, a he leo kūamuamu nō ho'i ko Puuwai Aloha no ka po'e nāna i ho'okahuli i ke aupuni. Mele mai 'o ia penei, "Mai punihei mai oukou/I ka poe anunu kohuole/Makee i ka pono o Hawaii" (l. 65-67).

He la'ana maika'i a kūpono nei mele no ka ho'omaopopo 'ana i ka mahalo nui a me ke kauka'i nui o ka lāhui Hawai'i ma hope o ka ho'okahuli 'ia 'ana o ke aupuni. 'O ka ho'iho'i a me ka ho'okumu hou 'ia 'ana o ke aupuni ka pahuhopu

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nui, akā, 'o ka ho'iho'i me ka pono. Ma mua o ka noi'i 'ana i ka pono ma loko o nā mele lāhui, e 'imi noi'i mua 'ia ia mea he pono.

He aha ia mea he pono?

I ka nānā 'ana aku ma loko o ka puke wehewehe 'ōlelo a Pukui mā i pa'i 'ia i ka makahiki 1957, he keu maoli nō ka nui o nā hua 'ōlelo e wehewehe mai ana i ka mana'o o ka pono. He maika'i kekahi mana'o a he kūpono nō ho'i kekahi. Ua pili ho'i kona mana'o i ke ola kino o kekahi mea, ke kaulike o kahi mea a hana paha, a me kona kūlana he po'okela. 'O ka lanakila nō ho'i kekahi mana'o, a 'o ia nō ho'i ka hua 'ōlelo inā hana 'ia kekahi hana no ha'i, hana 'ia no ka pono o ia kanaka. Pili nō ho'i ka pono i ke kuleana ma ka ho'okō 'ana aku i kekahi hana. Mai poina, 'eā, e ka maka heluhelu, 'a'ole nō i hāiki ka mana'o o kēia hua 'ōlelo, 'ano laulā nō ia.

He mea nui nō ho'i ka pono ma ka pilina 'ohana o nā kānaka Hawai'i a me ka 'āina. Wahi a Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa, he kuleana ko ke kaikua'ana a me kona kaikaina i ka mālama 'ana aku kekahi i kekahi. 'O ka hānai a me ka ho'omalu ke kuleana o ke kaikua'ana a 'o ka mālama ke kuleana o ke kaikaina. He kaikua'ana nō ho'i ka 'āina no ke kanaka, no laila, ma kēia hānai 'ana me kēia mālama 'ana, pēlā nō e pono ai ka lāhui.[2]

Ua wehewehe mai nō ho'i 'o Jonathan Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio i kona mana'o no ka pono, a wahi āna, he mea nui ka pono o ka pō me ke ao, a pēlā pū nā Akua nona ka mana o ke kaua me nā Akua nona ka 'āina a me ka ho'oulu

[2] Kame'eleihiwa, 25. Penei kā Kame'eleihiwa i kākau mai ai, "It is the reciprocal duty of the elder siblings to *hānai* (feed) the younger ones, as well as to love and *ho'omalu* (protect) them. The relationship is thereby further defined: it is the *'Āina*, the *kalo*, and the *Ali'i Nui* who are to feed, clothe, and shelter their younger brothers and sisters, the Hawaiian people. So long as younger Hawaiians love, serve, and honor their elders, the elders will continue to do the same for them, as well as to provide for all their physical needs. Clearly, by this equation, it is the duty of Hawaiians to *Mālama 'Āina*, and as a result of this proper behavior, the *'Āina* will *mālama* Hawaiians. In Hawaiian, this perfect harmony is known as *pono*, which is often translated in English as 'righteous,' but actually denotes a universe in perfect harmony."

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mea 'ai. I kona wehewehe 'ana, hō'ike mai 'o Osorio no ka pono o ka pilina o ka po'e maka'āinana me nā Ali'i, a me nā Akua. Inā pono ia pilina, 'o ia nō ka mea e ola ai nā mea a pau.[3] Mo'olelo mai nō ho'i 'o Noenoe Silva no ia mea he pono wahi āna, inā pono ka pilina o nā Akua, nā Ali'i, nā kāhuna, nā maka'āinana, a me ka 'āina, e lawa ana no ka 'ai a e ola ana nō nā mea a pau.[4]

E ka maka heluhelu, e ho'omana'o mai nō i kēia mau mana'o no ka pono, 'eā, a e huli ho'i ko kākou maka a me ka no'ono'o i nā hana, nā wā, a me nā mele nō ho'i, kahi i 'ike 'ia ai ke kūlana ko'iko'i o ka pono i nā wā i kala loa aku.

Pō Nō me ka Pono: Hānau Kumulipo

HE PULE HOOLAA ALII[5]

HE KUMULIPO NO
KA-'I-'I-MAMAO
A IA
ALAPAI WAHINE

Ka Wa Akahi

1. O ke au i kahuli wela ka honua
2. O ke au i kahuli lole ka lani
3. O ke au i kuku'iaka ka la
4. E ho'omalamalama i ka malama
5. O ke au o Makali'i ka po
6. O ka walewale ho'okumu honua ia
7. O ke kumu o ka lipo, i lipo ai
8. O ke kumu o ka Po, i po ai
9. O ka lipolipo, o ka lipolipo
10. O ka lipo o ka la, o ka lipo o ka po
11. Po wale ho—'i

[3] Osorio, 2002, 10. Penei kā Osorio i kākau mai ai, "a state of balance between numerous dualities: light and dark, sacred and profane. There were akua (gods) for warfare and akua for planting, and caring for these deities was a significant part of any ruling chiefs' obligations. But above all pono was a balance between what was male and female... For Maka'āinana, the concept of pono linked them as well as the Ali'i into a relationship with the powerful gods whose mana made the miracle of life possible."

[4] Silva, 2004, 16. Penei kona wehewehe 'ana, "In the ancient Kanaka world, pono meant that the akua (deities), ali'i, kahuna, maka'āinana, and 'āina (land) lived in balance with each other, and that people had enough to eat and were healthy."

[5] "He Pule Hoolaa Alii, He Kumulipo no Ka-'i-'i-mamao a ia Alapai Wahine," Martha Beckwith, luna ho'oponopono, *The Kumulipo: A Hawaiian Creation Chant*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1972, 187.

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12. Hanau ka po
13. Hanau Kumulipo i ka po, he kane
14. Hanau Po'ele i ka po, he wahine

He mele ko'ihonua ke Kumulipo, a ma loko o ia mele i helu papa 'ia mai ai ka hānau 'ia 'ana mai o kēlā me kēia mea ma ke ao Hawai'i. He 1,102 lālani ka lō'ihi o ke mele a ma ka hopena, ua ho'ohanohano 'ia ka inoa 'o Lonoikamakahiki ma nei mele, 'o ia nō 'o "Ka-I-i-amamao" a i 'ole 'ia, "Kalaninuiiamamao." He keiki 'o ia na 'elua Ali'i mana kapu, 'o Lonomaikanaka ka makuahine a 'o Keaweikekahiali'iokamoku ka makua kāne. Ua oli 'ia ke mele e Hewahewa me Ahukai no kā Kalaninuiiamamao kaikamahine, no Alapa'iwahine.[6] No Kalaninuiiamamao, he mea kēia mele e ho'ohanohano ana i kona inoa, a me kona mo'okū'auhau i ho'omaopopo 'ia e ka lehulehu ka pono o kona noho Ali'i 'ana i ka moku.

Ua ho'omāhelehele 'ia maila ke mele i loko o 'umikūmāono wā, a ma kēlā me kēia wā, hānau 'ia maila kekahi mau mea. Ma ka ho'omaka 'ana o "Ka Wa Akahi," he wā a he au ia i lole ai ka lani a me ka honua. Ma nā lālani mua loa o ke mele, 'o ia nō ka māhele i hō'ike 'ia i luna a'e nei i kapa 'ia 'o "Ka Wa Akahi," hānau maila "ka po," a pēlā pū 'o "Kumulipo" me "Poele" (l. 12-14). A ma hope iho, hānau maila ka "'Uku-ko'a-ko'a," a laila, hānau maila nā 'ano i'a like 'ole o ka moana, 'o ke "Ko'e-enuhe" 'oe, 'o ka "'Ina" 'oe, 'o ka "Ha'uke'uke" 'oe, 'o ka "Pipipi" 'oe, a me kekahi mau i'a hou aku (l. 15-33). A ma nā lālani ma hope mai, ho'omau nō ia hānau 'ana o nā i'a o ka moana, akā, hānau pū 'ia kona kōko'olua o ka 'āina. Penei ia mele 'ana,

34. Hanau kane ia Wai'ololi, o ka wahine ia Wai'olola
35. Hanau ka Ekaha noho i kai
36. Kia'i ia e ka Ekahakaha noho i uka
37. He po uhe'e i ka wawa
38. He nuku, he wai ka 'ai a ka la'au

[6] Liliuokalani, 1978, 'Ōlelo Ho'ākāka.

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39. O ke Akua ke komo, 'a'oe komo kanaka

Ma kēia māhele a me nā māhele ma hope mai, helu papa pū 'ia mai ka wai 'ololī o ke kāne a me ka wai 'ololā o ka wahine, a laila, hānau maila kekahi i'a o ke kai. He mau limu nō kēia po'e i'a, 'o ka "Ekaha" 'oe a ma hope aku 'o ke "Ko'ele'ele" 'oe, a 'o ka "limu Kala" 'oe, a pēlā pū kekahi mau i'a like 'ole (l. 35, 41, 47, 53, 59 65, 71, 77, 83, 89, 95, 101, 107). Ma ka lālani mele 'ana a'e, hānau maila kekahi mea kanu o ka 'āina, a kohu like ka inoa o ka mea kanu a me kona 'ano i ka inoa a me ke 'ano o ua i'a lā. No laila, ma ka māhele o luna a'e nei, hānau pū maila ka "Ekahakaha," he 'ano kupukupu nō kona 'ano. Ho'omau 'ia aku nō ka hānau 'ana mai o nā 'ano mea kanu like 'ole ma nā māhele ma hope aku me kona kōko'olua. 'O ke kōko'olua o ke "Ko'ele'ele," 'o ia nō ke "ko Punapuna," a 'o ke kōko'olua o ka "lima Kala," 'o ia ho'i ka "'Akala."

Ma ka hopena o ia mau māhele, 'ike 'ia ke kuleana o nā Akua ma ia wā, 'a'ole o ke kanaka. Wahi a ke mele, "O ke Akua ke komo, 'a'oe komo kanaka" (l. 39, 45, 51, 57, 63, 69, 75, 81, 87, 93, 99, 103, 111). Wahi a Beckwith, he hō'ailona kēia no ka mana o nā Akua ma kēia hana o ka hānau 'ana, 'a'ole nō ia he kuleana no ke kanaka.[7]

Ua like me kā Kame'eleihiwa, Osorio, me Silva i ho'ākaka ai no ka pono o ka pilina o ke kaikua'ana a me ke kaikaina, nā Ali'i me nā maka'āinana no ke kūlana ko'iko'i o ka pono o ka pilina o ke kāne me ka wahine a pēlā pū ka 'āina a me ke kai. A ma kēia mau lālani mele, 'ike 'ia nō kēia pono o ke kāne me ka wahine, ka 'āina a me ke kai.

[7] Beckwith, 1972, 53-54. Wahi a, "The last line is an equally clear reference to the office of gods rather than man in the fertilizing process... Such a birth chant, with its refrain of generations... seems to link together the whole series in a kind of magical incantation to promote fertility in plant and animal forms necessary to man but over whose procreation he has no control."

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Ma ka hopena o "Ka Wa Akahi," penei ka mele 'ana mai,

112. O ke kane huawai, Akua kena
113. O kalina a ka wai i ho'oulu ai
114. O ka huli ho'okawowo honua
115. O paia ['a] i ke auau ka manawa
116. O he'e au loloa ka po
117. O piha, o pihapiha
118. O piha-u, o piha-a
119. O piha-e, o piha-o
120. O ke ko'o honua pa'a ka lani
121. O lewa ke au, ia Kumulipo ka po
122. Po-no

Ma kēia mau lālani hope loa o Ka Wā 'Akahi, kohu mele ma'i nō ia, 'oiai mele 'ia mai no "ke kane huawai" (l. 112), a me "kalina a ka wai i ho'oulu ai" (l. 113), a me ka "he'e au loloa ka po" (l. 116). A laila, ma nā lālani ma lalo mai, mele 'ia mai no ka "piha, o pihapiha,/O piha-u, o piha-a,/O piha-e, o piha-o" (l. 117-119). He mea ma'a mea kēia kani 'ana o ka "u," ka "a", ka "e" a me ka "o" ma nā mele ma'i ma ke 'ano o ka hana a me nā kani le'ale'a o ka ho'oipoipo. I nā makahiki, ma hope o ka hiki 'ana mai o ka palapala, ua hahai 'ia ke ka'ina o ka pī'āpā ma kēia 'ano hana ma ka mele ma'i, akā, mai ke au kahiko mai nei mele, a 'oko'a ia ka'ina ma 'ane'i.

Wahi a Beckwith, ma nā lālani 'elua ma ka hopena o "Ka Wa Akahi," mele 'ia mai no ka holo 'ana o ka manawa, he wā ia no Kumulipo, a 'o ka "Po-no" ma ka lālani hope loa, ua pili nō kona mana'o i ka pō nō (l. 122).[8] A pololei nō kēia mana'i no ka pō, akā, he mana'o hou aku nō ho'i ko kekahi kanaka no kēia lālani hope loa. Wahi a Silva, ma ke kākau 'ana aku i ke mele penei, "Po-no," me kēlā wahi kaha ma waena o "po" me "no," he mea ia e pālua ai ka mana'o o ia lālani. Mali'a paha, he "Pō nō" ka mana'o, a ho'ākāka maika'i nō ho'i 'o Silva, he pō maika'i ia, 'oiai, mai ka pō mai nā hana a nā Akua ma mua o ka hānau 'ana mai o ke kanaka. Eia nō na'e, wahi a Silva, ua pili paha ia lālani mele "Po-no" i ka

[8] Beckwith, 1972, 56-58.

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"pono" kekahi. 'O ia nō ka pono i loa'a ma o ka pilina o ka 'āina a me ke kai, ka honua a me ka lani, ke kāne a me ka wahine.[9]

He mea nui kēia pono i haku 'ia mai i loko o nei mele no nā pulapula a Kalaninuiiamamao a me Alapaiwahine, e la'a me Kalākaua a me Lili'uokalani. 'Oiai, ua lilo 'o Kalākaua i Mō'ī ma o ke koho pāloka 'ia 'ana, ua kūkākūkā nui 'ia nō ka mo'okū'auhau o Kalākaua, no ka mea, 'a'ole 'o ia he Kamehameha, a 'o ko lākou mo'okū'auhau ka mea i ki'eki'e maila ma hope o ko Kamehameha na'i 'ana i ke aupuni. Eia kekahi, ua loli nui ke 'ano o ka nohona o ka Lāhui Hawai'i no nā kānaka a me nā Ali'i, 'oiai, pau nā kapu o ke au kahiko a he aupuni kumukānāwai ka i ho'okumu 'ia me ka 'aha'ōlelo nāna nō e ho'okō i kekahi o nā kuleana o ka Mō'ī. Eia kekahi, 'a'ole na ka Mō'ī e kālai aku i ka 'āina, no ka mea, ua ho'okuleana 'ia aku i ke kanaka a kū'ai 'ia aku a kū'ai 'ia mai ho'i. No kēia mau kumu a me ke kuhikuhi 'ia mai 'a'ole 'o Kalākaua he pulapula na nā Kamehameha, ua 'imi nō ka Mō'ī i alahele e hō'oia a e kūkala 'ia aku ho'i kona kūlana he Ali'i Nui. No laila, i kona wā e noho Ali'i ana no ke Aupuni Hawai'i, nāna nō i pa'i akula i kēia mele i ka makahiki 1889 i hō'oia 'ia kona mo'okū'auhau no kona Lāhui Hawai'i pono'ī.[10]

A hala ka Mō'ī Kalākaua, a lilo kona kaikuahine 'o Lili'uokalani i Mō'ī no Hawai'i. A ma hope o ka Ho'okahuli Aupuni, a ma hope ho'i o ke Kaua Kūloko, i

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[9] Silva, 2004, 100. Wahi a Silva, "'Po-no' can, moreover, be read as the word "pono," with the dash signifiying 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 with out the dash... 'Po-no' then, means not only 'it is indeed night,' but also 'it is right' or 'it is good.'"

[10] Beckwith, 1972, 29. Penei kā Beckwith, "The election of Kalakaua had not been without bitter opposition. It was to his interest and later to that of his sister as queen to uphold in every way the family claim to blood descent from the fountain source of Keawe's line. With the freeing of the slave class, the abolition of the taboos, the development of a constitutional form of government participated in by foreigners to whom the native rules of rank were alien, and the opening up of lands to individual ownership, the outward marks distinguishing the chief class had disappeared. Only the name chants and genealogies remained to preserve a family's claim to noble ancestry."

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kona wā e ho'opa'a 'ia ana i loko o 'Iolani Hale, ua ho'omaka ka Mō'īwahine i ka unuhi 'ana i kēia mele a ua noke akula 'o ia i ia hana 'ana i kona wā e noho pa'a ana ma Wakinekona Hale, a pau ka hana 'ana i kona wā e noho ana ma Wakinekona, D. C., ke kapikala o 'Amelika, i ka makahiki 1897. Wahi a ka Mō'īwahine, ua pa'i 'o ia i ke mele i mālama 'ia ka mo'okū'auhau no ka po'e hoihoi i ka loina Hawai'i a me ka po'e akeakamai kekahi. Ua makemake ho'i ka Mō'īwahine e hana i kēia no ka pono o ka 'ōlelo Hawai'i i 'ole e poina a nalowale aku kekahi o nā 'ike o loko. Eia kekahi, a 'o kēia paha kahi mana'o nui o ka Mō'īwahine, he mea nō ho'i ke mele e mele mai ana a e ho'ohanohano mai ana i ka mo'okū'auhau o kona kaikunāne, ka Mō'ī Kalākaua a me ia.[11]

'Oko'a maoli nō ke 'ano o ka manawa i ko Kalākaua pa'i 'ana i kēia mele me ko Lili'uokalani pa'i 'ana i ke mele. No Kalākaua, e hō'oia aku ana 'o ia i kona mo'okū'auhau no ke Aupuni Hawai'i a no ka Lāhui Hawai'i. Ua nui nō ka po'e no ka 'āina 'ē e noho ana ma Hawai'i a ua loli a emi ho'i ka mana o ka Lāhui Hawai'i ma ko kākou 'āina pono'ī, akā, ua mau nō na'e ka noho 'ana o ka Mō'ī ma kona noho kalaunu a mau ho'i ke kū'oko'a o kona Aupuni Hawai'i. No Lili'uokalani, ua ho'omaka 'o ia i kēia kākau 'ana he 'elua makahiki ma hope o ka Ho'okahuli Aupuni. Ua pilikia loa ke kū'oko'a o ke Aupuni Hawai'i a ua pau ko ka Mō'ī noho 'ana ma ka Noho Kalaunu o ke Aupuni Hawai'i. No laila, i ko Liliuokalani pa'i 'ana i kēia unuhi o ke *Kumulipo* ma ka 'ōlelo haole, ua makemake nō 'o ia e 'ike 'ia a e heluhelu 'ia ma ka 'ōlelo haole e ka po'e he nui wale, i 'ike lākou i ke kūlana ki'eki'e o kona mo'okū'auhau. Akā, he mea nui ko'iko'i nō ho'i ko lākou 'ike 'ana a ho'omaopopo pono 'ana mai i ke akamai a

[11] Liliuokalani, 1987, 'Ōlelo Ho'ākāka. Penei kāna i mo'olelo mai ai, "It is the special property of the latest ruling family of the Hawaiians Islands, being nothing less than the genealogy in remote times of the late King Kalakaua,–who has it printed in the original Hawaiian language,—and myself."

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me ka loea o ka Lāhui Hawai'i i 'ike 'ia ka mākaukau o ka lāhui ma ke alaka'i 'ana i ko kākou Aupuni Hawai'i pono'ī.

'O Ka Pono me Ka Hewa: He Kānāwai No Kahiko

He mea nui nō ia pono o ka 'āina a me ke kanaka a he mea nui nō ho'i ka pono no ke aupuni a me ka noho aupuni 'ana o kekahi Mō'ī. Wahi a Samuel M. Kamakau, "He kumukanawai ko kela a me keia Moi i noho i ke aupuni ma ka pae aina o Hawaii nei a hiki i ke au o Kamehameha I."[12] Penei kona wehewehe 'ana no kekahi kānāwai,

> O ke kanawai i kalana ola. O kela ame ka make, o ka pono ame ka hewa. O keia mau kanawai elua, o ia na kanawai i malama ia e ka Moi a i hoomalu ia ma luna o ke aupuni.[13]

Wahi a kā Kamakau i ho'ākāka mai ai, na ka Mō'ī kēia mau kānāwai i mālama, a no laila, he mana kalana ola ko ka Mō'ī a he mana make nō ho'i kona.

> O ke kanawai i kalanaaola, o ka mahiai, o ka lawaia, o ke kuku, o ke kapala, o ke kukulu hale, o ka hoolako i na pono kino a me ka maluhia o ke aupuni, a me ke kuapapanui o ka lahuikanaka. O ke kanawai i kalanaola, ua pili i ka huikala ana, a me ke kala ana i ka poe lawehala e pili ana i ka make, a ua hookuu aku ka Moi me ka huikala a ua kala ia ko lakou hewa, ua komo ia i ke kanawai o ke kalanaola.[14]

Ma kēia wehewehe 'ana, 'o ka kānāwai no ke kalana ola, 'o ia nō nā 'ano hana like 'ole a nā kānaka e hana ai no ke ola 'ana, no ka 'ai ma ka hana "mahiai" me ka "lawaia." Eia kekahi mau mea "kalanaola" hou aku, 'o ia nō nā mea e pono ai ka "hoolako i na pono kino" ma o ke "kuku" me ke "kapala" ana i ka lole a me ke kapa moe, a ma o ke "kukulu hale" nō ho'i. Hō'ike pū 'ia ka pono o ka maluhia o ke aupuni no ia kalana ola a ke ho'okō a mālama pono 'ia kēia mau mea, pēia nō e "kuapapanui" mai ai ka "lahuikanaka." Ma ko Kamakau wehewehe 'ana i luna a'e nei, 'ike pū 'ia ka mana o ka Mō'ī e huikala aku i

[12] Kamakau, "Ka Moolelo o Kamehameha I," *Ke Au Okoa*, 7 October 1869.
[13] Kamakau., "Ka Moolelo o Kamehameha I," *Ke Au Okoa*, 22 April 1869.
[14] Kamakau., "Ka Moolelo o Kamehameha I," *Ke Au Okoa*, 22 April 1869.

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kekahi hewa o kānaka i ola 'o ia. Ho'omau akula 'o ia i ia wehewehe 'ana me ka hō'ike pū 'ana i nā mea maika'i o ke "kalanaaola," akā, ho'omana'o mai ho'i 'o ia i ka mana make o ka Mō'ī penei,

> O ke kalanaaola, he huaolelo maikai loa keia i pili i kona ano iho, a no kona maikai loa ua komo iloko o na kulana pule a iloko o kulana hiilani i ke akua a i na 'lii. O ka aihue me ka wahahee, e holehole ia na iwi. O ka aia me ka aihulu, noluna ia o ia hakalele.[15]

Kohu mea lā, he mana nui wale kēia a 'a'ohe paha palena o ia mana o ka Mō'ī, 'oiai, nāna nō e ho'oholo no ke kalanaaola o ke kanaka ma o ka huikala 'ana aku i kona hewa i hana ai. A i 'ole ka mea i ho'oholo 'ia, he mana nō ko ka Mō'ī e ho'omake aku i ka po'e i lawehala a "holehole na iwi." Eia nō na'e, kau palena 'ia nō kona mana kalana ola a make paha. Kau palena 'ia nō e ka pono a me ka hewa. A ho'omau mai nō 'o Kamakau i kona wehewehe 'ana no kēia pono o ke kalana ola. Wahi āna,

> O ka pono o keia mau kumukanawai elua ka ka poe alii i noho ai ma ka noho Moi i malama no ka pono o ko lakou noho aupuni ana. Ua malama ia e na Moi kahiko a hiki i ke au o na Kamehameha.[16]

No laila, 'a'ole nō i ho'oholo wale aku ka Mō'ī e like me kona makemake, akā, ua 'imi nō 'o ia i ka mea e pono ai ke kalana ola no kona Lāhui. Wahi a Kamakau, ua mau aku nō kēia mau kumukānāwai a i "ke au o na Kamehameha," a pololei nō ia, no ka mea, he mea nui nō ka pono no ko Kamehameha noho Ali'i 'ana a me kona na'i 'ana i kona aupuni.

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[15] Kamakau, "Ka Moolelo o Kamehameha I," *Ke Au Okoa*, 22 April 1869.
[16] Kamakau, "Ka Moolelo o Kamehameha I," *Ke Au Okoa*, 7 October 186922 'Apelila 1869.

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He ali'i pono, he honua pono: 'O Kamehameha nō ia

HAUI KA LANI[17]

PAUKU VIII

Ai kalani ia Hawaii, kau ka pakaeaea iluna,
Limu kohu ka lani ke hele, ii kohu no ke alii pono,
He alii pono, he alii pono, he honua pono.
285. Pono wale ia e ai mai la.
Ka ai ana i ka aina ia Hawaii o Keawe
O Hawaii kahiko, o Keawe ka i lalo,
O ka lani o Malale la ko luna,
Ea Malale ka moaeku.

Ma ka wā i hānau 'ia mai ai 'o Kamehameha Pai'ea, 'o ia nō 'o Kamehameha I, ua mau nō ke kūlana ko'iko'i o ka pono no ka Mō'ī a me kona noho aupuni 'ana. 'Ike 'ia aku nō ia kūlana ko'iko'i o ka pono ma loko o kekahi mele i haku 'ia no Kamehameha. Mo'olelo mai 'o Charlot no ka pono a me nā Ali'i o Hawai'i a pili ho'i ia i ke 'ano o ka na'au o ke kanaka a me ke 'ano o kāna hana 'ana.[18] 'O ke Ali'i a me ka Mō'ī nō ka mea e pili ai a e pono ai ho'i ka 'āina, ke kanaka, a me nā Akua. 'O kēia nō nā mea i mele 'ia no Kamehameha ma ke mele o luna a'e nei. 'O "Haui Ka Lani" ka inoa o ia mele a ua haku 'ia na Keaulumoku e pili ana i ko Kamehameha kūlana kūpono no ka lilo 'ana i Mō'ī.

Ua pa'i 'ia ke mele ma loko o *Na Mele Aimoku, Na Mele Kupuna a me Na Mele Ponoi o ka Moi Kalakaua I* i ka makahiki 1889. Wahi a kekahi 'ao'ao mua o ka puke, ua "pai ia no ka la hanau o ka Moi, ke kanalima ponoi o kona mau makahiki.[19] Pa'i 'ia nō ho'i ke mele ma loko o kā Fornander puke i kapa 'ia o nā *Memoirs of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum of Poly-Ethnology and Natural*

[17] *Na Mele Aimoku, Na Mele Kupuna, a me Na Mele Ponoi o ka Moi Kalakaua I*, (Honolulu: Hawaiian Historical Society, 2001)., 42-76.
[18] Charlot, 2. Penei kā Charlot i kākau mai ai, "*Pono* is a key word in Hawaiian politico-religious literature and has been defined very widely from moral righteousness to a correctness in practical terms that leads to success. In Hawaiian thinking, *pono* seems to incorporate both aspects: the right person must act rightly for the proper effect."
[19] *Na Mele Aimoku, Na Mele Kupuna, a me Na Mele Ponoi o ka Moi Kalakaua I*, ka 'ao'ao inoa.

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History.[20] ʻO Thomas G. Thrum ka Luna Hoʻoponopono o ia puke, akā, wahi āna, na "Judge Andrews," ʻo ia hoʻi ʻo Lorrin Andrews, i kākau aku i kekahi mau paukū o ke mele. Ua lawe ʻia kekahi mau paukū mai loko mai o *Na Mele Aimoku*, akā, ua kōkua nui ʻia nō hoʻi ʻo Thrum e kekahi loea o ka hula, ke oli, a me ka mele Hawaiʻi, ʻo ia hoʻi ʻo J. P. Kuluwaimaka. No ia kumu, ma ka wehewehe ʻia ʻana mai o nā manaʻo he nui ma loko o ia puke, ʻo ia nō ka mea i hōʻike ʻia ma ka palapala nei.

ʻAno lōʻihi ke mele; he 15 ona paukū a he 1,059 lālani o ke mele, a mele ʻia mai ka "pono" he 14 manawa i loko o ke mele. I ka nānā ʻana aku i ka Paukū VIII o nei mele i luna aʻe nei, ʻike ʻia nō ka pilina o ka pono me ke Aliʻi a me ka ʻāina. Wahi a ka lālani mua, "Ai kalani ia Hawaii" (l. 282). ʻO kēia "ai ana," ʻo ia nō ka noho Aliʻi ʻana o "kalani," ʻo ia nō ʻo Kamehameha ma kona aupuni. A ma nā lālani ma lalo iho, mele ʻia mai no ke ʻano "limu kohu" o Kamehameha (l. 284). Wahi a ka mea i wehewehe ʻia i loko o kā Fornander, he maikaʻi a he ʻono maoli nō ka limu kohu, a hoʻopili ʻia ke ʻano maikaʻi me Kamehameha, "I kohu no he alii pono/He alii pono, he alii pono, he honua pono" (l. 285-286).

