

KA LĀHUI HAWAI‘I: HE MO‘OLELO, HE ‘ĀINA, HE LOINA, A HE EA KĀKOU

Leilani Basham

He mo‘okū‘auhau, he mo‘olelo, a he mele ka Lāhui Hawai‘i. He loina a he ‘ōlelo ho‘i kākou, a he kū‘oko‘a kekahi. Ma nā wahi like ‘ole, e la‘a me ka ‘aha‘ōlelo a me ka ‘aha ho‘okolokolo nō ho‘i, ho‘ākāka ‘ia, wehewehe ‘ia, a ho‘oholo ‘ia ho‘i ke ‘ano o ka Lāhui Hawai‘i; ‘a‘ole na‘e na nā pulapula o ka Lāhui Hawai‘i ia ho‘oholo ‘ana, no ha‘i nō ia. I kekahi manawa, na ka Luna Ho‘okolokolo e ho‘oholo a i kekahi manawa, na nā kenekoa me nā luna maka‘āinana o ka ‘Aha‘ōlelo e ho‘oholo. I kekahi manawa ma ia mau wahi, kuhi ‘ia ke “koko” no ka ho‘omaopopo ‘ana i ka lāhui, a kapa ‘ia nā papahana no nā keiki o ka Lāhui Hawai‘i he mea ho‘okae ‘ili. ‘Okō‘a na‘e ko ka Lāhui Hawai‘i wehewehe a ho‘omaopopo ‘ana mai i ko kākou ‘ano iho. Ma nei mo‘olelo, wehewehe ‘ia ke ‘ano o ka Lāhui Hawai‘i i ka mana‘o a me ka ‘ōlelo o nā kūpuna. He mea nui ia mau mana‘o i ke au nei a he kahua ho‘i ia mau mana‘o no ko kākou wehewehe ‘ana i ko kākou ‘ano iho.

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This article explores the historical genealogy of the people known as the “Lāhui Hawai‘i,” its meaning, and its composition. The author, using Hawaiian-language sources almost exclusively, explicates the ways and manners by which the Lāhui Hawai‘i described and defined itself. These definitions of the lāhui include our mo‘okū‘auhau (genealogies), mo‘olelo (histories, stories), mele (songs, chants, poetry), as well as ‘āina (land), loina (cultural practices), and ea (political independence, life, breath). Ultimately, the author contends that it is not that the lāhui possesses these things, but that we are these things—we are our genealogies, our songs, our land, our cultural practices, and our political independence. In this modern era, our identity is being questioned and defined in both courtroom and legislative contexts, so these framings and definitions of the Lāhui Hawai‘i are vitally important to our understandings of who we are as a people. An English-language summary is provided at the end of the article.

*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 Palena¹*

—Kekoaoihiwaikalani “He Wehi no ka Lahui” (1893)

*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*

—Kala “He Wehi no ka Lahui” (1893)

Ua haku ‘ia nā lālani mele o luna a‘e nei i ka makahiki 1893 ma hope o ka ho‘okahuli ‘ia ‘ana o ke Aupuni Hawai‘i. I ia wā nō i loli loa ai ke kulanā o ka Lāhui Hawai‘i a me ke Aupuni Hawai‘i. I nā makahiki ma mua iho nei o ka Ho‘okahuli Aupuni, ua nui hou aku nā mea i loli no ka Lāhui Hawai‘i—no ka ‘āina, no ka ho‘omana Akua, no ke ‘ano o ke aupuni, a me ka nohona o kānaka. Ma kēia mau lālani mele na‘e, mele ‘ia mai no ka Lāhui Hawai‘i ma ke ‘ano e pono ai ka lāhui me nā mea nui ko‘iko‘i no ka lāhui. Mele ‘ia mai no ko kākou pilina i ka ‘āina, ‘oia, ‘o kākou nō ke ēwe hānau o ka ‘āina. Mele ‘ia mai ho‘i no ka mo‘okū‘auhau o ka lāhui ma ke kāhea ‘ana i nā inoa o ka ‘Ī, ka Mahi, me ka Palena. Mele pū ‘ia mai no ke ea o Hawai‘i nei kekahi, a ‘o ia ea, kapa ‘ia maila he ēwe aloha no nā kūpuna.

I ke au nei, he mea nui ko kākou ho‘omaopopo pono ‘ana i ka mana‘o o nā kūpuna no ka Lāhui Hawai‘i, no ka mea, ma nā wahi like ‘ole, e la‘a me ka ‘aha‘ōlelo a me ka ‘aha ho‘okolokolo nō ho‘i, ke ho‘ākāka ‘ia nei, ke wehewehe ‘ia nei, a ke ho‘oholo ‘ia nei nō ho‘i ke ‘ano o ka Lāhui Hawai‘i. ‘A‘ole na‘e na kākou, nā pulapula o ka Lāhui Hawai‘i, ia ho‘oholo ‘ana; na ha‘i nō ia. I kekahi manawa, na ka Luna Ho‘okolokolo e ho‘oholo a i kekahi manawa, na nā kenekoa me nā luna maka‘āinana o ka ‘Aha‘ōlelo e ho‘oholo. I kekahi manawa ma ia mau wahi, kuhi ‘ia ke “koko” no ka ho‘omaopopo ‘ana i ka lāhui (*Kānāwai ‘Āina Ho‘opulapula*, 1920), a i kekahi manawa, ho‘opi‘i ‘ia nā papahana no nā pulapula o ka Lāhui Hawai‘i me ke kuhikuhi ‘ana, he mea ho‘okae ‘ili nō ia (*Rice kū‘ē iā Cayetano, John Doe kū‘ē iā Kamehameha Schools*). Ma ke Kānāwai Ho‘ona‘auao Kānaka Hawai‘i, ho‘ākāka ‘ia

nō, ‘a’ole mālama ‘ia nā papahana o ia kânāwai ma muli o ka ‘ili a me ke koko o ke kanaka. Wahi a ia kânāwai, ma muli ho‘i o ka mo‘olelo o ka lāhui a me kona ‘ano kū‘oko‘a i ka wā ma mua. No‘u iho, mea ‘ole ka mana‘o o kēia po‘e no waho ala, inā ma ka ‘aha‘ōlelo a me ka ‘aha ho‘okolokolo paha. No‘u iho, makemake nō au e ho‘omaopopo i ke ‘ano o ko ka Lāhui Hawai‘i wehewehe a ho‘omaopopo ‘ana mai i ko kākou ‘ano iho. Ma nei mo‘olelo, wehewehe ‘ia ke ‘ano o ka Lāhui Hawai‘i i ka mana‘o a me ka mo‘olelo o nā kūpuna. He mea nui ia mau mana‘o i ke au nei, ‘oia he kahua ho‘i ia mau mana‘o no ko kākou wehewehe ‘ana i ko kākou ‘ano iho.

