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History Reinterpreted in Song: The Case of the Hawaiian Counterrevolution

THE 1890S WERE YEARS OF POLITICAL INSTABILITY in Hawai'i. A largely non-Hawaiian business community dominated commerce, especially in sugar, and it was primarily for the protection of their property and business interests that they wrested legislative authority from the Monarchy. Lili'uokalani's ascent to the throne in 1891, upon the death of her brother Kalākaua, marked the commencement of an earnest campaign to regain monarchical authority. Her attempt, however, to proclaim a new constitution which would have reestablished an absolute monarchy was regarded with alarm. A "Committee of Safety," with the support of United States Marines, took control of government buildings on January 17, 1893. Lili'uokalani surrendered power in the vain belief that redress for the overthrow would be forthcoming.

On Sunday, January 6, 1895, a band of Native Hawaiians loyal to the deposed Lili'uokalani attempted an armed revolt against the Provisional Government. This royalist Counterrevolution was an initiative to achieve militarily what was not forthcoming diplomatically; that is, restoration of the Monarchy. However, poor organization and haphazard execution resulted in a military fiasco.

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The Counterrevolution was a dismal affair. In the months following the January uprising, however, sympathizers were inspired to celebrate the battle and its participants in poetry. This poetry appeared in various Hawaiian language newspapers, especially in the pro-royalist *Ka Makaainana*.¹ In December of 1895, 104 of these texts were collected and published by the Makaainana Printing Co. in a book entitled *Buke Mele Lahui hoomakaukau, hoakoakoa a hooponoponoia mai na mele i hoopukaia ma ka nupepa* "*Ka Makaainana*" *a me kahi mau nupepa e ae*, or Book of National Songs prepared, collected, assembled and corrected from the songs published in the newspaper *Ka Makaainana* and other newspapers.² The purpose of this article is to explore the historical, cultural, and musical significance of the contents of the *Buke Mele Lahui*.

Since so many of the texts in the *Buke Mele Lahui* are specific to the January 6th incident, they offer an opportunity to study how one event is interpreted and made meaningful poetically. Moreover, this is a case of celebrating in poetry a specific episode for which a wealth of eyewitness accounts exists.³ The paucity of such documentation is what makes the historical content of pre-European (that is, pre-1778) oral traditions so difficult to verify when used ethnohistorically.⁴ Post-contact poetry, on the other hand, can be interpreted in light of available documentation. Put another way, traditions have been used to understand and reconstruct historical events; in this case, we can use the historical event to understand the traditions.

The content of many of the texts in the *Buke Mele Lahui* pose a paradox: despite the humiliating defeat and publicized trials of royalist participants, they were portrayed poetically as victorious warriors. And the poets repeatedly expressed optimism for regaining the Monarchy, even as Lili'uokalani's abdication following the uprising made restoration an even more remote possibility. This optimism is expressed in terms of Hawaiian cultural values and sentiments that reflect the political and socio-cultural climate of late 19th century Hawai'i from a Hawaiian perspective. Understanding those cultural values can illuminate how the poets could reinterpret the event; conversely, understanding the event can illuminate those cultural values and sentiments.

A discussion of the texts in the *Buke Mele Lahui* which examines only poetic aspects would be incomplete. I will argue that these texts are song texts; more specifically, they are songs in the *hula ku'i* tradition, a late 19th-century genre which combined Hawaiian and Western poetic, musical, and dance elements, to form the basis of modern Hawaiian hula music. Although there are neither tunes nor tune names in the *Buke Mele Lahui*, it is possible to surmise the musical performance practice of these texts, in the context of *hula ku'i* in particular, and Hawaiian music in the 1880s and 1890s in general. The *hula ku'i* tradition can then be used in turn to reveal the musical significance of these songs.

BUKE MELE LAHUI AS A HISTORICAL DOCUMENT

Before examining the historical validity of the texts in the *Buke Mele Lahui*, it is useful to review the sequence of events in early January surrounding the Counterrevolution.⁵

Diplomatic attempts by royalists to restore the Monarchy were exacerbated when the Provisional Government, formed upon the overthrow of Lili'uokalani in 1893, declared itself the Republic of Hawai'i on July 4, 1894. From a Hawaiian perspective, the change could be conceived as one mainly in name: the government was referred to as "P.G.," which poets rendered literally as "Pi Gi."⁶ The governments of the United States, Great Britain, France, and Germany formally recognized the Republic, thereby demonstrating their reluctance to acknowledge the Monarchy's claims subsequently offered by various delegations sent abroad by the deposed queen.⁷

The royalists' response to the declaration of the Republic was to begin planning the Counterrevolution. Four figures masterminded the preparations: Charles T. Gulick, businessman; Captain Samuel Nowlein, former commander of the Queen's Palace Guard; William T. Rickard, retired sugar planter, and Major William T. Seward, Civil War veteran.⁸

Richard and Seward arranged financing for arms and ammunition, and Seward personally arranged the purchase in San Francisco and shipping on the schooner *Wahlberg*, which arrived

in Hawaiian waters on December 20, 1894. Revolvers were landed on Rabbit Island off Waimānalo and brought into the city nearly two weeks later, while rifles were transferred to the inter-island steamer *Waimanalo*, which awaited final instructions off Diamond Head.

Nowlein was responsible for mustering Hawaiians and executing the actual military campaign. His original plan was to land the arms on January 3, half at Kaka'ako and the other half at the fish market *makai* (toward the sea) of Halekauwila Street between Richards and Alakea Streets. Teeming crowds along the waterfront that evening attracted the attention of Provisional Government police who broke up the gatherings.

There was some shifting of responsibilities as the alternate plan was put in motion, mainly in the last-minute decision by Robert Wilcox to join the action. Wilcox was an Italian-educated, self-styled revolutionist who in the previous decade had instigated or participated in no less than three uprisings. Although he switched allegiances from monarchists to republicans and back again,⁹ his campaigns were always in support of nationalism and self-destiny for Hawaiians. Nowlein had originally offered Wilcox the non-military role of arresting Provisional Government President Sanford B. Dole. In the confusion on January 3, Wilcox assumed for himself a more military involvement, ultimately directing the landing of the arms from the steamer *Waimanalo* at Ka'alāwai and Kāhala beaches east of Diamond Head.

Participants were recruited on January 5, literally off the streets, and sent to Ka'alāwai beach, from where a march into town would begin. The atmosphere of excitement and anticipation there was intensified by liquor, and the situation deteriorated as the men got drunk while waiting for instructions from Nowlein or Wilcox. In the meantime, Provisional Government police had arrived at the Diamond Head home of royalist Henry Bertlemann to search for the arms reported by informers to the Marshall. Gunshots were fired, and one Native policeman was fatally shot. Wilcox sent several squads to hold off P.G. reinforcements. Much ammunition was consumed on both sides before Bertlemann ordered a cease fire.

There was no alternative for the royalists except to retreat. Nowlein and Wilcox separated. Nowlein's men engaged in skirmishes with pursuing P.G. soldiers at Mau'umae near Pālolo valley. Wilcox continued on beyond Pālolo, heading into the hills back of Mānoa valley, and over the ridge into Nu'uānu valley. Nowlein surrendered on Monday, January 14, 1895, near Mānoa, and Wilcox on the following Monday, having made his way to Kalihi.

Throughout the *Buke Mele Lahui*, poets repeatedly expressed belief or hope in the eventual restoration of the Monarchy and Kingdom, as the following examples (with page and line numbers) show. Spelling in quoted material is exactly as in the original; translations are mine and follow the original.

- a. *O ka pono ia la o ka aina,
I welo hou ai Hae Kalaunu.* (6:19-20)

The righteousness of the land
Is [when] the flag of the crown will fly again.