Ma lalo aku, penei ke mele ʻana no ka pono o ka ʻāina,

PAUKU XIII

635. Akaka i kea ka pono o ka aina,
Hookau ka pono o ke alii,
Kanu ka ai, kapu, o-o, ha ka ko,
Pala ka maia ke a ka puaa,
Welu ka ilio, kakala ka moa—e,
640. Lena ka awa, hua ka wauke,
Kanu ka niu a kalani ma,

ʻIke hou ʻia ka pilina o ka pono o ka ʻāina me ka pono o ke aliʻi. Ma kēia mau lālani naʻe, ua "Akaka" a "i kea" (ʻikea paha) "ka pono o ka aina (l. 635) a me "ka pono o ke alii" (l. 656). ʻO ka mea e akāka ai a e ʻikea ai ia pono o ka ʻāina

[20] Fornander, 1985, Puke VI, 368-410.

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a me ke aliʻi, aia nō ia i ka hoʻoulu ʻana i ka ʻai e laʻa me ka "maia" (l. 638), ka "awa" (l. 640), a me ka "niu" (l. 641). He mea nui hoʻi ka hoʻolako ʻana i ka iʻa, e laʻa me ka "puaa" (l. 638) me ka "ilio" (l. 639) a pēlā pū ka hoʻolako ʻana i ka lole e pale ai ke kino me ka "wauke" (l. 640). ʻAʻole nō e pono ka ʻāina e pono wale ai. He kuleana ko ka Mōʻī ma kona hoʻomana ʻana aku i nā Akua ma o ka mōhai me ka ʻālana ʻana aku i kēia mau mea i kona heiau. He mea ia e mana ai nā Akua a me ke Aliʻi, a he mea hoʻi ia e pono ai ka ʻāina.

Ma ka Paukū 15, penei ke mele ʻia ʻana mai,

PAUKU XV

I hanau a pono ia mai ka mehameha,
He poo kui no Hawaii,
I hanau a pono ia mai kanaka,
He kanaka po wale no,

He mea nui ka hana a ke Aliʻi a me ka Mōʻī e hana ai, e like me kā Charlot i kākau ai, akā, he mea nui nō hoʻi ka moʻokūʻauhau o kekahi Aliʻi a Mōʻī paha. Ma kēia mau lālani i hōʻike ʻia aʻe nei, mele ʻia mai no ko Kamehameha hānau ʻia ʻana, a ua "hanau a pono" nō (l. 36), a ua hōʻike pū ʻia ka wānana ʻia ʻana mai no ko Kamehameha naʻi ʻana i nā mokupuni a pau, no ka mea, wahi a ke mele, "Aohe kanaka kiʻi onei alii" (l. 41).

Ma ka hopena o ia Paukū XV, ʻo ia nō hoʻi ka hopena o ke mele, penei ke mele ʻia ʻana mai,

PAUKU XV

Ua laula ka moana ua liuliu,
Mai kela kai, a keia kai,
Mai Kumukahi a Alenuihaha,
Ilaila e lawaia ai ka lawaia,
E kuhi pono aku ai ka lima,
E pane pono aku ai ka waha,
I kai hoe o ka moku i kena la,
E kena-no—
E kena-no— O ka-lani-e,
Hai-na-ia-ae—.

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Ma kēia māhele hope loa o ke mele, hō'ike 'ia nā palena o ko Kamehameha aupuni mai Kumukahi, kēlā lae ma ka 'ao'ao hikina loa o ka mokupuni o Keawe a i 'Alenuihaha, 'o ia nō ka inoa o ke kai ma waena o Hawai'i me Maui. Ma kēia kāhea 'ana i ka inoa o ke kai, hō'ike 'ia ko Kamehameha noho ali'i 'ai moku 'ana ma ka mokupuni holo'oko'a 'o Hawai'i.

I nā makahiki ma hope mai, ua nui hou maila ka po'e haole i hiki mai i Hawai'i nei no 'Amelika mai a no 'Europa mai nō ho'i. Ua loli nui wale aku nō ke 'ano o Hawai'i nei, ma muli o ko lākou hiki 'ana mai me nā mea a lākou i lawe mai ai—inā he hana paha, he mea paha, a he mana'o paha ia.

Ka Pono Kahiko a me Ka Pono Hou

He 20 a 'oi iki makahiki o ko Kamehameha noho Ali'i 'ana, a hala akula nō 'o ia i ka M. H. 1819. A lilo kāna keiki 'o Liholiho i Mō'ī no Hawai'i, a hiki mai ka makahiki 1820 a hiki pū mai ka po'e mikionali no 'Amerlika mai ma Hawai'i nei. I hele mai nei lākou e a'oa'o mai i nā Kānaka Maoli o Hawai'i no ko lākou Akua i kapa 'ia 'o "Ke Akua Mana Loa." Akā, 'a'ole wale nō 'o ia 'o ko lākou ha'awina, no ka mea, nui ho'i ko lākou ho'ā'o 'ana mai i ka lāhui 'ōiwi o Hawai'i i nā hana like 'ole a lākou i mana'o ai he pono. He mau hana ia i pili i kēlā me kēia 'ano o ka nohona a me ka loina o ka Lāhui Hawai'i. 'O ke 'ano o ka ho'omana kekahi,[21] akā, ua ho'ā'o aku ho'i lākou mikionali i ka hana kālepa,[22] ke 'ano o ka pilina mai o ka 'ohana,[23] a me ke 'ano o ke aupuni.[24]

I ka unuhi 'ana o ka po'e mikionali i kā lākou mau ha'awina no ke a'o 'ana i ka ha'awina o ka Paipala a me ka ho'omana Kalikiano i ka po'e Hawai'i, ua

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[21] Kame'eleihiwa, 172-179.
[22] Kame'eleihiwa, 169-172.
[23] Grimshaw, Patricia, *Paths of Duty: American Missionary Wives in Nineteenth-Century Hawaii*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989), 161-163, 169-176.
[24] Merry, 2000, 3-114.

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koho lākou i ka hua ʻōlelo "pono" no ka wehewehe ʻana i ka hana a me ke ʻano e pono ai ke kanaka Kalikiano. Mai poina, ʻeā, ʻaʻole nō i like ka manaʻo Hawaiʻi no ka pono me ka manaʻo Kalikiano no ka pono. Kapa ʻia nō naʻe nā mea ʻelua he pono, akā, me ia hoʻohana ʻana aku i ia hua ʻōlelo hoʻokahi, ua loli kona manaʻo ma kekahi ʻano. A i ʻole ia, ua hoʻohui pū ʻia mai ka manaʻo Kalikiano no ka pono. Eia nō naʻe, ua hoʻomaopopo ʻia nō ka ʻokoʻa o kēia mau pono a ʻelua e ka poʻe Hawaiʻi. Ua kapa ʻia kēia mau pono, ʻo ka pono kahiko a me ka pono hou e ka poʻe o ia au, a ma loko o nā nūpepa ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi, i nā makahiki ma hope o ka hiki ʻana mai o ka poʻe mikionali, ua lilo ia mau pono ʻelua i mea e hoʻākāka a kūkākūkā mai ai hoʻi. Penei i moʻolelo ʻia mai ai kēia hoʻomaopopo ʻana,

> Ua ike iho nei no hoi kakou i ka pono hou. O ka hiki ana mai o na Misionari me ka malu, a me ka olelo a ke Akua, a me ke ola o ka Uhane i ke ao pau ole. Oia ka pono hou a kakou i ike iho nei.[25]

Hoihoi maoli nō kēia ʻano manaʻo o ka poʻe e ola ana i ia wā, no ka mea, ma nā moʻolelo a pau aʻu i ʻike ai a i heluhelu ai hoʻi no kēia pono hou o ka hoʻomana Kalikiano, ʻaʻohe nō wahi mea i ʻike ʻia me ka ʻōlelo kūamuamu no ia ʻano hoʻomana o ka pono hou. Akamai ia koho ʻana i ka hua ʻōlelo pono, no kona kūlana koikoʻi no ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi, no ka mea, he pono nō ia i ka manʻo o ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi. Eia naʻe, ua ʻike ʻia nō kekahi mau manaʻo kūʻē a kūamuamu hoʻi e pili ana i ke ʻano hou o ka hana kālepa, a ua kapa ʻia hoʻi kēia he pono Kalikiano.[26] Penei kā Kamakau i wehewehe mai ai i kona manaʻo no kēia pono hou i ka makahiki 1867.

> Ua olelo nui ia ka lahui kanaka Hawaii, he lahui haipule i ke akua, he hookipa, he oluolu, he heahea, he aloha, he haawi wale i na mea ai a me na mea aahu, he kahea no i na malihini, e moe ma ka hale, e ai wale ana i ka ai a me ka ia, a e aahu wale ana no me ka uku ole. He lahui hilahila keia i ka piepiele. Oia ihola ke ano o keia lahui ma mua aku o ka hiki ana mai o na haole a me ka pono Kristiano ma

[25] *Ka Lama Hawaii*, 25 Iulai 1834, 4.
[26] *Ka Lama Hawaii*, 2 Pepeluali 1834; *Ka Lama Hawaii*, 2 Mei 1834;

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> Hawaii nei, a ke ao ia nei i ka aua ke pi, ka uahoa a me ke koea, a e ao i ka hauhauhali, a e puka i haoa a e hooio lea. Ua hooko no kekahi poe i keia, aka, o ka hapanui, he maumaua mai nei no na mamo a ka lokomaikai. O ka poe aua a pi hoi, ua hoohilahila loa ia ko lakou mau inoa.[27]

Ma kēia mea a Kamakau i kākau mai ai, hoʻākāka pono mai nō ʻo ia i kona manaʻo ma o kona helu papa ʻana i nā ʻano ʻino o ia pono hou o ka poʻe haole a me ka poʻe Kalikiano. Kapa ʻia he "pono Kristiano" e Kamakau, akā, kākau ʻia no ke ʻano o ka hana kālepa ʻana o ka poʻe haole. Helu papa ʻia mai he ʻehiku nō ʻano ʻino o ia pono Kalikiano i lawe ʻia mai e ka poʻe haole. Hoʻohālikelike ʻia mai nō ia ʻano ʻino me ke ʻano maikaʻi a me ka mau ʻana o ke ʻano lokomaikaʻi o ka lāhui kanaka ʻōiwi. Ma ka hopena o kēia wahi paukū, hōʻike mai hoʻi ʻo Kamakau i ka hopena o ia poʻe ʻauʻa a pī hoʻi, ʻo ia hoʻi ka hilahila o ko lākou inoa, a inā hilahila ka inoa o lākou, he mea hoʻi ia e hilahila ai ko lākou ʻohana, kā lākou keiki, a me ko lākou poʻe kūpuna. No ka poʻe haole, ʻaʻole paha ia he mea e hopohopo mai ai, ʻoiai ʻo ka pahuhopu o ka hana ʻauʻa a hana pī, ʻo ka waiwai ʻana mai nō ia a me ka mālama ʻana mai hoʻi i ia waiwai. Mai poina iā kākou, e ka mea heluhelu, he haʻawina nō ia i aʻo ʻia i loko o ka hale pule a he mea hoʻi ia i koikoi ʻia i loko o ko lākou Paipala. No laila, he mea pili nō kēia i ko lākou hoʻomana ʻana i ke Akua Kalikiano a me ko lākou ʻano ma ka hana kālepa a me ka ʻimi ʻana i ka waiwai.

Ma kekahi moʻolelo hou aku, ua kākau ʻia mai he moʻolelo hou aku e pili ana i kēia ʻano pono hou o ka hana kālepa. Ma ia moʻolelo, ua wehewehe mai ka mea kākau i kona manaʻo no ke ʻano pono ma ka hana kūʻai a hoʻolimalima nō hoʻi. A hoʻākāka mai nō hoʻi ia mea kākau i kona manaʻo no ka hana hewa ma ia kūʻai ʻana aku, me ka wehewehe ʻana mai penei,

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[27] Kamakau, "Ka Moolelo O Kamehameha I," *Ke Au Okoa*, 14 ʻAukake 1867.

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> Auhea oukou e ka poe kuai a me ka poe hoolimalima, e noonoo mua oukou i na mea kuai a oukou, mai kuai oukou me ka alunu, a me ka makee, a me ke koi wale aku me ka makemake ole o kekahi mea kumu, aka, ua koi aku kekahi me ka makemake o kekahi, hiki no ia laua ke noonoo a maopopo, alaila kuai laua me ka oluolu, a me ke aloha i kekahi i kekahi; oia ke kuai pono... Eia ke kuai hewa, o ka hoomaikai i kou kumu, a hoinoino i ko ka hoa kuai.[28]

Ma kēia wahi paukū, hoʻākāka maikaʻi ʻia maila ke ʻano o ke kūʻai ʻana aku o nā Kānaka Maoli, a e like me nā hua ʻōlelo ʻē aʻe e wehewehe ʻia ma nei palapala, ʻaʻole nō i like kona manaʻo ma ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi me ka ʻōlelo haole.

Ma ka ʻōlelo haole a me ka noʻonoʻo haole, hoʻoholo ʻia ke kumu kūʻai a hoʻopaʻa ʻia aku nō ia kumu kūʻai me ka noʻonoʻo ʻana i ka nui oa e lilo ana i ka mea nāna e kūʻai aku ana. ʻO kona pahuhopu i nā manawa a pau, ʻo ia ka hoʻopiʻi ʻana i ia kumu kūʻai i nui ka loaʻa e lilo ana iā ia a i ulu mau aku nō ia loaʻa. ʻO ka mea kūʻai mai hoʻi, hoʻokahi wale nō ona pahuhopu, ʻo ia ke kumu kūʻai emi loa, i emi kona hoʻolilo ʻana aku i kona waiwai. I nā manawa a pau ma kēia ʻano kūʻai ʻana, he huki nō ke ʻano, no ka mea, noʻonoʻo wale aku ana nō lāua ʻelua iā lāua wale iho nō, a i ko lāua pono ponoʻī wale nō.

Ma ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi a me ka noʻonoʻo Hawaii naʻe, ʻokoʻa nō ia mea he kūʻai, e ike me ka mea i hoʻākāka ʻia i luna aʻe nei, no ka mea, wahi a ka mea kākau o ia moʻolelo, ʻaʻole he pono ka noʻonoʻo ʻana iā ʻoe wale iho nō, no ka mea, he ʻano "alunu" a "makee" nō ia. Wahi āna, he "kuai hewa" ia ano hana o "ka hoomaikai i kou kumu a hoinoino i ko ka hoa kuai." ʻO ka mea e pono ai, ʻo ia nō ka "noonoo a maopopo" no ka pono o ka hoa kūʻai, "alaila, kuai laua me ka oluolu, a me ke aloha i kekahi i kekahi." No laila, wahi a kēia mea kākau, ʻo ka hana pono ma ka hana kālepa, ʻo ia nō ka noʻonoʻo ʻana i nā ʻaoʻao ʻelua. ʻAʻole e noʻonoʻo ka mea kūʻai aku iā ia iho wale nō, akā, e hoʻoholo ʻia kona kumu kūʻai

[28] *Ka Lama Hawaii*, 25 Iulai 1834, 4.

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me ka no'ono'o 'ana i nā mea e pono ai 'o ia a me ka mea e pono ai kona hoa kū'ai.

'O ka 'auhau nō ho'i o ke Aupuni Hawai'i kahi pono hou, a ma kahi mo'olelo i kapa 'ia "No Ka Pono Kahiko a me ka Pono Hou" hō'ike maila nō ka mea kākau i kona mana'o no ke 'ano hou o ka 'auhau 'ia 'ana o ke kanaka ma ke 'ano o ke au kahiko a me ke au hou. Wahi āna,

> O ka auhau no hoi kekahi mea maikai o Hawaii nei i ka wa kahiko, aole ke kuawili, e like me nei noho ana. Elua ano auhau, o ka auhau mua he auhau nui na ke Aliiaimoku, aia i ka makahiki. Ua kapaia kela auhau, he loa, he auhau puni.
>
> Eia ka mea lilo i kela auhau. O ke kanaka aiahupuaa, he nui kana mea e lilo i kela auhau, a o ke kanaka aiili, uuku iho kana mea e lilo, o ke kanaka aikihapai, uuku loa kana mea e haawi aku. O ka poe kuewa, aole a lakou mea lilo aku. I keia manawa, ua huikau, aole akaka.[29]

A laila, ho'ākāka mai nō nei mea kākau i ke 'ano o ka 'auhau i kona wā e kākau ana, 'o ia nō ka 'auhau hou. Wahi āna,

> O ka auhau kekahi mea ino loa i neia manawa. He mea makau no ka poe hune. Ua like ka auhau ana o ka poe hune, me ka ka poe loaa.[30]

Ma ka hana 'au'a a pī ho'i, no'ono'o ke kanaka nona wale iho nō; 'a'ole no'ono'o 'ia nā kānaka 'ē a'e, no ka mea, 'o kona waiwai pono'ī kāna mea e huli ai. Akā, e like me ka mea i hō'ike 'ia i luna a'ela, 'o ka lokomaika'i a me ka no'ono'o 'ana i ka pono o ka hoa kū'ai ka mea e pono ai ka lāhui Hawai'i. E like me ka mea i koi 'ia ma ka hana kū'ai a ho'olimalima, 'a'ole pono ke aupuni e no'ono'o iā ia wale iho nō. He pono ka no'ono'o 'ana a me ka ho'omaopopo 'ana i ka pono o ke kanaka kekahi. A ho'oholo 'ia ke "kumu kuai" o ka 'auhau ma o ka mea e pono ai nā 'ao'ao 'elua—'o ke aupuni a me ke kanaka.

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[29] "No Ka Poe Kuai a me ka Poe Hoolimalima," *Ka Lama Hawaii*, 25 Iulai 1834, 4.
[30] "No Ka Pono Kahiko a me ka Pono Hou," *Ka Lama Hawaii*, 25 Iulai 1834, 4.

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Eia na'e, ua 'ike 'ia nō kekahi mau mana'o e hō'oia ana i ka maika'i o ka pono kahiko o Hawai'i nei, ka pono ho'i ia ma lalo o ka ho'omalu o nā Ali'i. Wahi a kēia mea kākau,

> Eia ka pono kahiko o Hawaii nei. O ka hoolohe o ke Alii nui i ko na makaainana manao ke olelo aku, a me ka manao o na Alii malalo iho, a me ka na Kahuna olelo ke hai aku i ke Alii, i ka hua maikai, e ae koke mai no ua Alii la.
>
> Aole e pono ke hoole mai i ua manao la. Ina hoole aku ua Alii la i ko lakou manao, he mea ia no ke Alii hewa nui wale. Koho no lakou e hewa, a e make paha, aole paha.[31]

'A'ohe nō 'ike 'ia kahi mo'olelo e hō'oia ana i ka maika'i o ke 'ano ho'omana o ke au kahiko, akā, ma muli o ka pili pa'a o ka pono o ke Ali'i a me ka pono o kona mālama 'ana i nā Akua, he hō'ailona nō kēia 'ano mahalo no nā mea a pau o ia wā, nā mea pono a pau o ke Ali'i.

No kekahi o nā mea kākau, he hō'oia nō lākou i ka pono o ka 'ike a me ka nohona o kahiko. Penei ka mea i kākau 'ia e kekahi haumāna o ke Kula Nui o Hawai'i, 'o ia ho'i 'o Lāhainaluna. Wahi a ia haumāna,

> Eia ka ike pono, o ka ike i ka mahiai, o ka ike i ka lawaia, o ka ike i ke kalaiwaa, o ka ike i ke kuene hale, a me ke kaupauku, o ka ike i ka hoewaa, o ka ike i ka hoolana, o ka ike i ka makani a me ka malie, o ka ike i ke kilokilo, o ka ike i ke koa, o ka ike i ka hula, o ka ike i ke olioli, o ka ike i ka apiki, o ka ike i kela mea i keia mea.[32]

Helu papa mai nō 'o ia i ia mau pono, akā, ma muli paha o kona kūlana he haumāna ma ia kula, hō'ike pū 'o ia i kekahi mana'o kanalua no ke 'ano o ia mau pono. Me kēia kāna mea i kākau mai ai,

> Oia na ike a makou i manao ai he pono, aka, he oiaio no ia manawa, aka i keia manawa, ua lilo kekahi mau ike i mea ole... Eia ka ike e pono ai, o ka hoolilo i na ike kahiko i ike hou.[33]

No laila, me kēia mana'o, ke hō'oia nei nō ka mea kākau i ka waiwai o ka 'ike a me ka pono kahiko; 'a'ole nō e poina wale a ho'opoina wale 'ia aku ia 'ike

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[31] *Ka Lama Hawaii*, 25 Iulai 1834, 4.
[32] *Ka Lama Hawaii*, 2 Mei 1834, 4.
[33] *Ka Lama Hawaii*, 2 Mei 1834, 4.

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no kahiko. ʻO ka hana, ka ʻike, a me ka pono kahiko ka mea e pono ai ke au hou a me ka pono hou nō hoʻi.

Ka Pono o ke Kumukānāwai

I ke au iā Kauikeaouli, ua ulu a nui maila nā hihia o ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi me nā aupuni ʻē aʻe o ka honua, e laʻa me ka hana a Kapena Cyrille Laplace i hana ai i ka makahiki 1839. He aliʻi kaua ʻo ia no Palani a ua hiki mai nō ʻo ia i Hawaiʻi nei ma luna o kona moku i kapa ʻia ʻo *Artemise* ka inoa. He mau kauoha ko ia nei i ka Mōʻī Kauikeaouli no ka ʻae ʻia ʻana o ke komo ʻana mai o kekahi "poe pule... o ka ekalesia Katorika Roma," a me ka ʻāpana ʻāina kahi e kūkulu ʻia ai ka luakini ma Honolulu, "i hoomana ia ai ke akua i loko o laila e na kahuna o ka ekalesia Katorika Roma," a koikoi ʻia hoʻi ka hāʻawi ʻana aku he $20,000 "i mea e maopopo ai kana (kā ka Mōʻī) mau hana i ko Farani ma hope iho."[34]

ʻAʻole e noho ana ka Mōʻī ma Oʻahu i ia wā, no laila, na Miriam Kekauluohi ma kona kūlana he Kuhina Nui no Hawaiʻi i pane aku me ka ʻae ana i kēia mau kauoha. Ua lilo nō ia i haʻawina no ka Mōʻī a me kona aupuni no ke kūlana nāwaliwali o Hawaiʻi, ʻoiai ʻaʻohe ʻike o nā aupuni mana ʻē aʻe o ka honua i ko Hawaiʻi kūlana kūʻokoʻa. No ia kumu, ua ʻimi ʻia ke alahele e lilo ai ʻo Hawaiʻi i aupuni i like kona ʻano me ko nā aupuni mana nui ʻē aʻe o ka honua, ʻo ia hoʻi ʻo ʻAmelika, ʻEnelani, me Palani. Ua hoʻouna ʻia nā ʻelele o ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi i ia mau aupuni i pūlima ʻia ka palapala ʻaelike i mea e hōʻoia ʻia ai ke kūlana kūʻokoʻoa o ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi.[35] I ka makahiki 1839 me 1840, ua haku ʻia a ʻāpono ʻia mai he kumukānāwai i paʻa ma ka palapala. He mea nui nō ka pono ma ia kumukānāwai. Penei ka ʻŌlelo Hoʻākāka,

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[34] Kamakau, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 2 Ianuali 1869.
[35] Kamakau, *Ke Au Okoa*, 1 ʻApelila 1869.

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> Na ke Akua mai no hoi ka oihana alii, a me ka noho alii ana imea e malu ai; aka, i ka hana ana i na kanawai o ka aina, aole pono e hanaia kekahi kanawai hoomalu alii wale no, a hoomalu ole i na makaainana. Aole hoi e pono ke kau i ke kanawai hoowaiwai i na'lii wale no, a waiwai ole na makaainana, a mahope aku nei, aole loa e kauia kekahi kanawai ku e i keia mau olelo i oleloia maluna, aole hoi e auhau wale ia, aole e hookauwaia, aole e hoohana wale ia kekahi kanaka ma ke ano ku e i ua mau olelo la.[36]

Ma nei paukū, hōʻoia ʻia kēlā kānāwai o kahiko, kēlā ʻano pono o kahiko, ʻaʻole nō e ʻoi aku ka mana o nā Aliʻi ma mua o nā makaʻāinana, a pēlā pū ka hoʻowaiwai ʻia ʻana o nā Aliʻi wale nō. Ma kekahi ʻano nō naʻe, wahi a Osorio, ma kēia hōʻoia ʻana, ua loli mau loa ka mana o nā Aliʻi o Hawaiʻi a pēlā pū ke ʻano o ka nohona Hawaiʻi a ua lilo ia pono i mea e hoʻomalu ʻia ai e ka malu o ke kānāwai, ʻaʻole e ka malu o ka Mōʻī a me nā Aliʻi.[37]

Ma ia paukū mua loa, hoʻākāka ʻia nō hoʻi ke kūlana koʻikoʻi o ka hoʻomana Akua no ke aupuni a me kona Mōʻī. Mai kahiko loa mai, he mea nui ka hoʻomana Akua ʻana no ka Mōʻī a me kona noho aupuni ʻana, a wehewehe ʻia mai ia pono penei e Kamakau,

> O ke alii e malama i kanawai o ka hoomana akua, ua kapa ia he alii haipule i ke akua, a o kona aupuni he aupuni kuapapa nui, a ua maluhia kona noho aupuni e like me ko ka Moi o Kualii.[38]

A he mea nui nō hoʻi ia hoʻomana Akua ʻana i loko o ke Kumukānāwai mua i haku ʻia no Hawaiʻi.

Ma ka māhele ʻelua o ke Kumukānāwai o ka makahiki 1840, hōʻoia ʻia ka hoʻomalu ʻia ʻana o nā kānaka a me nā aliʻi e "noho pono" penei,

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[36] Kumu Kānāwai 1840, ʻŌlelo Hoʻākāka, p. 1.

[37] Osorio, 2002, 25. Penei kāna mea i kākau aku ai, "The laws... made startling changes in the authority of the chiefs and the Mōʻī by pronouncing, 'God had bestowed certain rights alike on all men and all chiefs, and all people of all lands.' This declaration positioned everyone, chiefs and people, kānaka and haole, into one definition of people, all entitled to the rights granted by God...With these paragraphs the ultimate responsibility for the maintenance of the land and the people in Hawaiʻi passed from the ancient line of Aliʻi and the gods they represented to the newer and much less understood authority of law.

[38] Kamakau, *Ke Au Okoa*, 22 April 1869.

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> No laila, e hoolaha'i aku ai keia olelo, i mea hoomalu like i na kanaka a pau, a me na'lii a pau o keia pae aina, i ko lakou noho pono ana, i keakea ole ai kekahi alii i kekahi o na makaainana, i like hoi ka malu o na'lii, a me na kanaka malalo o ke kanawai hookahi.[39]

Ma kēia paukū, ua hō'oia nō ka Mō'ī a me ke Aupuni Hawai'i i ka "pono" o nā mea a pau, nā ali'i a me nā maka'āinana. Wahi a Silva, he kumukānāwai kēia i 'ano like me ke 'ano o ke kumukānāwai o nā aupuni 'ē a'e, eia nō na'e, he mau mana'o Hawai'i nō ko kēia kumukānāwai, a 'o ka pono kekahi o ia mau mea nui, a 'o ka ho'okohu 'ia 'ana o nā wāhine e ho'okō i nā kuleana o nā kūlana ki'eki'e ma loko o ke Aupuni Hawai'i, he hō'ailona ho'i ia no ka pono o ke Aupuni Hawai'i.[40]

Ma kekahi māhele hou aku i kapa 'ia ke "Kumu Kanawai," ho'ākāka hou 'ia kekahi mea e pono ai ke Aupuni Hawai'i, penei,

> Mamuli o ia pono i oleloia maluna, ke manao nei makou e hooponopono i keia aupuni, e imi hoi i ka maikai no na'lii a pau, a me na makaainana a pau o keia pae aina o Hawaii nei.[41]

Ua wehewehe mai nō 'o Kamakau i ke 'ano a me ke kumu a ka Mō'ī i hō'oia ai i ka pono o nā Ali'i a me nā maka'āinana. Wahi āna,

> O ka Moi ka mea mua o ke kuleana i loko o ke aupuni, o ka lua o na alii, o ke kolu o na makaainana. I ka haawi ana mai o ka Moi ma kona lokomaikai kupaianaha i kokua ia mai e ka mea mana hemolele, ua loaa keia pomaikai i na alii a me na makaainana. O ka loaa ana o ke kumukanawai i keia lahui a me keia aupuni, he loaa i ulia wale mai keia pomaikai i na makaainana; a ole i koi aku na makaainana i ka Moi a me na Alii e mahele mai ke aupuni i ko na makaainana kuleana i loko o ke aupuni. O ka pomaikai i loaa mai i na makaainana ma ke kumukanawai, he pomaikai i ili wale mai, no ka mea, ua pili ka manao aloha o na makaainana i na alii, a ua pili ka manao aloha o ka Moi me na Alii i na

[39] Kumu Kānāwai 1840, "Hoomalu na kanaka apau," 1.
[40] Silva, 2004, 38. Penei kāna mea i kākau ai, "The constitution and laws in Hawai'i, while European in form, also reflected Kanaka Maoli ideas of what was pono in government. This is seen especially in the inclusion of women in government in the early years. Ali'i wahine (female ali'i) had always been part of government and for some years they continued to be. The office of kuhina nui was most often held by women, the first and most powerful of whom was Ka'ahumanu, who claimed status as coruler with Liholiho... The first Hale 'Aha 'Ōlelo Ali'i, or House of Nobles (excluding the mō'ī), consisted of five women along with ten men. Ali'i wahine also served as island governors, among them Kuini Liliha on O'ahu, Kekauonohi on Kaua'i, and Ruth Ke'elikōlani on Hawai'i Island."
[41] Kumu Kanawai 1840, 2.