E wehewehe mua ‘ia ana ka mana‘o o ka hua ‘ōlelo “lāhui,” a laila, e ho‘ākāka ‘ia ana ke ‘ano o ka mo‘olelo ‘ana mai o kekahi mau mea kākau no ka lāhui. Wehewehe ‘ia mai ka lāhui ma o ka ho‘ākāka ‘ana i ka mo‘olelo, ka mo‘okū‘auhau, a me ka ‘āina o ka Lāhui Hawai‘i. He mea nui nō ho‘i ka loina a me ka ‘ōlelo i ka ho‘omaopopo ‘ana i ke ‘ano o ka Lāhui Hawai‘i, a pēlā pū ia mea he ea a he kū‘oko‘a no ka Lāhui Hawai‘i.

HE AHA IA MEA HE LĀHUI HAWAI‘I?

Wahi a ka puke wehewehe ‘ōlelo a Andrews a me ka puke wehewehe ‘ōlelo a Pukui me Elbert, ua pili nō ka mana‘o o “lāhui” i ka “lā” e “hui” ai kekahi hui kanaka (Andrews 2003, 327; Pukui & Elbert 1986, 190). He mea nō ia e pili ana i ka manawa, ka “lā” ho‘i, e hui ai, no ka mea, ‘o ka lāhui, he mea nō ia e loli ana i ka hala ‘ana o ka manawa. Wehewehe pū mai ‘o Andrews me Pukui mā no ia mea he “lāhui kanaka,” me ka mana‘o, he huina kanaka nō kēia ma lalo o ka malu o kekahi Ali‘i a Mō‘i paha i ‘oko‘a me ka huina kanaka e ho‘omalua ‘ia ana e kekahi Ali‘i a Mō‘i hou aku (Andrews 2003; Pukui & Elbert 1986). No laila, e ‘oko‘a ana nō ia mea he lāhui i ke au kahiko. ‘Oko‘a ho‘i ia i ka wā i na‘i ai ‘o Kamehameha i ka pae ‘āina. ‘Oko‘a ia i ka wā i ho‘okumu ‘ia ai ke kumukānāwai o ke Aupuni Hawai‘i. Ma loko o ka nūpepa ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i ma waena o ka makahiki 1861 a me ka makahiki 1900, ua lilo ka Lāhui Hawai‘i i mea e wehewehe ai, e mo‘olelo ai, a e ho‘oia ai.

HE MO'OLELO, HE MO'OKŪ'AUHAU, A HE MELE KA LĀHUI

No ka ho'omaopopo pono 'ana mai i ka Lāhui Hawai'i, he pono ka nānā 'ana aku i kona wehewehe 'ia 'ana mai ma ka mo'olelo, ka mo'okū'auhau, a me ke mele nō ho'i. Wahi a ka mea kākau a me ka luna ho'oponopono nūpepa 'o Joseph M. Poepoe (1906),

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.

Wahi a Poepoe, 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 kā 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 ko lākou ola 'ana. E ho'ā'o ana nō ho'i ka po'e o ka Lāhui Hawai'i e hō'ike 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 ka wehewehe 'ana o ka mea pa'a mo'olelo 'o Davida Malo (1987) i ka pilina o ka mo'okū'auhau me ka lāhui kanaka o Hawai'i nei: "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” (4). ‘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 ma ka nūpepa o ka makahiki 1861. Wahi āna, ma kāna mo‘olelo i kapa ‘ia ‘o “O ke kumu mua o ko Hawaii nei kanaka” ma loko o ka nūpepa ‘o *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, hō‘ike ‘ia ke kumu mua o nā kānaka o ka Lāhui Hawai‘i a ‘o ia kumu, pili ho‘i ia i nā Akua. Wahi a Kalimahauna, he wahine ke kanaka mua loa, ‘o La‘ila‘i kona inoa, a ua moe pū ‘o ia me ke Akua ‘o Kealiiwahilani. ‘O kā lāua keiki a mo‘opuna, ‘o ia ho‘i ‘o Ololo, Kahiko, Kupulanakehau, Wākea, me Haumea. Wahi a Kalimahauna, “O keia poe wale no ke kumu mua o ko Hawaii nei lahui a pau.” No laila, e like me kā Poepoe i kākau ai ma kāna mo‘olelo, no Kalimahauna, ‘ike ‘ia ka Lāhui Hawai‘i ma o kona mo‘okū‘auhau.

Pēlā pū ka mana‘o o Kamakau i kākau ai no ka pilina o ka lāhui ma o ka mo‘okū‘auhau o nā kānaka:

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 hooulu lahuikanaka 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. (1865a)

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 kapa ‘ia ko Pele ‘ohana he lāhui. I ko Bush me Pa‘aluhi ho‘olauna mua ‘ana mai i ka ‘ohana o Pele, penei i kākau ‘ia 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.

Ma kēia ho'olauna 'ana mai i ko Pele 'ohana, kapa 'ia 'o Pele 'o ia nō "ke alii a pau o keia ohana," a kapa 'ia kona 'ohana a me ka po'e 'ē a'e ma lalo o kona malu he "lahui." No ko lākou kūlana he malihini i Hawai'i, a no ka mana nui o Pele, ma ke 'ano he Ali'i no kona po'e kānaka, he lāhui kū'oko'a nō lākou.

'Ike 'ia nō ho'i he mau lāhui 'oko'a ma ko Hawai'i mo'olelo, a e like me ko Pele lāhui ma kekahi 'ano, pili kēia mau lāhui i ke Ali'i Nui a me ka Mō'i paha nāna e noho ali'i 'ai moku ana, e la'a me kēia mea i wehewehe 'ia mai e pili ana iā Kalaunuiohua me kona 'ohana me kāna po'e 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, loa hou mai na kupuna alii. Maloko o Hukulani, loa mai ka lahui i kapaia he Mahi, me kekahi poe alii e ae. (Kamakau 1865e)

Ma ka paukū mua o luna a'e nei, mo'olelo 'ia mai no ko Kuaiwa mo'okū'auhau a no ke 'ano o ko kona makua kāne noho Ali'i Nui 'ana. 'O Kalaunuiohua kona makua kāne a he ali'i kaua nō 'o ia i kona ho'ā'o 'ana e na'i aku i nā mokupuni a pau o ka pae 'āina o Hawai'i nei. A, ma ka paukū 'elua, 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 (Fornander 1996, 127). Eia nō na'e, 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'omalua ana i ia 'ohana a me ia po'e.

Eia kekahi la'ana hou aku no ka lāhui i ho'okumu 'ia a i ho'oulu 'ia ho'i ma ka mo'okū'auhau o kekahi 'ohana. Ma ke mele 'o "He inoa no Kauikeaouli, i Ili mai iaia mai ka Poe Kahiko mai" (e nānā i ka Pāku'ina A), no ka Mō'i Kauikeaouli, 'o ia ho'i 'o Kamehameha III, ua ho'ohanohano 'ia nō nā inoa o kekahi o nā kūpuna o Kauikeaouli.² 'O 'Umi kekahi (3), a pēlā pū 'o Keaweikekahiali'iokalani, 'o ia ho'i 'o Keaweikekahiali'iokamoku (7), a ma lalo iho, hea 'ia aku nō ho'i ka inoa 'o Keakealaniwahine (14). He mau Mō'i 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" (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'i nō ho'i 'o ia no Hawai'i. 'O ko Keakealaniwahine makua kāne, 'o ia nō 'o Iwikauikaua, he keiki kāne 'o ia na Makakuali'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 kāna kāne, 'o ia ho'i 'o Kanaloaikaiwilewa, no laila, he kūlana ki'eki'e nō ho'i kona (Fornander 1985, 127–129).