- b. *E ola o Kalani a mau loa,
A hoi hou oe i ke Kalaunu . . .* (26-7:13-14)

May the Heavenly One [Queen] live forever,
And may you return to the crown.

- c. *Ke i mai nei na Kolukahi,
E hoi e noho i ke Kalaunu . . .* (48-9:9-10)

The Trinity has pronounced,
Return and be crowned.

- d. *E ola o Liliuokalani,
A kau hou i ka Noho Kalaunu . . .* (36-7:35-6)

May Liliuokalani live,
And sit again in the throne.

Restoration was what the royalists wanted, whether they achieved it diplomatically or militarily. Following the Counter-revolution, however, restoration was quite a remote possibility.

Not only was the Counterrevolution itself a complete military failure, but Lili'uokalani's abdication of the throne was demanded by the Provisional Government following, and as a result of, the January 6th episode. The letter of abdication, prepared by government lawyers, contains emphatic statements:

First—In order to avoid any possibility of doubt or misunderstanding on the subject, . . . I hereby do fully and unequivocally admit and declare that the Government of the Republic of Hawaii is the lawful Government of the Hawaiian Islands, and that the late Hawaiian Monarchy is finally and forever ended and no longer of any legal or actual validity, force or effect whatsoever. . . .

Second—For myself, my heirs and successors, I do hereby and without any mental reservation or modification, and fully, finally, unequivocally, irrevocably and forever abdicate, renounce and release unto the Government of the Republic of Hawaii and its legitimate successors forever, all claims or pretensions whatsoever to the late throne of Hawaii, or to the late Monarchy of Hawaii. . . .¹⁰

The subsequent arrest and imprisonment of the Queen on charges of treason further dimmed the likelihood of restoration. Reiterating royalist aspirations and political sentiments in poetic form offered a means of keeping alive beliefs in eventual restoration. Thus, the poetic texts in the *Buke Mele Lahui* were a means of reinterpreting the reality of the situation in late 1895, offering royalist sympathizers an alternative to conceding moral defeat.

Among all of the royalist participants,¹¹ Robert Wilcox was the overwhelming favorite figure for poetic veneration in the *Buke Mele Lahui*. Wilcox, well known from earlier incidents, was already the subject of a biography and the recipient of name songs composed in his honor.¹² In the *Buke Mele Lahui*, Wilcox is mentioned in at least 18 texts and named in the titles of seven.¹³ Most of those texts focus specifically on Wilcox's battle exploits in the Counterrevolution, an approach exemplified in "*Wilikoki Ke Koa Ola Hawaii*" (Wilcox the Soldier who is the Life of Hawaii).

1. *Kaulana mai nei Daimana Hila,*
2. *O ka pu raifela kani alapine;*
3. *Pane mai Wilikoki me ka nahenahe:*
4. *"Imua kakou a e na hoa. . . .*
9. *E koa oukou a e wiwo ole,*
10. *I ola Hawaii a mau loa;" . . .*

1. Famous is Diamond Head,
2. For the quick-sounding rifle shots;
3. Wilcox replies softly:
4. "Advance, comrades. . . .
9. You are fearless soldiers,
10. Such that Hawaii will live on forever. . . .¹⁴

The depiction of Wilcox as a firm, inspiring leader is one that is not accorded to Samuel Nowlein, the original military commander. In the example above, Wilcox's leadership in the Counterrevolution was extended to encompass leadership in the nation. Nowlein was outclassed and upstaged by Wilcox, and the difference between the two men was heightened further by comparing them in the texts. Poets depicted Nowlein as a coward who fled from battle. In the text "*Na Keiki Alo I Ka Ehuehu*" (Children Dodging in the Fury), the contrast is complete:

1. *Aia i ka luna Daimana Hila,*
2. *Keiki Wilikoki puuwai kila. . . .*
9. *Hookahi mea hou loheia mai*
10. *O Kamu Nolena ua auhee. . . .*

1. There at Diamond Head,
2. Wilcox, stout-hearted progeny
9. One bit of news heard,
10. Sam Nowlein fled from danger. . . .¹⁵

Although Nowlein was mentioned in at least eleven,¹⁶ only one poem appears to be dedicated to him (as opposed to seven for

Wilcox): "*Alakai Hohe Wale*" (The Very Cowardly Leader).¹⁷ Again the poet compares Nowlein unflatteringly with Wilcox:

- 21. *E kuhi ana au a he koa io,*
- 22. *O Samu Nolena e haanui nei,*
- 23. *Eia ka a he hohe wale,*
- 24. *I ke kani mai a ka pukuniahī,*
- 25. *E aho iho no a o Wilikoki,*
- 26. *O ke koa kaulana Italia. . . .*
- 21. I summon a genuine soldier,
- 22. Sam Nowlein boasts forth,
- 23. However, a coward
- 24. At the sound of cannon fire,
- 25. Wilcox is better,
- 26. The famous Italian soldier. . . .

Wilcox's flight into the mountains following the battle was spared the cowardly caricatures that poets liberally ascribed to Nowlein. The veneration bestowed upon Wilcox was partly owing to his holding out longer than Nowlein at Diamond Head before retreating, and partly to the fact that Wilcox had a reputation for exploits in other revolutionary attempts. Nowlein lacked such an image, making him a convenient scapegoat for the military debacle. Further, the longer Wilcox eluded capture, the longer people could cling to hopes that he could stage a comeback:

As long as Wilcox was out, the rebels in prison and those who were cowering in their homes could dream of a sudden reversal . . . [and] the republican forces and the civilians in the suburbs could not feel quite sure that the war was over.¹⁸

Poets glorified certain, but not all, aspects of Wilcox's participation in the January 1895 uprising. Although the battle was lost, royalists took comfort in symbols such as Wilcox and what a victory by him would have meant for the Hawaiian nation.

Reinterpretation of the event is nowhere more apparent in the *Buke Mele Lahui* than in the preoccupation with the events on Diamond Head. Certainly the military exploits captured the public imagination in a way that diplomacy could not: none of the royalist diplomats are mentioned in the texts. However, these texts narrate the battle in a typically Hawaiian manner of depicting selected aspects rather than relating entire sequences. For example, "Na Oivi Hawaii"¹⁹ mentions places involved in the January 6th incident and pursuit. Beginning in line 13, the action is placed at Kāhala, "source of the trouble" received at Ka'alāwai (line 14). The soldiers gathered atop Lē'ahi (line 16) were Wilcox's. From this point in the text, further mention of place names is without specific reference to battle events. For Pālolo (line 17) and Mānoa (line 19) valleys, there is simply poetic mention of the mist which is characteristic of the two valleys.

13. *Aia i Kahala kumu o ka hewa*

14. *Loaa i ke one Kaalawai*

15. *Oohu na kini o ia kaha*

16. *Hauwalaau ana a i Leahi*

17. *Aia i Palolo ua ohuohu*

18. *Kahiko ana hoi i ka ua noe*

19. *Ua nani Manoa i ka uhiwai*

20. *Papa olelo me Kawaikini*

13. There at Kahala, source of the trouble

14. Born on the Kaalawai sands

15. There the multitudes gather

16. Bustling at Leahi

17. Gathered at Palolo

18. Adorned by the fine rain

19. Manoa is beautiful in the mist

20. Conversing with the peak Kawaikini.²⁰

Further on in the same song, Nu'uuanu, Wilcox's last holdout, is implied through mention of Waipuhia waterfalls (line 26) and

Waolani subdivision (line 29) in Nu‘uanu valley. The progression of place names in this song traces the soldiers’ retreat from Kāhala, but with only implicit reference to the Counterrevolution.