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makaainana, a ua lilo ia aloha i waena o na alii me na makaainana, he mau puni kauoha.[42]

Wahi a Kamakau, 'o ke aloha o ka Mō'ī a me nā Ali'i no nā kānaka a me ke aloha ho'i o nā maka'āinana i ka Mō'ī a me nā Ali'i, 'o ia nō ke kumu a ka Mō'ī a me nā Ali'i i hō'oia ai i ka pono o nā kānaka, me ke noi 'ole 'ia mai e nā kānaka. He mea nui ka pono i ke au kahiko, a ua mau nō ia kūlana i ke au hou, i ka ho'okumu 'ia 'ana o ke aupuni kumukānāwai, a i kona kū'oko'a 'ana i nā makahiki ma hope mai.

Nā Mele Lāhui

HE INOA NO LILIULANI[43]

Kaulana mai nei o Liliulani
Puuwai hao kila mageneti
O Vitoria ko Enelani
Liliuokalani ko Hawaii
Ua ku'i e ka lono i na moku,
No ka hana wiwo ole au e Kalani
E imi ana no ka HOLOMUA
No ka pono kaulike o ka lehulehu
O ka makemake ia o ka lahui
I Kumukanawai kaulike,
Haina ka puana i lohe ia
E ola Ko Aupuni e Kalani

E hoi e Liliuonamoku
A noho i Ko noho Kalaunu
Ua laa ia noho Nou e Kalani
Mai Ou mau kupuna loa mai
Paa ia a paa Ko Aupuni
A kau e ka hae o ka lanakila
Welo haaheo Ko hae Kalaunu
Iluna pono a o Iolani Hale
Lilo a i mea ole na enemi
Na ili puakea hana lokoino
Haina ka puna i lohe ia
Lanakila kamahao o Liliulani

He inoa keia Nou e Kalani

[42] Kamakau, *Ke Au Okoa*, 29 April, 1869.
[43] Rose, Miss Mary Keonaona, "He Inoa No Liliulani," *Hawaii Holomua*, 8 & 11 Pepeluali 1893.

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Ka Hokuloa o ka Pakipika
Nau a i kue aku ka manao
O na kolea kauahua
Ua makaukau pono o Liliu
Me na poka Ahi Helene
Samuela Nolena ko ka Halekoa
A o Kale Wilisona ko ka Halewai
Mamuli o ke kakoo ia ana
E na keiki o ka Bosekona
Lanakila ai na hana limanui
A ua auna kolea nei
Ku mai o Kalani i ka Ihikapu
Me ka leo kahea i ka lahui
Malama pono ia e ka maluhia
Na kanawai o ka aina
Haina ia mai ana ka puana
Noho hou o Liliu i ke Kalaunu

Hakuia e
MISS MARY KEONAONA ROSE.
Waihee, Maui, Feb. 6, 1893.

No nā mele lāhui i pa'i 'ia ma loko o nā nūpepa a me nā puke ma waena o ka M.H. 1893 me 1898, he mea ma'a mau a he mea 'ike pinepine 'ia ho'i 'o pono. No'ono'o nui 'ia a 'imi nui 'ia ho'i ka pono i loko o ia wā haunaele o ke Aupuni Hawai'i a me ka Lāhui Hawai'i. He la'ana maikai kēia mele o luna a'e nei i kapa 'ia "He Inoa No Liliulani," a i haku 'ia e Miss Mary Keonaona Rose ma ka lā 6 o Pepeluali 1893. Ma ka paukū mua, mele 'ia mai "No ka hana wiwoole" o ka Mō'īwahine i kona "imi" 'ana "no ka pono kaulike o ka lehulehu" (l. 6-8). A ma nā lālani ma lalo iho, mele 'ia mai no ke 'ano o ia 'imi 'ana, ma muli nō ia "o ka makemake o ka lahui/I Kumukanawai kaulike" (l. 9-10. 'O ia kumukānāwai a ka Mō'īwahine i ho'ā'o ai kekahi māhele o ka mo'olelo o ka Ho'okahuli Aupuni. Akā, ma kēia mau lālani mele, hō'ike 'ia ke kāko'o o ka lehulehu a me ka lāhui i ka hana a ka Mō'īwahine Lili'uokalani. Hō'ike pū 'ia ka pahuhopu o ia hana, 'o ia nō ka 'imi 'ana i ka pono.

Ma ka paukū 'elua, hō'oia hou 'ia ka pono o ka Mō'īwahine. 'Oiai, ua huki 'ia ka Mō'īwahine mai kona noho kalaunu aku a huki 'ia aku ho'i ka hae Hawai'i

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mai luna iho o ka Hale ʻIolani, he mau mea nui loa kēia i ka ʻimi ʻana i ka pono no ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi. ʻO nā hōʻailona o ke aupuni a me ka Mōʻī nā mea nui. Noi ʻia ka hiʻi ʻana o ka Mōʻīwahine i ka noho kalaunu (l. 13-14) a me ka "paa" o kona aupuni (l. 17). Noi ʻia aku hoʻi ke kau hou ʻana o "ka hae o ka lanakila" a me ka "welo haaheo" o ia hae "Iluna pono a o Iolani Hale" (l. 18-20). Ma kēia lālani, ʻaʻole mele wale ʻia mai kahi e welo ai ka hae, akā, hōʻike pū ʻia ʻo ia nō kona wahi "pono" e welo ai.

Ma ka paukū ʻekolu, mele ʻia mai no ko ka Mōʻīwahine "makaukau pono" no ke kūʻē ʻana aku i nā "kolea kauahua," ʻo ia hoʻi ka poʻe haole, nāna i hoʻokahuli i ke aupuni (l. 28-29). E helu papa mai ana nō ka haku mele i ka mākaukau o ka Mōʻīwahine e hoʻopale i kona Aupuni me kona poʻe koa o ka Halekoa a me ka Halewai (l. 30-32). ʻAʻole naʻe i haunaele ka ʻāina ma muli o ia hana ʻana a "na keiki o ka Bosekona," ʻo ia hoʻi ka pūʻali koa ʻAmelika, a me "ka auna kolea" (l. 33-36), i ko lākou kākoʻo a hoʻokō ʻana i ka hoʻokahuli aupuni. Wahi a ka haku mele, ʻaʻole nō i haunaele ma muli o ka "malama pono ia e ka maluhia" me nā "kanakawai o ka aina" (l. 39-40). Ma kēia lālani, wehewehe ʻia ka "pono" o ka mākaukau no ke kaua ʻana aku no ka hoʻopale ʻana aku i kou aupuni ponoʻī a pēlā pū ka "pono" o ka mālama ʻana i ka maluhia.

Ma kekahi mele hou aku, hoʻopili a haku ʻia mai nō ka ʻōlelo a Kauikeaouli i hoʻopuka aku ai ma ka Lā Hoʻihoʻi Ea. Ma ke mele i kapa ʻia ai kona inoa ʻo Moliaia, ʻike ʻia nō kēia manaʻo.

MOLIAIA[44]

Kaulana mai nei a o Moliaia
Ka la hiki mai ma Haʻehaʻe
Haʻehaʻe wale hoi ke aloha
Ka hiki ana mai a ka lono
Aia Mililani ua lehau 5

[44] Wahinekapu, "Moliaia," *Hawaii Holomua*, 27 Ianuali 1893, 2.

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He punana hoi na ke koae
Nau hoi i alo mua ia alo
He molia hoi no ka aina
No ka I, Mahi, me ka Palena
No Kamakaoohilani ia
E ka Makua Mana Loa
Ka makou noi e maliu mai
Ko makou nei Aupuni
E mau e ke e-a i ka pono
Ua paa ia Pele i Kilauea
Ia Hiiaka i ka poli pumehana
Mehana no ia Kapo wahine
Kamohoalii hoi kukila
Ua paa no ia Kane me Kanaloa
Kahaili hoi ka Ilamuku
He nui Hawaii nei na Keawe
He milimili na Kuhaimoana
Ua ola no ia Haumea
Ka Lei Alii o Hawaii.

WAHINEKAPU.
Iwilei, Jan. 27, 1893.

'O "Moliaia" ka inoa o kēia mele i haku 'ia e Wahinekapu, a he 'ano mōlia nō ia, me ka mana'o ho'i, he 'ano mōhai ia me ke noi 'ana e kō ka 'i'ini. Ma kīnohi, mele 'ia mai no ka "Moliaia" me ka "Ha'eha'e wale hoi" o ke aloha (l.1-3). Ma nā lālani ma lalo iho, mele hou 'ia mai no keia "molia hoi no ka aina" (l. 8), a he mōlia ho'i ia no nā kūpuna, "No ka I, Mahi, me ka Palena" (l. 9), kēlā mau kūpuna mana o ke au kahiko. Ma kekahi lālani aku, noi 'ia ka "maliu mai" o "ka Makua Mana Loa," 'o ia ho'i ke Akua Kalikiano, no ke Aupuni Hawai'i (l. 11-13). Akā, 'a'ole wale nō 'o ke Akua Kalikiano ka i kauka'i 'ia ma loko o kēia mele nei, a no ka mea, ma nā lālani ma lalo mai, kāhea 'ia a ho'omana 'ia aku nō kekahi Akua Hawai'i. Wahi a Wahinekapu, "Ua paa ia Pele i Kilauea" (l. 15), a laila, mele 'ia mai no ko Pele 'ohana, no ka pa'a pū o Hawai'i i "ka poli pumehana" o Hi'iaka (l. 16) a me kona kōko'olua "ia Kapo wahine" (l. 17), a pēlā pū me "Kamohoalii hoi kukila" (l. 18). He kaikaina a he kaikunāne 'o Hi'iaka lāua me

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Kamohoali'i no Pele, a he mana Akua ho'i ko lāua,[45] e like me Kapo a me nā Akua 'ē a'e i kāhea 'ia a i mōlia 'ia ma nei mele, e la'a me "Kane me Kanaloa" (l. 19), Kuhaimoana (l. 22), a me Haumea (l. 23). Noi 'ia mai ke kōkua o kēia mau Akua a pau i "ola" nō "Ka Lei Alii o Hawaii" (l. 23-24), 'o ia ho'i ka Mō'īwahine ma kona noho kalaunu.

Ma kēia 'ano mōlia 'ana aku i nā Akua o ke au kahiko, 'ike 'ia nō ka mau 'ana o ka no'ono'o 'ana, ka ho'omana 'ana, a me ke kauka'i 'ana o nā Kānaka Maoli i nā Akua Hawai'i. Haku 'ia kēia mele i ka makahiki 1893, a 'a'ole nō o ke Akua Kalikiano wale nō ka i ho'omana 'ia. A inā pēlā, 'a'ole nō 'imi 'ia ke 'ano pono o ia Akua, 'imi 'ia ho'i ka pono o nā Akua Hawai'i ma ke 'ano Hawai'i.

Ma "Moliaia," mele 'ia mai nō kēlā puana'ī a ka Mō'ī Kauikeaouli i puana aku ai i ka makahiki 1843, "Ua mau ke ea o ka 'āina i ka pono." Ua ho'ākāka 'ē 'ia kēia mo'olelo no ka ho'opane'e 'ia 'ana o ke ea o ke Aupuni Hawai'i i ke Aupuni Beretania i ka makahiki 1843 ma loko o ka Mokuna 5 o kēia palapala. He mea nui nō ho'i ka "pono" ma loko o ia puana'ī a Kauikeaouli i ka lā i ho'iho'i hou 'ia mai ai ke ea o ka 'āina. 'O ia pono, he pono ia no ke kū'oko'a o ke Aupuni a me ka noho mana 'ana o ko kākou Mō'ī ma luna o ia aupuni. He pono ho'i ia no ka pilina aloha o nā kānaka, nā Ali'i, a me ko kākou 'āina kekahi i kekahi.

Ho'okahi wale nō mea 'oko'a o kā Kauikeaouli 'ōlelo a me ka mea hō'ike 'ia ma nā mele lāhui, e like me ka mea ma loko o "Moliaia" i luna a'e nei. Wahi a ia mele, a ma loko nō ho'i o "Ka Pule A Ka Lahui" o luna a'ela. Wahi a "Moliaia," "E mau e ka e-a i ka pono." Pēia nō i 'ike 'ia aku ai ma loko o nā mele lāhui he nui. Eia nō kekahi mau la'ana,

[45] Beckwith, 1976, 167-172.

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Pule aku makou e ola Oe[46]
Ola Oe, ola kaua, ola kakou
O ka I, ka Mahi a o ka Palena
E mau e ka Ea o ka Aina i ka Pono

E hoopaa mai i ka mea pono ia Oe[47]
O ka nani o ka Nohoalii
E mau no ia
O ka ea o ka aina i ka pono

E mau ke Ea o Hawaii i ka Pono,[48]
Welo haaheo ko hae Kalaunu,

Ma o ka ho'ololi 'ana i kēlā hua 'ōlelo mua loa o kā Kauikeaouli puana'ī, hō'ike 'ia ka pa'a 'ole o ia ea, a pololei ho'i ia, no ka mea, 'a'ole nō i mau ke ea o ka 'āina i ka wā i puana 'ia ai kēia mau mea. No ia kumu, puana 'ia penei, "E mau ke ea o ka aina i ka pono," a, no laila, koikoi 'ia ka mau 'ana o ke ea i ka pono. He mea e 'imi 'ia nei a e noi 'ia aku nei i loko o ka na'au o kānaka a i loko ho'i o nā mele i haku 'ia.

Eia kekahi, e like me "Moliaia" nui hou aku nā mele e pili ana i ke kōkua a me ke kāko'o 'ana mai o nā Akua i ka pono o Hawai'i. I kekahi manawa, pule 'ia aku ke Akua Kalikiano a i kekahi manawa, pule 'ia nā Akua Hawai'i. I kekahi manawa, i ke mele ho'okahi, pule 'ia ke Akua Kalikiano a pule pū 'ia aku nā Akua Hawai'i. Penei nō kekahi o ia mau mele,

E ala e na Haipule Oiaio o ka Aina hanau[49]
E hoolana i ko oukou mau manao no ka pono
E pepelu i ko oukou mau kuli me ka oiaio
A nonoi me ka manaoio ikaika

Auhea kakou e ka lahui,[50]
E nonoi la i pono i ke Akua.
E pelu na kuli la i ka honua
Haliu na maka i ke aouli,

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[46] Miss Nohoponoikapikoonapua, "He Mele No Liliuonamoku," *Hawaii Holomua*, 3 Malaki 1893, 2.
[47] Kahakuwaiaoao, "He Leo Noi No Liliuokalani I Ke Kapu," *Hawaii Holomua*, 23 Malaki 1893, 2.
[48] Kahelemauna, "Mau Hawaii I Ka Lanakila," *Buke Mele Lahui*, 81.
[49] Miss Kekoaohiwaiakalani, "He Pule No Ke Ea O Ka Aina," *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 21 Pepeluali 1893.
[50] Olepau, W., "Liliu Lei A Ka Lahui," *Buke Mele Lahui*, 6.

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O ka pono ia la o ka aina
I welo hou ai Hae Kalaunu

Aia nō ho'i he mau mele hou aku e koikoi ana i ka pono. Ma kēia mau mele, "imi" 'ia ka pono o ka 'āina, a noi 'ia nō ka "hoi hou" mai a me ka "mau" aku nō ho'i o ia pono. Penei ke mele 'ana mai,

Kuhi aku e ka pono Aha Senate[51]
Nau Hawaii imi kou pono,

Naiia e na pua a Kamehameha,[52]
Hoi hou e ka pono o keia aina

Na ke aloha i kono mai au,[53]
A naue i ka pono o ka aina;

Nui nō ho'i nā mele e ho'ākāka mai ana i ka pilina ma waena o ka Mō'īwahine Lili'uokalani, a me kona ho'oilina, ke Kamāli'iwahine Ka'iulani, ka noho kalaunu, ka lāhui, ka 'āina, a me ke kūlana ko'iko'i o ka pono no ia pilina. Penei ke mele 'ana mai,

He ui a he ninau na Kaiulani[54]
Pehea ka pono o Hawaii nei

Hoihoi i ka pono a o Hawaii,[55]
Me ka noho kalaunu o Liliulani

Aupuni Moi ku mau[56]
Hoohuiaina make loa,
E ku e Kalani hanohano,
Paa i ka pono o ka lahui,

[51] "Aloalo Poka I Daimana Hila," *Buke Mele Lahui*, 9-10.
[52] "Aloalo Poka I Daimana Hila," *Buke Mele Lahui*, 9-10.
[53] Pinao, S., "Aole Hopo Iho Na Hawaii," *Buke Mele Lahui*, 34-35.
[54] Miss Keoholauliiokekuahiwi, "He Inoa No Lolokulani," *Hawaii Holomua*, 21 Malaki 1893, 2.
[55] Heleluhe, J. a me D. K. Koa, "Hua Kau I Ka Umauma," *Buke Mele Lahui*, 7.
[56] Satana, Benecia, "Ka Wohi Ku I Ka Moku," *Buke Mele Lahui*, 38.

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Nawai e ole ka manao,[57]
E hoi o Liliuokalani,
E noho pono i ke kalaunu,
I ke Aupuni o Hawaii,

Ma kekahi mele, hō'ike 'ia ka mana'o nui o nā haku mele no ka pilina o ka pono me ke ola kino o ka lāhui a me ka mana o ka Mō'ī e ho'ōla i kona lāhui. 'Oiai, he pilina ko ka Mō'ī a he kuleana ho'i kona i ka mālama 'ana aku i nā Akua a me ka mālama 'ana mai i kona lāhui, he hō'ailona ke ola pono o nā kānaka no ke 'ano pono o ko ka Mō'ī noho aupuni 'ana.

He uwila hooheno keia[58]
No ka laau ola a Kauka Goto
Ua kui e ka lono lohe na moku
Mai Hawaii hoi a Niihau
He hauoli piha ko makou
Na hana kokua a Liliulani
Mamuli o ka imi'na a loaa pono
Laau kaulana o Iapana
Nana e lapaau pau na eha
O ka ma'i lepera hana lokoino
Loaa ai ka pono i ko lahui
E noho *u* nei me ke kaumaha
Ua maha makou ua lanakila
Ua hiki e ke ola i Kalawao nei
E ola makou a pau loa
A hoi hou i ke one oiwi
Hea aku makou o mai oe
Loea kaulana o Iapana
Haina ia mai ana ka puana
O Liliu ke Lii ola Hawaii.

Ua haku 'ia kēia mele e nā kānaka i ma'i i ka ma'i pu'upu'u Pākē a e noho ana ma Kalawao, Molokai. He mele kēia e ho'oheno ana iā Kauka Goto, ke kauka ho'i nāna e mālama ana i ka poe ma'i ma laila. Akā, ho'ohanohano pū 'ia ka inoa o ka Mō'īwahine, a me kona mana e "ola Hawaii" (l. 20), no ka mea, he kuleana nō ko ka Mō'ī i ka 'imi 'ana i ke alahele e ola ai kona lāhui. Ua 'ano like kēia kuleana me nā kuleana a me nā kānāwai o ke au kahiko, no ke kalana ola a me ka

[57] Kaumai, "Hone Ka Leo O Ke Aloha," *Buke Mele Lahui*, 67.
[58] Nā keiki o ka Haukipila o Kauka Goto, "He Uila Hooheno Keia," (lālani mua), *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, 2 'Apelila 1894, 3.

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make, ka pono me ka hewa. Ua pa'i 'ia kēia mele i ka makahiki 1894, a ma o kona mele 'ana aku i ka Mō'īwahine, hō'ike mai nō nā haku mele i ko lākou mea e kauka'i ai no ko lākou ola, a 'o ka Mō'īwahine Lili'uokalani a me kona Aupuni Hawai'i nō ia.

Ma kekahi o nā mele, ho'opili 'ia ka hua 'ōlelo pono me ka hua 'ōlelo "kīwila" a me ke "kaulike" no ka hō'ike 'ana i ka pono pili kino o nā kānaka. Penei nō ia mau mele,

Hoohui Aina oia ka make,[59]
Aohe ou pono Kivila ilaila,

Na pono pilipaa i kailiia,[60]
E ka manu aeto la o Maleka,

Kau nui ka manao o na kupa[61]
I pono kaulike no ka lahui

E hana ana la i ka pono,[62]
Ka pono kaulike nou e Hawaii,

'O ka pono kahi mea i 'imi nui 'ia a i māke'e 'ia ho'i e nā kānaka. Penei ia mele 'ana mai,

Eia no Hawaii ponoi[63]
Ke makee nei i kona pono
Ke noho nei no me ka maluhia
O ke aloha aina hanau

He aloha ka hele'na me na hoa,[64]
A e imi i ka pono o ke kanaka

E Kalani e, e Kalani hoi[65]
Pehea o Liliu i ke kalaunu,
Imiia aku, imiia hoi,
I loaa e ka pono o ka lahui;

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[59] Mrs. Kala, "He Wehi No Hawaii," *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 1 Malaki 1893.
[60] Kina, J. P., "Silaia Ke Aloha Aina," *Buke Mele Lahui*, 17.
[61] Mrs. Kawohikapulani, "Hooheno No Liliu," *Hawaii Holomua*, 9 & 11 Pepeluali 1893.
[62] Kaila, C. B., "E Mau Loa Ke Aloha," *Buke Mele Lahui*, 18.
[63] Kekupuohioklani, "He Pule Aimoku No Liliu," *Hawaii Holomua*, 14 Pepeluali 1893.
[64] Kaloa, S. B., "Aloalo Ehuehu Poka," *Ka Makaainana*, 18 Malaki 1895; *Buke Mele Lahui*, 16.
[65] Ani Peahi, "Leahi I Daimana Hila," *Buke Mele Lahui*, 76.

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'O kēia 'imi 'ana i ka pono, he mea mau ia i nā Kānaka Hawai'i a me nā Ali'i o Hawai'i nei mai ke au i kala loa aku a hiki loa mai i kēia lā. Mele 'ia ka pono o nā Ali'i, nā kānaka, a me ka 'āina ma nā mele ko'ihonua a 'ike 'ia ka pono ma ke 'ano he kānāwai no ia au kekahi. I ke au iā Kamehameha, mele 'ia no kona 'ano "he alii pono, a he honua pono." I ka wā ma hope o ka hiki 'ana mai o ka po'e haole, ua lawe 'ia ka pono a ho'ohui 'ia aku me nā mana'o Kalikiano no ia mea he pono, akā, ua mau nō na'e ka no'ono'o a me ke 'ano Hawai'i no ka pono. A 'ike 'ia kēia mau 'ana o ka mana'o Hawai'i no ka pono ma ke au iā Kauikeaouli, no ka mea, ma kona puana 'ana aku no ka mau 'ana o ke ea o ka 'āina i ka pono, ua hō'oia mai 'o ia i nā mana'o kahiko no ka pono ma o kona 'ōlelo 'ana no ka pilina mau o ka ea, ka 'āina, a me ka pono. A i ka wā o ka Ho'okahuli Aupuni a me ka Ho'ohui 'Āina, 'o ka pono nō ka mea i 'i'ini nui 'ia a i 'imi nui 'ia e ka Lāhui Hawai'i. A puana 'ia mai nō ia 'i'ini ma loko nō o nā mele lāhui a lākou i haku ai—ua wili 'ia nō a pa'a—a 'a'ohe nō hemo akula mai ko kākou na'au aku a i kēia lā. 'Ike 'ia ma nā mele a kākou e haku a e hīmeni mau ai, a 'ike 'ia ma nā hana like 'ole o ka Lāhui Hawai'i, e like me nā ka'i huaka'i a me nā paikau i mālama 'ia e ka hui 'o 'Īlio'ulaokalani. Ua kapa 'ia 'o "Kū I Ka Pono" a he mea nō ia e 'imi mau 'ia ana e kākou, nā pulapula e ola nei a e 'imi nei i ka pono o ko kākou 'āina a me ko kākou Lāhui Hawai'i.

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MOKUNA 7
LŌKAHI Ē KA LEO O KA LĀHUI

HE WEHI NO KA LAHUI[1]

Kaulana mai nei Hawaii loa
I ka imi i ka mea pohihihi
Ua ike ia hoi na noa huna
Hoohui aina a ka lokoino
I upu ai hoi a e kaihi
I ka noho Kalaunu a o Hawaii
Lokahi e ka leo o ka lahui
Mai Hawaii hoi a Kauai
Kaohi makou i ke kulana
I ka ea hoi a o Hawaii nei
Ka ewe aloha na kupuna
A ili a kau kau i ka pua
Aole makou a e puni aku
I ka alapahi mai a ka nui manu
Hoohui aina Amerika
I nui hoi na pomaikai
Aia i Kahiki na Komite
Ei Hawaii nei e ke kauoha
E noi mai ana i ka Hawaii
E hopu i ka peni, kau i ka pepa
Ke kue nei e ka Lahui
Na hana pakaha he aloha ole
Kohia e ka hae o ke aupuni
O ka hae Hawaii oikelakela
Ua kela Hawaii oia ka oi
Kiko waena o ka Pakipika
Kupaa kakou e ka lahui
Mahope o Liliu-lani-i-ke-kapu
A kau hou hoi e ka hanohano
Maluna hoi ou e ka Lahui
Haina ia mai ana ka puana
O ka wehi kaulana o ka Lahui
Hakuia e
MRS. KALA
Honuakaha, Feb. 24.

Ma kēia mokuna, ʻo ka lāhui ke kumuhana nui e noiʻi a e hoʻākāka ʻia aku ana. E like me nā mokuna ʻē aʻe, e wehewehe mua ʻia ana ka manaʻo o ka lāhui, a laila, e hoʻākāka ʻia ana ke ʻano o ka moʻolelo ʻana mai o nā mea kākau like ʻole no ka lāhui. Wehewehe ʻia mai ka lāhui ma o ka hoʻākāka ʻana i ka moʻolelo o ka

[1] Mrs. Kala, "He Wehi No Ka Lahui," *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, 27 Pepeluali 1893, 3.

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Lāhui Hawai'i, ka mo'okū'auhau o ka Lāhui Hawai'i, ka loina o ka Lāhui Hawai'i, a me ke kū'oko'a o ka Lāhui Hawai'i. Ma ka hopena o ka mokuna, e nānā 'ia ana kekahi o nā mele lāhui a me ke 'ano o ka haku pū 'ia 'ana o ka Lāhui Hawai'i i loko o ia po'e mele lāhui.

'O ke mele o luna a'e nei, he mele nō ia e ho'ohanohano ana i ka Lāhui Hawai'i ma kona inoa 'o ia ho'i 'o "He Wehi No Ka Lahui." Ua haku 'ia mai nei mele e Mrs. Kala. Ma kāna mele i haku ai, hō'ike mai nō 'o Mrs. Kala i kona mana'o no ke 'ano lōkahi o ka lāhui. Wahi āna, "Lokahi e ka leo o ka lahui/Mai Hawaii hoi a Kauai/Kaohi makou i ke kulana/I ka ea hoi a o Hawaii" (l. 7-10), a ma kēia mau lālani, hō'ike 'ia ka mana'o lōkahi o ka lāhui e mau ai ke ea o ka 'āina. Hō'ike pū 'ia ka palena o ka 'āina o ka lāhui, mai Hawai'i a Kaua'i. Ma nā lālani ma lalo iho, mele 'ia mai no ke "ewe aloha" o "na kupuna" a me ka "ili" 'ana mai o ia ēwe aloha a "kau kau i ka pua" (l. 11-12). Ma kēia mau lālani, ke hō'ike nei ka haku mele i ka pilina 'ohana o ka Lāhui Hawai'i ma o ka pili o nā ēwe o nā kūpuna, akā, 'o ke "ea" o Hawai'i, 'o ia nō ke ēwe aloha o ka lāhui. No laila, wahi a ka mana'o o kēia haku mele, mai ke au kahiko loa mai a mai nā kūpuna mai nō ho'i ke ea o ko kākou 'āina. He mea i ili maiā lākou a i nā pulapula, a e like me ia pilina 'ohana o nā mākua a me nā keiki, 'a'ole ia he mea e pau ai.