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" (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'i 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. 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 mo'okū'auhau 'o ka mea ho'okahi e 'ike 'ia ai ka Lāhui Hawai'i—'o ka loina nō ho'i kekahi 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, 'a'ole i pili ka wehewehena i ka mo'okū'auhau. Pili nō na'e i ka loina o kānaka, 'o ia nō ka hana a 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. Ma ka lā 8 o 'Aukake i ka makahiki 1868, ua kākau maila 'o Samuel Mānaiakalani 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 hoolilo aku i mau aikane, i mau punahele, i mau halekipa, i mau hoaloha. 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 ka nui, a i ole ia ma ka hoopiiia ma ke Kanawai i ke poho. Aole no pela i ka wa kahiko; ua aoia ko keia wa i ka piepiele. (1868e)

Ma kēia paukū, ua wehewehe mai nō ‘o Kamakau i ke ‘ano ho‘ālohaloha o ka Lāhui Hawai‘i ma ka hānai ‘ana aku i ke keiki a me ka ho‘okipa ‘ana aku i ka ‘ohana a me nā hoa paha me kahi e hi‘olani ai ko lākou po‘o a me wahi ‘ai a i‘a e pā‘ina ai. Ma ka hopena, mo‘olelo mai ‘o ia no ka loli ‘ana o ia ‘ano ma muli o ka piepiele e a‘o ‘ia mai ana i nā kānaka. He mea nui nō ho‘i ke ‘ano ‘olu‘olu o ka Lāhui Hawai‘i iā Kamakau. Eia nō kāna mea i kākau ai:

He Lāhui aloha kuu Lāhui, mai na‘lii a ka poe koikoi, a hala aku i na makaainana ke aloha. He Lāhui 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 ululāau a me na waokele o ka uka lipolipo, e waipahe huihui ana i ka manawa. (Kamakau 1868e)

Ma kēia paukū, ‘o ke aloha a me ka ‘olu‘olu o ka Lāhui ka mea nui, ke ‘ano ‘olu‘olu o ka na‘au a me ke ‘ano ‘olu‘olu o ka leo. Ma kekahi paukū ma lalo iho, ho‘ākāka mai ‘o Kamakau i kekahi mea i mahalo ‘ole ‘ia e kēia Lāhui:

He Lāhui hilahila i ka mahaai, 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 kamaio, i ka lele-e, i ka holoholo, i ka pakaulei, i ka pakauaaka. He Lāhui nohonohea kuu lāhui, noho malie, akahēle, akahai, luli ole ka pua mauu....O ka lokomaikai paha ia, o ka puua 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 wal[e] no kahi hanu wahi a ka olelo. He oleloao keia a na kupuna. (1868e)

Ho‘omaka ka māhele o luna nei me nā mea i mahalo ‘ole ‘ia e ka Lāhui. ‘O ka maha‘oi kekahi a ‘o ka hele kauhale kekahi, a pēlā pū kekahi mau ‘ano maika‘i ‘ole. A laila, ho‘omaka hou ‘o Kamakau e helu papa i nā ‘ano maika‘i o kona Lāhui, e la‘a me ka nohonohea 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 i 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 kākānaka:

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. (1868e)

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 mana‘o o Kamakau, 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. No ka Lāhui Hawai‘i, ‘a‘ole mahalo ‘ia ka no‘ono‘o ‘ana o ke kanaka nona iho wale nō. He pono ka no‘ono‘o pū ana no ka pono o kona hoa launa. Akā, i ka launa ‘ana me ka po‘e haole no 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.

He mea nui ko‘iko‘i ko Kamakau ho‘opili ‘ana i kēia ‘ano maha‘oi i ke a‘o ‘ana mai o nā kākānaka i ka ‘ōlelo haole a me ke ‘ano o ka po‘e haole. He mea nui nō ka ‘ōlelo i ka loina o kākānaka, 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 nui ka paipai ‘ia ‘ana o 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 kākānaka o nei mo‘olelo. Ua hō‘ike ‘ia mai nō na‘e kona mana‘o kū‘ē no ke ‘ano o ka ho‘ona‘auao ‘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:

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 pono, 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 kakou 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. (“Ua oleloia” 1864)

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 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 kā kākou ‘ōlelo.

‘Ike ‘ia nō kēia ‘ano pilina o ka ‘ōlelo i ka lōina 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 loko o “Ka Moolelo no Na 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 a‘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 lōina 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 kuhi hewa ‘ana mai, he lāhui na‘aupō ka Lāhui Hawai‘i, a he na‘aupō ko lākou lōina 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.” He kūnou i ke po‘o ka hana a nā kāne me nā keiki kāne a he ho‘ālu ‘ana i ke kuli ka mea a ka wahine e hana ai. ‘Okō‘a loa kēia me ke ‘ano o “ke aloha kahiko a ka lahui Hawaii.” Penei kēia wehewehe ‘ana:

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 ilalo 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. (1868a)

Wahi a Kamakau, ua “hikiwawe loa ka ike kakau palapala” (1868a). Eia nō na‘e, ‘a‘ole nō pēlā nā loina a me nā ha‘awina a pau o ka po‘e mikionali i kaomi aku ai. ‘O ke ‘ano o ke aloha ‘ana o nā kānaka Hawai‘i ke hui pū lākou, he mea ia i mahalo ‘ole ‘ia e ka po‘e mikionali. Kūpa‘a nō na‘e nā kānaka i ia loina no kona kūlana nui a ko‘iko‘i. 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 aku. 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 ka leo a he aloha nō ho‘i ka na‘au i ka launa ‘ana me ka ‘ohana me nā hoa.

‘Okō‘a nō na‘e ka launa ‘ana mai o ka po‘e haole. Kapa ‘ia ‘o ke aloha ‘ana e Kamakau, akā, ‘a‘ohe nō aloha o ia launa ‘ana. ‘A‘ohe nō kūka‘i ‘ia ka hā a ‘a‘ohe honi o ka ihu. ‘O ka ‘oia‘i‘o, i ia manawa, ‘a‘ole nō ho‘opā aku nā kānaka kekahi i kekahi. Wahi a Kamakau, he mea hou ka lūlū lima ‘ana o kānaka, no laila, ma ke a‘o mua ‘ana, ‘a‘ohe nō ho‘opā iki aku o ka lima a ‘āpana ‘ē a‘e paha o ke kino.