Translations of the two texts (shown in fig. 1 and fig. 2) are given in their entirety below. They illustrate the more limited geographic scope that is more representative of the majority of the texts in the *Buke Mele Lahui* but are otherwise filled with the similar oblique poetic references to specific episodes.

The first example, “*Kupaa Oiaio Me Ka Lahui*,” opens with the Hawaiian poetic convention of identifying the subject by asking where s/he is. An interesting variation on the formula here is the use of the first person inclusive plural (*kākou*) rather than the customary poetic second person singular (*‘oe*). In line 3, the phrase “*Kahu Aupuni*” is a variant on the traditional concept of *kahu akua*, a guardian of the gods; here the Queen is called the greatest of guardians of the kingdom (*Aupuni*), alluding also to a divine right to rule. Line 7 maintains that Hawai‘i is well-known in America (Hawaiianized as “*Maleka*”). By insisting on the majesty of the Hawaiian kingdom in line 8, Hawaiians can retain their dignity despite being defeated by foreigners. The only specific battle detail is the reference to rifle smoke at Diamond Head in line 12.²¹ The matter of retreating to Mānoa is treated obliquely by suggesting that the “*ua Kuahine*” rain of that valley would be relaxing.

FIRM AND FAITHFUL WITH THE NATION

1. Where are we, o nation,
2. Believing firmly in Liliu[oka]lani,
3. The greatest of all rulers,
4. The Queen, adorned with love,
5. The Queen loves the land,
6. The speech stands proudly,

FIG. 1. “*Kupaa Oiaio Me Ka Lahui*,” in *Buke Mele Lahui* (1895). (George Bacon photo; HMCS.)

NA KEIKI ALO I KA EHUEHU.

Aia i ka luna Daimana Hila,
Keiki Wilikoki puuwai kila,
Oiai makou e walea ana,
Kani ana ka pio hone i ke kula,

Me he le no a e i mai ana,
Aia Kaala i Maunaloa,
Hooana ka elele i Kaimuki,
E i ae o Eleu a hiki mai,
Hookahi mea hou loheia mai,
O Kamua Nolenia ua auhee,
Ui aku, ui mai, ui na hoa,
Mahea kakou e naue ai,

Kuhikuhi na lima i ke kuahiwi,
Maanei e ke ala hiki aku ai,
Alawa iho au o na hoa,
Kohu ana manu ke kokolo like,
I ahona i ka hua o ke kuawa,
Me na hua lanatena kau i ka

waha,

Mukiki wai o ke kehau,
Ia wai lilelile i kuu maka,
A hiki makou a i Palolo,
E hui e luana me na hoa.

Aloha na hou alo o ke anu,
Na hou o ka uka leo o ka manu,
Haina ka puana la e o mai,
Na keiki Hawaii alo ehuehu.

HENRY ENOKA.

KUPAA OIAIO ME KA LAHUI.

Auhea kakou e ka lahui,
Kupaa ka manao me Liliulani,
O ka heke o na Kabu Aupuni,
Ke Kuini kahikoia la e ke aloha,
E aloha i ke Alii me ka aina,
O ka huaolelo la e kaulana nei,
Kui aku e ka lono lohe o Maleka,
Eia Hawaii i ka ehuehu,

Aia i ka luna o Daimana Hila,
Ke aloha aina e hoolulu nei,

Aia i ka uka o Laeahi,
Ka uwahi noe o ka pu raifela,

Ua kau e ka weli i na puakea,
Ke aloha aina la o Hawaii nei,

Ua ka Ua Kuahine o Manoa,
I kono mai ia'u e naue aku,

Ike i ka nani la o ia uka,
 Kabikoia e ka ubiwai.
 Haina ka puana la e o mai,
 No ka poe i aloha i ka aina.

W. OLEPAU.

HOOLULU KE ALOHA AINA.

Aia i ka luna o Daimana Hila,
 Ke aloha aina e hoolulu nei.
 E kilohi iho au o Kaimuki,
 Ka uwahi noe o ka pu raifela,
 Ilaila makou i ike iho ai,
 I ka hana lokoino a ka hookele,
 Wikiwiki ko waha i ka olelo,
 He aloha aina ko'u puuwai,
 Eia ka oe a he muhee,
 A he loli makapaa no ka moana,
 Hookabi mea nui i ka lahui,
 Ke aloha aina e hoolulu nei,
 Aia i ka hale hooluhi kino;
 Na opuu rose a o Hawaii,
 E ola Hawaii a mau loa,
 A kau i ke ao malamalama;
 Hainaia mai ana ka puana,
 Ke aloha aina e hoolulu nei.

D. K. KAUMIUMI.

KE ALOHA I KA PUUWAI.

A Laeahi au ike i ka nani,
 Ke kua kuloko a ka lahui,
 Ua hui lokahi na puuwai,
 E imi i ka pono o ka aina,
 Ke hea mai nei Kaukaopua,
 E pili au me Daimana Hila,
 A ka lihikai au i Kaalawai,
 Ke aloha aina e luana nei;
 He aloha ka makani a he Ukiu,
 Ka makani halibali lau kukui,
 Ua kuhi au la ua lokahi,
 Hookahi puuwai o ka lanakila,
 Ua sila iho au i ko'u manao,
 He aloha kupaa i ka aina,
 He aloha au la i kuu Moi,
 Meka Hae Kalaunu o Hawaii nei;
 Hainaia mai ana ka puana,
 No ka poe i aloha i ka aina.

J. K. KAMALI.

ALOALO EHUEHU POKA.

Aia i ka piko o Daimana Hila,
 Ilaila na pua i walea ai,
 Hooheho ae ana me ka uwila,
 Ike i ka nani a o Kaalawai,

7. The message travels, and America hears,
8. Here is Hawaii in turmoil,
9. There above at Diamond Head,
10. Those who love the land gather,
11. There above at Laeahi,
12. The clouds of smoke from the rifles,
13. Fear settles on the white clouds,
14. Those who love the land of Hawaii
15. The Ua Kuahine rain of Manoa falls,
16. Inviting me to rest there,
17. See the beauty of that upland,
18. Adorned by the mist.
19. The story is told, answer forth,
20. Of the people who love the land.

The second example, "*Ke Aloha I Ka Puuwai*," focuses more on the battle itself, but again it is done poetically. Action is placed in this song by citing three specific places in the Diamond Head area: Lae'ahi (line 1), "Daimana Hila" (line 6), and Ka'alāwai (line 7), the beach on the eastern flank where the royalist soldiers congregated. Lines 9-10 contain poetic euphemisms: the chilly wind represents the enemy, *kūkui* leaves tossed about represent the royalist soldiers under siege. Nowhere is the direct implication that they were defeated; line 12, on the contrary, refers to unity of heart (*hookahi puuwai*) in victory (*lanakila*).

THE LOVE IN THE HEART

1. At Laeahi I see the beauty,
2. The domestic battle of the nation,
3. The hearts are united,

FIG. 2. "*Ke Aloha Ka Puuwai*," in *Buke Mele Lahui* (1895). (George Bacon photo; HMCS.)

4. Seeking the righteousness of the land,
5. Kaukaopua calls forth,
6. I go to Diamond Head,
7. I am at the water's edge at Kaalawai,
8. Those who love the land enjoy the surroundings,
9. The wind is welcome, the chilly north wind,
10. That tosses kukui leaves about,
11. I would have believed
12. [We were] of one heart, united for victory,
13. My thoughts are sealed,
14. A firm love for the land,
15. I love my Queen,
16. And the royal flag of Hawaii,
17. The story is told,
18. Of the people who love their land.