Ma kēia mele, kāhea aku nō ka haku mele i ka lāhui he mau manawa. Mele mai 'o ia i ka lāhui a hō'ike mai 'o ia i ka mana'o o ka lāhui. Wahi āna, "Lokahai e ka leo o ka lāhui" (l. 7), "Ke kue nei e ka Lahui" (l. 21), a "Kupaa kakou e ka lahui" (l. 27). Ma ka hopena, mele 'ia mai no kēia kūpa'a 'ana o ka lāhui "Mahope o Liliu-lani-i-ke-kapu" a koikoi 'ia mai ia kūpa'a 'ana "A kau hou hoi e ka hanohano/Maluna hoi ou e ka Lahui" (l. 27-30). 'O kēia hanohano i nonoi 'ia, 'o ia nō ke ola hou, ke ea hou o ia Lāhui ma kona 'āina pono'ī. A laila,

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ma nā lālani hope loa, puana ʻia mai nō ka haʻina o ke mele, ʻo ia no ka "wehi kaulana o ka Lahui" (l. 31-32). Ma kēia mele, ʻo ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi nō kai mele ʻia a hoʻohanohano ʻia mai e Mrs. Kala a hōʻike ʻia mai nō, ʻo ke ea o ka ʻāina ka mea e wehi ai ka Lāhui Hawaii. Kāhea aku nō ka haku mele i ka lāhui he mau manawa. Mele mai ʻo ia i ka lāhui a hōʻike mai ʻo ia i ka manaʻo o ka lāhui. Wahi āna, "Lokahai e ka leo o ka lāhui" (l. 7), "Ke kue nei e ka Lahui" (l. 21), a "Kupaa kakou e ka lahui" (l. 27).

I ka nānā ʻana aku i ka haku pū ʻia ʻana o ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi i loko o nei mele a me nā mele lāhui ʻē aʻe o ia au, ʻike ʻia aku nō ke kūlana nui koʻikoʻi o ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi no ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi. Akā, he aha lā ia mea ʻo ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi a pehea i hoʻākāka ʻia ai ia mea e nā kūpuna o ke au i hala a me ka poʻe ʻike o ke ao nei.

He aha ia mea he Lāhui Hawaiʻi?

Wahi a ka puke wehewehe ʻōlelo a Andrews a me ka puke wehewehe ʻōlelo a Pukui me Elbert, ua pili nō ka manaʻo o "lāhui" i ka "lā" e "hui" ai kekahi hui kanaka.[2] ʻO kekahi o nā mea hoihoi ma kēia ʻano manaʻo, ʻo ia nō kona pili i ka manawa, i ka "lā" hoʻi e hui ai, no ka mea, ʻo ka Lāhui, he mea nō ia e loli ana me ka hala ʻana o ka manawa. Wehewehe pū ʻia mai ma loko o ua mau puke nei ka "lāhui kanaka," a wahi a ua poʻe puke nei, he huina kanaka nō kēia ma lalo o ka malu o kekahi Aliʻi a Mōʻī paha i ʻokoʻa me ka huina kanaka e hoʻomalu ʻia ana e kekahi Aliʻi a Mōʻī hou aku paha.[3]

Eia kekahi, wahi a Andrews, Pukui, a me Elbert, ua loli nō hoʻi ka manaʻo o ka lāhui ma hope o ka hiki ʻana mai o ka poʻe no ʻEuropa me ʻAmerika mai, a

[2] Andrews, 327; Pukui a me Elbert, 190.
[3] Andrews, 327; Pukui a me Elbert, 190.

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ma hope o ke kūkala ʻia ʻana mai o Hawaiʻi ma ke ʻano he aupuni i like kona kūlana me nā aupuni ʻē aʻe o ka honua, e like me ko Pelekane, ko ʻAmerika, me ko Palani. ʻO ia wā, ʻo ia hoʻi ka wā ma hope o ka naʻi ʻia ʻana o ka pae ʻāina e Kamehameha a me ke kūkala pū ʻia ʻana aku o ke Kumukānāwai o ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi. I ia manawa, ua loli iki ka manaʻo o ka lāhui no ka hōʻike ʻana i ka pilina o ka poʻe ʻōiwi a pau o ko Hawaiʻi nei pae ʻāina ma lalo o ka Mōʻī hoʻokahi o ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi. He hua ʻōlelo nō hoʻi ia e hōʻike ana he ʻokoʻa ka poʻe i kapa ʻia he poʻe Hawaiʻi a he Lāhui Hawaiʻi paha, ʻokoʻa ka poʻe o nā lāhui ʻokoʻa mai nā aupuni ʻokoʻa.[4]

Ma ia wā, ua ʻano nui maila nā ʻōlelo no ke kuhikuhi ʻana i ka poʻe ʻōiwi o ko Hawaiʻi nei pae ʻāina. Kapa ʻia mākou he Kanaka Maoli, he Kanaka Hawaiʻi, a he kanaka ʻōiwi nō hoʻi paha. Ma ke ʻano he huina kanaka, kapa ʻia mākou he lāhui Hawaiʻi, he lāhui kanaka, a he lāhui ʻōiwi nō hoʻi. No laila, he manaʻo polokika nō hoʻi ia mea ʻo ka lāhui i pili hoʻi i kona ʻano kūʻokoʻa, akā, pili hoʻi kona manaʻo i ka poʻe ʻōiwi o ia aupuni kūʻokoʻa. Eia kekahi, ʻike ʻia ka lāhui Hawaiʻi i loko o ka moʻolelo, ka moʻokūʻauhau, ka loina, a me ke kūʻokoʻa ʻana nō hoʻi.

He Moʻolelo, He Moʻokūʻauhau, A He Mele Ka Lāhui

No ka hoʻomaopopo pono ʻana mai i ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi, he pono ka nānā ʻana aku i kona wehewehe ʻia ʻana mai ma ka moʻolelo, ka moʻokūʻauhau, a me ke mele nō hoʻi. Wahi a Joseph M. Poepoe,

> E hoomaopopoia, he lahui kakou me ko kakou Moolelo Kahiko, i ano like loa aku me ka moolelo kahiko o ka lahui o Helene; a he mau mele kahiko hoi ka ko kakou mau kupuna i like aku a i oi aku nohoi ko lakou hiwahiwa ame ke kilakila i ko na mele kaulana loa o ua lahui Helene nei. Ua piha ko kakou mau mele me na hoonupanupa ana a ia mea he aloha;

[4] Andrews, 327; Pukui me Elbert, 190.

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> piha me na keha ana no na hana koa a wiwo ole a ko kakou poe ikaika o ka wa kahiko; ka lakou mau hana kaulana; ko lakou ola ana ame ko lakou make ana. Aia maloko o ko kakou Moolelo Kahiko na Mele ame na Pule Wanana, na mele ha'i-kupuna a kuauhau hoi.[5]

Ma kēia wahi paukū nei, hō'ike mai nō 'o Poepoe i kona mana'o no ke kūlana ki'eki'e o nā mo'olelo a me nā mele o ka Lāhui Hawai'i. Wahi āna, ua like a 'oi aku paha ia kūlana o ko Hawai'i mau mo'olelo a mele me ko ka po'e Helene. 'O kēia po'e Helene ho'i, 'o ia ho'i kēlā lāhui o ke au i kala loa aku a i mahalo nui 'ia e ko 'Europa no ke 'ano na'auao o ko lākou lāhui a me ke kūlana ki'eki'e o ko lākou mo'olelo a me nā mele. I ko Poepoe kākau 'ana i kēia mana'o, he mau makahiki ia ma hope o ka ho'okahuli aupuni a me ka ho'ohui 'āina me 'Amelika, akā, ua mau aku nō ka Lāhui Hawai'i. A e makemake ana nō ka po'e o ka lāhui e hō'ike aku i ia mau 'ana. E ho'ā'o ana nō ho'i ka po'e o ka Lāhui Hawai'i e hō'ike 'ia aku i ka lehulehu, ua like ka maika'i o nā mea a pau o ka Lāhui Hawai'i me nā mea i mahalo nui 'ia i loko o ka Lāhui Helene.

Wahi a Poepoe, he mea nui nō ho'i nā mele o ka Lāhui Hawai'i, no ka mea, ma o nā mele e mo'olelo 'ia mai ai nā pule me nā kū'auhau. He mea nui nō ka mo'okū'auhau iā kākou a hiki mai nō i ke au nei. Penei kā Davida Malo wehewehe 'ana mai i ka pilina o ka mo'okū'auhau me ka lāhui kanaka o Hawai'i nei. Wahi āna,

> Ua olelo ia mai ma ko Hawaii nei mau mookuauhau kupuna na kanaka mua o Hawaii nei, na lakou mai ko Hawaii nei lahui kanaka a pau.[6]

'Ike 'ia nō ma kēia 'ōlelo a Malo, 'o ka mo'okū'auhau kahi e 'ike 'ia ai ka Lāhui Hawai'i, no ka mea, 'o nā kūpuna nō ke kumu o ia lāhui. Kohu like ko Malo mana'o me ka ho'ākāka 'ana mai o J. M. Kalimahauna, kekahi mea kākau

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[5] Poepoe, "Ka Moolelo Hawaii Kahiko," *Ka Na'i Aupuni*, 1 Pepeluali 1906.
[6] Malo, 4.

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ma ka nūpepa o ka makahiki 1862. Wahi āna ma kāna mo'olelo i kapa 'ia "O ke kumu mua o ko Hawaii nei kanaka," penei i kākau 'ia ai,

> Ua olelo ia mai ma ko Hawaii nei mau moo kuauhau kupuna, na kanaka mua o Hawaii nei; no lakou mai ko Hawaii nei lahui kanaka a pau. Ma ka mookuauhau o Kumulipo i hai ia mai ai, he wahine ke kanaka mua loa, o Lailai kona inoa, ua olelo ia mai, he po wale no kona mau kupuna, a mau makua, aia ia i hanau kanaka mai, o Keliiwahilani ka inoa o ke kane a ua Lailai la, aole nae i hai ia mai ka inoa o kona mau makua, ua olelo ia, mai ka lani mai o Kealiiwahilani, ka inoa o ke kane a ua Lailai la, i nana mai oia a ike i ka wahine maikai Lailai e noho ana i Laloowaia, a hu ae la ke aloha iloko ona ia ia, a iho mai la oia a moe iho la laua me Lailai, a hanau ka laua keiki, oia kekahi kupuna, o keia lahui kanaka.[7]

A laila, helu papa 'ia mai ka mo'okū'auhau o Ololo, no Kahiko, Kupulanakehau, Wākea, me Haumea, 'o ia ho'i 'o Papa, a wahi a ka mea kākau, "O keia poe wale no ke kumu mua o ko Hawaii nei lahui a pau."[8]

Hō'ike pū mai 'o Kamakau i ka pilina o ka lāhui ma o ka mo'okū'auhau o nā kānaka. Wahi āna,

> Ma ka moolelo o ka mookuauhau e pili ana i ka hanauna Alii mai a Wakea mai a hiki ia Kamehameha; ua oleloia o Wakea a me Papa na kumu hoolulahuikanaka o ka Pae aina Hawaii. A ma ka moolelo hoi o Hookumukahonua; ua oleloia, o Hookumukahonua ke kumu mua nana i hooulu keia lahui, no ka mea, ehiku hanauna mai a Hookumukahonua a hiki ia Kahiko; a o Kahiko hoi kai noho ia Kupulanakehau, hanau o Wakea. A pela i pii ai ka hanauna alii a hiki i keia mau la.[9]

Ma kēia mo'okū'auhau no ka "lahuikanaka o ka Pae aina Hawaii," 'o Wākea me Papa nā kūpuna o ka lāhui kanaka o Hawai'i nei. Ma kekahi mo'olelo nō na'e, ua hō'ike 'ia mai, ua hiki mai nō he mau lāhui hou aku i Hawai'i nei, a i loko o kēia lāhui kanaka o ka pae 'āina, 'ike 'ia ho'i he mau lāhui.

Ma "Ka Moolelo o Hiiakaikapoliopele" i kākau 'ia e John E. Bush a me S. Paaluhi a i pa'i 'ia ma ka nūpepa 'o *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui* i ka makahiki 1893, ua

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[7] Kalimahauna, J. M., *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, 13 Pepeluali 1862, 1.
[8] Kalimahauna, 1.
[9] Kamakau, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 4 Mei 1865, 2.

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kapa ʻia ko Pele ʻohana, he lāhui lākou. I ko Bush me Paʻaluhi hoʻolauna mua ʻana mai i ka ʻohana o Pele, penei i kākau ʻia ai,

> Ua oleloia he ohana nui o Pele a me kona mau kaikaina a me kona mau kaikunane. Ua pae ae lakou ma ka Mokupuni o Hawaii i ka wa kahiko, o Pele ke alii a pau o keia ohana a me na kanaka malalo ona, a ua hookahua iho ko lakou noho ana ma ke alo o Maunaloa. Ua kuee aku na kamaaina, aka, no ka ikaika o keia poe ua lanakila lakou maluna o na kamaaina a mamuli o ka ui o na wahine o keia lahui a me na kane, ua hooki pu iho la ke kue o na kamaaina i ka poe malihini.[10]

Ma kēia hoʻolauna ʻana mai i ko Pele ʻohana, kapa ʻia ʻo Pele, ʻo ia nō "ke alii a pau o keia ohana," a kapa ʻia kona ʻohana a me ka poʻe ʻē aʻe ma lalo o kona malu he "lahui." No ko lākou kūlana he malihini i Hawaiʻi, a no ka mana nui o Pele, ma ke ʻano he Aliʻi no kona poʻe kanaka, he lāhui kūʻokoʻa nō lākou.

ʻIke ʻia nō hoʻi he mau lāhui ʻokoʻa ma ko Hawaiʻi moʻolelo, a e like me ko Pele lāhui ma kekahi ʻano, pili kēia mau lāhui i ke Aliʻi Nui a me ka Mōʻī paha nāna e noho aliʻi ʻaimoku ana, e laʻa me kēia mea i wehewehe ʻia mai e pili ana iā Kalaunuiʻōhua me kona ʻohana me kāna poʻe keiki.

> O Kalaunuiohua ka makuakane o Kaheka ka makuwahine. He alii noho malie o Kuaiwa, aole e like me kona makuakane me Kalaunuiohua, he alii pepehi i na kahuna me na kaula, he alii kaua o Kalaunuiohua mai Hawaii a Kauai, o ke kaua i Kawelewele... Aole pela o Kuaiwa, he alii maikai oia, he alii hooponopono i kona Aupuni, a he alii mahiai, a nana no i kukulu i kekahi mau hale no ke Akua.
>
> O kana wahine o Kamuleilani; a na laua mai na keiki, o Kahoukapu, o Hukulani me Manauea. A moe hou ia Kamanawa, nana mai o Ehu, maloko o keia mau keiki, loaa hou mai na kupuna alii. Maloko o Hukulani, loaa mai ka lahui i kapaia he Mahi, me kekahi poe alii e ae.[11]

Ma ka paukū mua o luna aʻe nei, moʻolelo ʻia mai no ko Kuaiwa moʻokūʻauhau a no ke ʻano o ko kona makuakāne noho Aliʻi nui ʻana. ʻO Kalaunuiohua kona makua kāne a he aliʻi kaua nō ʻo ia i kona hoʻāʻo ʻana e naʻi aku i nā mokupuni a pau o ka pae ʻāina o Hawaiʻi nei. A, ma ka paukū ʻelua,

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[10] Bush, John E. a me Paaluhi, "Ka Moolelo o Hiiakaikapoliopele," *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 5 Ianuali 1893, 2.
[11] *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 9 Kēkēmapa 1865, 2.

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mo'olelo 'ia mai no kā Kuaiwa wahine a me kā lāua po'e keiki me ka 'ōlelo 'ana ho'i, mai ka lua o kā Kuaiwa keiki, 'o ia ho'i o Hukulani, i "loaa mai ka lahui i kapaia he Mahi." Kaulana nō ia inoa 'ohana, he po'e ali'i no Kohala, Hawai'i mai nō,[12] akā, kapa 'ia aku lākou he lāhui ho'i, 'oiai, he aupuni kū'oko'a ko lākou moku e noho ai a me ko lākou 'ohana nō ho'i. He lāhui nō ho'i paha ua po'e Mahi nei ma lalo o ka malu o kekahi Ali'i Nui nāna e ho'omalu ana i ia 'ohana a me ia po'e.

Eia kekahi lāhui i ho'okumu 'ia a i ho'oulu 'ia ai ho'i ma ka mo'okū'auhau o kekahi 'ohana. He mau lālani mele kēia no ka Mō'ī Kauikeaouli, 'o ia ho'i 'o Kamehameha III,

HE INOA NO KAUIKEAOULI,
I ILI MAI IAIA MAI KA POE
KAHIKO MAI.[13]

O ka hanu po lani o Waikulono,
O Waikulono o ka po o Peheekolo,
O Kanakulu i ke kai haale o Umi,
O ka ape ka hua i ka polo he 'Lii—e,
He 'Lii no ka lolo ahikanaka,
He pua hoomaui mae i ka la,
O Keaweikekahialiiokalani,
E kapu o—e.
He kapu no na lani hua ke mulea,
He hua lau ke mule awahia la,
He liko he mio he lau ia no Keaka,
Na lani pipio lua i laha'i,
Laha ka weli kalina ka pua o Kea,
Keakealani wahine—e—euwe,
Hoowahine hookane ana ke aloha,
Hoi ia nei i lahui ai,

Ma kēia māhele o kēia mele inoa no Kauikeaouli, ua ho'ohanohano 'ia nō nā inoa o kekahi o nā kūpuna o Kauikeaouli. 'O 'Umi kekahi (l. 3), a pēlā pū 'o Keaweikekahiali'iokalani, 'o ia ho'i 'o Keaweikekahiali'iokamoku (l. 7), a ma lalo

[12] Formander, 1996, 127.
[13] Hulama, "He Inoa No Kauikeaouli, i ili mai ia ia mai ka Poe kahiko mai," *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, 28 Nowemapa 1861.

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iho, hea 'ia aku nō ho'i ka inoa 'o Keakealaniwahine (l. 14). He mau Mō'ī lākou 'ekolu no ka mokupuni nui 'o Hawai'i a he mau kūpuna nō ho'i lākou no Kauikeaouli. Eia kekahi, mele 'ia mai nō ho'i ke kūlana kapu loa o Keakealaniwahine me Keaweikekahiali'iokamoku ma muli o ka "lani pipio lua i laha'i" (l. 12), 'o ia ho'i ko lāua kūlana he keiki pi'o na ko lāua po'e mākua. 'O Keakealaniwahine, he keiki 'o ia na Iwikauikaua, he kāne, lāua me Keakamahana, he wahine. 'O Keakamahana ke keiki a Keakealanikāne me kona kaikuahine 'o Keali'iokalani, a he mo'opuna 'o Keakamahana na Kaikilani, he wahine a he Mō'ī nō ho'i 'o ia no Hawai'i. 'O ko Keakealaniwahine makuakāne, 'o ia nō 'o Iwikauikaua, he keikikāne 'o ia na Makakauali'i, 'o ia nō ke kaikunāne o Kaikilani. No laila, he mau pipi'o nō ko ka mo'okū'auhau o Keakealaniwahine. A 'o Keaweikekahiali'iokalani, he keiki kāne 'o ia na Keakealaniwahine, me kāne kāne, 'o ia ho'i 'o Kanaloaikaiwilewa, no laila, he kūlana ki'eki'e nō ho'i kona.[14]

No laila, ma kēia mele o luna a'e nei, ho'ohanohano 'ia kēia po'e kūpuna o Kauikeaouli, a ma hope pono o ka lālani mele no Keakealaniwahine, mele 'ia mai no ka "Hoowahine hookane ana ke aloha,/Hoi ia nei i lahui ai" (l. 15-16). Ma kēia mau lālani, mele 'ia mai no ka noho pū 'ana mai o ka wahine a me ke kāne paha me ke aloha, i ho'okumu a i ho'omau 'ia aku paha ka lāhui o Keakealaniwahine me Keaweikekahiali'iokamoku, a pēlā pū nō ho'i e laha aku ai ka lāhui o Kauikeaouli, ka Mō'ī nona kēia mele.

No laila, he mea nui nō ka mo'olelo a me ka mo'okū'auhau ma ka ho'omaopopo 'ana i ia mea i kapa 'ia 'o ka Lāhui Hawai'i. He mea nui nō ho'i ka pilina o ka lāhui i ka pae 'āina o Hawai'i nei, e like me ka mea i ho'ākāka 'ia aku ma ka Mokuna 4 o kēia palapala nei. Ua mau nō ho'i ia kūlana ko'iko'i o ka mo'okū'auhau a me ka pilina nō ho'i o ka lāhui i ka 'āina. Eia na'e, 'a'ole ka

[14] Fornander, 1996, 127-129.

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mo'okū'auhau 'o ka mea ho'okahi e 'ike 'ia ai ka Lāhui Hawai'i—'o ka loina nō ho'i ka mea e 'ike 'ia ai ka Lāhui Hawai'i.

He Loina Ka Lāhui

Ma kekahi o nā mo'olelo e ho'ākāka mai ana i ia mea 'o ka Lāhui Hawai'i, 'o ka loina o kānaka kahi mea e 'ike 'ia ai 'o ka Lāhui. 'O ka loina o kānaka, 'o ia nō ka hana o nā kānaka, ke 'ano a me ke kumu o ia hana 'ana, a me ka mana'o o kānaka no ia hana a me ia 'ano, inā he maika'i ia a he maika'i 'ole paha. Ua ho'ākāka 'ē 'ia kekahi o kēia mau loina i mana'o 'ia he mea nui no ka Lāhui Hawai'i ma nā mokuna ma mua iho o kēia, e la'a me ke ea, ka 'āina, a me ka pono. A, e like me ka mea i ho'ākāka 'ia no ka pono, 'o ka 'oko'a o ka hana kālepa—ke kū'ai 'ana a me ka ho'olimalima 'ana—kekahi mea i 'oko'a ai ka loina o ka Lāhui Hawai'i. Ma loko o kāna mea i kākau ai no "Ka Moolelo o Na Kamehameha," na Samuel Kamakau i wehewehe mai nō ho'i i kona mana'o no ke 'ano haipule, heahea a me ke aloha o ka Lāhui Hawai'i. A laila, i ka makahiki 'ana a'e, ma ka lā 8 o 'Aukake i ka makahiki 1868, ua kākau maila 'o Kamakau i kekahi mo'olelo 'ano lō'ihi e helu papa mai ana i nā 'ano hana a me nā 'ano mana'o like 'ole o ka Lāhui Hawai'i. E like me kona wehewehe 'ana mai, he mea nui ke aloha o ka lāhui kekahi i kekahi a ua hō'ike 'ia ia aloha ma o ka noho 'ūhā 'ana o ke keiki me ka makua a me ke kūmākena 'ana i ka hala 'ana o kekahi Ali'i a kanaka paha. He Lāhui nō ho'i ka Lāhui Hawai'i i puni i ke Alii a i puni ho'i i ka mālama 'ana i nā Ali'i. 'Ano like kekahi o kā Kamakau mau mea i wehewehe ai ma nei mo'olelo me kāna i wehewehe mua ai ma "Ka Moolelo no Na Kamehameha," e la'a me kēia,

> He Lahui hookama kuu Lahui—Ua hookama na'Lii i na keiki a na'lii, a ua hookama na'lii i na keiki a na aikane me na punahele a me na makaainana; a pela hoi ka poe koikoi a me na makaainana, a ua hoohio aku i mau

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> aikane, i mau punahele, i mau halekipa, i mau hoaaloha. He waiwai lawe wale, he ai ai wale, he ia lalau wale, he kapa aahu wale; a he nui wale o na ano o keia mau hana hoalohaloha iloko o keia mau hana hoomakamaka; a ua aneane e nalo no ke ao ia i ka piepiele. He mau hookama a hookahu ko keia wa, a he mau halekipa, aka, ma ka piepiele... Aole no pela i ka wa kahiko; ua aoia ko keia wa i ka piepiele.[15]

Ma kēia paukū, ua wehewehe mai nō ʻo Kamakau i ke ʻano hoʻālohaloha o ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi ma ka hānai ʻana aku i ke keiki a me ka hoʻokipa ʻana aku i ka ʻohana a me nā hoa paha me kahi e hiʻo ai ko lākou poʻo a me wahi ʻai a iʻa e pāʻina ai. Ma ka hopena, moʻolelo mai ʻo ia no ka loli ʻana o ia ʻano ma muli o ka piepiele e aʻo ʻia mai ana i ka Lāhui kanaka. He mea nui nō hoʻi ke ʻano ʻoluʻolu o ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi iā Kamakau. Eia nō kāna mea i kākau ai,

> He Lahui aloha kuu Lahui, mai na'lii a ka poe koikoi, a hala aku i na makaainana ke aloha. He Lahui oluolu, he hookipa, he heahea, he hoope ka leo, he koaheahe, me he kolonahe la a ka makani huihui o ke kakahiaka nui malie, mai loko mai o ka ululaau a me na waokele o ka uka lipolipo, e waipahe huihui ana i ka manawa.[16]

Ma kēia paukū, ʻo ke aloha a me ka ʻoluʻolu o ka Lāhui ka mea nui, ke ʻano ʻoluʻolu o ka naʻau a me ke ʻano ʻoluʻolu o ka leo. Ma kekahi paukū ma lalo iho, hoʻākāka mai ʻo Kamakau i kekahi mea i mahalo ʻole ʻia e kēia Lāhui. Wahi āna,

> He Lahui hilahila i ka mahaoi, i ka hele kauhale, i ka makaau, i ka hi-o, i ka lelele o ka elemu, i ka makahi-o, i ka oioi o ka waha i ke kamailio, i ka lele-e, i ka holoholo, i ka pakaulei, i ka pakauaaka. He Lahui nohenohea kuu lahui, noho malie, akahele, akahai, luli ole ka pua mauu... O ka lokomaikai paha ia, o ka puaa nui, o ka ilio nahu maka, o ka lokoia, o ka niu haohao a me na waiwai a pau o waho; a pela no ko loko o ka hale a me loko iho no a pau, a koe wale no kahi hanu wahi a ka olelo. He oleloao keia a na kupuna.[17]

Hoʻomaka ka māhele o luna nei me nā mea i mahalo ʻole ʻia e ka Lāhui. ʻO ka mahaʻoi kekahi a ʻo ka hele kauhale kekahi, a pēlā pū kekahi mau ʻano maikaʻi ʻole. A laila, hoʻomaka hou ʻo Kamakau e helu papa i nā ʻano maikaʻi o

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[15] Kamakau, S. M., "O Ke Ano O Kekahi Mau Mea o Ka Lahui Hawaii," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 8 ʻAukake 1868, 4.
[16] Kamakau, S. M., "O Ke Ano O Kekahi Mau Mea o Ka Lahui Hawaii," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 8 ʻAukake 1868, 4.
[17] Kamakau, S. M., "O Ke Ano O Kekahi Mau Mea o Ka Lahui Hawaii," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 8 ʻAukake 1868, 4.

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kona Lāhui, e la'a me ka nohenohea a me ke akahai. 'O ka lokomaika'i nō ho'i kekahi o nā mea mahalo 'ia, a ho'omaopopo 'ia ma o ka hā'awi wale me ka māhele wale 'ana i nā mea waiwai o ka 'āina, 'o loko a 'o waho ho'i o ka hale, e la'a me ka 'ai a me ka i'a. Eia kekahi, he lokomaika'i nō ho'i ka Lāhui Hawai'i me nā mea o "loko iho no a pau." 'O ke aloha nō kēia. Ma ka hopena, he ha'awina kēia mai ka waha mai o nā kūpuna, no laila, he mea ia i hā'awi pū 'ia i nā keiki o ka 'ohana a i ili i nā keiki o ka 'ohana, e like me ka mo'okū'auhau.

Eia kekahi, 'a'ole nō helu papa wale maila 'o Kamakau i kēia mau mea. Hō'ike pū mai 'o ia i ke kumu i pilikia ai ka Lāhui Hawai'i ma muli o ia 'ano 'olu'olu, lokomaika'i, a leo nahenahe o ka lāhui, a pēlā pū i pilikia ai i ke 'ano ho'okipa o kānaka. Wahi āna,

> Aohe no hoi he lahui malihini i hiki mai ma Hawaii nei i like na oleloao me ka na kupuna kahiko. Ua pakela loa ka mahaoi o ka poe i ao i ka namu a me na haole. Ke emi nei ka maikai o keia lahui ma keia.[18]

Me kēia mau hua 'ōlelo, hō'ike mai 'o Kamakau i ka 'oko'a loa o kēia 'ano o ka Lāhui Hawai'i a me ke 'ano o ka po'e haole i hiki mai i Hawai'i nei. No ka mea, i ka wā i noho mai ai 'o ka Lāhui Hawai'i wale nō ma ka pae 'āina nei, 'a'ole nō i pilikia ia 'ano 'o ka lokomaika'i, no ka mea, pēlā pū nā hoa launa a he lokomaika'i aku a lokomaika'i mai, aloha aku aloha mai. 'O nā mea 'elua, e no'ono'o ana no kona pono pono'ī, a e no'ono'o pū 'ia ana ka pono o kona hoa launa. Akā, i ka launa 'ana me ka po'e haole o ka 'āina 'ē mai, 'a'ole nō i like ko lākou mana'o ma ka launa 'ana. No ka Hawai'i, he aloha a he pono ka launa 'ana o ke kanaka.