He mea nui nō kēia aloha ‘ana o ka Lāhui Hawai‘i, no ka mea, ke honi aku nā kānaka, a kūka‘i ‘ia ka hā, he mea ia e ulu ai ke aloha a me ka mahalo. Pēlā pū ka ho‘opuka ‘ana aku i ke aloha mai ka waha mai, no ka mea, he mana nō ko ka ‘ōlelo, a he aloha nō ko laila. Pili nō ho‘i ke ‘ano o kēia loina Hawai‘i i ka mana‘o o ka Lāhui Hawai‘i no ka pono, no ka no‘ono‘o ‘ana i ka mea e pono ai nā kānaka a pau. No ka mea, ma muli o ke aloha, ma‘alahi ka no‘ono‘o ‘ana i ko ha‘i pono. No ka po‘e haole a ma ka loina haole o ia wā, ‘a‘ohe aloha o ia launa ‘ana, ma ka hana a me ka leo nō ho‘i, no laila, ‘oi loa aku ka ma‘alahi o ka hana piepiele, ka ‘au‘a me ka pī ‘ana ma nā hana like ‘ole ma o ka no‘ono‘o ‘ana iā ‘oe wale iho nō.

Ua mōakāka ho'i ka waiwai a me ke kŭlana ko'iko'i o ke aloha 'ana no ka Lāhui Hawai'i, no ka mea, i loko nō o ke kaomi nui 'ana o nā mikionali i ko lākou 'ano i mana'o ai he pono, 'a'ole nō i a'o mai a ho'okō nā kānaka i kēia mau ha'awina e like me ko lākou ho'okō 'ana i ka ha'awina heluhelu. Ma ke aloha 'ana, wahi a Kamakau, "aole nae he pau, ua pipili loa e like me ka mea maa i keia lahui" (1868a).

E like nō na'e me kā Kamakau, ua mau nō ke a'o 'ia 'ana o ke 'ano aloha o nā kŭpuna he ha'awina nō ia e ola mau ana nō i loko o nā pulapula o ka Lāhui Hawai'i. He mea nui ka mo'okū'auhau me ka mo'olelo no ka Lāhui Hawai'i a pēlā pū ka lolina a me ke 'ano o ka Lāhui Hawai'i. He mea nui kēia mau lolina a ua lilo ho'i i mea nui ka ho'omau 'ia 'ana o kēia mau lolina a me kēia mau 'ano o ka na'au a me ka hana i ka wā i 'ike 'ia ai ka loli nui 'ana o ka nohona a me ke 'ano o Hawai'i. I ia manawa, ua ho'omaopopo ka Lāhui i ka ha'aha'a 'ana o ko lākou kŭlana a me ke emi 'ana o ko lākou mana ma ko lākou 'āina pono'i. Ua lilo ia mau mea i hana polokika a i ala hele ho'i e 'imi ai i ka mana kŭ'okoa o ka Lāhui Hawai'i.

HE EA A HE KŪ'OKO'A KA LĀHUI

Mīnamina nō ka loa'a 'ole mai o kahi puke wehewehe 'ōlelo e wehewehe mai ana i ka mana'o o nā hua 'ōlelo Hawai'i ma ka 'ōlelo Hawai'i. He mau puke wehewehe 'ōlelo kā kākou no ka 'ōlelo Hawai'i, a mahalo nui 'ia ho'i ka maika'i o ia mau puke; eia na'e, ma ka 'ōlelo haole nō i wehewehe 'ia ai nā hua 'ōlelo. No laila, e like me ka'u i hana ai ma mua iho, e ho'ā'o ana nō kēia mea kākau nei e wehewehe i nā mea o ia mau puke wehewehe 'ōlelo ma ka 'ōlelo Hawai'i no ka mea, 'a'ole nō i like ka mana'o o ka 'ōlelo Hawai'i a me nā 'ōlelo 'ē a'e. Ke no'ono'o a wehewehe 'ia ka hua 'ōlelo ma kekahi 'ōlelo, ho'opili 'ia paha ka mana'o a me ke 'ano o ia hua 'ōlelo ma kēlā 'ōlelo 'ē, a 'oko'a paha ia me ka mana'o Hawai'i.

Wahi a ka puke, wehewehe 'ōlelo, ua pili nō ke ea me ke kŭ'oko'a 'ana mai o kekahi aupuni a lāhui paha a pili pū i ke kŭ 'ana o ka Mō'i i ka moku. Eia kekahi, pili ho'i ia hua 'ōlelo i ke ola a me ka hana o ke ola, a me ka 'uhane o ka mea ola. 'O ke ea nō ho'i ka hua 'ōlelo no ka puka 'ana mai o kekahi mea mai loko mai o ka moana, e la'a me ka mokupuni. No laila, ma o ka nānā 'ana i kēia mau mana'o like 'ole, 'ike 'ia nō ka pilina o kēia mau mea, 'o ke kŭ'oko'a me ke ola a me ka 'āina.

'Ike 'ia nō ia pilina ma ke mele ko'ihonua (e nānā i ka Pāku'ina E) na Kahakuikamoana, "he kahuna nui i ke au kahiko" (Poepoe 1906). E like me ke 'ano mau o ke mele ko'ihonua, helu papa 'ia ka loa'a 'ana mai o nā mea like 'ole o ke ao Hawai'i, e la'a me nā mokupuni me nā kānaka. Ho'omaka ia helu papa 'ana me ka hiapo o nā mokupuni, 'o ia ho'i 'o Hawai'i. Mele 'ia mai no Hawai'inuiākea, he inoa ia no ka mokupuni 'o Hawai'i, a, kohu mea lā, he inoa nō ho'i ia no ka pae 'āina holo'oko'a. Wahi a Handy me Pukui (1972, xv) ma kā lāua puke no ka nohona ma Ka'ū, Hawai'i, he kūlana ki'eki'e ko ka mokupuni 'o Hawai'i mai ke au kahiko loa mai, ma mua loa o ko Kamehameha na'i 'ana i ia aupuni. Eia kekahi, mele 'ia mai penei: "Puka mai ka moku, ka aina / Ka lalani aina o Nuumea / Ka pae aina o i kukulu o Tahiti" (3–5). 'O Hawai'inuiākea nō ia moku, ia 'āina, a me he mea lā, 'o Hawai'inuiākea nō ho'i ka inoa o ka lālani 'āina a me ka pae 'āina.

He mea nui nō ho'i ke ea ma kēia mele, 'oiai, mele 'ia mai nō ke ea ma nā lālani mua me nā lālani hope loa o ke mele. Ma nā lālani mua, penei ke mele 'ana: "Ea mai Hawaiiinuiākea / Ea mai loko, mai loko mai o ka po" (1–2). Ke no'ono'o 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 Aberahama Fornander, kekahi mea kākau mo'olelo i ho'opuka i nā puke like 'ole ma lalo o ka Hale Hō'ike'ike o Kamehameha, ua pili wale nō ia "ea" 'ana o Hawai'inuiākea i ka puka 'ana mai o nā mokupuni mai ka moana mai (1996, 11). Akā, 'a'ole paha he pono ka ho'ohāiki 'ana i ka mana'o o ia hua 'olelo ma ia 'ano ho'okahi, no ka mea, ke nānā 'ia a no'ono'o 'ia nā 'ano 'ē a'e o ke 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" (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" (12–14), a pēlā pū ke kū 'ana o "Ahukinialaa" a "Loaa Oahu, he wohi" (25; 29). No laila, ma ke 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 Hawaiiinuiākea / Ea mai loko, mai loko mai o ka po" (1–2), he hō'oiā nō ia i ka puka 'ana mai o ka mokupuni mai ka moana lipolipo mai. Hō'ike pū 'ia ka pili 'ohana o ka 'āina a me ka lāhui ma kēia mo'okū'auhau, a he hō'ike pū i ke kū'oko'a 'ana o nā mokupuni.