The texts discussed above are representative of others in the *Buke Mele Lahui* in following the geographic sequence of the actual battle. However, references to actual action are poetically oblique. While a prior chronological understanding of the events will render the references to places and episodes intelligible, the passages alone will render the chronology of the battle explicitly intelligible only to those who understand the poetic conventions used. The historical sense of the texts is one that is expressed through cultural means, which will be discussed more fully in the next section.

BUKE MELE LAHUI AS A CULTURAL DOCUMENT

The factual accuracy of the texts in *Buke Mele Lahui* is shrouded in poetic terms. The conventions used all have functional, thematic, and expressive origins in traditional (that is, pre-European) Hawaiian poetry. By understanding these poetic conventions, certain values, aspirations, and motivations of the royalists become apparent and comprehensible. John Charlot states this premise:

The fact that poetry has been used frequently for important occasions and purposes suggests that it has a utility thus far overlooked by historians. . . . Indeed, . . . poetry was felt . . . to

be the most congenial form for the expression of feelings and philosophy. Only by achieving some appreciation of that poetry . . . will we be able to understand the concerns and coherence of certain Hawaiian policies and tendencies.²²

Several Hawaiian values are invoked repeatedly in the texts in the *Buke Mele Lahui*: pride, love of land, and glorification of the chiefs. However, those texts show certain transformations that reflect their relevance to the circumstances of the 1890s. These values were intensified following the overthrow of the Monarchy and reintensified following the Counterrevolution. A survey of the expression of these values in the texts will illuminate how and why the royalists could keep alive their seemingly remote hopes for restoring the monarchy after diplomatic and military failures.

By the late 19th century, poetic themes fell predominantly into three traditional functional categories: *mele inoa* (name chants in honor of someone), *mele ho'oiipoipo* (topical love chants) and *mele 'āina*, also called *mele pana* (place chants which describe particular features and characteristic landmarks). The texts in the *Buke Mele Lahui* are primarily *mele inoa* and *mele 'āina*, as the circumstances of the Counterrevolution do not lend themselves to topical love poetry.

The majority of the *mele inoa* in the *Buke Mele Lahui* are dedicated to Lili'uokalani,²³ which is logical as she is the central royal figure involved in the politics of the 1890s. Secondly, *mele inoa* are dedicated to Robert Wilcox. Two different aspects of *mele inoa* are exemplified for the two recipients: those for Lili'uokalani extoll her birthright, while those for Wilcox document his accomplishments in the Counterrevolution, as opposed to his birthright.²⁴ Wilcox was of chiefly descent and entitled to *mele inoa* in his own right, but those texts in his honor in the *Buke Mele Lahui* are narrowly focused on his heroic deeds, for reasons discussed earlier.

The fact that Kalākaua and Lili'uokalani stand out among 19th century Hawaiian rulers in Hawaiian literature is due to their strong identification with national and ethnic identity; indeed, "much of the Kālakaua literature is the result of conscious decision and concerted effort."²⁵ Well-known sources of pre-1900 texts

contain numerous *mele inoa* for Kalākaua,²⁶ his wife Kapi'olani,²⁷ and his rival Queen Emma.²⁸ Thus, the *mele inoa* in the *Buke Mele Lahui* provide texts for Lili'uokalani that complement the known repertory for her contemporaries. All of the themes that are cited frequently in *mele inoa* for Kalākaua are also present in these *mele inoa* for Lili'uokalani: associating rank with metaphors of height and shining brilliance, fame in distant lands, and the chief as flower or a cherished possession.²⁹ A late 19th century usage found in the *Buke Mele Lahui* to an unprecedented degree is the invocation of the Christian God³⁰ for the Queen's spiritual guidance, for example:

- a. *E nonoi la i pono i ke Akua*

We ask God for justice (6:16)

- b. *Ua ike na kihi ao ka honua,
Me na Kahikolu Kiekie Loa;*

You see all corners of the earth,
With the most exalted Trinity (68-69:23-4)

A fascinating synthesis of Hawaiian and Christian terms and concepts is presented in "Mele Koihonua No Liliu".³¹ The title itself is of interest: the *koihonua* is a genealogical chant, used traditionally to trace one's ancestry; in this case, Lili'uokalani's coronation is divinely bestowed by the Christian God, rather than by her Hawaiian predecessors.

1. *I ke au o Liliuokalani,*
2. *Ka Moiwahine o Hawaii*
3. *I poniiia e ka Mana Kahikolu,*
4. *I Moi no ke Aupuni. . . .*

1. In the time of Liliuokalani,
2. The Queen of Hawaii
3. Crowned by the Holy Trinity
4. As monarch of the kingdom. . . .

The text continues on a litany of the wrongs committed by the foreigners from outside lands (in line 6, "*na haole o Kahiki*"), such as:

- 11. *Aihue, alunu, pakaha,*
- 12. *I ka pono ou e Hawaii. . . .*
- 11. Theft, covetous, plunder
- 12. Of your righteousness, o Hawaii. . . .

In line 25, the text recapitulates Lili'uokalani's right to rule as bestowed by heaven, and continues invoking Christian divinity. In line 26, a Christian display of humility to God is amplified by using two qualifiers (*ihiihi* and *Mana Loa*) with *Haku* (Lord). Lines 29-30 convey an omnipotence in the extent of Lili'uokalani's domain: above, below, from the uplands to the sea. Line 32 extends the concept of *Haku*, from the Christian Lord in line 26, to Lili'uokalani herself. Lines 33-5 are a series of exhortations covering the land, the people, and their ruler.

- 23. *O Liliuokalani i ke kapu,*
- 24. *Moiwahine o Hawaii,*
- 25. *Ua ponii e na Lani,*
- 26. *E ka Haku Ihiihi Mana Loa,*
- 27. *I makia no ke Aupuni,*
- 28. *I alakai no ka lahui,*
- 29. *Nou o luna, nou o lalo,*
- 30. *Nou o kai, nou o uka,*
- 31. *Aka, i hookahi mea nui,*
- 32. *O ka Haku o na Haku,*
- 33. *E ola Hawaii aina,*
- 34. *E ola Hawaii lahui,*
- 35. *E ola o Liliuokalani,*
- 36. *A kau hou i ka Noho Kalaunu.*
- 23. Liliuokalani, the sacred person,
- 24. Queen of Hawaii,

25. You are crowned by the firmament,
26. By the most sacred and powerful Lord,
27. Strive for the government,
28. Leader for the nation,
29. For you, above; for you, below,
30. For you, the seas; for you, the uplands,
31. But, the most important thing
32. O Lord of Lords,
33. May Hawaii's land live,
34. May Hawaii's nation live,
35. May Liliuokalani live,
36. And sit again in the throne.

Additional themes found in the *Buke Mele Lahui* are fame (*kaulana*), pride (*ha'aheo*), victory (*lanakila*), and love of the land (*aloha 'āina*). Examples of such sentiments appear throughout the book:

- a. *Kaulana ke aloha o ka lahui*
Kupaa ma hope o ka aina (17:1-2)
 Famous is the love of the people
 Supporting the land.
- b. *E hana ana la i ka pono,*
Ka pono kaulike nou e Hawaii (18-19:3-4)
 Working for righteousness,
 For you, Hawaii, the equitable justice.
- c. *E kuhi ana au ua lokahi*
Hookahi puuwai o ka lanakila (64:title, 11-2)
 I would have believed,
 [We were] of one heart, united for victory.