Hoihoi nō ho'i ko Kamakau ho'opili 'ana i kēia 'ano maha'oi i ke a'o 'ana mai o nā kānaka i ka 'ōlelo haole a me ka po'e haole. He mea nui nō ka 'ōlelo i ka

[18] Kamakau, S. M., "O Ke Ano O Kekahi Mau Mea o Ka Lahui Hawaii," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 8 'Aukake 1868, 4.

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loina o kānaka, no ka mea, nui nō nā mea e a'o mai ai a e ho'omaopopo mai ai ma o ka noi'i 'ana i ka 'ōlelo Hawai'i. Ua mo'olelo 'ia mai nō ka pilina loa o ka 'ōlelo Hawai'i a me ka 'āina o Hawai'i a me ka loina Hawai'i ma kekahi mo'olelo nūpepa i pa'i 'ia i ka makahiki 1864. He pane kēia mo'olelo i ka mana'o e hāpai 'ia ana no ka ho'opau 'ia 'ana o nā kula Hawai'i o ke aupuni. I ia manawa, ua ho'omaka ka paipai 'ana i ka 'ōlelo haole, me ka mana'o ho'i, 'o ka 'ōlelo haole ka 'ōlelo ho'okahi e ho'ona'auao 'ia ai nā kamali'i o ka Lāhui Hawai'i. 'A'ole i hō'ike 'ia mai ka inoa o ka mea kākau o nei mo'olelo. Ua hō'ike 'ia mai nō na'e kona mana'o kū'ē no ke 'ano o ka ho'ona'au'ao 'ia 'ana o nā kamali'i Hawai'i, a hō'ike pū 'ia mai ka pili pa'a loa o ka 'ōlelo Hawai'i me ka Lāhui Hawai'i. Wahi a ka mo'olelo,

> O Hawaii no ka poe Hawaii! Lahui Hawaii! Aina Hawaii! Aupuni Hawaii! OLELO HAWAII! Ua kiola anei na Aupuni e o ka honua i ko lakou mau olelo, a apo ma ka olelo o kekahi aina e ? Aole anei i paa o Geremania i kana olelo? Aole anei i hoopaa o Farani i kana ? Aole anei i hoopaa o Sepania i kana? No ko lakou ike ka maikai o ka olelo Enelani, ua hoowahawaha anei lakou i ko lakou mau olelo ponoi, a ao ma ko ka Enelani wale no? Aole loa. E ao no na keiki Hawaii i na olelo o ko na aina e, mai hoopoino nae i ka olelo o ko lakou aina iho. Ku pono ka olelo Hawaii no ko lakou Lahui, no ka mea, he lahui Hawaii ia. E like me ko oukou aloha i na oihana Hawaii, a me ka aina me ke Aupuni Hawaii, pela oukou e aloha ai i ka olelo kupa o ka aina!... O ka naauao iloko o ka olelo Hawaii, oia ke Kilohana Pookela o ka Lahui Hawaii.[19]

Ma nā mana'o mua loa o luna a'ela, hō'ike 'ia ka pili o Hawai'i i ka po'e Hawai'i, ka Lāhui Hawai'i, ka 'Āina Hawai'i, ke Aupuni Hawai'i, a me ka 'Ōlelo Hawai'i. 'A'ohe ona kū'ē o ka mea kākau i ke a'o 'ia mai o nā 'ōlelo like 'ole, akā, pa'a nō kona mana'o no ka pono o ka 'ōlelo kupa o ka 'āina no ka po'e kupa o ka 'āina, no ka mea, aia nō ka na'auao o ko kākou Lāhui ma loko o ko kākou 'ōlelo.

'Ike 'ia nō kēia 'ano pilina o ka 'ōlelo i ka loina Hawai'i, ka hana Hawai'i, a me ka mana'o Hawai'i ma kekahi mea hou aku a Kamakau i wehewehe mai ai i

[19] *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 19 Nowemapa 1864, 2.

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loko o "Ka Moolelo no Nā Kamehameha." Pili kēia wahi māhele i nā ha'awina a ka po'e haole a me ka po'e mikionali i lawe mai ai i Hawai'i nei. 'O ka heluhelu a me ke kākau palapala nō kekahi o ia po'e ha'awina i kōkua i ka po'e mikionali i ko lākou ho'ā'o 'ana i ka ho'omana Kalikiano a me nā ha'awina o ka Paipala i nā Kānaka Maoli. Eia nō na'e, 'a'ole ka palapala 'o kā lākou ha'awina ho'okahi i a'o aku ai. A'o pū 'ia aku nā loina a lākou i mana'o ai he pono no ka po'e hana pono a me ka po'e na'auao o ka honua. I ko lākou kuhihewa 'ana mai, he lāhui na'aupō ka Lāhui Hawai'i, a he na'aupō ko lākou loina Hawai'i me ka nohona Hawai'i nō ho'i. 'O kekahi o ia 'ano a ka po'e mikionali i mana'o ai he pono, 'o ia nō ka mea i kapa 'ia e Kamakau, 'o "ke aloha ana." Wahi āna,

> Hikiwawe loa ka ike kakau palapala; he loina no ma ka hoomakaukau ana o ke ao ana ia manawa, i ike na haumana i ke ano o ke aloha ana. O ke kunou ana o na poo imua, oia ke aloha e pili ana i na kane a me na keikikane; a o ka hoalu ana iho i na kuli a emi iho ke kino, oia ke aloha e pili ana i na wahine a me na kaikamahine, a ua ao nui ia keia mau mea e naauao ai. O ke aloha kahiko a ka lahui Hawaii, o ka honi ana ma na ihu, o ke kunou ana o ke poo, a o ke aloha ana ma ka waha, a o ka uwe me ka waimaka, o ke kaa ana iloko o ka lepo, o ke kukuli ana i na kuli e hoohaahaa iaia iho; a oia iho la na aloha i aoia e na makua kahiko Hawaii. Ua pili ka nui o ke aloha maloko o na hale alii; a o ke aloha e pili ana i ke kuaaina, oia no ka honi, ke kunou, ka uwe waimaka me ke kuo ana, a o ke aloha ana no hoi ma ka waha. Ke mau nei no keia mau aloha a ka poe kahiko i keia mau hanauna. O ke aloha lulu lima, he aloha hou wale ae nei no ia mai na haole mai. Ua papa ia ke aloha Hawaii, aohe nae he pau, ua pipili loa e like me ka mea i maa i keia lahui, a maa no ia i ka hanauna hou.[20]

Ma ka 'ōlelo Hawai'i, ua kapa 'ia nō ka launa mua 'ana o nā kānaka, 'o ke aloha 'ana nō ia, no ka mea, 'o ke aloha nō ka mea i ho'opuka 'ia mai ka waha mai. Eia kekahi, ma muli o ia 'ano 'olu'olu a lokomaika'i o ka Lāhui, 'a'ole ma ka waha wale nō ia aloha. Hō'ike pū 'ia ke aloha ma o ke kūka'i 'ana o ka hā ma ka honi 'ana i ka ihu a me ka uē 'ana o ka waimaka. He aloha ko ka leo a he aloha nō ho'i ko ka na'au i ka launa 'ana me ka 'ohana me nā hoa. 'Oko'a nō na'e ka

[20] Kamakau, S. M., "Ka Moolelo o na Kamehameha," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 25 Ianuali 1868, 1.

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launa ʻana mai o ka poʻe haole. Kapa ʻia ʻo ke aloha ʻana e Kamakau, akā, ʻaʻohe nō aloha o ia launa ʻana. ʻAʻohe nō kūkaʻi ʻia ka hā o ke kanaka, ʻaʻohe honi o ka ihu. Wahi a Kamakau, he mea hou ka lūlū lima ʻana o kānaka, no laila, ma ke aʻo mua ʻana, ʻaʻohe nō hoʻopā iki aku o ka lima a ʻāpana ʻē aʻe paha o ke kino.

He mea nui nō kēia aloha ʻana o ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi, no ka mea, ke honi aku ʻoe i kekahi kanaka, a kūkaʻi ʻia ka hā, he mea ia e ulu ai ke aloha a me ka mahalo i kou hoa launa. Pēlā pū ka hoʻopuka ʻana aku i ke aloha mai ka waha mai, no ka mea, he mana nō ko ka ʻōlelo, a he aloha nō ko laila. Pili nō hoʻi ke ʻano o kēia loina Hawaiʻi i ka manaʻo o ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi no ka pono, no ka noʻonoʻo ʻana i ka mea e pono ai ʻoe a me ka noʻonoʻo pū ʻana i ka mea e pono ai kou hoa launa. No ka mea, ma muli o kou aloha i kou hoa launa, maʻalahi ka noʻonoʻo ʻana i kona pono, no ka mea, he pilina ko ʻolua. No ka poʻe haole a ma ka loina haole o ia wā, ʻaʻohe aloha o ia launa ʻana, ma ka hana a me ka leo nō hoʻi, no laila, ʻoi loa aku ka maʻalahi o ka hana piepiele, ka ʻauʻa me ka pī ʻana ma nā hana like ʻole ma o ka noʻonoʻo ʻana iā ʻoe wale iho nō.

E like nō naʻe me kā Kamakau, ua mau nō ke aʻo ʻia ʻana o ke ʻano aloha o nā kūpuna he haʻawina nō ia e ola mau ana nō i loko o nā pulapula o ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi. He mea nui ka moʻokūʻauhau me ka moʻolelo no ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi a pēlā pū ka loina a me ke ʻano o ka lāhui Hawaiʻi. He mea nui kēia mau loina a ua lilo hoʻi i mea nui ka hoʻomau ʻia ʻana o kēia mau loina a me kēia mau ʻano o ka naʻau a me ka hana i ka wā i ʻike ʻia ai ka loli nui ʻana o ka nohona a me ke ʻano o Hawaiʻi. I ia manawa, ua hoʻomaopopo ka Lāhui i ka haʻahaʻa ʻana o ko lākou kūlana a me ke emi ʻana o ko lākou mana ma ko lākou ʻāina ponoʻī. Ua lilo ia mau mea i hana polokika i ala hele hoʻi e ʻimi ai i ka mana kūʻokoa o ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi.

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He Aupuni Kū'oko'a Ka Lāhui

E like me ka mea i ho'ākāka 'ē 'ia ma ka Mokuna 5, he mea nui loa ke ea o ka 'āina a me ke kū'oko'a o ke Aupuni Hawai'i no ka Lāhui Hawai'i. No ia kumu, i nā makahiki ma hope o ka hiki 'ana mai o ka po'e haole, ua lilo nō i mea nui ka 'ike a me ka hō'oia 'ia 'ana o ke Aupuni Hawai'i e nā Aupuni 'ē a'e o ka honua, nā mea ho'i i kapa 'ia he Mana Nui. Ho'ākāka mai nō 'o Silva i kona mana'o no ke 'ano o ke aupuni i kūkala 'ia ma Hawai'i nei. Wahi āna, ua 'imi nā Mō'ī a me nā Ali'i o Hawai'i i ke ala hele e kō ai ko lākou makemake e hō'oia 'ia ke Aupuni Hawai'i e nā Mana Nui. Eia nō na'e, 'imi pū 'ia ke alahele e mālama pū 'ia ai nā mea nui ko'iko'i i ka mana'o o ka Lāhui, e la'a me ke kuleana o nā Ali'i ma ke alaka'i 'ana aku a me ke komo 'ana mai o nā wāhine i nā kūlana ki'eki'e o ke Aupuni Hawai'i.[21]

No laila, ma kēia kūkala 'ana i kekahi Aupuni Hawai'i, me kona hō'oia 'ia 'ana mai e ua mau aupuni Mana Nui ala, he mea 'oko'a nō ia me ka Lāhui Hawai'i. Ma kāna puke, mo'olelo mai nō 'o Osorio no ka 'oko'a o ka mana'o o ka Lāhui Hawai'i no kēia mau mea, a 'oko'a ka mana'o o kēia mau hua 'ōlelo ma ka 'ōlelo Hawai'i a me ko lākou mana'o, ke unuhi 'ia mai i ka 'ōlelo haole. Ma ka 'ōlelo Hawai'i, ua loa'a nō he 'elua hua 'ōlelo—'o ke Aupuni a me ka Lāhui—a pili nō ka mana'o o kēia mau hua 'ōlelo, akā, he 'oko'a nō na'e. 'O ke Aupuni Hawai'i i kūkala 'ia mai, nāna nō i kūkala i nā kānāwai o ke Aupuni a 'o ia nō ka mea a ka Mō'ī i alaka'i ai. Aia nō ka Lāhui Hawai'i i loko o ke Aupuni Hawai'i, a

[21] Silva, 2004, 9. Penei kāna mea i kākau mai ai, "Resistance and nationalism have been intertwined throughout the last two hundred years of the history of Hawai'i. Creating a nation in a form familiar to Europe and the United States was a necessary strategy of resistance to colonization because there was a chance that the nineteenth-century Mana Nui, or "Great Powers" might recognize national sovereignty. More foreign-seeming forms of government were too easily condemned as primitive and backward, as is attested to by the fate of peoples discursively represented as "tribes" rather than "nations"... Kanaka Maoli created their nation in their own ways. The monarchy overlaid a well-functioning ali'i system, in which, in the early days, women still exercised political power."

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he māhele paha no ke Aupuni Hawai'i, akā, he mea 'oko'a ia, 'oiai, 'a'ole wale nō nā kānaka o ka Lāhui Hawai'i 'o nā kupa o ke Aupuni. Aia nō he mau haole a me nā 'ano kanaka 'ē a'e e noho ana ma Hawai'i i ho'ohiki ma lalo o ke Kumukānāwai a i lilo ho'i i kupa no Hawai'i.[22]

Ma muli o ka ho'okahuli 'ia 'ana mai o ke Aupuni Hawai'i a me kona ho'ohui 'ia 'ana me 'Amelika, ua pilikia mai nō ke kūlana kū'oko'a o ke Aupuni Hawai'i, a pilikia hou maila i ka wā i ho'ohui 'āina 'ia 'o Hawai'i me 'Amelika. Wahi a lākou 'Amelika ala, ua lilo nā kānaka o ka Lāhui Hawai'i i mau kānaka "'Amelika." He mea ho'i ia i pohihihi nui ai ka mana'o o ka Lāhui Hawai'i ma ko kākou 'ano he kanaka a he lāhui kū'oko'a. Mo'olelo mai nō 'o Trask no kēia loli 'ana o nā Kānaka Maoli i mau kupa no 'Amelika, a wahi āna, ma muli o ka pilina o ka Lāhui Hawai'i i ka 'āina o Hawai'i ma ke 'ano he pulapula kākou na ka 'āina a he kūpuna ka 'āina no kākou. No ia kumu, he mea 'eha maoli nō ka 'oki 'ia 'ana o ka mana kū'oko'a o ka 'āina, 'oiai he 'ohana nō 'o ia no ke kanaka.[23]

Ma mua na'e o ka ho'okahuli 'ia 'ana o ke Aupuni Hawai'i i ka makahiki 1893, ua lilo nō i mea nui ke kūkā kama'ilio 'ana e pili i ka po'e nona ke kuleana o ke alaka'i 'ana i ke Aupuni Hawai'i. I ka hopena o ka makahiki 1867 a me nā pule mua o ka makahiki 1868, ma mua o ke koho pāloka 'ia 'ana o nā Luna Maka'āinana no ke Kau 'Aha'ōlelo o ka makahiki 1868 i ka mahina 'o Pepeluali,

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[22] Osorio, 2002, 41. Penei kā Osorio, "The question is complicated because of the various ways that we might define the word *nation*. For the haole that word can mean the country, its government, or the people it rules. But for Hawaiians, two words were necessary to convey the meaning of nationhood: aupuni, the government established by Kamehameha, and lāhui, which means gathering, community, tribe, and people. But what lāhui most often refers to is the Hawaiian race."

[23] Trask, 1993, 18. Penei i kākau mai ai 'o Trask, "Because of the overthrow and annexation, Hawaiian control and Hawaiian citizenship were replaced with American control and American citizenship. We suffered a unilateral redefinition of our homeland and our people, a displacement and a dispossession in our own country. In familial terms, our mother (and thus our heritage and our inheritance) was taken from us. We were orphaned in our own land. Such brutal changes in a people's identity—their legal status, their government, their sense of belonging to a nation—are considered among the most serious human rights violations by the international community."

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ua pa'i 'ia he mau mo'olelo nūpepa ma loko o 'ekolu nūpepa 'oko'a. He nūpepa 'ōlelo haole kekahi, 'o ia nō ka *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, a he 'elua nūpepa 'ōlelo Hawai'i, 'o *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* a me *Ke Au Okoa*. 'O Henry H. Whitney, 'o ia ho'i 'o Wini, ka i ho'okumu i ka *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* a 'o ia nō ho'i ka Luna Ho'oponopono i ia manawa. Na Wini nō ho'i i ho'okumu i *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* i ka makahiki 1861, akā, i ka manawa i pa'i 'ia ai kēia mau mo'olelo, 'a'ole 'o Wini 'o ka Luna Ho'oponopono, akā nō na'e, nona nō ka hale pa'i kahi i pa'i 'ia ai *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*. No laila, he mau hoa kāko'o ka *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* me *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* a he mau hoa kāko'o lāua no ka nohona 'Amelika, ka hana kālepa ma ke 'ano o 'Amelika, a me ka ho'ohui 'āina o Hawai'i me 'Amelika. Ho'ākāka mai nō 'o Chapin i ke 'ano o kēia po'e 'Amelika nāna i ho'okumu a i kākau ho'i ma nā nūpepa ma Hawai'i i ia wā. Wahi āna, he 'Amelika nō 'o Wini a ma loko o ka nūpepa, ua 'imi nō 'o ia i ke ala hele e hō'ike ai i kona mahalo i ko 'Amelika a me kona ho'okae 'ana aku i ka Lāhui Hawai'i.[24]

'O *Ke Au Okoa* na'e, he nūpepa kēia i ho'okumu 'ia no ka ho'olaha 'ia 'ana aku o nā kūkala like 'ole o ke Aupuni, he mea e hō'ike aku ana i ka lehulehu i ka hana a me ka mana'o o ka po'e Kūhina nāna e alaka'i ana i ke Aupuni Hawai'i. Wahi a ka nūpepa i kona lā mua, ua ho'okumu 'ia nō ho'i, no ka mea, aia nō he 'elua wale nō nūpepa 'ē a'e e pa'i 'ia ana i ia manawa, 'o ka *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* kekahi a 'o *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* kekahi. A, wahi a *Ke Au Okoa*,

> Elua wale no nupepa i paiia maloko o keia pae aina, a ua ona ia a hoopukaia ia waihona olelo e ka poe oluolu ole i na Kuhina o Ka Moi, he poe opu awahia hoi, e hoike kapakahi ana i na ano o na hana a ke aupuni... a e hoolaha mau ana lakou iwaena o ka lehulehu i ko lakou mau

[24] Chapin, 1996, 54-567 Penei kā Chapin wehehwehe 'ana, "Descendants , however, even though they may have a nostalgia for their parents' country of birth, usually identify with the new land. Not so Whitney and his fellow journalists of missionary descent. Although they were born in Hawai'i, fluent in Hawaiian, and like Whitney, called Kamehameha IV, "our sovereign,' they identified with their parents' 'home,' the United States," a ho'omau akula nō 'o Chapin no nā mana'o o Wini no ka po'e Hawai'i penei, "Love and hate—love for the Islands and the Hawaiian language; contempt for Hawaiians."

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> manao papau e kue ana, e hailiili ana a e hoopalahea ana i na mea a pau a na Kuhina a Ka Moi i hoao ai. Malia paha, ua alakai hewaia ka manao o kekahi poe, e kuhi ana lakou o na kanaka o Ka Moi i hoonohoia'i e hooponopono i kona Aupuni ma kona inoa, he mau enemi no ia no ka lahui Hawaii, e imi ana i ka poino, aole hoi ka pomaikai o ka lehulehu.[25]

No ia mau kumu i kūkulu 'ia ai kēia nūpepa, no laila, ma loko o ia nūpepa e "wehewehe pakahi" 'ia ana ke kumu e ho'oholo 'ia ai nā mea like 'ole e ka 'Aha Kuhina, a e pa'i pū 'ia ana nā kānāwai a me nā kauoha aupuni a me ka mo'olelo no nā hihia ma loko o ka 'Aha Ho'okolokolo. Eia na'e, 'a'ole wale nō nā ho'olaha a me nā mea 'ē a'e i pili i ke Aupuni Hawai'i 'o nā mea i pa'i 'ia ma ia nūpepa, no ka mea ua pa'i pū 'ia nā mana'o akeakamai e pili ana i ka 'oihana mahi'ai a me ka mahi kō nō ho'i, a me "ia mea aku ia mea aku, e hoowaiwai ai na kanaka." A pēlā pū ka pa'i 'ia 'ana o nā mana'o no ka 'Oihana Ho'ona'auao o ke Aupuni, a me ka nūhou i "manao nuiia e na makamaka oiaio a pau o ka lahui Hawaii; na nu hou o kela me keia wahi o Hawaii nei," a pēlā pū ka nūhou no 'Europa mai me 'Amelika, a me nā 'āina 'ē a pau o ka honua. Pa'i pū 'ia ana nā ho'olaha like 'ole o ka 'Aha Ho'okolokolo me ka hana kālepa, a pēlā pū ka ho'olaha 'ana no ka hānau keiki 'ana, ka male 'ana a me ka make 'ana o kānaka.

No laila, i ka makahiki 1867 me 1868, ma mua iho o ke koho pāloka 'ia 'ana aku o nā Luna Maka'āinana, 'o kēia nō nā nūpepa 'ekolu e pa'i 'ia ana ma Hawai'i nei. Ma ka lā 23 o Nowemapa M. H. 1867, na ka *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* i pa'i aku i ka mo'olelo mua ma kēia wahi hihia, 'a'ohe na'e inoa o ka mo'olelo. A laila, pane maila kahi kanaka nona ka inoa 'o Ko Hawaii Ponoi ma loko o *Ke Au Okoa* no kekahi mau pule, a pēlā ka pane 'ana mai o kekahi mea kākau o *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*. 'O kekahi mana'o nui o ka mo'olelo ma ka *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, 'o ia nō ka paipai 'ana aku i ka po'e e koho pāloka i ka po'e haole. Paipai mua 'ia ke koho 'ana i nā Kānaka Maoli, inā loa'a kekahi me ke 'ano

[25] *Ke Au Okoa*, 24 'Apelila 1865, 2.

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akamai a kūpono e pono ai ia hana ʻana, akā, wahi a ka nūpepa, no ka nui ʻana mai o nā waiwai i paʻa i ka poʻe haole, ʻo ka mea kūpono a pololei paha, ʻo ia nō ke koho ʻia ʻana o ka poʻe haole no ka lilo ʻana i Luna Makaʻāinana. Ua kākau ʻia nō, ʻo nā wahi a pau i loaʻa ai ka poʻe haole i mākaukau a kūpono no ia hana ʻana. No ke ana ʻana i ia ʻano mākaukau a kūpono o ia mea, aia nō i kona waiwai paʻa a me ka poʻe hoʻi i maʻa i ka noho ʻana mai ma Hawaiʻi nei. Wahi a ka *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, ʻo lākou nō ke koho ʻia aku.[26]

ʻO ka poʻe haole, makemake nō lākou i ka poʻe ʻike pono i ka hana kālepa, ʻo lākou ka poʻe noho Luna Makaʻāinana, i hiki iā lākou ke haku i nā kānāwai e kākoʻo ana i ka hana kālepa, ʻoiai, ʻo ia ka mea e waiwai ai lākou. Penei nō ka pane hou ʻana o ka *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* me ka hōʻoia hou ʻana hoʻi, ʻo ka poʻe waiwai a e ʻimi ana hoʻi i ka waiwai ma Hawaiʻi nei, ʻo ia ka poʻe ʻike i ka hana e pono ai ke kānāwai o ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi.[27] No ka *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, mea ʻole ka hoʻohiki a me ka hoʻohiki ʻole paha o ke kanaka i nā kānāwai o ke Aupuni me ka lilo ʻana i kupa no ke Aupuni. He mea ʻole nō hoʻi paha ka pilina i ka Lāhui Kanaka, no ka mea, hoʻokahi wale nō mea nui a hoʻokahi wale nō mea e kuleana ai ke kanaka ma ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi, ʻo ia nō ka waiwai i paʻa iā ia.[28]

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[26] *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, 23 Nowemapa 1867, 2. Penei i kākau ʻia ai ma ka nūpepa, "The representatives of the people should be men of intelligence, firmness and independence, who have no favors to ask from the ministry, and who are willing to bear approbrium for doing what they believe to be right, though it be in direct opposition to the ministry. Where there are natives who have shown these requisite qualities of representatives, they should be nominated and chosen.

But the interest of foreigners are increasing every year so rapidly, that it is right and proper that the people should be represented as far as possible, by foreigners, we mean, only by such as have lived here long enough to become fully identified with the people, their interests and progress.

[27] *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, 4 Ianuali1868, 2. Penei ma ka nūpepa, "But who is to do it (legislate)? Ought not men who have staked their fortunes largely to the country to have a voice in the matter? Most certainly, and this can most readily be done by the choice of competent representatives—foreigners, whenever they can be had, should be chosen. They have studied these things, they know their operation and can legislate more discreetly."

[28] *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, 23 Nowemapa 1867, 2. Penei ia ma ka nūpepa, "It is no argument to say that because a man does not choose to take the oath of allegiance, therefore his mouth must

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He mana'o kāko'o nō ho'i ko *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* i ko ka *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* no ka 'imi 'ana o ka po'e haole i ka waiwai o ka 'āina o Hawai'i nei. Wahi a ia mo'olelo,

> Ua waiho ka "waiu momona" mai ka wa kahiko mai, aole nae na kanaka i hapai ae a hookomo iho i ko lakou mau pakeke ponoi. A heaha la ka hewa nui o na haole, oiai ua ike lakou, aole i uwi na kanaka maoli i ka "waiu momona" o ka aina, a nolaila, hele mai la lakou me ko lakou moni a me ka hoonaauao a kuhikuhi mai la lakou i ke ano o ka hana ana?[29]

Pane 'ia mai nō keia mau mana'o o ka *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* a me *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* e Ko Hawaii Ponoi ma loko o *Ke Au Okoa*. He inoa kapakapa paha 'o Ko Hawaii Ponoi no kekahi kanaka nāna i kākau i ka mo'olelo nūpepa e pane ana i kēia mana'o o ka *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*. Ma kona koho 'ana aku i ia inoa, e hō'ike mai ana ka mea kākau i kekahi mea nui iā ia, 'o ia nō ke alaka'i 'ia 'ana o Hawai'i e ko Hawai'i pono'ī, 'o kona Lāhui Hawai'i pono'ī nō ia. Wahi a Ko Hawaii Ponoi, 'a'ole nō e ho'okō 'ia ka makemake o ka *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* no ke koho 'ana aku i nā haole wale nō i Luna Maka'āinana. Penei ka mea a Ko Hawaii Ponoi,

> E makaala kakou e na kanaka Hawaii, a e koho ma na kanaka maoli wale no—ka poe i ike maoli i ko kakou ano, a me ke ano mau o ko kakou noho ana.[30]

Hō'ike mai nō 'o Ko Hawaii Ponoi i ka mea e pono ai ka Lāhui Hawai'i, 'o ia nō ke alaka'i 'ia 'ana e ka po'e o ke 'ano like o ka na'au a me ke 'ano like o ka nohona a me ka loina nō ho'i paha. No ka po'e o ka Lāhui Hawai'i, makemake 'ia kekahi kanaka i like ke 'ano o ka noho 'ana me lākou, i like ho'i ka loina, a me nā mea i mana'o 'ia he waiwai a he pono. Penei i wehewehe 'ia mai ai,

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be closed, and he has no right to express his views on politics. If he is domiciled here, if he is an owner of real and personal property, if, in a word, he chooses this country for his home, he has every right to take part in the politics of the country, to express his sentiments freely *pro* and *con* on every measure that affects his individual interests or the public weal."

[29] "E Hoomanao E Ka Lahui Hawaii, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 7 Kēkēmapa 1867, 2.

[30] Ko Hawaii Ponoi, *Ke Au Okoa*, 28 Nowemapa 1867, 2.

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> He poe makee alii kakou, aole o kakou makemake o ka haole o hea mai la ka mea nana e pakike ko kakou mau haku. A nolaila, ina kakou e koho i na haole, heaha ka lakou la manao mai ia kakou? No ka mea, he poe eepakeke wale iho no lakou a huki ka eke ku ae no hoi ana, ia oe iho ka imi i kau.[31]

Ma kēia wehewehe 'ana, mōakāka le'a ka 'oko'a o ka mana'o 'ana o ka po'e haole a me ka po'e o ka Lāhui Hawai'i no ia mea he waiwai a me ke alahele e mālama ai i ia waiwai. No ka Lāhui Hawai'i, e like me ka mea i wehewehe 'ē 'ia, 'a'ole lawa ka ho'opihapiha wale 'ana nō i kou pākeke pono'ī me ke kōkua 'ole aku a me ka no'ono'o 'ole aku iā ha'i. No ka po'e haole na'e, 'o ke 'omo 'ana i ka "waiū momona" a pau o ka 'āina, a i ko lākou mana'o, 'o ka mālama 'ana i ka 'āina, he waiho wale ia. 'Oiai, 'a'ole i maopopo i ka Lāhui Hawai'i ia kau 'ana i ka waiwai o ka 'āina ma loko o kona pākeke pono'ī, kuhihewa 'ia he kanaka na'aupō 'o ia, akā, 'oko'a wale ke 'ano o ka 'ike i pa'a i ia kanaka.