Ma ka hopena o ka mele, helu papa hou ‘ia mai nā moku a me nā mukupuni (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 pu me ka lanakila la” (72–73). Wahi a Fornander, pili kēia paukū hope loa a me kēia mau lālani i ko Kamehameha na‘i ‘ana i ka pae ‘āina holo‘oko‘a. No laila, he hō‘ailona hou aku nō ia no ka pilina o ke ea o ka ‘āina, ke ola maoli ‘ana o ka ‘āina ma o ka hānau ‘ana, a me ke kū‘oko‘a ‘ana.

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 ea o ke Aupuni Hawai‘i e nā Aupuni ‘ē a‘e o ka honua, nā mea ho‘i i kapa ‘ia he Mana Nui, e la‘a me Pelekāne a me Palani nō ho‘i. No ia kumu, ua kūkala ‘ia he aupuni kumukānāwai i ka makahiki 1840, ka wā a ka Mō‘i Kauikeaouli, Kamehameha III, e noho aupuni ana. Ho‘ākāka mai nō ‘o Noenoe Silva i kona mana‘o no ke ‘ano o ke aupuni i kūkala ‘ia ma Hawai‘i nei. Wahi āna, ua ‘imi nā Mō‘i 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 ala hele 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‘i³ (2004, 9).

I ka makahiki 1843, ua pilikia loa nō na‘e ke kūlana kū‘oko‘a o ke Aupuni Hawai‘i. I ka mahina ‘o Pepeluāli o ia makahiki, ua hiki mai kahi moku manuā no Pelekane, nona ka inoa ‘o H.B.M.S. *Carysfort*, ma ke awa ‘o Honolulu ma muli o ke noi a ke Kanikela. ‘O George Paulet ke 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 lii i ke Kanikela hou no Beretania ka pilikia” (“Na manuwa” 1843).

Ma nā palapala i ho‘ouna ‘ia aku i ka Mō‘i Kauikeaouli e Paulet, koi ‘ia akula ka Mō‘i e ho‘okō aku he ‘eono mau kauoha. Koikoi ‘ia ka ‘āpono koke ‘ana o ka Mō‘i i ke Kanikela Hope hou o Pelekania, ‘o ia ho‘i ‘o Mika Simpson, a koikoi ‘ia nō ho‘i ka ho‘omalua ‘ia ‘ana o ka po‘e Pelekane e noho ana ma Hawai‘i ma lalo o ka malu o nā kānāwai o Pelekania, ‘a‘ole ma ke kānāwai o Hawai‘i. A, inā ho‘opi‘i ‘ia kekahi o ia po‘e Pelekane, a ho‘okolokolo ‘ia e ke kiure, “he hapalua o lakou he poe haole Beretania ua ae ia lakou e ke Kanikela” (“No ka lilo” 1843, 98).

'A'ole nō i 'āpono iki aku ka Mō'i Kauikeaouli i ia mau mea. Hō'ole akula nō 'o ia iā Paulet ma kahi palapala i ho'ouna 'ia aku i ka lā 24 o Pepeluali, a pane koke mai 'o Paulet i ia lā ho'okahi. Wahi āna,

E hoomakaukauia ka H.B.M. Moku o Carysfort malalo iho o'u e kua 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 'Lii o keia pae aina. ("No ka lilo" 1843, 98)

A ma ka lā 25 o Pepeluali, M. H. 1843, ua kākau 'ia he palapala e ka Mō'i e ho'omaopopo aku ana iā Paulet i kāna pane. Ma ia palapala, ua pane'e aku ka Mō'i

i ka Pae Aina i kapaia ko Hawaii Pae Aina na Rt. Hon. Haku Geo. Paulet, Kapena o ko ke 'Lii Wahine o Beretania Nui a me Irelani mai keia la aku, a no keia manawa e noho nei. ("No ka lilo" 1843, 99)

Ma ua palapala nei, wehewehe mai nō ho'i ka Mō'i e pili ana no kona ho'ouna 'ana aku i mau Luna Ho'oponopono i ke aupuni 'o Pelekane i mea e ho'oponopono 'ia ai kēia hihia. Ma ka lā 26 o Iulai, ua kū mai kahi moku manuā Pelekane hou aku, 'o H.B.M.S. *Dublin* ka inoa. 'O Rear Admiral Richard Thomas "ke alii" o ia moku, a 'o ia nō ke ali'i nui no nā moku manuā a pau o Pelekania no ka Pākīpika. Ma ka lā 31 o Iulai, ua mālama 'ia he 'aha nui a ua kū mai nō 'o Thomas a kūkala aku i ka ho'ihō'i 'ia o ke ea o ke Aupuni Hawai'i i ka Mō'i Kauikeaouli. Wahi a kahi mo'olelo 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 nana'ku. ("Ka hoihoi ana" 1843)

Mo'olelo pū 'ia ma ia nūpepa penei: "Lehulehu na kanaka i akoakoa mai e nana i keia hana kupaianaha, he umi paha tausani o lakou a pau" ("Ka hoihoi" 1843, 25). Ua kū mai nō ka Mō'i ma mua o ke anaina a ha'i'ōlelo akula. Wahi āna, "Ua hoihoiia mai ka ea o ka aina ia'u i keia la, e like me ko'u manao lana mamua" ("Ka hoihoi" 1843, 26) a i ka hopena, ua ho'opuka akula 'o ia i ka puana'i, "Ua mau ke ea o ka 'āina i ka pono." Ma kāna ha'i'ōlelo 'ana, hō'ike mai ka Mō'i i kekahi mana'o ko'iko'i o ka Lāhui Hawai'i, no ka mea, 'a'ole i 'ōlelo ka Mō'i no ke ea o ke *Aupuni*, 'o ke ea nō o ka 'āina ka mea i ho'okumu hou 'ia.

A hala he mau makahiki hou aku, a ua mau ke kŭlana ko'iko'i o ke ea a me ka 'āina, eia na'e, 'a'ole nō ia he pahu hopu no nā kānaka a pau o Hawai'i nei. 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, 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 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. Ma kāna puke e pili ana i nā nūpepa o Hawai'i nei, ho'ākāka mai nō 'o Helen 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'i⁴ (1996, 54–57).

'O *Ke Au Okoa* na'e, he nūpepa kēia i ho'okumu 'ia no ka ho'olaha 'ia 'ana aku o nā kŭkala 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 Kuhina 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 S. N. Hale'ole, kekahi o nā Luna o *Ke Au Okoa*, i ka lā mua i pa'i 'ia ai ua nūpepa nei me ka 'ōlelo,

Elua wale no nupepa i paia 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 mana papau e kua 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 mana[o] o kekahi poe, e kuhi ana lakou o na kanaka o Ka Moi i hoonohoa'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. ("Ua akaka" 1865)

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 "mana'o 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 me 'Amelika mai, a me nā 'āina 'ē a pau o ka honua.