Pride in the Hawaiian people (*lāhui*)³² is the dominant response expressed in the revolutionists' attempts. The first text in the *Buke Mele Lahui* is entitled "Mele Aloha Aina (Ai-Pohaku)," but is

known today by its first line, "Kaulana na pua o Hawaii" (Famous are the children of Hawaii). Originally written as a protest song against annexation attempts in 1893 following the overthrow,³³ it states that the Hawaiian people will stand firm (1:2), and support the Queen (2:1). The second line, found among the majority of the poems in this collection, expresses a firm commitment to support a Hawaiian sovereignty:

Kūpa'a ma hope o ka aina

Firmly backing the land

Two points are worth underscoring. *Kūpa'a* expresses a firm, steadfast (*kū-*) bonding (*pa'a*); *'āina* is the generic term for land and can be extended to embrace the society residing thereupon. The phrase "*Kūpa'a ma hope o ka 'āina*" and its frequent reiteration (and other like sentiments) is an appropriate epitome to explain the expression of defeat in terms of fame, pride, and victory. Such a summation is rooted in the value of *aloha 'āina*.

The deep attachment (*aloha*) Hawaiians have to a place (*'āina*) is reflected in their proclivity for naming. Many places may be known by more than one name, and various features of the place, such as mountains, rocks, cliffs, winds, and rains, are often given names as well. Place names are frequently used for their connotative or symbolic value, not only to locate action in a poem (as in the three place names associated with Diamond Head used in "*Ke Aloha I Ka Puuwai*"), but also to evoke associations and images related to the place.³⁴ *Aloha 'āina* was, on one hand, physical and intellectual and, on the other, emotional. *Aloha 'āina* was a sentiment which pervaded Hawaiian poetry. Poems and songs about *aloha 'āina* were called *mele aloha 'āina* or also *mele lāhui* (national songs), as in the title *Buke Mele Lahui*.

Some of the texts in the *Buke Mele Lahui* are purely descriptive of one place. That place, however, could be as narrowly defined as a specific locale or as broadly defined as an entire island. Texts that are descriptive read simply like travelogues; in a general sense they are litanies of place names with descriptive epithets attached.³⁵

In the *Buke Mele Lahui*, four songs grouped under the title "*Makalapua*"³⁶ describe the northern islands of Kaua'i and Ni'ihau.

A succession of place names can also be used for the associations of specific events or episodes at that locale. Many of the texts in the *Buke Mele Lahui* exemplify this approach to using place and place names poetically. The song "*Na Oiwī Hawaii*,"³⁷ discussed above, enumerates the successive place names which have relevance for the episodes involved in the Counterrevolution.

The most apparent transformation of the connotative and associative value of place, however, is evident in the *Buke Mele Lahui*. In contrast to earlier poetry about places with very specific associations, those in the *Buke Mele Lahui* celebrate Hawai'i the nation with generalized attributes. The value of place is extended beyond locale to embrace the entire Hawaiian archipelago, in other words, the sovereign collective entity that Hawai'i had become. The song "*Ke Kumu o ke Ola*"³⁸ links mottos for the four largest islands:

5. *Hawaii e, Hawaii hoi!*
 6. *E hii Hawaii i kona nani!*
 7. *Maui e, Maui hoi!*
 8. *Auamo o Maui i kona pono!*
 9. *Oahu e, Oahu hoi!*
 10. *Hapai Oahu i ka hanohano!*
 11. *Kauai e, Kauai hoi!*
 12. *Kukulu Kauai i ka lanakila!*
-
5. Hawaii, o Hawaii
 6. Hawaii is cherished for her beauty!
 7. Maui, o Maui
 8. Maui carries the yoke of righteousness!
 9. Oahu, o Oahu
 10. Oahu carries the glory!
 11. Kauai, o Kauai
 12. Kauai lays the foundation of victory!

Combining locales in this way is poetic expression of the emerging national consciousness, one that transcends local and regional alliances. It is not surprising that nationalism would intensify among the Hawaiian people as political polarization increased, aggravated by the power struggle between royalists and annexationists. The emerging nationalism was a Hawaiian response to the political climate. The Hawaiian poets were adhering to pre-existing values of attachment to the land. The degree to which they expanded it, however, to embrace all of the Hawaiian Islands as one political unit, was unprecedented in poetry. National consciousness was a necessity only as the Hawaiian nation was striving to maintain its endangered sovereignty as it was in the late 19th century. The texts in the *Buke Mele Lahui* are evidence that poets were using traditional poetic means to reflect this emerging concern.

The Counterrevolution expressed an emotional as well as a concrete attempt to regain power over the land (*‘āina*) and the people (*lāhui*) as embodied in the sovereignty of the Queen (*Haku*). The texts in the *Buke Mele Lahui* not only expressed those values, but also intensified those values and the feelings they aroused in the aftermath of the Counterrevolution. Thus the cultural significance of the *Buke Mele Lahui* is underscored: it is a source for identifying such values and exploring their transformation, in the context of the Counterrevolution in particular and the political climate of late 19th century Hawai‘i in general.

BUKE MELE LAHUI AS A MUSICAL DOCUMENT

The fact that there are neither tunes nor tune names in the *Buke Mele Lahui* is only a minor inconvenience in assessing its musical significance. This will be done by placing it in the context of Hawaiian music in the 1880s and 1890s.

By the late 19th century, Hawaiian music was deeply influenced by American gospel hymnody. Hymns (*himeni*) were taught by American Congregationalist missionaries, with Hawaiian language texts translated or newly composed by both missionaries and Hawaiian poets.³⁹ Secular Hawaiian songs by Hawaiian composers

used traditional poetic conventions, but melodies were modeled on the form and structure of American gospel hymns, in which verses and refrain alternate; hence it is convenient to refer to these songs as "*himeni*-type songs." Their performance also followed that of Western models: published songbooks contain arrangements for piano accompaniment, and many also include arrangements for four-part vocal ensembles.

Beginning in the reign of King David Kalākaua (1874–1891), the indigenous Hawaiian performing arts underwent a revival. Knowledgeable practitioners enjoyed royal patronage and protection after decades of missionary-inspired suppression. Musicians and choreographers surpassed mere revival, and a new genre emerged, known as the *hula ku'i*.

The term *hula ku'i* is defined as "any interpretive hula, so called since the days of Kalākaua: *lit.*, joined hula, i.e., old and new steps were joined together."⁴⁰ However, the *hula ku'i* encompasses not only dance, but also its accompanying music and the poetry which is its *raison d'être*, for without poetry there would be no basis for interpretation in music and gesture. In the *hula ku'i*, practitioners sought to combine components of the indigenous Hawaiian music and dance traditions with elements of Western music and dance that had become popular, especially in urban Honolulu.

The features of *hula ku'i* are easily recognizable.⁴¹ The poetry is strophic, that is, organized into verses. Each verse consists of one couplet or two lines of text. The last verse is frequently a formulaic phrase signalling the conclusion. The favorite phrase in its fullest form is "*Ha'ina 'ia mai ana ka puana*" (variants exclude one or more of the non-lexical grammatical particles); this line translates literally as "The story is told."⁴² The second line of the last couplet may reiterate the second line of the first verse or summarize the theme; a popular last line in the *Buke Mele Lahui* is "*no ka poe i aloha i ka aina*" (of the people who love the land). Musically, songs associated with the *hula ku'i* follow the strophic form of the poetry. Each verse consists of two musical phrases, one phrase to each line of text. In performance, verses are separated by instrumental interludes, popularly called "vamp." While *hula ku'i* songs have Western-type melodies, the vocal performance style was directly

derived from Hawaiian chant,⁴³ and the accompaniment consists of 'ukulele, guitar, and a variety of rhythmic percussive instruments used by dancers. The dance aspect draws on the movement vocabulary from the indigenous hula tradition; in addition, several new foot motifs, apparently based in part on popular ballroom dance steps, were incorporated.