Na wai lā e ho'oholo i ka mea e ana ai i ka na'auao a me ka na'aupō o ke kanaka? Mai ka wā i hiki mai ai ka po'e haole, 'o ka na'aupō nō ko lākou mea i kapa mai ai i ka Lāhui Hawai'i no ka 'ike 'ole 'ia o ka heluhelu a me ke kākau palapala a no ka 'ike 'ole 'ia nō ho'i o ko lākou Akua Kalikiano a me ka ho'omana 'ana aku i ia Akua, a pēlā pū nō ho'i i kuhihewa 'ia ai ka na'aupō o ka Lāhui Hawai'i ma ke 'ano o kona loina a me kona nohona. No laila, 'o ka ho'ona'auao kahi pahuhopu nui o ka po'e mikionali i ko lākou hiki 'ana mai. Eia nō na'e, ua lilo nō ia 'imi 'ana i ka na'auao i mea e hihia ai ka launa 'ana o ka Lāhui Hawai'i me ka po'e haole.

I ka ho'āhewa 'ana aku o Ko Hawaii Ponoi i ka po'e haole no ko lākou hana 'ino 'ana mai i ka Lāhui Hawai'i, hāpai 'ia mai nō kēia mana'o no ka ho'ona'auao 'ia 'ana o ka Lāhui Hawai'i. Wahi a *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa,*

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[31] Ko Hawaii Ponoi, *Ke Au Okoa,* 28 Nowemapa 1867, 2.

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> Ke ninau aku nei makou heaha la ka Amerika hana nui i ala mai ai keia leo uluaoa? Eia kekahi o kana mau hana i hana ai. Ua hoouna mai oia i kekahi mau Missionari i a nei, i na makahiki i hala ae nei he aneane e kanalima, oiai kakou e noho hupo ana me ka ilihune. Ua haawi mua mai oia i na pi-a-pa, i na buke a me ona mau kumu ao. Ua haawi mai la oia i hookahi miliona dala no ka hoonaauao ana i ka Lahui, a ua hai ia mai no hoi makou ke hoomakaukau nei ua Lahui Amerika la e haawi i hookahi miliona dala hou i mea kokua no ka hoonaauao ana ia kakou.[32]

Kohu mea lā, pono e nui palena ʻole ka mahalo o ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi i ka nui o ke kālā i hoʻolilo ʻia no ka hoʻonaʻauao ʻia ʻana mai, eia naʻe, wahi a Ko Hawaii Ponoi, mahalo nui ʻia paha ia hoʻonaʻauao ʻia ʻana, akā, inā ua hoʻonaʻauao ʻia nō ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi, ua lawa kona ʻike e alakaʻi iā ia iho, ʻaʻole nō e pono ke alakaʻi ʻana o ka poʻe haole a me ke kapa ʻana iā lākou, ʻo lākou ka poʻe ʻike. Penei i pane ai ʻo Ko Hawaii Ponoi,

> Ua aoia kakou i ka naauao, a ua makaukau a ua lawa no hoi i ka ike kupono e hiki ai ke hookele ponoi i ko kakou Aupuni, aole he pono e lilo kakou a i mau haumana i na la a pau o ko kakou ola ana.[33]

E kūʻē ana nō ʻo Ko Hawaii Ponoi i ka hoʻohaʻahaʻa ʻia ʻana aku o ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi i ke kūlana paʻa mau o ka haumāna ma lalo o ka poʻe kumu, ʻo ia hoʻi ka poʻe mikionali a me ka poʻe haole, ʻoiai, ʻo lākou ka poʻe ʻike nāna i aʻo i ke ʻano o ko lākou nohona i ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi. Akā, maopopo nō hoʻi i ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi, ua ola kēia poʻe kumu ma muli o ko ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi hoʻolako ʻana i nā mea i pono ai ka poʻe mikionali i ko lākou hiki ʻana mai. Wahi a Ko Hawaii Ponoi,

> He nui wale ka olelo ia ua hoonaauaoia keia Lahui, a ua aoia i ka pono, pela mau ke kaena ana o kekahi poe. Iloko no nae o ia leo hookahi, ua puka mai he mau olelo he *hoopilimeaai* a me na inoa ino e ae, a hooiliia iho iluna o na poohiwi o ka poe i oleloia ua hoonaauaoia. E manao ana anei oukou he poe ike ole na kanaka Hawaii mai kahiko loa mai? Aole pela, he poe ike a he poe naauao no lakou, a nolaila, ua hiki no ia lakou ke malama iko lakou aina nei.[34]

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[32] *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 28 Kēkēmapa 1867, 2.
[33] Ko Hawaii Ponoi, *Ke Au Okoa*, 28 Nowemapa 1867, 2.
[34] Ko Hawaii Ponoi, *Ke Au Okoa*, 19 Kēkēmapa 1867, 2.

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He mana'o nō ho'i ko Ko Hawaii Ponoi no ka po'e haole i kona ho'omana'o 'ana iā lākou no ke kumu o ko lākou waiwai, 'a'ole nō 'o lākou ia kumu, 'o ka Lāhui Hawai'i a me ka 'āina o Hawai'i ho'i ke kumu i ola ai lākou a i waiwai ai ho'i lākou i ia manawa. Eia nō kona leo ho'omana'o iā lākou no ke kumu o ko lākou waiwai.

> Ke haakona mai nei nae na poe haole nei i ka waiwai ka o lakou, nohea ko lakou waiwai, hele mai anei lakou mai Kahiki mai me ko lakou waiwai? Aole. He hiki no ia makou e hoomanao i kekahi poe, ua hiki mai ia nei, me na wahi palule uwewahine a me na wahi kuka kinamu, a e ole o Hawaii nei, ina la aole e komo wahi paina. A nolaila, ke haliu hou aku nei au ia oukou e ko'u mau kaikuaana o keia lahui, "E alu ka pule o Hakalau, a e ku like kakou mai Hawaii a Niihau, a e koho iho i ka poe o ko kakou koko ponoi, e ku kakou iluna, a e hoike ia kakou iho, he poe i ike i ka malama ana i ko kakou pono iho.[35]

'A'ohe makemake o Ko Hawaii Ponoi e kuhihewa kona Lāhui kanaka i ka waiwai a me ka na'auao o lākou ma ka mālama 'ana i ka 'āina ma ke 'ano o ke au kahiko a me ke 'ano o ke au hou. Wahi āna, 'o ka Lāhui Hawai'i, he lāhui 'ike nō kākou. 'Ike kākou i ka pono o ko kākou 'āina a 'ike ho'i kākou i ka mālama 'ana i ia pono. No laila, i kona wahi mana'o, 'o ka Lāhui Hawai'i nō ka po'e kūpono no ke alaka'i 'ana i ko Hawai'i lāhui pono'ī, no ka mea, maopopo i ka Lāhui Hawai'i nā mea i ma'a i ko kākou kūpuna, 'o ia nō ka mea i ma'a i ke 'ano o ko kākou loina Hawai'i a me ko kākou nohona Hawai'i. 'Oiai, ua ho'ona'auao 'ia ka Lāhui Hawai'i i ka heluhelu a me ke kākau 'ana i ka palapala, a ho'ona'auao pū 'ia mai i ka ho'omana Kalikiano a me ke 'ano o ka mālama 'ana a me ke alaka'i 'ana i ke Aupuni Kumukānāwai i kūkala 'ia.

He mea nui nō ke kū'oko'a o ke Aupuni Hawai'i i ka Lāhui Hawai'i a he mea nui nō ho'i ke alaka'i 'ia 'ana o ke Aupuni e ka Lāhui Hawai'i, 'o ia ho'i ka lāhui pono'ī o ka 'āina. Eia na'e, he pono nō ho'i ka mālama 'ana i ke Aupuni Hawai'i ma ke 'ano mau o ko kākou kūpuna, me ka mālama 'ana i ko kākou

[35] Ko Hawaii Ponoi, *Ke Au Okoa*, 26 Kēkēmapa 1867, 2.

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mo'olelo, ko kākou mele, a me ko kākou loina. No ka po'e haole nō na'e, he mau mea kēia e 'ike ai i ke kūlana ha'aha'a o ka Lāhui Hawai'i, ka mea i kapa 'ia a i no'ono'o 'ia mai ho'i he na'aupō ke 'ano a me ka hana a ka Lāhui Hawai'i. I kekahi manawa, 'ike 'ia nō ho'i kēia ho'oha'aha'a 'ia 'ana o ka Lāhui Hawai'i ma o ka no'ono'o, ka ho'oka'awale 'ana, a me ka ho'āhewa 'ana i ka po'e ma o ka waiho'olu'u o ko lākou 'ili.

He 'Ili a He Koko Anei Ka Lāhui?

Ma ka wā o ke Aupuni Hawai'i, ua ulu mai ka nui o ka po'e haole e noho mai ana i Hawai'i nei a e ho'okō aku ana nō ho'i i nā kuleana like 'ole o ke Aupuni Hawai'i, a ua ho'ohiki nō ho'i kekahi o lākou ma lalo o ke Kumukānāwai o ke Aupuni Hawai'i a lilo ho'i i kupa o ke Aupuni Hawai'i. 'A'ole na'e lākou i no'ono'o 'ia he po'e Hawai'i, 'a'ole lākou he pulapula a he mamo paha na ka Lāhui Hawai'i. Ma loko o nā nūpepa, he mea ma'a mau ke kākau 'ia 'ana mai e pili ana i nā kānaka me ko lākou lāhui. A e like me ka mea i kākau 'ē 'ia, kapa 'ia ka po'e o ka Lāhui Hawai'i ma nā 'ano inoa like 'ole—'o ke kanaka 'oe, 'o ke Kanaka Maoli 'oe, 'o ka Hawai'i 'oe, a kapa 'ia ka huina kanaka ma nā inoa like 'ole—'o ka Lāhui Hawai'i 'oe, 'o ka lāhui kanaka 'oe, 'o ka po'e Hawai'i 'oe, 'o ka po'e 'ōiwi nō ho'i, a me kekahi po'e inoa hou aku, e la'a me ka pua, ka mamo, a me ia 'ano inoa. 'O ka po'e haole ua kapa 'ia he kanaka haole a he po'e haole nō ho'i. Ua maopopo nō i ka Lāhui Hawai'i, he mau aupuni ko ka po'e haole a puni ka honua, akā ua like nō ko lākou ho'omana 'ana i ke Akua Kalikiano ma nā 'ano 'oko'a a ma nā hale pule 'oko'a paha, akā, he hookahi nō Akua nō ia. 'Oko'a paha ke 'ano o ko lākou 'ōlelo, akā, 'ike 'ia ho'i, ua pili ko lākou mo'okū'auhau a ua ho'okumu a kūkala 'ia nā aupuni like 'ole a pili ho'i ia mau aupuni ma o ko lākou hana kālepa 'ana aku a me ko lākou launa 'ana aku a

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launa ʻana mai ma nā wahi like ʻole. Ua like kēia me ko ka Hawaiʻi ʻike ʻana iā ia iho ma ke ʻano he lāhui hoʻokahi ma muli o ka pilina o ka moʻokūʻauhau a me ka loina o ia poʻe. No ka poʻe haole naʻe, ʻokoʻa paha ko lākou ʻike ʻana i ia ʻokoʻa, no ka mea, no lākou ala, he kūlana haʻahaʻa ko ka Lahui Hawaiʻi ma muli paha o ke ʻano o ka hoʻomana, a me ke ʻano o ka nohona, akā, ʻo kekahi kumu hoʻi i hoʻohaʻahaʻa ʻia ai ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi, ma muli nō ia o ka ikaika o ka ʻili. No ka poʻe haole, he mea nui naʻe ia a i kekahi manawa, ua lilo i mea e hoʻāhewa ʻia ai ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi. Eia kekahi, ʻokoʻa loa kēia mau mea ke noʻonoʻo ʻia a kūkākūkā ʻia ma ka ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi a ke noʻonoʻo ʻia a kūkākūkā ʻia ma ka ʻōlelo haole. Ma kekahi ʻano, ma ka ʻōlelo me ka noʻonoʻo haole, ʻokoʻa a kaʻawale nō ke aupuni, ka loina, a me ka ʻili o kekahi huina kanaka a lāhui paha. Na Immanuel Wallerstein kēia i wehewehe mai ma loko o kāna moʻolelo no nā ʻano like ʻole o ia mau mea—ke aupuni, ka loina, ka lāhui o ke kānaka, a me ka waihoʻoluʻu o kona ʻili. ʻAʻohe nō ona hoʻāʻo e kuhihewa mai he mau mea kaʻawale loa kēia mau mea, no ka mea, he pilina nō ia mau mea kekahi i kekahi.[36] Paʻakikī a pohihihi nō hoʻi ka wehewehe ʻana a me ka hoʻomaopopo ʻana i ke ʻano o kēia mau mea ma ka pōʻaiapili o ke aupuni o ʻAmelika a me ka nohona o ka poʻe like ʻole ma ʻAmelika. Eia kekahi, me ka holo ʻana o ka manawa, ua loli nō hoʻi ka manaʻo o kanaka no kēia mau mea. Ma kāna puke, ua moʻolelo mai nō ʻo Lee D. Baker no ka hoʻohaʻahaʻa ʻia ʻana o ka poʻe ʻili ʻeleʻele a pāʻele no ʻApelika mai i ko lākou noho ʻana aku ma ʻAmelika. No ia poʻe pāʻele, ʻo ka ʻoluʻu o ka ʻili a me ka noʻonoʻo ʻana o ka poʻe haole o ʻAmelika no ia mea,

[36] Wallerstein, 300. Penei kā Wallerstein wehewehe ʻana mai i kēia mau hua ʻōlelo ma ka ʻōlelo haole, "A 'race' is supposed to be a genetic category, which has a visible physical form. There has been a great deal of scholarly debate over the past 150 years as to the names and characteristics of races... A 'nation' is supposed to be a socio-political category, linked somehow to the actual or potential boundaries of state. An 'ethnic group' is supposed to be a cultural category, of which there are said to be certain continuing behaviors that are passed on from generation to generation and that are *not* normally linked in theory to state boundaries."

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he ʻano ia a he loina paha ia ʻano manaʻo i hana a i haku ʻia e kānaka e like me nā ʻano ʻē aʻe o ka nohona kanaka. A ua lilo mai nō i mea maʻa mau no ka poʻe haole o ʻAmelika ka hoʻohaʻahaʻa a me ka hoʻāhewa ʻana aku i ka poʻe ʻili ʻulaʻula, inā he poʻe ʻili ʻulaʻula a he poʻe pāʻele nō hoʻi paha, inā he poʻe ʻōiwi no loko mai o ʻAmelika a he poʻe pāʻele i lawe ʻia mai a i hele mai hoʻi no ʻApelika mai. Kapa ʻia aku kēia he hoʻokae ʻili. He mea maʻa mau hoʻi ia hoʻokae ʻili ʻia ʻana o ka poʻe ʻili ikaika ma ko ʻAmelika hoʻonui ʻana aku i nā palena o kona ʻāina a me kāna mau hana kālepa a puni ka honua.[37]

Ma Hawaiʻi nei, kohu mea lā, ua launa maikaʻi nā haole me ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi. Eia nō naʻe, ua ʻike ʻia nō kēia hookaʻawale ʻia ʻana mai o ke kanaka ma o ke kapa ʻia ʻana o ka poʻe Hawaiʻi he poʻe ʻili ʻulaʻula a ʻo ka poʻe haole hoʻi he poʻe ʻili keʻokeʻo. ʻAʻohe oʻu ʻike nui i kēia mau inoa ma ka nūpepa o ka poʻe Hawaiʻi, koe hoʻokahi manawa a he ʻano puanaʻī ia no kahi moʻolelo ma *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*. Ma koʻu ʻike ʻana i kēia kapa ʻana he poʻe ʻili ʻulaʻula a he ʻili keʻokeʻo, ma loko nō ia o *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* wale nō. ʻIke ʻia ma ka hana o nā mikionali, a no ka mea, ua launa maikaʻi mai nā mikionali me ka poʻe Hawaiʻi, akā, ʻaʻohe o lākou makemake a ʻaʻole o lākou ʻae aku e hui kā lākou keiki me ka poʻe keiki o ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi. Mai poina, ʻeā, e ka maka heluhelu, ua hiki mai ka poʻe haole me Kāpena Kuke mā i ka makahiki 1778 a hiki mai ka poʻe mikionali i ka makahiki 1820. ʻO kēia moʻolelo nei, ua paʻi ʻia i ka makahiki 1865; he 87 makahiki ia ma hope o ka hiki ʻana mai o Kuke mā a he 45 makahiki ma hope o ka hiki ʻana mai o ka poʻe mikionali. ʻAkahi nō naʻe a launa a noho pū mai nā

[37] Baker, Lee D., *From Savage to Negro: Anthropology and the Construction of Race, 1896-1954*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 25. Penei i wehewehe ʻia mai ai ma kāna puke, "A variety of ideas regarding racial inferiority served as a unifying ideology to guide the expansion of foreign markets and monopolies, the exploration and exploitation of natural resources, the imposition of American civilization on islands of 'savages,' and the promotion of disfranchisement and segregation for Negroes. Ideas of White supremacy, evolution, and racial inferiority routinized the notion that there was a natural and inevitable evolution of nations, races, and technology, from rude savagery into proficient civilization."

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keiki haole me nā keiki Hawai'i. Ma kēia mo'olelo nūpepa, mahalo 'ia nā hana like 'ole o nā hō'ike kula i mālama 'ia aku nei ma ke kūlana kauhale 'o Honolulu nei. Penei i mo'olelo 'ia mai ai,

> Iloko nae o ia mau hana a pau hookahi mea nui a makou i ike ai, oia ka hui ana, o ka poe ili-ulaula me ka poe ili-keokeo ma ka papa hookahi, ma ka olelo hookahi, a ma na hana hookahi! Ma na hoike kula o Kehehuna [*pn*] me Punahou, ua noho pu, a hana pu, na keiki Hawaii ili-ulaula me na keiki Hawaii ili-keokeo... I ka wa kahiko, ua malama loa na makua keokeo i ka lakou mau keiki me ka ae ole ia lakou e hui me ka poe ulaula. Ma ia wa, kapu loa ke kamailio ana o na keiki o kekahi ano me na keiki o kekahi ano. Me he mea la, ua kukuluia he pa kiekie loa mawaena o na keiki ulaula me na keiki keokeo; me he mea la he Adamu keokeo ke kupuna o kekahi poe, a he Adamu ulaula ke kupuna o kekahi! Olioli loa makou i ka wawahi ia ana o na palena hookaawale, a me ka hoohui ia ana o na keiki iloko o ka pono hookahi.[38]

Ma loko nō o *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* i pa'i 'ia ai kēia mo'olelo, a hoihoi maoli nō ka mana'o o ka mea kākau no kēia hui 'ana. Kohu mea lā, makemake nō ka mea kākau o kēia mo'olelo i ka ho'ohui 'ana o nā kānaka a pau a lilo i "poe" ho'okahi. Mau nō kona mo'olelo 'ana mai no nā hō'ike kula,

> Pela no iloko o na hana nui a pau o keia malama, ua hui na kanaka ili-ulaula me na kanaka ili-keokeo, a he poe Hawaii lakou... Ke hoohui ia nei na manao o kela a o keia o na ano kanaka iloko o ka inoa Hawaii. Oia ka makou i hooikaika nui loa ai i na wa i hala; a ma keia hope aku e hooikaika ana makou e hoopaa loa i ka hipuu mawaena o na Hawaii a pau o kela ano keia ano. No ka mea, oia ka pono a makou i ike ai. Ina mokuahana kekahi hale iaia iho, e hiolo auanei ia. Ina e mokuahana kekahi Lahui iaia iho, e poino auanei ia. Iwaena o ka poe kuleana paa ma keia aupuni, aole makou makemake e ike he ili-keokeo a he ili-ulaula, aka he ili Hawaii ka pono. Aole Amerika; aole Enelani; aole Pake; aole Farani; aole Aferika; aka; he Hawaii wale no! Aole Akau, aole Hema, aole keokeo, aole ulaula, aole eleele; aka, he Hawaii wale no, Hawaii loa, Hawaii pau ole![39]

Wahi a kēia mea kākau, makemake 'o ia e 'ike 'ia ka po'e a pau o Hawai'i nei, he po'e Hawai'i nō lākou. I kona mana'o, 'a'ole nō pono ka nānā 'ia 'ana o ka waiho'olu'ulu'u o ka 'ili. Wahi āna, "Aole makou makemake e ike he ili-keokeo a he ili-ulaula, aka he ili Hawaii ka pono". 'A'ole nō ho'i pono e ho'oka'awale 'ia

[38] "E Hui Ana," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 25 Iune 1865, 2.
[39] "E Hui Ana," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 25 Iune 1865, 2.

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ma o ke aupuni, ka mo'okū'auhau, a me ka 'āina hānau nō ho'i paha. Wahi āna, "Aole Amerika; aole Enelani; aole Pake; aole Farani; aole Aferika; aka; he Hawaii wale no!" Eia ho'i hā, 'a'ole ho'i e nānā 'ia aku ka 'āina i kona kākau 'ana, "Aole Akau, aole Hema", no ka mea, "He Hawaii wale no, Hawaii loa, Hawaii pau ole!" 'A'ohe nō ho'ākāka mai ka mea kākau i ke 'ano o ka nohona a me ka loina o kēia "poe Hawaii." Kohu mea lā, 'o ka noho 'ana mai i Hawai'i wale nō ka mea e pono ai, a lilo mai nō i Hawai'i, a he mau kānaka wale nō kākou pākahi a pau a ua like ke kuleana no kēia 'āina o Hawai'i nei.

Minamina ka hō'ike 'ole 'ia mai o ka inoa o ka mea kākau o kēia mo'olelo, no ka mea, 'a'ole nō maopopo iā kākou 'o wai lā 'o "makou," ka po'e e no'ono'o ana e like me ia. He pilikia ia 'ano mana'o, no ka mea, kohu mea lā, 'o ka mea e pono ai nā kānaka a pau, 'o ia nō ka ho'opoina 'ana i kona pilina i kekahi mau mea ko'iko'i. No ka Lāhui Hawai'i, he mea nui nō ka 'āina, ke aupuni, a me ka mo'okū'auhau, a ma o ke kapa 'ana i ka po'e a pau he po'e Hawai'i, he ho'opoina nō ia i nā inoa o nā kūpuna, a 'oiai, he kupuna nō ho'i ka 'āina no kākou, he kuleana nō ko kākou i ka mālama 'ana aku iā ia a 'a'ole nō e kō ia kuleana ma o ka ho'opoina 'ana i ko kākou pilina iā ia. No ia kumu, 'a'ole au e kapa aku ana i ka po'e ma ka 'ili, no ka mea 'o ka Hawai'i, 'o ia ka po'e o ka Lāhui Hawai'i, ma o ka mo'okū'auhau, ka 'āina, a me ka loina. 'O ka po'e haole, 'o ia nō ka po'e no waho mai ko lākou mo'okū'auhau, ko lākou 'āina a me ko lākou loina.

Ma kēia mo'olelo nūpepa, e ho'ā'o ana ka mea kākau e ho'ololi loa 'ia paha kēia 'ano mana'o, akā, ma kona kapa 'ana aku i ka po'e ma ka waiho'olu'ulu'u o ko lākou 'ili, he mea ho'i ia e mau ai ka mana'o 'ana he mea ka'awale nō ia mau mea, a 'o ka 'ili nō ka mea e 'ike 'ia ai ia ho'oka'awale 'ana, e like me kēia wehewehe 'ana no kahi ho'okūkū i mālama 'ia. Wahi āna,

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> Ma Punahou, na ke keiki Hawaii ili-ulaula ka eo ma ka haiolelo ana. Aole hoi i lilo ia oi ana o ka ili-ulaula i mea e lili ai kona hoahanau ili-keokeo; aka, ua hauoli pu lakou.[40]

Inā he mea ʻole ka ʻili o ka haumāna, no ke aha i moʻolelo ʻia mai ai ka lanakila o ke "keiki ili-ulaula" ma luna o ke "keiki ili keokeo"? He aha ka mea e pūʻiwa ai ka poʻe i ka lilo ʻana o ke eo i ke keiki Hawaiʻi? He aha ka mea e lili ai nā keiki haole? A he aha ka mea e pūʻiwa ai ka mea kākau i ka eo ʻole mai o ka lanakila i nā keiki haole? He mau hōʻailona kēia mau mea no ka manaʻo ʻana o ka poʻe he nui, a ʻo ka mea kākau kekahi, he kūlana haʻahaʻa ko ka Hawaiʻi a ʻaʻole nō i like kona akamai a me kona ʻeleu me ko ke keiki haole. Ma kekahi moʻolelo nūpepa ʻokoʻa i kākau ʻia e kekahi o nā keiki Hawaiʻi, hōʻoia ʻia nō kēia manaʻo ʻino ʻia ʻana mai o kēia mau keiki Hawaiʻi e nā keiki haole o ke kula. Wahi āna,

> Elua hoi maua ili ulaula, a he nui hoi ka poe ili keokeo ma ke kula kahi a maua i hele hoomanawanui ai, me ka nuku ino ia mai i kekahi hua olelo penei: "nika," a no ia nuku ia ana mai pela, aohe no maua i kuemi ae ua hooikaika loa maua i pau ko maua hilahila, aka ke kau nei no ke alina oia wahi huaolelo, me ko maua manao e hooikaika loa a puka ka "nika" imua loa.[41]

Kapa ʻia nō hoʻi nā keiki ma kekahi mau inoa kapakapa ʻino hou aku e nā keiki ʻē aʻe, akā, lilo hoʻi ia mau inoa a me ia hana ʻino ʻana i mea e kūpaʻa loa ai ka manaʻo o nā keiki Hawaiʻi e hōʻike aku i ka ʻoi o ke akamai a me ka ʻeleu. Ua hoʻokō ʻia aku nō kēia ʻiʻini e puka aku nā keiki Hawaiʻi ma mua o nā keiki haole ma ka hopena o ka makahiki, a wahi a ka moʻolelo o luna aʻela, he hauʻoli nā keiki a pau, ʻaʻohe lili aku o nā keiki haole i ka lanakila ʻana o ka Hawaiʻi. Akā, ʻaʻole nō i hauʻoli loa nā mea a pau, wahi a kēia keiki Hawaiʻi i kākau mai ai,

> Ke hoomanao nei no makou i na huaolelo i kakauia ma ka paia o ko makou rumi imi palapala, penei: "Five niggers live in this room." Penei ma ka unuhi ana: "Elima nika noho iloko o keia rumi." Na kekahi o na ili-

[40] "E Hui Ana," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 25 Iune 1865, 2.
[41] Collegiate, J. W., "He Hoa I Pili Ia," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 8 Iune 1865, 4.

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keokeo keia mau hua i kakau, no ka mea ua manao ino loa kekahi poe o lakou ia makou, oiai ua hala loa imua na "nika."[42]

No laila, kapa 'ia a no'ono'o 'ia nō ho'i ka po'e o ka Lāhui Hawai'i he po'e 'ili 'ula'ula nō lākou i mea e ki'eki'e ai ka mana'o 'ana o ka po'e haole no ko lākou kūlana a i mea ho'i e ha'aha'a ai ke kūlana o ka po'e 'ōiwi o ka Lāhui Hawai'i o kēia 'āina nei. He pilikia nui nō kēia, no ka mea, he mea ia e nui ai ka mana o ka po'e haole ma luna o ka Lāhui Hawai'i.

Eia na'e, he pilikia nui nō ho'i ka ho'ā'o 'ana e ho'opoina 'ia ka Lāhui Hawai'i ma o ka ho'olilo 'ana mai o ka po'e a pau i "poe Hawaii." He pilikia ho'i kēia no ka Lāhui Hawai'i i nā makahiki ma hope o ka ho'okahuli 'ia 'ana o ke Aupuni Hawai'i e nā pulapula o ka po'e mikionali, no ka mea, ma hope pono o ka Ho'okahuli Aupuni, ua ho'omaka kēia pulapula mikionali lā e noke i ke noi 'ana aku i ka ho'ohui 'āina aku o Hawai'i me 'Amelika. Eia ho'i hā, i ko lākou hele 'ana aku i Wakinekona e noi aku ai i ia ho'ohui 'āina i ko 'Amelika po'e Kenekoa a Luna Maka'āinana, e kapa ana lākou iā lākou iho he "Hawaii" nō.[43] He mea kēia e kuhihewa 'ia mai ai he pili ko lākou i ka Lāhui Hawai'i a he 'elele lākou no ka Lāhui Hawai'i.

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[42] Collegiate, J. W., "He Hoa I Pili Ia," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 8 Iune 1865, 4.