I ka makahiki 1867 me 1868, ma mua iho o ke koho pāloka 'ia 'ana aku o nā Luna Maka'āinana, na ka *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* i pa'i aku i kekahi mo'olelo e pili ana i ke koho pāloka e hiki koke mai ana. A laila, pane maila kahi kanaka nona ka inoa 'o Ko Hawaii Pono ma loko o *Ke Au Okoa*, a pēlā pū ka pane 'ana mai o kekahi mea kākau o *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*. 'O kekahi mana'o nui o ka mo'olelo mua 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 akamai a kūpono e pono ai ia hana 'ana; akā, wahi a ka nūpepa, no ka nui 'ana mai o nā waiwai i pa'a i ka po'e haole, 'o ka mea kūpono a pololei paha, 'o ia nō ke koho 'ia 'ana o ka po'e haole no ka lilo 'ana i Luna Maka'āinana. Ua kākau 'ia ho'i, 'o nā wahi a pau i loa'a ai ka po'e haole i mākaukau a kūpono no

ia hana, ‘o lākou ke koho ‘ia aku. No ke ana ‘ana i ia ‘ano mākaukau a kūpono o ka moho, aia nō i kona waiwai pa‘a a me ka po‘e ho‘i i ma‘a i ka noho ‘ana mai ma Hawai‘i nei⁵ (“The Coming Election” 1867).

Ma kēia paipai ‘ana i ke koho aku i ka po‘e haole, he kāko‘o ho‘i ia i ka hana kālepa. E hō‘ike ana ho‘i ua mea kākau ala i kona mana‘o, ‘o ka po‘e haole ka po‘e noho Luna Maka‘āinana, i hiki iā lākou ke haku i nā kānāwai e kāko‘o ana i ka hana kālepa. He hana ‘āpiki nō kēia no ka mea he hana ia e ‘oi hou aku ai ko lākou waiwai. Penei nō ka pane hou ‘ana o ka *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* me ka hō‘oia hou ‘ana ho‘i, ‘o ka po‘e waiwai, ka po‘e e ‘imi ana ho‘i i ka waiwai ma Hawai‘i nei, ‘o ia ka po‘e ‘ike i ka hana e pono ai ke kānāwai o ke Aupuni Hawai‘i⁶ (“Inflammatory” 1868). No ka *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, mea ‘ole ka ho‘ohiki a me ka ho‘ohiki ‘ole paha o ke kanaka i nā kānāwai o ke Aupuni me ka lilo ‘ana i kupa no ke Aupuni. He mea ‘ole nō ho‘i paha ka pilina i ka lāhui, no ka mea, ho‘okahi wale nō mea nui a ‘o ka waiwai i pa‘a iā ia, ‘o ia nō ia mea ho‘okahi⁷ (“The Coming Election” 1867).

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:

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 pono. A heaha la ka hewa nui o na haole, oia i uke 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 hoonauauo a kuhikuhi mai la lakou i ke ano o ka hana ana?
 (“E Hoomanao” 1867)

Pane ‘ia mai nō kēia mau mana‘o o ka *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* a me *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* e Ko Hawaii Pono i ma loko o *Ke Au Okoa*. He inoa kapakapa paha ‘o Ko Hawaii Pono 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‘i; ‘o kona Lāhui Hawai‘i pono‘i nō ia. Wahi a Ko Hawaii Pono, ‘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: “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” (1867a). Hō'ike mai nō 'o Ko Hawaii Pono 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:

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 mana'o 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. (Ko Hawaii Pono 1867a)

Ma kēia wehewehe 'ana, mōakāka le'a ka ho'omaopopo 'ana o Ko Hawaii Pono i 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. 'Okō'a ho'i ke ala hele 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 ka pākeke pono'i me ke kōkua 'ole aku a me ka no'ono'o 'ole aku iā ha'i. No ke 'ano haole na'e, 'o ke omo 'ana i ka “waiū momona” a pau o ka 'āina. 'O ka mālama 'ana i ka 'āina, he waiho wale ia i ka no'ono'o haole, wahi a ka mea kākau o *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*. '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'i; kuhi hewa 'ia he kanaka na'aupō ia, a mana'o 'ia he po'e mākaukau 'ole i ka ho'okō 'ana i ke kuleana o ke aupuni.

Nui ka inaina o Ko Hawaii Pono i kēia mana'o o *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* i mo'olelo mai ai. Wahi āna, he mea kāhāhā nō ia (1867i). A lilo nō kēia mana'o no ka na'auao a me ka na'aupō o ka Lāhui Hawai'i i mea e ho'opāpā ai i loko o ka nūpepa. Ho'opāpā 'ia no nā hana maika'i a maika'i 'ole paha o nā haole i ko lākou ho'ona'auao 'ana i ka Lāhui Hawai'i i nā mea a lākou i mana'o ai he pono.

Pane mai nō 'o *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* i kēia nīnau no ka mākaukau a me ka mākaukau 'ole paha o nā kānaka o ka Lāhui Hawai'i e alaka'i i ke aupuni. Penei nō ia nūpepa:

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. (“Ko Hawaii Ponoī” 1867)

Kohu mea lā, pono e nui palena ‘ole ka mahalo o ka Lāhui Hawai‘i i ka nui o ke kālā i ho‘olilo ‘ia no ka ho‘ona‘auao ‘ia ‘ana mai; eia na‘e, wahi a Ko Hawaii Ponoī, mahalo nui ‘ia paha ia ho‘ona‘auao ‘ia ‘ana, akā, inā ua ho‘ona‘auao ‘ia nō ka Lāhui Hawai‘i, ua lawa kona ‘ike e alaka‘i iā ia iho; ‘a‘ole nō e pono ke alaka‘i ‘ana o ka po‘e haole a me ke kapa ‘ana iā lākou, ‘o lākou ka po‘e ‘ike. Penei i pane ai ‘o Ko Hawaii Ponoī:

Ua aoia kakou i ka naauao, a ua makaukau, a ua lawa no hoi i ka ike kupono, e hiki ai ke hookele ponoī i ko kakou Aupuni, aole he pono e lilo kakou i mau haumana i na la a pau o ko kakou ola ana. (1867a)

E kū‘ē ana nō ‘o Ko Hawaii Ponoī i ka ho‘oha‘aha‘a ‘ia ‘ana aku o ka Lāhui Hawai‘i i ke kūlana pa‘a mau o ka haumana ma lalo o ka po‘e kumu, ‘o ia ho‘i ka po‘e mikionali a me ka po‘e haole, ‘oiai, ‘o lākou ka po‘e ‘ike nāna i a‘o i ke ‘ano o ko lākou nohona i ka Lāhui Hawai‘i. Akā, maopopo nō ho‘i i ka Lāhui Hawai‘i, ua ola kēia po‘e kumu ma muli o ko ka Lāhui Hawai‘i ho‘olako ‘ana i nā mea i pono ai ka po‘e mikionali i ko lākou hiki ‘ana mai. Wahi a Ko Hawaii Ponoī,