All of the texts in the *Buke Mele Lahui* are *hula ku'i* songs. Throughout the *Buke Mele Lahui*, these are consistently printed in one of two formats, both of which highlight features that are characteristic of *hula ku'i* songs. Either the strophes are separated by space, such as in "*Kupaa Oiaio Me Ke Lahui*" (fig. 1), or printed in one block, such as in "*Ke Aloha I Ka Puuwai*" (fig. 2). In both methods, the last verse (the "*ha'ina*" verse) is indented. This printing convention is easily contrasted with that of secular *himeni*-type songs, in which the verses (consisting of four lines each) are clearly spaced apart, and the refrain is usually labelled as such. In collections of texts without musical notation, such as *Ka Buke O Na Leo Mele*,⁴⁴ the refrain is labelled "Hui"; in notated songbooks, it is labelled "Chorus" or "Cho."

To infer the musical style of these texts from the printed text alone would be circumstantial. Fortunately, concrete musical evidence is available that supports the identification of these as *hula ku'i* song texts. "*He Manao He Aloha*"⁴⁵ (also known as "*Ka Ipo Lei Manu*") has been published in notated songbooks.⁴⁶ The melody and form of this song as shown in the notation follows that of *hula ku'i* songs. Musical evidence is also available for one other song in the *Buke Mele Lahui*, "*Mele Aloha Aina (Ai-Pohaku)*," known popularly as the protest song "*Kaulana Nā Pua*."⁴⁷ This song is an anomaly in that each of the five verses consists of four instead of two lines. Otherwise, its strophic form and "*ha'ina*" verse conforms to that of *hula ku'i* songs, and in performance the verses are usually separated by the instrumental "vamp" that characterizes these songs.

The absence of notated melodies in the *Buke Mele Lahui* raises the practical question of how the other songs were performed musically. General *hula ku'i* musical practices can illuminate this particular case. A widespread practice was to apply the same tune

to many different texts. Among 20th century published songbooks, examples of the same *hula ku'i* tune with different texts can be cited;⁴⁸ conversely, the same text can be found with different tunes.⁴⁹ The chanter Kuluwaimaka performed a series of five texts in honor of Kalākaua's wife, Kapi'olani, using the same tune.⁵⁰ Similar examples are to be found among the *Roberts Collection of Meles*. Elizabeth Tatar in her study of 19th century Hawaiian chant presents transcriptions of four tune contours (she calls them "fixed melodies") from the *Roberts Collection*; they were used "over and over for different chant texts."⁵¹

Evidence from a context similar to that of the *Buke Mele Lahui*, that of political campaigns, substantiates this argument. Songs known to have been composed for political candidates were sung at rallies to pre-existing tunes.⁵² One composer, Alice Namakelua, described the atmosphere thus:

Sometimes, one would hear the same tune four times, but with different words for each candidate. That never bothered anyone, because the words were what people listened to.⁵³

It appears that listeners tolerated melodic repetition because they were paying more attention instead to the text. The melody was of secondary importance: it served as a vehicle for the text. Musicians could and did draw upon a stock of tunes to sing different texts. I suggest, then, that the song texts in the *Buke Mele Lahui* could be, and in all likelihood were, sung to any of the pre-existing *hula ku'i* tunes. Three examples of tunes "common" in early publications are "*Kaena*" (also titled "*Kuu Lei Momi*"),⁵⁴ "*Mauna Kea*,"⁵⁵ and "*Maunawili*,"⁵⁶ two examples of tunes well-known today are "*Alekoki*"⁵⁷ and "*Lei Nani*."⁵⁸ The uniformity of line length, rhythm, and meter among *hula ku'i* texts, observable in the *Buke Mele Lahui*, allows and indeed encourages the interchangability of tunes. It is possible to combine many of the known *hula ku'i* tunes with any of the texts in the *Buke Mele Lahui* with enjoyable results.

The publication of so many *hula ku'i* texts in one volume, the *Buke Mele Lahui*, is highly unusual and significant in one musical

respect. Texts and tunes for *hula ku'i* songs are not numerous in late 19th century and early 20th century published songbooks. Prior to and including 1935, *hula ku'i* songs account for only 20 percent of the total number of songs published in Hawaiian songbooks.⁵⁹ Further, among more than 200 songbooks of secular Hawaiian music published between 1888 and 1988,⁶⁰ only three are devoted entirely to *hula ku'i* songs that contain tunes as well as texts: Charles E. King's *The Latest Hawaiian Hulas* in 1917,⁶¹ John A. Noble's *Collection of Ancient and Modern Hulas* in 1935,⁶² and Nona Beamer's *Traditional Chants and Hulas* in 1982.⁶³

The disproportionate representation in published songbooks of *himeni*-type songs over *hula ku'i* songs is a telling measure of the lower social status of *hula ku'i* songs in the late 19th century, further underscoring the unusual nature of their publication in the *Buke Mele Lahui*, for the *hula ku'i* embodied the social, cultural, and political polarization in the Hawaiian community. The revival of hula and other indigenous Hawaiian practices during Kalākaua's reign was not received well by the Christian segment of the community, which included Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians alike, or by Kalākaua's political detractors. Newspaper coverage of musical events in the Kingdom focused on performances of Western music and mentioned Westernized *himeni*-type Hawaiian songs but condemned hula dancing.⁶⁴ *Lū'au* feasts were mentioned only briefly in newspaper accounts; they were the context in which *hula ku'i* were performed. With Kalākaua's encouragement, *hula ku'i* was used as a vehicle for reinforcing pride in Hawai'i and being Hawaiian and also for validating Kalākaua's right to rule. He was, after all, an elected king. By virtue of its royalist stance, *hula ku'i* annoyed anti-royalists who could not be expected to appreciate its openly-expressed nationalist sentiments. Therefore the *hula ku'i* was the appropriate and ideal musical vehicle for the royalist sympathizers in 1895.

It is less easy to determine what the *Buke Mele Lahui* contributes to our knowledge of *hula ku'i* dance. Certainly some, but not all, of the name songs for Lili'uokalani lend themselves to hula interpretation in the same way that numerous name songs were composed and performed as *hula ku'i* for Kalākaua at his corona-

tion celebration in 1883.⁵⁶ Those texts in the *Buke Mele Lahui* that invoke Christian divinity are problematic: the royalists would probably have respected the sanctified nature of such an invocation and refrain from combining Christian imagery and the hula. However, there is precedence for choreographing texts with Christian invocations. At Kalākaua's coronation *lū'au* on February 24, 1883, the hula master Kaonowai performed the text "*Ua ponīia o Davida imua o ke Akua Mana Loa*" (David is crowned before the Almighty God) three times.⁶⁶

Although choreographic interpretation of many of the battle songs and the place songs in the *Buke Mele Lahui* is not inconceivable, the melancholy atmosphere cast over the loss of nation and sovereignty argues against the choreography of many of these songs. It is said, for example, that "*Kaulana Nā Pua*" was "considered sacred and not for dancing."⁶⁷ If, in fact, many of these songs were not danced, this points to a precedence for separating the *hula ku'i* musical style from its dance context.

That the musical style was so intimately associated with an entirely Hawaiian mode of expression, however, was what made it such an appropriate choice for these texts. Therefore, even without musical notation, these song texts are significant for increasing our understanding of the *hula ku'i* tradition in late 19th-century Hawai'i: it functioned as an opportunity for topical social and political commentary, and as such the music component could exist independently of the dance component in a way that the inverse was not possible.

CONCLUSION

The *Buke Mele Lahui* is an important historical and cultural document for the study of Hawaiian sentiments and their expression in the late 19th century. It contains a wealth of information about the political, social, and cultural climate of Hawai'i in the 1890s in general and the Hawaiian Counterrevolution of 1895 in particular. The texts are historical accounts, but not so much for relating the specific event as for understanding why the event took place. The texts also identify the sentiments that motivated

the royalists, as well as those that evolved after the event. Some of those sentiments continue to find expression in the 1980s, having evolved in response to current events and circumstances.