[43] Lili'uokalani, 1991, 325. Penei kā ka Mō'īwahine i kākau mai ai, "When I speak at this time of the Hawaiian people, I refer to the children of the soil,—the native inhabitants of the Hawaiian Islands and their descendants. Two delegations claiming to represent Hawaii have visited Washington at intervals during the past four years in the cause of annexation, besides which other individuals have been sent on to assisst in this attempt to defraud an aboriginal people of their birthrights,—rights dear to the patriotic hearts of even the weakest nation. Lately these aliens have called themselves Hawaiians.

They are not and never were Hawaiians. Although some have had positions under the monarchy which they solemnly swore by oath of office to uphold and sustain, they retained their American birthright. When they overthrew my government, and placed themselves under the protectorate established by John L. Stevens,—as he so states in writing,—they designated themselves as Americans; as such they called on him to raise their flag on the building of the Hawaiian Government. When it pleased the Provisional Government to give their control another name, they called it the Republic of Hawaii. To gain the sympathy of the American people, they made the national day of the Independence of the United States their own, and made speeches claiming to be American citizens. Such has been their custom in Honolulu, although in Washington they represent themselves as Hawaiians.

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'O kēia ho'ā'o 'ana e kapa 'ia ka po'e e noho ana ma Hawai'i nei he "poe Hawaii," he ho'ā'o nō ia e kā'ili i ka mana a me ke kuleana o ka po'e 'ōiwi nona kēia 'āina, 'oiai, he pulapula nō kākou na ka 'āīna. No ka Lāhui Hawai'i, 'a'ohe nō koho a koho 'ole 'ia paha kou kūlana he Hawai'i a he pulapula na ka Lāhui Hawai'i. 'A'ole ho'i i pili i ka waiho'olu'u o ka 'ili. A i kēia lā nō, 'a'ole nō 'o ka 'ili ka mea e 'ike 'ia ai ke kanaka Hawai'i a me ka Lāhui Hawai'i. 'O ka Lāhui Hawai'i, 'o ia nō ka po'e 'ōiwi o kēia 'āina, a 'ike 'ia nō lākou ma ka mo'okū'auhau, ka loina, ka 'āina, a me ke 'ano kū'oko'a nō ho'i.

Ho'ākāka mai nō 'o Kēhaulani Kauanui no ke 'ano o kēia hana 'ana a i kēia lā ma kāna mea i kākau ai e pili ana i ke Kānāwai 'Āina Ho'opulapula ('o ia ho'i ka Hawaiian Homes Commission Act) o ka makahiki 1920. Wahi āna, ma o ka launa 'ana o nā kānaka me ka ho'olauna pū 'ana mai o kona 'ohana a me kona 'āina hānau, he mea ia e hele ai a kama'āina ka po'e i kama'āina 'ole kekahi i kekahi, inā he 'ohana a he hoa launa paha.[44] Pēlā pū nō ho'i ko Haunani-Kay Trask mana'o i kākau mai ai. Wahi āna, 'ike 'ia kākou, nā kānaka o ka Moana Nui Kuauli, 'o ia ho'i 'o Polunekia, ma ko kākou mo'okū'auhau a he pilina ho'i ia mo'okū'auhau i ka 'āina, 'a'ole nō lāua he mau mea i ka'awale iki aku.[45] Ma kēia pilina 'ohana o ke kanaka a me ka 'āina, ua kapa 'ia he aloha 'āina, a he hō'ailona ho'i ia no ke kū'oko'a, ke ea a me ke ola o ka 'āina. Mo'olelo mai nō 'o Silva no kēia pilina o ke aloha 'āina me nā kānaka a me ke kū'oko'a o ke aupuni a me ka

[44] Kauanui, 2000, 15-16. Penei i mo'olelo mai ai 'o Kauanui, "Through verbal introduction, people attempt to see how close they can get to others, dead or living. Hawaiians identify themselves through their 'ohana—extended families—affiliations and island location. And Hawaiians use genealogical relationships to establish a collective identity through the social nexus of *'ohana*... Today, when Hawaiians ask other Hawaiians who their *'ohana* are upon meeting each other, it is a call to identify themselves through connections."

[45] Trask, 1. Penei kā Trask i kākau ai, "In Polynesian cultures, genealogy is paramount. Who we are is determined by our connection to our lands and to our families. Therefore, our bloodlines and birthplace tell our identity. When I meet another Hawaiian, I saw I am descended of two genealogical lines: the Pi'ilani line through my mother who is from Hāna, Maui, and the Kahakumakaliua line through my father's family from Kaua'i. I came of age on the Ko'olau side of the island of O'ahu. This is who I am and who my people are and where we come from."

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'āina.[46] 'Ike 'ia nō kēia mau mana'o no ka lāhui a me kona kūlana ko'iko'i ma loko o nā mele lāhui i pa'i 'ia ma waena o ka makahiki 1893 a me 1898.

Nā Mele Lāhui

HE WEHI NO KA LAHUI[47]

He inoa keia no ka lahui
Na ewe hanau o ka aina
Na pua na mamo na oiwi
A ka I a ka Mahi me ka Palena
E ala e lohe i ka welina
Ka'u kanaenae no Hawaii
Lahui malama i ka maluhia
Kupaa i ka pono o ke Kalaunu
Palekaua ia o ka manaoio
A he kolopa nana e une
Na pali kapu a o Kilauea
Ua paa i ke ahi a ka Wahine
I ke aiwaiwa o ke ao nei
Nana e hooni puni ka honua
Ike ia Hawaii a he moku nui
I ke o-i ana iho paa i ka mole
Keehi kulana i Ainaike
Ike ia kaua he hoa kanaka
Hookahi puuwai o ke aloha
Kakoo i kou one hanau
Kihapai ia no Edena
Ua piha i ka ono me ke kuhinia
Nawai e ole a e makahehi
Na manu Aiko o ka Hikina mai
I ka ike i ka nani me ka hemolele
Aina o ka meli me ka waiu
E kahe ana ia me ke aliali
Me he wai hau ala no Helemona
Kona mau kuahiwi a he kilakila

[46] Silva, 2004, 11. Penei kā Silva, "Aloha 'āina (love of the land) was the cornerstone of resistance in this era. It expressed the desire that maka'āinana and ali'i shared for self-rule as opposed to rule by the colonial oligarchy of settlers or the military rule of the United States. At the time, self-rule necessarily took the form of nationhood, but aloha 'āina (which continues) encompasses more than nationalism and is not an exact fit with the English word "patriotism," the usual translation. Where nationalism and patriotism tend to exalt the virtues of a people or a race, aloha 'āina exalts the land. It refers to the appreciation of the beauty of this land, about which both ali'i and maka'āinana have composed hundreds, perhaps thousands, of songs. Every island, every district, every valley and stream has had songs composed lauding their beauty, but aloha 'āina goes beyond love of beauty as well."

[47] Miss Kekoaohiwaikalani, "He Wehi No Ka Lahui," *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, 16 a me 20 Pepeluali 1893, 3. Ma ka lā 16 o Pepeluali, ua hā'ule kekahi lālani mele (l. 37), akā, pa'i 'ia nō ia lālani ma ka lā 20 o Pepeluali.

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He molale i ka make ke ike aku
Ka makani kupa hoi a he aheahe
Kona mau kapakai a he malia
Na ulu laau a he uliuli
O kona mau pua e popohe ana
A he waianuahea [*pn*] kona aala
E poina ole ai ke hoomanao
Ka leo o na manu e hoene ana
Mukiki ana i ka pua lehua
Ahe nani hiehie kona hiona
He nohea me he manu Nunu ala
Ka opua ua hoi ua haaheo
O ke anuenue e pipio ana
O ka oi no ia i ka'u ike
Aole ona lua e like ai
Kaena ana au me ka haaheo
no kuu aina i hanau ai
He momi i loaa mailuna mai
A he lei kaimana no ka lahui
E ola kakou a pau loa
Ma ka inoa o ka Haku Mana Loa
Haina e ka wehi i kaulana
He mele lahui no Hawaii.

Hakuia no ke aloha aina

MISS KEKOAOHIWAIKALANI

Puahaulani Hale
Honolulu, Feb. 10, 1893.

Ma kēia mele i haku 'ia e Miss Kekoaohiwaikalani, 'o ia ho'i 'o Ellen Kekoaohiwaikalani Prendergast, kekahi o nā wāhine haku mele loea o ia au. Nāna nō kēlā mele lāhui kaulana a i ke au nei, i kapa mua 'ia "He Ohu No Ka Poe Aloha Aina," akā kaulana ma ka inoa 'o "Kaulana Nā Pua" me "Mele 'Ai Pōhaku." Ma nei mele o luna a'e nei, 'o ka Lāhui Hawai'i nō ko Kekoaohiwaikalani mea e ho'ohanohano ana. E like me ka mea i wehewehe 'ia a'ela, 'o ka mo'okū'auhau o kānaka, ka 'āina o kānaka, ka loina o kānaka, ka mo'olelo o kānaka, a me ke kū'oko'a o kānaka nā mea e 'ike 'ia ai ka Lāhui Hawai'i. Ma loko o nā mele lāhui, he mea nui nō ka lāhui a mele 'ia mai nō ho'i no kēia mau 'ano e pono ai ka Lāhui Hawai'i.

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Kapa ʻia ke mele lāhui o luna aʻe nei "He Wehi No Ka Lahui," a ma nā lālani mua loa, hōʻike ʻia ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi ma o ka moʻokūʻauhau. Wahi a ka haku mele, "He inoa keia no ka lahui/Na ewe hanau o ka aina/Na pua na mamo na oiwi/A ka I a ka Mahi me ka Palena" (l. 1-4). Ma kēia mau lālani, mele ʻia mai no ke ēwe hānau o ka ʻāina. He mea kēia e hōʻike ana i ka pilina o ka ʻāina a me ke kanaka ma o ka moʻokūʻauhau. Wahi a nā kūpuna, kapa ʻia ka ʻohana penei, "Kuʻu Ēwe, Kuʻu Piko, Kuʻu Iwi, Kuʻu Koko."[48] He mau hōʻailona kēia mau mea no ka pilina o ke keiki me kona makua a me kona poʻe kūpuna i kona hānau ʻia ʻana mai. ʻIke ʻia nō hoʻi kēia pilina o ka ʻāina me ke kanaka ma ke kapa ʻana i ka poʻe ʻōiwi he pua a he mamo ma kekahi lālani. A laila, ma lalo mai, mele ʻia mai nō he mau inoa kūpuna, ʻo ka ʻĪ, ka Mahi, me ka Palena.

Ma kekahi lālani aku, kapa ʻia ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi he "Lahui malama i ka maluhia" (l. 7). Pili kēia mau lālani i ke ʻano makeʻe a aloha Aliʻi o ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi, no ka mea, ʻo ka "malama i ka maluhia" ke kauoha a Liliʻuokalani i ʻōlelo aku ai i ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi ma mua o ka hoʻokahuli ʻia ʻana o ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi. I ia lā, e ʻākoakoa mai ana kekahi o ka poʻe aloha ʻāina ma waho ala o ka Hale Aliʻi ʻo ʻIolani e kali ahonui ai i ke kūkala ʻia mai o ke Kumukānāwai hou i noi ʻia e ua poʻe aloha ʻāina lā. Hōʻole ʻia mai nō naʻe ka pūlima ʻia ʻana o ia Kumukānāwai hou e nā Kūhina o ke Aupuni a no laila, ua pono ka Mōʻīwahine e nonoi aku i kona poʻe e ahonui mai a hoʻi aku nō lākou i ko lākou hale ponoʻī me ka mālama ʻana mai hoʻi i ka maluhia.[49] No ke aloha o ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi i ka Mōʻīwahine, ʻo ia hoʻi ke kumu i haunaele ʻole mai ai ʻo Honolulu. Ma kekahi lālani aku, mele ʻia no ke "kupaa i ka pono o ke Kalaunu" (l. 9), he hōʻailona kēia no ke kūʻokoʻa ʻana o ke Aupuni a me ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi, no ka mea, ʻo ia ka mea

[48] Pukui, 1983, 207.
[49] *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 21 Ianuali 1893.

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e pono ai ke kūʻokoʻa o ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi, ʻo ia hoʻi ka noho mana ʻana o ke Aliʻi Nui.

Ma kekahi mau lālani ma lalo iho, mele ʻia penei, "Ike ia kaua he hoa kanaka/Hookahi puuwai o ke aloha/Kakoo i kou one hanau" (l. 18-20). Ma ʻaneʻi, hōʻike ʻia ke aloha ma waena o nā kānaka o ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi, ʻoiai he "hoa kanaka" no lākou a he "Hookahi puuwai o ke aloha" a ʻo ia aloha hoʻi, he aloha e "kakoo" ana i ke "one hanau." No laila, he aloha ko ke kanaka i ka lāhui a he aloha hoʻi i ka ʻāina, a ʻo kēia kākoʻo ʻana i ka ʻāina, he kākoʻo hoʻi ia i ke kūʻokoʻa ʻana mai o ia ʻāina. A laila, ma nā lālani ma lalo iho, helu papa ʻia mai nō ka nani o ka ʻāina o Hawaiʻi, e laʻa me kona kuahiwi "kilakila" (l. 29), kona makani "aheahe" (l. 31), a me "ke anuenue e pipio ana" (l. 42). Kapa ʻia hoʻi ia mau pōmaikaʻi he "lei kaimana no ka lahui" (l. 48). No laila, ma kēia mau lālani, hōʻike ʻia nō ke aloha a me ka mahalo o ka haku mele i kona ʻāina a hōʻike mai hoʻi ʻo ia i ka pilina o ia ʻāina a me kona lāhui.

Eia kekahi mele hou aku e kāhea nui a e hoʻohanohano aku ana i ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi. Ua haku ʻia kēia mele e Mrs. Kala a kapa ʻia ke mele "He Wehi No Napelakapu," ʻo ia hoʻi ka Mōʻīwahine Kapiʻolani, ka wahine hoʻi a ka Mōʻī Kalākaua.

HE WEHI NO NAPELAKAPU[50]

He inoa keia no Kapiolani
Napelakapu i ka Wekiu
He kuini hoi oe no Hawaii
Puuwai hamama no ka lahui
Imia ana hoi oe me ka noeau
I ka pono kau like a o Hawaii
Lohea kou leo e pae ana
Hooulu lahui koʻu makia
Hea mai ka leo Napelakapu
Me ka nawali hoi me ka nanahe
Nahenahe ko leo i pae mai

[50] Mrs. Kala, "He Wehi No Napelakapu," *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, 22 Malaki 1893, 3.

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I kaui ana mai pehea wau
Pehea oukou e ka Lahui
Na ewe hanau o ka Aina
Eia Hawaii Moku o Keawe
Ke oi ku nei me ka ehaeha
Ua ike ku maka iho kakou
Na hana pakaha ke aloha ole
Ua hoonele ia kuu milimili
O Liliu o Loloku Lani ike kapu
Ua kaili ia ka Leialii
Kawalu o na Lani papahi ai
Pehea ka manao e ka Lahui
E Hawaii nui kualiholiho
Umia ke aloha paa i loko
Kaohi malie i ka puuwai
A a a he wai hiki mai ana
E lanakila ai Hawaii loa
E Lei hou ai i ka hanohano
I ka Lei Kalaunu ao Hawaii
Eia ke ola ua hiki mai
Kalamaku a o Hawaii
Ka Elele Lahui ua hoi mai
Me ka lono hauoli no ka Lahui
Kaana pono ia e ke kaulike
E Liliu o Loloku Lani i ke kapu
Makia paa ia o ka Lahui
Kawalu o na Lani i ke Kalaunu
Hea aku makou o mai oe
Napelakapu kou inoa
E ola o Kalani a mau loa
O Kapiolani i ka iu ao luna

Haku ia e
Mrs. Kala.
Honuakaha, Mar. 21, 1893

E like me ka'u o luna a'e nei, he mele kēia i haku 'ia no ka ho'ohanohano 'ana aku i ka Mō'īwahine Kapi'olani Napelakapuokakae. Eia na'e, ho'ohanohano pū 'ia mai ka Mō'īwahine Lili'uokalani, 'o ia ho'i ke kaiko'eke o Kapi'olani, a ho'ohanohano nui 'ia nō ho'i ka Lāhui Hawai'i. Ma nā lālani mua o ke mele, mele 'ia mai ko Kapi'olani mau inoa (l. 1-2), a laila, kapa 'ia 'o ia "He kuini hoi... no Hawaii/Puuwai hamama no ka lahui" (l. 3-4). 'Ike 'ia nō ke aloha o ka haku mele i kēia Mō'īwahine a mele mai ho'i ka haku mele no ke aloha o ka Mō'īwahine i

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kona lāhui. Ma lalo mai, mele 'ia no ka leo o Kapiolani e pa'ē mai ana "Hooulu lahui ko'u makia" (l. 7-8).

'O kēia mākia o ka Mō'ī Kalākaua me kona Mō'īwahine, ua kūkala 'ia nō i ka lā i lilo ai 'o Kalākaua i Mō'ī no ke Aupuni Hawai'i a i nā makahiki ma hope mai, ua lilo mai nō i mea nui no ke Aupuni Hawai'i. Ua ho'okumu 'ia mai a hana 'ia mai ho'i he mau hana like 'ole no ia mea 'o ka "Ho'oulu Lāhui." Ua ho'okumu 'ia he mau kānāwai,[51] a he mea nui nō ho'i ka holo 'ana o ke Ku'ikahi Pāna'ilike me 'Amelika, no ka mea, he mea ia e ulu ai ka waiwai o ke Aupuni, a no ka mea ho'i, ua pono e 'imi 'ia ka po'e lima hana e hele mai i Hawai'i nei e hana ai.[52] No ia po'e lima hana, no'ono'o pū 'ia ka po'e kūpono e hui pū ai ma nā pua a ka Lāhui Hawai'i i mea e kō ai kēia pono 'o ka Ho'oulu Lāhui.[53]

Eia kekahi, kauka'i nui 'ia nō ho'i nā wāhine o ka Lāhui Hawai'i no ka hānau 'ana mai i nā keiki o ka lāhui. Ma loko o kekahi o nā mo'olelo nūpepa o ia wā, ua kapa 'ia nō nā wāhine, "he 'hooulu lahui' o ke au o ka Moi Kalakaua."[54] No ia kumu, ua 'ano nui maila nā mo'olelo e pili ana i ke 'ano e pono ai ka wahine a me ka makuahine no kona mea e male ai[55] a no ke 'ano o kona mālama 'ana i kāna po'e keiki a me kona hale.[56] Aia ho'i he mau mo'olelo e ho'ohanohano ana i ka hānau 'ana o nā wāhine i ke keiki, a aia ho'i he mau mo'olelo e hō'ike ana i ka minamina i ka hala 'ana o ka makuahine a me nā keiki.[57] 'O ka ho'ona'auao 'ia 'ana o nā kaikamāhine nō ho'i kahi mea i mo'olelo 'ia mai a i ho'opili 'ia mai i ia mākia o ka Ho'oulu Lāhui, no ka mea, 'o ia po'e kaikamāhine

[51] *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 1 'Apelila 1876, 2; *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 3 Iune 1876, 2.
[52] *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 26 'Aukake 18876, 2.
[53] *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 18 Malaki 1876, 2; 8 'Apelila 1876, 3; 26 'Okakopa 1878, 2.
[54] *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 18 'Ianuali 1876, 3.
[55] *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 3 Iune 1876, 2.
[56] *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 1 'Apelila 1876, 2.
[57] *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 24 Iune 1876, 2; 29 Iulai 1876, 2.

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ala ana nā mākuahine o nā pulapula Hawai'i o kekahi hanauna aku.[58] Ma ka puana 'ia 'ana o ka "makia Hooulu Lahui" ma ke mele, hō'ike 'ia nō ka mau 'ana o kēia mākia ma loko o nā pu'uwai o ka po'e aloha 'āina.

Ma nā lālani ma lalo mai, e like me nā mele lāhui 'ē a'e o ia wā, kapa 'ia ka Lāhui Hawai'i "Na ewe hanau o ka Aina" (l. 13-14), a i ka nīnau 'ana mai o ka haku mele, "Pehea ka manao e ka Lahui," ua pane 'ia me ka hō'ike 'ana i ke aloha 'āina a me ke aloha ali'i (l. 24-25). Ma ka hopena o ke mele, ho'ohanohano hou 'ia nā inoa o nā Mō'īwahine 'elua 'o Lili'uokalani "Kawalu o na Lani i ke Kalaunu" (l. 38), a pēlā pū me Kapi'olani, 'o ia ho'i o Napelakapu.

Nui hou aku ke mele 'ana no ka lāhui ma loko o kā lākou mau mele lāhui i haku ai i ia wā. I 'ike 'ia nā 'ano like 'ole o ke kāhea 'ana a me ka ho'ohanohano 'ana i ka lāhui, e nānā kākou i nā māhele pōkole o kekahi mau mele.

He inoa keia nou e Liliu,[59]
No ka Pua Laha ole a Hawaii.
He Onohi Momi no ka Pakipika,
A he milimili hoi na ka Lahui,
Mai Hawaii Nui Kapu o Keawe,
A Kaula ka palena o ka aina,

Ma kēia mau lālani mele, ho'ohanohano 'ia ka inoa o ka Mō'īwahine a kapa 'ia 'o ia 'o "ka Pua Laha ola," "He Onohi Momi," a "he milimili hoi" (l. 1-3). Ma kekahi mau lālani, hō'ike 'ia ho'i ka pilina o ka Mō'īwahine i ka 'āina, 'o "Hawaii" (l. 1), "ka Pakipika" (l. 3), a ma lalo mai, hō'ike 'ia nā palena o ka pae 'āina a me ke Aupuni Hawai'i, "Mai Hawaii Nui.../A Kaula ka palena o ka aina" (l. 4-5).

Ua nani o Liliulani i ke kapu[60]
Kahiapo kukahi a ka Lahui

[58] *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 17 Mei 1876, 1; 15 Iulai 1876, 2.
[59] Miss Kekoaohiwaikalani, "He Inoa No Liliuokalani," *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, 7 Pepeluali 1893.
[60] Koa, David K., "He Inoa No Liliulani," *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 25 Iulai 1894.

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Ma kēia mau lālani, kapa ʻia ka Mōʻīwahine "Kahiapo kukahi a ka Lahui," a ma kēia mau lālani, hōʻike ʻia ka pilina ʻohana o ka Mōʻīwahine me kona lāhui ma o ka moʻokūʻauhau hoʻokahi o ka lāhui.

Haina ia mai ana ka puana,[61]
O Aloha Lahui koʻu inoa.

Ma ka hopena o ke mele hoʻokahi, pēia ka puana ʻia ʻana o ka manaʻo nui o ke mele. Hōʻoia ikaika ʻia nō ka pilina o ka haku mele i kona lāhui, me ka hōʻike ʻana aku, ʻo kona inoa, "O Aloha Lahui" nō ia. He hōʻailona kēia no ke ʻano pili paʻa o ke "Aloha Lahui" i ka naʻau o ka haku mele. Ua like me kona inoa, kona hoʻomaopopo ʻana, kona ʻike ʻana iā ia iho.

No Liliu no Loloku i ke kapu,[62]
No ka lahui oiwi ponoi,
No ka I, no ka Mahi, no Kapalena,
No lakou ia Hae Hawaii,

Ma kēia mau lālani mele, ʻike ʻia ka pili a paʻa mai o ka Mōʻīwahine "Liliu... Loloku i ke kapu" me kona "lahui oiwi ponoi," kona moʻokūʻauhau no "ka I... ka Mahi,... Kapalena," a me ka "Hae Hawaii" nō hoʻi. Eia kekahi, ma kēia mau lālani, e mele ana ʻo Kamakaia no ke kuleana o ke Aupuni Hawaiʻi, a hōʻike ʻia mai nō, "No Liliu" nō ia, "No ka lahui," "No ka I, no ka Mahi, no Kapalena" hoʻi, no ka mea, "No lakou ia Hae Hawaii." Me ka manaʻo hoʻi, "No lakou" ke Aupuni a me ka mana e hoʻokele aku i ko lākou alahele ponoʻī e hele aku ai.

HE ILI ULA AU A HE HAWAII[63]

Ehuehu mai nei Daimana Hila,
I ka hoeu a ka ili ulaula,
Nana i hoala iho ke kaua,
Kue i ka aoao Aupuni,
I pomaikai hoi no ka lahui,
Mai Hawaii hoi a Kauai,
Pehea kakou a e Hawaii?

[61] Koa, David K., "He Inoa No Liliulani," *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, 25 Iulai 1894.
[62] Kamakaia, Sam. K., "Kuu Hae Hawaii Aloha," *Ke Aloha Aina*, 20 ʻAukake 1898.
[63] Ulumaheihei, K. P., "He Ili Ula Au A He Hawaii," *Buke Mele Lahui*, 60.

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Hooholo kuikahi like ka manao,
He ili ula au a he Hawaii,
Imi pono ana hoi no Liliulani,
Hanohano Wilikoki i ka'u ike,
Ke koa kaulana no Hawaii nei;
O ka'u ia la e puana nei,
Nolena e ke koa hohe wale;
Kaulana mai nei a o Wilikoki,
O ke koa hooheno a ka lahui;
Puana iho au ia Wilikoki,
Kaulana Hawaii a mau loa.

K. P. ULUMAHEIHEI

'Ano like kekahi o nā lālani o kēia mele me nā mele lāhui he nui i haku 'ia a i pa'i 'ia i loko o ka nūpepa a me nā puke no ke Kaua Kūloko o ka makahiki 1895. Haku 'ia kēia mele e K. P. Ulumaheihei, a ma kāna mele nei, ho'ohanohano nō 'o ia i ka hana e "Ehuehu mai nei Daimana Hila" (l. 1). Ho'ohanohano pū 'ia nō ho'i ka inoa o Wilikoki ma ke mele a kapa 'ia 'o ia 'o "Ke koa kaulana no Hawaii nei" (l. 11-12) a me "ke koa hooheno a ka lahui" (l. 15-16). A e like ho'i me kekahi o nā mele o ia makahiki, he leo nemanema ko ka haku mele no ka inoa o Nolena a kapa 'ia 'o ia 'o "ke koa hohe wale" (l. 14).

Eia na'e, 'ike 'ia nō ho'i kahi mea i like 'ole me ka hapanui o nā mele lāhui 'ē a'e, a 'ike 'ia ma ka inoa a ma kekahi lālani o loko o ke mele. Wahi a ka inoa, "He Ili Ula Au A He Hawaii," a pēlā pū ke kapa 'ana aku i nā kānaka 'o ka "ili-ulaula" (l. 1), a ma kekahi lālani o loko, mele hou 'ia e like me ka inoa, "He Ili ula au a he Hawaii/Imi pono ana hoi no Liliulani" (l. 9-10). Ua kapa iho nō ka haku mele iā ia iho he 'ili 'ula'ula, akā, ma kona kapa pū 'ana iā ia iho, "He Hawaii," ua maopopo, 'a'ole 'o ka waiho'olu'u o ka 'ili ka mea e 'ike 'ia ai kona lāhui a me kona 'ano pono'ī iho nō. A e like me nā mea i wehewehe 'ia aku ma kēia mokuna, 'ike 'ia ka Lāhui Hawai'i ma nā 'ano like 'ole, e la'a me ka loina. He loina Hawai'i nō ko kēia haku mele 'ana me ka ho'opa'a 'ana i ka mo'olelo o ka Lāhui Hawai'i ma ke mele. Ma kona kū'oko'a 'ana nō ho'i e 'ike 'ia ai ka Lāhui

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Hawai'i, a 'o kēia kū'oko'a nō ke kumu i ho'ouka 'ia ai ke kaua "I pomaikai hoi no ka lahui" (l. 5), a e noi 'ia ana ma ka hopena o ke mele ka "mau" 'ana o Hawai'i (l. 18). He mea nui ho'i ka pilina o ka Lāhui Hawai'i i ka 'āina, e la'a me ka mea i mele 'ia, "Mai Hawaii hoi a Kauai" (l. 6).

No laila, 'a'ole nō 'ike 'ia ka Lāhui Hawai'i ma kona koko a me kona 'ili. 'Ike 'ia nō na'e ka Lāhui Hawai'i ma nā 'ano like 'ole, e la'a me ka mo'okū'auhau, 'oiai, he pili ko ka Lāhui i kona po'e kūpuna a i ka 'āina ho'i. Ma o ka loina nō ho'i e 'ike 'ia ai ka Lāhui Hawai'i, ma ke 'ano o kona aloha 'ana aku i kona hoa e launa ai a me ke 'ano ho'i o kona lokomaika'i ma ka hana kālepa. He mea nui ho'i ke kū'oko'a 'ana o ka Lāhui Hawai'i, 'oiai, mai kahiko loa mai ka ho'okele 'ana aku o ka Lāhui Hawai'i i kona mau alahele pono'ī e hele aku ai. Mai kahiko mai nō kēia ho'omaopopo 'ana mai i ia mea he lāhui, a ua loli ka lāhui i ke au kahiko. Ua loli hou aku ka ho'omaopopo 'ana i ka lāhui a me ka nohona ma Hawai'i ma hope o ka hiki 'ana mai o ka po'e haole no 'Amelika me 'Europa mai. Ua ola mau nō na'e ka Lāhui Hawai'i i loko nō o nā hihia a me nā pilikia o nā kānaka a me nā aupuni o nā 'āina 'ē. Ua ola mau akula nō ka Lāhui Hawai'i ma hope o ka Ho'okahuli Aupuni a ma hope nō ho'i o ka Ho'ohui 'Āina aku me 'Amelika. Ua ola mau nō a i ke au nei, a 'ike 'ia nō ka Lāhui ma o kēia mau mea nō—ma ko kākou mo'okū'auhau, ko kākou loina, a me ko kākou kū'oko'a 'ana ma o ka 'imi 'ana i ko kākou alahele pono'ī e holo mua ai i hiki ai iā kākou ke mālama i ko kākou 'āina pono'ī.