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 hooiia 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 i ko lakou aina nei. [pēia nō ka ho'ohiō 'ana ma ka nūpepa] (1867e)

He mana'o nō ho'i ko Ko Hawaii Ponoī 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 o iā lākou no ke kumu o ko lākou waiwai:

Ke haakona mai nei nae ua 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 ke 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 ponoī, e ku kakou iluna, a e hoike ia kakou iho, he poe i ike i ka malama ana i ko kakou pono iho. (1867i)

'A'ohe makemake o Ko Hawaii Ponoī e kuhi hewa kona lāhui kanaka i ka waiwai a me ka na'auao 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 ia. Maopopo ihola ka pono o ka 'āina a maopopo ho'i ka mālama 'ana i ia pono. No laila, i ka mana'o o Ko Hawaii Ponoī, 'o ka Lāhui Hawai'i nō ka po'e kūpono no ke alaka'i 'ana i ko Hawai'i lāhui ponoī. Wahi a kāna mea i kākau ai, 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 lōina Hawai'i a me ko kākou nohona Hawai'i.

I nā makahiki ma hope mai, ua mau nō kēia 'ano ho'opāpā 'ana e pili ana i nā mea e pono ai 'o Hawai'i a me ka Lāhui Hawai'i, a he mea nui nō ke ea o ka 'āina. I kēlā me kēia makahiki, mālama 'ia he lā no ka ho'ohanohano 'ana i ke ea o ka 'āina ma ka lā 31 o Iulai. Kapa 'ia ua lā nei 'o ka Lā Ho'iho'i Ea no ka mea 'o ia ka lā i ho'iho'i 'ia mai ai ke ea ma lalo o ka malu o ka Mō'i Kauikeaouli, Kamehameha III.

Ma nā makahiki mua i mālama ‘ia ai nei ho‘ohanohano ‘ana, he ho‘okahi pule nō kona lō‘ihi. Pā‘ina nui nā kānaka me ka hula a me ke oli ‘ana a ao ka pō a pō ke ao. (Ka Ahaaina 1844)

A hiki mai ka makahiki 1871, ua ‘oko‘a maila ke ‘ano o ka ho‘ohanohano ‘ana. He lā nanea ia a he lā e launa pū ai ka lehulehu, akā, ‘a‘ole nō i mālama ‘ia mai ka hana le‘ale‘a a ao ka pō e like me nā makahiki ma mua. 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 ka Lā Ho‘iho‘i Ea o ka makahiki 1871, 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 hopunaolelo, ‘Ka la i hoihoiia mai ai ke Ea o ko Hawaii Pae Aina?” (Kahalemaile 1871). 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 na 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. (1871)

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, no ka mea, ‘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.

Ma ka helu ‘ehā, hō‘ike ‘ia, ‘o ke ea o kahi moku, ‘o ia nō ka hoe uli, ‘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 no ka moku, no ke kanaka, a no kona aupuni ho‘i ka mau ‘ana o ka mana e koho i ke ala hele. He mea nui ho‘i kēia mana hoe uli 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 kāia mana e ho'okele i ke Aupuni Hawai'i me ka hoe uli 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 i ka 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 a Kahalemaile,

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 make mai, i la na 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? (1871)

A pololei maoli nō kāia mana'o o Kahalemaile. 'O ke ola a me ke ea nō kahi mea e pono ai a e ola ai ko kākou lāhui. E mau ke ea o ka 'āina i ka pono a 'ike 'ia ho'i ia ola 'ana ma ko kākou mana e alaka'i a ho'okele i ko kākou ala hele pono'i.

PĪPĪ HOLO KA'AO: E MAU NŌ KA MO'OLELO, KA 'ĀINA, KA LOINA, A ME KE EA

Pīpī Holo Ka'ao. E like me nā mo'olelo a me nā ka'ao o ko kākou kūpuna, 'a'ohe nō hopena o nei mo'olelo. 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 ka Lāhui Hawai'i. Wahi a lākou 'Amelika ala, ua lilo nā kānaka o ka Lāhui Hawai'i i mau kānaka "'Amelika." A i ko lākou mana'o, he mana ko lākou ma luna o kākou.

Ma ka ‘Aha‘ōlelo o ‘Amelika, ke kūkā kama‘ilio ‘ia nei ka “Pila Akaka” a inā holo, e kūkulu ‘ia ana he ‘ano “Aupuni Hawai‘i” ma lalo o ka malu o ‘Amelika. Nui hou aku nā pila a me nā kānāwai o ka ‘Aha‘ōlelo o ‘Amelika i ‘āpono ‘ia no ka pono a me ka pono ‘ole paha o ka Lāhui Hawai‘i.

Eia kekahi, ma nā ‘aha ho‘okolokolo like ‘ole nō ho‘i e ho‘oholo ‘ia nei nā mea pono a me nā mea pono ‘ole no ko kākou lāhui. Ma ka ‘Aha Ho‘okolokolo Nui o ‘Amelika, ho‘iho‘i ‘ia mai nei kahi hihia i ka ‘Aha Ho‘okolokolo o ka Moku‘āina ‘o Hawai‘i e pili ana i ka hiki a hiki ‘ole paha o ka Moku‘āina ‘o Hawai‘i ke kū‘ai aku i ka ‘āina o ka Lāhui Hawai‘i i kā‘ili wale ‘ia mai e ko ‘Amelika a me ka moku‘āina ho‘i. Ma ka ‘Aha‘ōlelo o ka Moku‘āina ‘o Hawai‘i, ua ho‘oholo ‘ia nō ko lākou hiki ke kū‘ai aku i ia ‘āina inā ‘āpono ‘ia e kekahi hapa nunui o ka ‘aha ‘ōlelo.

No laila, eia nō ke aupuni ‘o ‘Amelika a me ke aupuni o ka Moku‘āina ‘o Hawai‘i ke ho‘oholo aku nei i nā mea e pono ai ko kākou lāhui. A, ke ho‘oholo lākou, ‘a‘ole lākou e ho‘ā‘o ana e ho‘omaopopo i nā mea a ka lāhui e mana‘o ana he pono a he mea nui ko‘iko‘i ho‘i.

‘O ko kākou mana‘o nō ka mea nui, a he pono ho‘i ka ho‘omaopopo ‘ana a me ka hahai ‘ana i nā mea o ko kākou po‘e kūpuna i kuhi pono ai. Wahi a lākou, ‘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 o kāna ‘ōlelo. 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 ala hele pono‘i 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 ke ea o ko kākou ‘āina. E ola ana ka Lāhui Hawai‘i ma o ko kākou ‘imi ‘ana i ko kākou ala hele pono‘i e holomua ai i hiki ai iā kākou ke mālama i ko kākou ‘āina pono‘i. Pīpī holo ka‘ao.