The musical performance of these songs can be explicated against the background of contemporaneous *hula ku'i* music. The *Buke Mele Lahui* offers a significant view on poetic and musical aspects of the *hula ku'i* tradition. That tradition in turn holds a key to understanding how to sing these songs: after all, songs are meant to be sung.

*Ha'ina 'ia mai ana ka puana,
No ka po'e i aloha i ka 'aina.*

The story is told,
Of the people who love the land.

NOTES

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¹ There were 12 Hawaiian language newspapers being published in 1895: see Esther K. Mookini, *The Hawaiian Newspapers* (Honolulu: Topgallant, 1974) 44. Those which dissented from newspapers expressing "establishment" and government-subsidized views are discussed by Helen Geracimos Chapin, "Newspapers of Hawai'i 1834 to 1903: From He Liona to the Pacific Cable," *HJH* 18 (1984): 67-72. Further discussion of the six principal Hawaiian language anti-Provisional Government newspapers is in Albertine Loomis, *For Whom Are the Stars?* (Honolulu: U P of Hawai'i and Friends of the Library of Hawai'i, 1976) 46-8.

² F. J. Testa (Hoke [Jose] ed.), *Buke Mele Lahui* (Honolulu: People's Publishing House, 1895). This volume is listed as item no. 586 in Bernice Judd, Janet E. Bell, and Clare G. Murdoch, *Hawaiian Language Imprints, 1922-1899: A Bibliography* (Honolulu: HMCS and U P of Hawai'i, 1978) 211.

³ A contemporaneous account is Ed Towse, *The Rebellion of 1895* ([Honolulu]: Hawaiian Star., Mar. 15, 1895); see also Loomis, *For Whom Are the Stars?*

⁴ See P. M. Mercer, "Oral Tradition in the Pacific," *Journal of Pacific History* 14 (1979): 130-53, for a review and critique of the use and historical validity of oral tradition in Pacific ethnohistory.

- ⁵ The summary presented here draws upon both Towse, *Rebellion*, and Loomis, *For Whom Are The Stars?* Loomis's minutely detailed account, especially of the military action (pp. 115-80), is based on the unpublished notebooks of Nathaniel B. Emerson who was allowed to conduct interviews with royalist soldiers in prison awaiting trial (xiii, 198-9, and 226-7).
- ⁶ *Buke Mele Lahui* 4:8, 37-8:21, 41-2:18, 52:2, 69-70:6.
- ⁷ Liliuokalani, *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen* (1898; Rutland, Vt.: Charles E. Tuttle, 1964) 258-60. See also Loomis, *For Whom Are The Stars?* 104 and 108. Loomis cites an "unofficial" refusal from the British Foreign Office to receive Herman Widemann, handwritten on the back of his letter requesting an audience. The letter is in the Public Records Office, London.
- ⁸ Of the four, only Nowlein (or Nowlien—the name has a variant spelling) was Hawaiian; the other three were Caucasian: Loomis, *For Whom Are The Stars?* xv-xviii.
- ⁹ Gavan Daws, *Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands* (Honolulu: U P of Hawaii, 1968) 255 ff.
- ¹⁰ Liliuokalani to Sanford Ballard Dole, Minutes of the Executive Council, 24 Jan 1895, AH.
- ¹¹ Loomis, *For Whom Are The Stars?* 110 and 171-2. See also Towse, *Rebellion* 2, for a lengthier list of Hawaiians involved in battle action.
- ¹² Thos. K. Nakanaela, *Ka Buke Moololo o Hon. Robert William Wilikoki* (Honolulu: Lake and Nakanaela, 1890).
- ¹³ *Buke Mele Lahui* 8-9:3, 11; 9-10:3, 12-3:2, 17-8:9, 30-1:5, 13; 33-4:1, 38, 39-40:8, 47-8:1, 49-50:8, 51:1, 13:17; 55, 58:1, 71; 75-6, 81-2:5, 24, 92-3.
- ¹⁴ *Buke Mele Lahui* 8.
- ¹⁵ *Buke Mele Lahui* 12-3.
- ¹⁶ *Buke Mele Lahui* 9-10:4, 12:10, 21:2, 22-3:7, 26-7:25, 29-30:10, 30-1:16, 39-40:22; 47-8:20, 61:10; 73:5.
- ¹⁷ *Buke Mele Lahui* 39-40.
- ¹⁸ Loomis, *For Whom Are The Stars?* 178.
- ¹⁹ *Buke Mele Lahui* 43-4.
- ²⁰ Kawaikini is the highest peak of Wai'ale'ale on Kaua'i island. Its mention here is to elevate the mists of Mānoa to heights loftier than actuality.
- ²¹ The rifle smoke captured the attention of more than one poet in the *Buke Mele Lahui*: see 8:2, 13-4:12, 14:4, 17-8:21, 18:8, 22-3:16, 22-5:24, 51:6, 54:14, 72:6.
- ²² John Charlot, *The Hawaiian Poetry of Religion and Politics: Some Religio-Political Concepts in Postcontact Literature* (Lā'ie: Institute for Polynesian Studies, 1985) 29.
- ²³ *Buke Mele Lahui* 4, 4-5, 5, 6, 28, 32, 36, 46, 50, 68, 94.
- ²⁴ Additional *mele inoa* for Wilcox are appended to his published biography: Nakanaela, *Ka Buke Moololo O Hon. Robert William Wilcox* i-xx.
- ²⁵ Charlot, *Hawaiian Poetry* 9.

- ²⁶ Helen H. Roberts, *Ancient Hawaiian Music* (Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin No. 29, 1926); the Museum hereafter referred to as BPBM. Additional unpublished song texts and variants remain in the manuscript collection, *Roberts Collection of Meles*, BPBM Library, 1923-24.
- ²⁷ Maili Yardley and Miriam Rogers, *Queen Kapiolani* (Honolulu: Topgallant, 1985) 40-65; see also Roberts, *Ancient Hawaiian Music*, and Roberts Collection of Meles.
- ²⁸ Lucy Henriques Manuscript Collection, BPBM Library (n.d.).
- ²⁹ Charlot, *Hawaiian Poetry* 9-11.
- ³⁰ Charlot, *Hawaiian Poetry* 17, 66, and note 83.
- ³¹ *Buke Mele Lahui* 36-7.
- ³² See Charlot, *Hawaiian Poetry* 19, for a discussion of the translation of *lāhui* on the basis of ethnicity rather than as a political concept of nation.
- ³³ The story of the song's composition is related in Ethel M. Damon, *Sanford Ballard Dole and His Hawaii* (Palo Alto: Pacific Books, 1957) 317. It is cited in Samuel H. Elbert and Noelani Mahoe, *Nā Mele O Hawai'i Nei: 101 Hawaiian Songs* (Honolulu: U P of Hawai'i, 1970) 62-3, who present an edited text and translation. See also Charlot, *Hawaiian Poetry* 27-8, for additional discussion.
- ³⁴ John Charlot, *Chanting the Universe* (Honolulu: Emphasis International, 1983) 60 and 62. See also Samuel Elbert, "Connotative Values of Hawaiian Place Names," in *Directions in Pacific Traditional Literature: Essays in Honor of Katharine Luomala*, BPBM Special Publication 62, eds. Adrienne L. Kaeppler and H. Arlo Nimmo (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1976) 117-33.
- ³⁵ The example commonly cited is the song "Hilo Hanakahi" describing the island of Hawai'i; see Charlot, *Chanting the Universe* 65, and Elbert and Mahoe, *Nā Mele o Hawai'i Nei* 50.
- ³⁶ *Buke Mele Lahui* 83-6.
- ³⁷ *Buke Mele Lahui* 43-4.
- ³⁸ *Buke Mele Lahui* 58.
- ³⁹ Rev. Lorenzo Lyons translated a major portion of the published hymn output by the American evangelist Ira D. Sankey, *Gospel Hymns Nos. 1 to 6 Complete* (1895; New York, Da Capo, 1972), in *Nā Himeni Euanelio* (Honolulu: Papa Hawai'i, 1882-98). Lyons's editions enjoyed several reprintings, evidence of the popular appeal this material had among Christian Hawaiians in this period. Bibliographic citations of the various editions, along with other hymnal publications of the 19th century, are listed in Judd, Bell, and Murdoch, *Hawaiian Language Imprints*.
- ⁴⁰ Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary* (Honolulu: U P of Hawai'i, 1985) 174.
- ⁴¹ See Amy K. Stillman, "The *Hula Ku'i*: A Tradition in Hawaiian Music and Dance," M.A. thesis, U of Hawai'i, 1982, for poetic, musical, and movement analysis.