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MOKUNA 8
KA PANINA: E NA'I WALE NŌ 'OUKOU I KU'U PONO

KA NA'I AUPUNI[1]

1—E Hawaii Nui Kuauli
E na Hono-a-Piilani
Oahu o Kakuhihewa
Kauai o Manokalanipo.

—HUI: —

E Na'i wale no oukou
I kuu pono aole pau
I ka Pono Kumu o Hawaii
E Mau ke Ea o ka Aina i ka Pono

2—I hookahi kahi ka manao
I hookahi kahi ke aloha
I hookahi kahi puuwai
E Mau ke Ea o ka Aina i ka Pono.

Kohu mea lā, he mele kēia no ka Mō'ī Kamehameha, 'oiai kapa 'ia ka inoa 'o "Ka Na'i Aupuni," a 'o kona inoa kapakapa nō ia. A ma nā lālani mua o ka Hui, mele 'ia mai kahi puana'ī a Kamehameha Nui i ho'opuka aku ai ma mua iho o kona hala 'ana aku. Wahi āna, "E Na'i wale no oukou/I kuu pono aole pau" (l. 5-6). Akā, ma ke mele nei, mele hou 'ia no kēia "Pono Kumu o Hawai'i" me ka puana'ī a kā Kamehameha Nui keiki, 'o Kauikeaouli, e koikoi mai ana "E Mau ke Ea o ka Aina i ka Pono" (l. 7-8).

Ke nānā 'ia aku nā paukū o ke mele, ua mōakāka maila, he mele lāhui kēia i haku 'ia no ke 'ano kūpiliki'i o ke Aupuni me ka Lāhui Hawai'i i ka makahiki 1898. Ma ka paukū mua, kāhea 'ia nā Ali'i Nui a me nā mokupuni nui o ka pae 'āina, 'o Hawai'i, Maui, O'ahu, me Kaua'i. E like me nā mele lāhui 'ē a'e, he hō'ailona nā Ali'i a me nā mokupuni no ka pilina 'ohana o ke kanaka me ka 'āina. Ma ke mele, he hō'ailona ia helu 'ana mai i nā inoa no ke kāko'o 'ana o ke

[1] "Ka Na'i Aupuni," *Ka Loea Kalaiaina*, 14 Pepeluali 1898, 3; *Ka Holomua*, 6 Iune 1914.

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kanaka a me ka ʻāina nō hoʻi i ke kūʻokoʻa mau ʻana o Hawaiʻi nei. A laila, ma ka paukū ʻelua, hōʻike ʻia ka lōkahi o ka manaʻo, ke aloha, a me ka puʻuwai o ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi. ʻAʻole nō paha i lōkahi ka manaʻo, ke aloha, a me ka puʻuwai ma nā mea a pau, akā, lōkahi nō ia mau mea ma ka ʻimi ʻana a me ka hoʻāʻo ʻana "E Mau ke Ea o ka Aina i ka Pono" (l. 9-12).

E like me ke mele mua loa o nei palapala, ʻo "He Lei No Ka Poe Aloha Aina," ua kaulana nō nei mele a i ke au nei. Hīmeni ʻia ma nā pāʻina a hoʻopaʻa leo ʻia nō hoʻi. He kūpono nō ka pani ʻana mai o nei mele i kēia wahi palapala, ʻoiai, ma loko o nei mele, mele ʻia mai nō no ka mau ʻana o ke "ea" o ka "aina" i ka "pono." Mele ʻia mai nō hoʻi no ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi ma nā inoa aliʻi, nā inoa mokupuni, a me ke ʻano hoʻokahi o ia Lāhui i kona naʻi ʻana i kona pono. He kūpono hoʻi nei mele ma ke ʻano he panina, no ka mea, mele ʻia mai nō ke ʻano o ka pono ma lalo o kēia mau Mōʻī ʻelua ma o kā lāua puanaʻī.

Mele ʻia mai nō hoʻi no ke ʻano o ia mea he "Naʻi Aupuni." I ke au iā Kamehameha, ʻo Kamehameha nō kai kapa ʻia ʻo Ka Naʻi Aupuni, no ka mea, nāna nō i naʻi aku i nā mokupuni a pau o ka pae ʻāina. I kona hala ʻana, i kona hoʻopuka ʻana i kāna puanaʻī, e kauoha aku ana ʻo ia i kāna hoʻoilina a me kāna mau pulapula e naʻi aku i kona pono. Akā, ma kēia mele, ʻo ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi a me ka ʻāina o Hawaiʻi, ʻo lākou ke koikoi ʻia nei e naʻi aku i ka pono. ʻO lākou nō ka naʻi aupuni o ia au. A he kauoha hoʻi ia no kākou i ke au nei i ka ʻimi ʻana i ke alahele e naʻi aku i ka pono o Hawaiʻi.

He pono nō ko kākou naʻi ʻana i ka pono o ko kākou Lāhui Hawaiʻi, no ka mea, mai ka wā i hoʻohui ʻia aku ai ʻo Hawaiʻi ma lalo o ʻAmelika Huipūʻia, e hoʻāʻo mai ana ʻo ʻAmelika Huipūʻia e hoʻomaopopo a hoʻākāka i ke kūlana a me ke ʻano o ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi.

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I kēia manawa, ua nui wale maila nā kānāwai me nā pila o 'Amelika e pili ana i ka Lāhui Hawai'i; he 150 a 'oi ka huina nui. 'O ke Kānāwai no ka 'Āina Ho'opulapula o Hawai'i nei kekahi. Ua 'āpono 'ia kēia kānāwai i ka makahiki 1920, a ho'oka'awale 'ia he 200,000 a 'oi iki 'eka 'āina no nā "kānaka Hawai'i." Ma ia kānāwai, ua ho'ākāka 'ia ia mea i kapa 'ia he "kanaka Hawai'i," 'o ia ho'i ka "native Hawaiian." Ma ia kānāwai, pela 'ia nō kēia inoa me ka hua palapala li'ili'i no ka hua palapala mua. 'O ka mana'o o ia "kanaka Hawai'i," ke ana 'ia ka "nui" o kona "koko Hawai'i," 'a'ole nō i emi ma lalo o ka "hapalua."[2] 'O ia ho'opa'a 'ana i ke 'ano o ia mea he "kanaka Hawai'i," na ka po'e o 'Amelika nō i ho'okumu mai. Na 'Amelika nō i ana i ka Lāhui Hawai'i ma ke 'ano a me ka nui o kona koko a me kona 'ili. 'A'ole nō pēlā ka mana'o 'ana o ka Lāhui Hawai'i. Ua wehewehe 'ia i loko o nei palapala ke 'ano o ka Lāhui Hawai'i no kākou—he mea pili i ka mo'okū'auhau, ka loina, ke 'ano kū'oko'a, a pēlā wale aku. 'A'ole wale nō ma ka 'ili a ma ke koko paha.

Ho'ākāka hou 'ia ka mana'o o 'Amelika no ke 'ano o ka Lāhui Hawai'i ma loko o ke "Kānāwai Mihi," 'o ia ho'i ka "Apology Law." 'Āpono 'ia kēia kānāwai i ka makahiki 1993 i ka piha 'ana o nā makahiki he 100 mai ka wā i ho'okahuli 'ia ai ke Aupuni Hawai'i. Ma ia kānāwai, ua hō'oia akula 'o 'Amelika i kā lākou hewa i hana ai i ka wā i ho'okahuli 'ia ai ke Aupuni Hawai'i, 'oiai, ho'ouka 'ia nā koa o 'Amelika i waho ala o ka Hale Ali'i a me ka Hale Aupuni. Hō'oia 'ia nō ho'i ka hewa o ko 'Amelika Kuhina i kona 'āpono koke 'ana aku i ke Aupuni Kūikawā.[3]

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[2] Hawaiian Homes Commission Act 1920, Māhele 201, Paukū 7. Penei i ho'ākāka 'ia maila, "The term 'native Hawaiian' means any descendant of not less than one-half part of the blood of the races inhabiting the Hawaiian Islands previous to 1778."

[3] US Public Law 103-150, 1993, ke Kānāwai Mihi ('o ia ho'i ka Apology Law), 'Ōlelo Ho'ākāka. Wahi a ia kānāwai, "The indigenous Hawaiian people never directly relinquished their claims to their inherent sovereignty as a people or over their national lands to the United States, either through their monarchy or through a plebiscite or referendum...[and] in pursuance of the

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Ho'ākāka 'ia ho'i ia mea he "Kanaka Hawai'i," he "Native Hawaiian" ho'i (me ka hua palapala nui). Ma ia wehewehe 'ana, 'o ke "Kanaka Hawai'i" ka po'e mamo a me nā pulapula ho'i o ka po'e 'ōiwi e noho mai ana ma Hawai'i nei i ka makahiki 1778.[4] No laila, ma kēia ho'ākāka 'ana, 'oko'a ia mea he "native Hawaiian" a 'oko'a ho'i ia mea he "Native Hawaiian."

E like me nei Kānāwai Mihi, pēlā nō ho'i i ho'ākāka 'ia ai nā Kānaka Maoli ma loko o kekahi kānāwai hou aku o 'Amelika i 'āpono 'ia i ka makahiki 2000. Kapa 'ia kona inoa 'o ke Kānāwai Ho'ona'auao Kānaka Maoli, 'o ia ho'i ka "Native Hawaiian Education Act." Ma loko o ia kānāwai, 'ano like kekahi wehewehe 'ana me ka mea i wehewehe 'ia ma ke Kānāwai Mihi, me ka mana'o ho'i, 'o nā Kānaka Maoli nō ka po'e pulapula o ka po'e 'ōiwi e noho mua mai ana ma Hawai'i nei. Eia nō na'e, ho'oikaika 'ia kēia wehewehe 'ana me ka hō'oia 'ana i ke kūlana kū'oko'a o ia Lāhui Kanaka.[5]

Hō'oia pū 'ia mai ka pilina o nā Kānaka Maoli me ko kākou loina, ko kākou nohona, ko kākou mo'olelo, a me ko kākou 'āina. Ho'opili 'ia nō ho'i kēia mau mea i ke 'ano kū'okoa o ka Lāhui Hawai'i me ke Aupuni Hawai'i, a hō'oia pū 'ia ka 'ae 'ole o ka Lāhui Hawai'i i ka ho'oku'u 'ia aku o ka noho kū'oko'a 'ana.[6] Hō'oia pū 'ia ka mau 'ana o kēia kūlana kū'oko'a o ka Lāhui Hawai'i a i

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conspiracy to overthrow the Government of Hawaii, the United States Minister and the naval representatives of the United States caused armed naval forces of the United States to invade the sovereign Hawaiian nation."

[4] Ua mea ho'okahi nō, Māhele 1 me 2. Wahi a ia kānāwai "The term 'Native Hawaiians" means any individual who is a descendent of the aboriginal people who, prior to 1778, occupied and exercised sovereignty in the area that now constitutes the State of Hawaii."

[5] Kānāwai Ho'ona'auao Kānaka Maoli, 'o ia ho'i ka "Native Hawaiian Education Act," Section 7202. Wahi a nei kānāwai, "Native Hawaiians are a distinct and unique indigenous people with a historical continuity to the original inhabitants of the Hawaiian archipelago, whose society was organized as a nation and internationally recognized as a nation by the United States, Britain, France, and Japan, as evidenced by treaties governing friendship, commerce, and navigation."

[6] Ua mea ho'okahi nō. Penei ia māhele, "Native Hawaiians have a cultural, historic, and land-based link to the indigenous people who exercised sovereignty over the Hawaiian Islands, and that group has never relinquished its claims to sovereignty or its sovereign lands."

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kēia lā, 'o ia nō kekahi mea hou aku i hō'oia 'ia a paipai 'ia mai.[7]Eia kekahi, 'oiai he mea i pāpā 'ia ka ho'oka'awale 'ia 'ana aku o kekahi kanaka ma o kona 'ili ma 'Amelika, ma nei kānāwai, ho'ākāka 'ia ke kūlana 'oko'a o ka Lāhui Hawai'i me ka 'ōlelo pololei 'ana mai, 'a'ole wale nō ka Lāhui Hawai'i he mea pili i ka 'ili a me ke koko.[8]

Ma ka 'Aha Ho'okolokolo nō ho'i e ho'oholo 'ia ai ke kūlana o nā Kānaka Maoli a ma laila nō ho'i e wehewehe 'ia ai ke 'ano o nā Kānaka Maoli. 'O ka mea kaulana loa, 'o ia paha ka ho'opi'i 'ana aku o Harold "Freddy" Rice i ke Kia'āina o Hawai'i, 'o ia ho'i 'o Ben Cayetano. Ua ho'omaka 'ia kēia ho'opi'i 'ana i ka makahiki 1996 ma muli o ka hō'ole 'ia 'ana aku o ko Rice kau inoa 'ana e koho pāloka i nā 'elele no ke Ke'ena Kuleana Hawai'i, 'o ia ho'i ka "Office of Hawaiian Affairs." Wahi a ia ho'opi'i 'ana, 'o ia koho pāloka 'ana o nā Kānaka Maoli wale nō, he mea kū'ē'ē ia i ka Ho'ololi 'Ōlelo Pāku'i 14 a me 15 o ke Kumukānāwai o 'Amelika. Ma nā 'aha ho'okolokolo ha'aha'a o 'Amelika, ua ho'oholo 'ia no Cayetano me ka Moku'āina 'o Hawai'i, a ho'omau akula nō 'o Rice i kona ho'opi'i 'ana aku a hiki i ka 'Aha Ho'okolokolo Ki'eki'e o 'Amelika. Ma laila, ua ho'oholo 'ia no Rice ma ka Ho'ololi 'Ōlelo Pāku'i 15 wale nō, 'oiai, na ka Moku'āina 'o Hawai'i nō e mālama i ia koho pāloka 'ana, a wahi a kekahi o nā Luna Ki'eki'e, 'a'ole nō pono e wae 'ia ka po'e koho pāloka ma o ka 'ili o ia kanaka. 'A'ole na'e i 'ae like nā Luna Ki'ekie' a pau o ia 'aha, a wahi a ka po'e kū'ē, 'a'ole nō i no'ono'o pono 'ia ka mo'olelo o Hawai'i a me kona lāhui 'ōiwi,

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[7] Ua mea ho'okahi nō. Penei nei māhele, "The political status of Native Hawaiians is comparable to that of American Indians and Alaska Natives." Penei nō ho'i ka wehewehe 'ia 'ana mai, "The aboriginal, indigenous people of the United States have—(i) a continuing right to autonomy in their internal affairs; and (ii) an ongoing right of self-determination and self-governance that has never been extinguished."

[8] Ua mea ho'okahi nō. Penei nei māhele, "Congress does not extend services to Native Hawaiians because of their race, but because of their unique status as the indigenous people of a once sovereign nation to whom the United States has established a trust relationship."

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no ka mea, 'o kekahi kumu i helu 'ia no ka 'ao'ao o Rice, 'o ia nō ke kuhihewa 'ana, he mea pili wale nō i ka 'ili nā Kānaka Hawai'i, 'oiai, 'a'ohe o kākou aupuni a 'a'ohe o kākou 'āina e mālama nei i kēia manawa, akā, wahi a nā Luna nāna i kū'ē, no 'Amelika nō ia hewa, 'oiai, na lākou nō i kōkua a kāko'o i ka wāwahi 'ia 'ana o ke Aupuni Hawai'i a me ka lilo 'ana aku o kekahi o ka 'āina o ko kākou aupuni iā 'Amelika.[9]

A 'o ia nō ka mea pa'akikī e ho'omaopopo aku ai, ka 'oko'a o ka 'ili a me ke kūlana kū'oko'a o ka Lāhui Hawai'i. No ia ho'omaopopo 'ole 'ana, ua ho'opi'i maila kekahi mau kānaka hou aku i nā kuleana o nā Kānaka Maoli o Hawai'i nei, e la'a me ko Carroll ho'opi'i 'ana aku iā Nakatani, a pēlā pū me ko Barrett ho'opi'i 'ana aku i ka Moku'āina 'o Hawai'i. E ho'ā'o ana 'o Carroll lāua me Barrett e ho'opau 'ia ka hā'awi 'ana aku o ka Moku'āina 'o Hawai'i i kālā i ke Ke'ena Kuleana Hawai'i no ka 'āina i lawe lilo 'ia ma hope o ka Ho'okahuli Aupuni.[10] Ua kapae 'ia akula kēia ho'opi'i 'ana i ka makahiki 2000 me 2001 e ka Luna Ho'okolokolo a ho'opi'i hou 'ia aku ma kekahi 'aha ho'okolokolo ki'eki'e maila. A laila, ho'ohui 'ia kēia mau mea 'elua no Carrol me Barret i ho'okahi ho'opi'i 'ana a ho'oholo like 'ia aku nō ka ho'oku'u 'ana aku i ka makahiki 2003 e ka 'Aha Ho'okolokolo.

Ho'opi'i aku ho'i kekahi mau kānaka hou aku i ka moku'āīna a me kona mau 'elele, e la'a me Arakaki. Nāna i ho'opi'i aku iā Lingle me ka mana'o, he mea kū'ē kānāwai ka 'Āina Ho'opulapula. 'O ka Ho'ololi 'Ōlelo Pāku'i 14 kā Arakaki mea e hō'oia ana, akā, ua ho'oku'u 'ia aku nō ia mea e ka 'Aha

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[9] *Rice v. Cayetano*, 9. Wahi a Justice John Paul Stevens "it is a painful irony indeed to conclude that native Hawaiians are not entitled to special benefits designed to restore a measure of native self-governance because they currently lack any vestigial native government – a possibility of which history and the actions of this Nation have deprived them."

[10] *Carroll v. Nakatani, Barrett v. State of Hawai'i.*

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Ho'okolokolo 'Āpana o 'Amelika. Wahi a Luna Mollway, na ka 'aha'ōlelo o 'Amelika kēia e ho'oholo.

Ho'opi'i 'ia akula ho'i ke Kula 'o Kamehameha i ko lākou paipai 'ana i ke komo 'ana aku o nā keiki Hawai'i ma ia kula. Kuhi hewa 'ia aku he ho'okae 'ili kēia mau mea, akā, 'a'ole ka Lāhui Hawai'i he 'ili a he koko wale nō.[11] Hō'oia 'ia kēia kūlana o ka Lāhui Hawai'i ma ka mea i ho'oholoholo 'ia no ko John Doe ho'opi'i 'ana aku iā Kamehameha ma ka 'Aha Ho'okolokolo Ka'apuni 'Eiwa o 'Amelika. Ua 'aelike nā 'ao'ao 'elua ma waho o ka 'Aha Ho'okolokolo, no laila, 'a'ole nō e ho'okolokolo 'ia ana kēia ma ka 'Aha Ho'okolokolo Ki'eki'e o 'Amelika.

Ua mau nō kēia nūnēnūnē 'ana aku o ko 'Amelika no ke 'ano o ka Lāhui Hawai'i. Aia nō he kānāwai e kūkākūkā 'ia nei ma ko 'Amelika 'aha 'ōlelo i kēia kau nō. Kapa 'ia kona inoa 'o ka Pila Akaka, a 'o kēia ka hiku o kona mau makahiki ma laila. 'Oko'a iki ka wehewehe 'ia 'ana o ke 'ano o nā Kānaka Hawai'i ma nei kānāwai. 'O nā "Kānaka Hawai'i," 'o ia nā pulapula o ka po'e 'ōiwi nāna e noho mai ana i ka pae 'āina e kapa 'ia nei ka Moku'āina 'o Hawai'i i ka lā mua o ka makahiki 1893, 'o ia ho'i ka po'e e noho kū'oko'a ana ma kēia pae 'āina nei. Wehewehe 'ia mai ho'i, 'o nā pulapula o ka po'e i kapa 'ia he "kanaka Hawai'i" ma loko o ke Kānāwai no ka 'Āina Ho'opulapula, 'o lākou ho'i nā Kānaka Hawai'i.[12]

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[11] *Doe v. Kamehameha Schools; Mohica-Cummings v. Kamehameha Schools.*

[12] Kānāwai Kūkulu Aupuni Hawai'i," 'o ia ho'i ka "Native Hawaiian Government Reorganization Act." Penei ka ho'ākāka 'ana i ke "Kanaka Hawai'i" ma nei kānāwai, "(i) an individual who is 1 of the indigenous, native people of Hawaii and who is a direct lineal descendant of the aboriginal, indigenous, native people who-- (I) resided in the islands that now comprise the State of Hawaii on or before January 1, 1893; and (II) occupied and exercised sovereignty in the Hawaiian archipelago, including the area that now constitutes the State of Hawaii; or (ii) an individual who is 1 of the indigenous, native people of Hawaii and who was eligible in 1921 for the programs authorized by the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act (42 Stat. 108, chapter 42) or a direct lineal descendant of that individual."

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Ua ʻāpono ʻia mai nei kēia pila ma ka ʻAhaʻōlelo o nā Luna Makaʻāinana ma ka mahina ʻo ʻOkakopa i hala iho nei, a aia lā ke holo nei ma ka ʻAha Kenekoa a maliʻa paha, he ʻāpono mai koe. ʻAʻohe oʻu kākoʻo aku i ia pila, no ka mea, he alahele hāiki kā ia. ʻĀpono ʻia paha ko kākou kūkulu ʻana i aupuni hou no kākou, akā, na ko ʻAmelika ala e kuhikuhi mai i ke ʻano o ia alahele a he mana hoʻi ko lākou e ʻāpono mai i ia alahele.

Ma ke kānāwai, hōʻoia ʻia ko kākou ʻae ʻole ʻana i ka hoʻokahuli ʻia o ko kākou aupuni a no laila, hōʻoia ʻia ko kākou ʻano he lāhui kūʻokoʻa, akā, ʻaʻole ia he mea hou, ʻoiai, ʻāpono ʻia ia manaʻo ma kekahi mau kānāwai ma mua. Eia kekahi, ʻae ʻia ke kūkākūkā ʻana o ke aupuni hou me ke aupuni ʻo ʻAmelika a me ka moku ʻāina nō hoʻi no ka uku ʻana no ka ʻāina i kāʻili ʻia e lāua ala. ʻAʻole nō ʻae ʻia ka hoʻihoʻi ʻia mai o ia ʻāina. ʻAe wale ʻia ke kūkākūkā ʻana no ia hoʻihoʻi ʻana a ʻae ʻia ka ʻimi ʻana i ala hele e ʻaelike ai. Akā, ua paʻa ʻē ia koina ma ke kānāwai e kū nei, no laila, ʻaʻole nō hoʻi ia he mea hou.

No ia mau kumu, ʻaʻohe oʻu ʻike i ka waiwai o ia pila no kākou. He waiwai paha no ʻAmelika, ʻoiai, hoʻomana ʻia lākou e ʻāpono i ko kākou aupuni e kūkulu ai. Akā, eia nō kekahi pilikia hou aku o ia pila a me ka poʻe nāna e koho a koho ʻole paha, ʻo ka hapanui, ʻaʻohe o lākou pili iā Hawaiʻi, akā, iā lākou ka mana koho. Eia kekahi, a he hōʻailona no ia no ke ʻano o kēia hana ʻana, no ka mea, ʻaʻohe nō o lākou nānā iki mai i ko kākou manaʻo, a ʻaʻohe hoʻi o kākou leo i mana maoli ma nei hana ʻana. ʻAʻole au e ʻōlelo ana a manaʻo ana hoʻi, ʻaʻohe o kākou leo, akā, no ka ʻāpono me ka ʻāpono ʻole ʻia o ka pila, ʻaʻohe o kākou leo e lawa ana kona mana, ʻoiai, ʻaʻohe o kākou mana koho ma ia ʻAhaʻōlelo. A inā pēlā, pehea lā e kūkulu ʻia ai he aupuni kūʻokoa?

I kēia manawa, ua ʻāpono ʻia aku ka pila e ka ʻAha Luna Makaʻāinana a kau ʻia aku nei hoʻi ka pila ma ka papa manawa no ka ʻAha Kenekoa a e

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kama'ilio 'ia ana ma nā kōmike ma laila. He 'āpono 'ia mai paha, 'a'ole paha, akā, wahi a ka Pelekikena o 'Amelika, 'o Keoki Buki ho'i, he mana'o kū'ē kona, a 'a'ole loa 'o ia e pūlima aku ana i ka pila, inā hiki aku nō i ona lā. No ka mea, wahi āna a me kona papa alaka'i, he mea ho'okae 'ili ka pila a he mea ia e ho'omana aku i kekahi hui kanaka ma o ko lākou 'ili.[13]

Auē ka pilikia ē, no ka mea, me he mea lā, 'o kekahi kumu o ia pila, 'o ia nō ka hō'oia 'ana, 'a'ole wale nō ka Lāhui Hawai'i he hui kanaka i pili ma ka 'ili a me ke koko. Pili ho'i ma ke kūlana he lāhui kū'oko'a kākou a he pili ho'i ma ke 'ano he 'āina kū'oko'a ko kākou. Akā, 'o ka pilikia nui ke kuhi hewa 'ana o kekahi o ko 'Amelika i ke 'ano o kākou, ka Lāhui Hawai'i. E kuhi hewa ana lākou, he 'ili a he koko wale nō kākou, akā, he mana'o hāiki nō ia, no ka mea, e like me ka mea i ho'ākāka 'ia i loko o nei palapala, 'a'ole nō pēlā ko kākou ho'omaopopo 'ana i ko kākou 'ano iho. Wahi a J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, ua pilikia ihola ka Lāhui Hawai'i ma muli o kēia ho'ohāiki 'ana, no ka mea, na 'Amelika nō i kapa mai i ka Lāhui Hawai'i no ko kākou koko a no ka nui o ia koko, e like me kā lākou i hana ai ma ke Kānāwai no ka 'Āina Ho'opulapula. Akā, i kēia manawa, ho'āhewa 'ia mai ho'i kākou no ko kākou ho'ā'o 'ana e hana i kekahi mau mea no ka Lāhui Hawai'i. I kēia manawa, i ko kākou ho'ā'o 'ana e na'i aku i ka pono o ko kākou 'āina, kapa 'ia mai kākou he ho'okae 'ili, akā, he aloha lāhui wale nō ia a he aloha 'āina ho'i.[14]

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[13] Na ke Ke'ena Mana Ho'okō o ka Pelekikena o 'Amelika Huipū'ia, "Statement of Administrative Policy," 22 'Okakopa 2007.

[14] Kauanui, J. Kēhaulani, 2002. Penei kā Kauanui i hoākāka mai ai, "The recurring use of blood logics with their implicit reference to race served to undermine Hawaiian entitlements in the Rice v. Cayetano decision. Blood quanta classifications have consistently been used to enact, substantiate, and then disguise the further appropriation of native lands while they obscure and erase a discourse of specifically Hawaiian sovereignty and identity as a relation of genealogy to place. The definition of Hawaiian identity, on the basis of blood logics was an American conception, a colonial policy developed through experience with American Indians. This policy presupposed long-term patterns of assimilation. Moreover, these blood logics work to displace a discourse and recognition of Hawaiian sovereignty altogether." Wahi āna, he mea kū'ē'ē nō kēia no ka Lāhui Hawai'i. Penei kāna, "This place is contradictory because it relies on racialized

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Ma muli o kēia mau kānāwai a me kēia ho'opi'i nui 'ia 'ana o nā pono Hawai'i, he mea nui ka ho'omaopopo 'ana i ke 'ano o ka Lāhui Hawai'i. Makemake au e mana kākou, ka Lāhui Hawai'i, i kēia ho'ākāka 'ana i ke 'ano o ko kākou lāhui kanaka. Ke lana nei ko'u mana'o, he kōkua nā mea i noi'i 'ia a wehewehe 'ia ma loko o nei palapala no ko kākou ho'omaopopo 'ana aku i ko kākou 'ano iho. Ma kēia noi'i 'ana, ua kālele 'ia aku nō ka 'ōlelo Hawai'i, i ho'omaopopo 'ia ka mana'o o nā kūpuna a i lohe 'ia nō ho'i ka leo o nā kūpuna.

Maopopo ihola ia'u, 'o ke 'ano mana'o o nā kūpuna, nā mea a lākou i mana'o ai he mea nui; 'o ko kākou kahua nō ia. Ma laila nō e ho'omaka ai ko kākou ho'omaopopo 'ana i ko lākou mana'o no ko lākou wā a me ko lākou 'ano iho. Ma ka hahai 'ana i ko lākou pono i kuhikuhi maila, pēlā nō kākou e na'i aku ai i ko kākou pono.

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identity imposed through a blood quantum criterion, yet when these mechanics are applied in the interest of Hawaiian body-politics, they are alleged to be racially discriminatory."

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Notes

28-2 na ke mele i malama i ke kuokoa o ka lahui hawaii ma ka auna lahui o ka honua nei.

42-2 does this nīnau have anything to do w. listening / hearing?

44-1 id only?