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Leilani Basham traces her genealogy to Ko'olauloa, O'ahu, and Kekaha, Kaua'i. She completed a BA in Hawaiian studies, focusing on traditional society, an MA in history of the Pacific Islands, and a PhD in political science, focusing on indigenous politics, all at the University of Hawai'i–Mānoa. She wrote both her master's thesis and her PhD dissertation in Hawaiian on the subject of mele lāhui, nationalist poetic texts, composed and published following the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom. She is currently an assistant professor of contemporary Hawaiian studies, teaching both Hawaiian language and Hawaiian studies courses at the University of Hawai'i–West O'ahu.

NOTES

1 No nā puana'i i pa'i 'ia ma loko o nei palapala, ua hō'ike 'ia nā mea a pau e like loa me kona pa'i mua 'ia 'ana ma ka nūpepa a me ka puke paha, no laila, 'a'ohe nō 'okina a kahakō i hō'ike 'ia i ka hapanui o ka manawa, a 'oko'a ho'i ka ho'oka'awale 'ia 'ana o nā hua 'ōlelo i kekahi manawa. Inā ua mana'o 'ia, he pa'i hewa paha kahi mea ma loko o ka puana'i, ua kuhikuhi 'ia me kēia hō'ailona nei, [pn], me ka mana'o ho'i, "pēia nei" nō i pa'i 'ia ai.

2 No nā mele, pili nā kuhia i nā helu lālani.

3 Penei kā Silva 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'...Kanakanā 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."

4 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.”

5 Penei 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.”

6 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.”

7 Penei 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 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 wealth.”

SUMMARY

This article explores the historical genealogy of the term *Lāhui Hawai'i* (the Hawaiian people, nation); its meanings, definitions, and descriptions; and the way that meaning shifted over time and through the evolving contexts of Hawai'i. The article is based on one of the chapters in my dissertation that focused on understanding and explaining the meanings of several key concepts (i.e., ea, 'āina, pono, and lāhui) in Hawaiian—using Hawaiian resources and also writing in Hawaiian.

In the modern era in which Hawaiian identity is being questioned and defined in both courtroom and legislative contexts, these framings and definitions of the Lāhui Hawai'i are vital to our understandings of who we are as a people. To increase that understanding, in this article, I explicate the ways and manners that the Lāhui Hawai'i was described and defined using Hawaiian language sources published during the mid- to late-1800s. In the examination of the many descriptions and definitions of the Lāhui Hawai'i that were found, several central ideas and themes emerged. These include mo'okū'auhau (genealogies), mo'olelo (histories, literatures), mele (song, chant, poetry), as well as 'āina (land), loina (cultural practice), and ea (political independence, life, breath). My perspective is *not* that the lāhui possesses these things but that we are these things—we are our genealogies, our songs, our land, our cultural practices, and our political independence.

In the first section of the article, our mo'olelo, mo'okū'auhau, and mele are the focus, and the Lāhui Hawai'i is defined in terms of genealogy, history, literature, and poetry. In these examples, the Lāhui Hawai'i is described as those who share the ancient histories and poetries in which we trace our genealogies to the *Kumulipo* (creation chant) and to La'ila'i, the first woman in the *Kumulipo*. Other references highlight the use of lāhui to refer to the family of Pele and to the descendants of the Mahi family as well. In these descriptions, it becomes apparent that these connections of genealogy and history are the foundation of the Lāhui Hawai'i.

Cultural values and practices are also a common theme in descriptions and definitions of the Lāhui Hawai'i. In these references, these values and practices are often explicitly juxtaposed against haole (foreign, Euro-American, Caucasian) practices and values. Probably because so much change was occurring in the mid-1800s in terms of economics and resource management, there are many descriptions that speak to the cultural value of generosity practiced by the Lāhui Hawai'i in welcoming guests and sharing food and other resources. References speak to

the changing of this practice, citing the introduction of trade and bartering as the source, and blaming greed and stinginess as the foundation. Other cultural characteristics that are described as unique and therefore important to the Lāhui Hawai'i during this period also included our forms of greeting each other with aloha and affection. The Hawaiian language is also described as a vitally important aspect of the Lāhui Hawai'i and is described as essential to the identity of young Hawaiians of that time.

In the third section of the article, the relationship between the Lāhui Hawai'i and ea (life, breath, sovereignty, independence) is explored. This section looks at the use of ea to describe the creation of the Hawaiian Islands as well as an assertion of Kamehameha Pai'ea's conquering of Hawai'i island. In 1843 the importance of ea to the Hawaiian Kingdom is asserted when Kauikeaouli, Kamehameha III, asserted "Ua mau ke ea o ka 'āina i ka pono." The right of the Lāhui Hawai'i to lead its own affairs also becomes a topic of debate in the newspapers, and one writer declared that the Lāhui Hawai'i is intelligent enough to lead its own government. This section includes an analysis of a speech made in 1871 at a celebration of Lā Ho'ihō'i Ea in which the speaker described the ea of several items, asserting that while the ea of a boat is its steering paddle, the ea of the Hawaiian Islands is its independent governance.

Through these descriptions and definitions of the Lāhui Hawai'i, we gain a better understanding of who we are as the Lāhui Hawai'i. It is important that we understand and frame our identity by and from our own perspective, in and on our own terms. It is imperative that our modern identities be founded on our traditional ones—on our genealogies, our histories, our cultural practices, and our right to independence and self-governance.

PĀKU'INA A

HE INOA NO KAUIKEAOULI,
I ILI MAI IAIA MAI KA POE KAHIKO MAI.

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, 5
He pua hoomaui mae i ka la,
O Keaweikekahialiiookalani,
E kapu o—e.
He kapu no na lani hua ke mulea,
He hua lau ke mule awahia la, 10
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, 15
Hoi ia nei i lahui ai,

(Hulama 1861)

PĀKU‘INA E

KA MELE A KAHAKUIKAMOANA

1. Ea mai Hawaiiinuiakea
Ea mai loko, mai loko mai o ka po
Puka mai ka moku, ka aina
Ka lalani aina o Nuumea
Ka pae aina o i kukulu o Kahiki 5
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 10
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 15
Moe ia Walinuu o Holani
He kekea kapu no Uluhina
Hanau Kahoolawe, he lopa
6. Kiina aku Uluhina
Moku ka piko o ke kamaiki 20
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 25
 He alii mai ka nanamu,
 Mai ka ape o ka ia,
 Mai ka ale poi pu o Halehalekalani,
 Loaa Oahu, he wohi,
 He Wohi na Ahukinialaa. 30
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, 35
 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, 40
 I ka wewehi kapu a ka lanakila,
 Kulia i ka moku a Kanekalooa,
 Ka ihe laumaki i Polapola,
 Nana i mahiki Wania,
10. O Wania ke kane, 45
 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, 50
 O Niihau, o Kaula, Nihoa pau mai,
 Pa ka makuahine,
 Oili moku ole mai ma hope,

11. Na Kalani e hoolaa na moku,
Kau i luna o Nuumea, 55
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, 60
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, 65
Nana i keehi Oahu,
Nakolo na moku i ka pea,
I ka maha o Kauai, malia
Puni na aina ia Kalani,
Ia Kalanialonoapii, 70
Ke kumu alii o Haloa,
Ea mai Hawaii ka moku
Ea pu me ka lanakila la.

(Fornander 1985, 2–5)