- ⁴² The term *puana* is defined in the *Hawaiian Dictionary* as "summary refrain." I have followed common practice in song text translation in rendering it as "story." See, for example, Elbert and Mahoe, *Nā Mele o Hawai'i Nei*.
- ⁴³ See Stillman, "The *Hula Ku'i*" 99-113.
- ⁴⁴ Keakaokalani and J. M. Bright (Honolulu: PCA, 1888). This book is listed as item 543 in Judd, Bell, and Murdoch, *Hawaiian Language Imprints* 196-7.
- ⁴⁵ *Buke Mele Lahui* 90-1.
- ⁴⁶ A. R. "Sonny" Cunha, *Famous Hawaiian Songs* (Honolulu: Bergstrom Music, 1914) 62 (13 verses); Ernest K. Kaai, *The Ukulele and How It's Played* (Honolulu: Hawaiian News, 1916) 51 (4 verses); William C. Hodges Jr. and Ernest K. Kaai, *Souvenir Collection of Hawaiian Songs and Views* (Honolulu: Hawaii Promotion Committee [1917]) 41 (4 verses); Johnny Noble, *Book of Famous Hawaiian Melodies* (New York: Miller Music Corp., 1935) 53 (4 verses). The version in the *Buke Mele Lahui* contains 14 verses, one more than available in any of the other published versions.
- ⁴⁷ *Buke Mele Lahui* 1 and note 29. The earliest known publication of the melody is in *Authentic Tunes from the Tropics from Hawaii, and Tahiti Book No. 8* (New York: Criterion Music Corp., 1967) 16.
- ⁴⁸ The tune "Halialaulani" in A. R. "Sonny" Cunha, *Songs of Hawaii* (Honolulu: Bergstrom Music, 1902) 38, is the same as that given for "Maunawili" in John M. Kelly Jr., *Folk Music Festival in Hawaii* (Boston: Boston Music, 1965) 16.
- ⁴⁹ Three different tunes to the text beginning "*Ku maka ka ikena ao Hiilawe*" (the song known today as "*Hi'ilawe*") may be found as "*Halialaulani*" and "*Ke Aloha Poina Ole*" in Cunha, *Songs of Hawaii* (1902) 38 and 41, and as "*Hiilawe Hula*" in Johnny Noble and Don George, *Musical Hawaii: A Collection of Songs* (Honolulu: Tongg Publishing [1944]) n.p.
- ⁵⁰ Recorded in the Kuluwaimaka Collection, tape 2.10.4-8, Bishop Museum Audio-Recording Collections, Dept. of Anthropology, BPBM Honolulu. Two of the texts, "*Aia i Mololani ko nua hulu*" and "*Aia i Waimanalo ko nua hulu*" are published with translations in Mary K. Pukui and Alfons L. Korn, *The Echo of Our Song: Chants & Poems of the Hawaiians* (Honolulu: U P of Hawai'i, 1973) 163 and 159.
- ⁵¹ Elizabeth Tatar, *Nineteenth Century Hawaiian Chant*, Pacific Anthropological Records no. 33, Dept. of Anthropology, BPBM (Honolulu, 1982) 114-5.
- ⁵² Eleanor Williamson, "Hawaiian Chants and Songs Used In Political Campaigns," in *Directions in Pacific Traditional Literature* . . . 135-56.
- ⁵³ Bishop Museum Audio-Recording Collections tape H-86: cited in Williamson, "Hawaiian Chants" 154.
- ⁵⁴ Hodges & Kaai, *Souvenir View* (1917) 45; Kaai, *Ukulele* (1916) 55; Charles E. King, *The Latest Hawaiian Hulas* ([Honolulu]: Charles E. King, 1917) 36, also printed in Charles E. King, *Songs of Hawaii* (Honolulu: Charles E. King, 1950) 180.

- ⁵⁵ Cunha, *Famous Hawaiian Songs* (1914) 60; Kaai, *Ukulele* (1916) 55; Charles E. King, *Book of Hawaiian Melodies* (Honolulu: Charles E. King, 1916) 117 and in subsequent editions; Noble, *Book* (1935) 64.
- ⁵⁶ Charles A. K. Hopkins, *Aloha Collection of Hawaiian Songs* (Honolulu: Wall Nichols, 1899) 73; Hawaiian News Co., *Royal Collection of Hawaiian Songs* (Honolulu: Hawaiian News, 1907) 86; Johnny Noble, *Royal Collection of Hawaiian Songs* (Honolulu: Johnny Noble, 1929) 130.
- ⁵⁷ Noble, *Collection* (1935) 26 and 29. See also Zillah Young, "'Alekokiki'", in George S. Kanahale, ed., *Hawaiian Music and Musicians: An Illustrated History* (Honolulu: U P of Hawai'i, 1979) 3-7 for discussion of tune variants for this song.
- ⁵⁸ Noble, *Collection* (1935) 23.
- ⁵⁹ Amy K. Stillman, "Published Hawaiian Songbooks," *Music Library Association Notes* 44 (1987): 232-3.
- ⁶⁰ Amy K. Stillman, "Hawaiian Music: Published Songbooks. An interim printout of a project to index Hawaiian songs in published Hawaiian songbooks," ts., Hawaiian Collection, University of Hawai'i, 1988.
- ⁶¹ King, *Hawaiian Hulas*. The sole known copy of this publication is in Library of Congress in Washington.
- ⁶² Noble, *Collection* (1935), reprinted as Johnny Noble, *Hawaiian Hulas* (New York: Miller Music Corp., 1960).
- ⁶³ Keala Brunke, ed., *Traditional Chants and Hulas* (Honolulu: Beamer Hawai'i-ana, 1982). This volume forms the basis of the revised and enlarged edition *Nā Mele Hula: A Collection of Hawaiian Hula Chants* ([Lā'ie]: Institute for Polynesian Studies, Brigham Young U-Hawai'i Campus, 1987).
- ⁶⁴ Cathy B. Shaffer, "Hawaiian Music in the *Hawaiian Gazette*, 1889-1892," unpublished ms., 1978; Amy K. Stillman, "Music in *Ka Nupepa Ku'oko'a* October 1889-December 1892," unpublished ms., 1979; Dorothy Barrère, "The Hula in Retrospect," in Dorothy Barrère, Mary Kawena Pukui and Marion Kelly, *Hula: Historical Perspectives*, Pacific Anthropological Records no. 30 (Honolulu: Dept. of Anthropology, BPBM, 1980) 43-56.
- ⁶⁵ The program of hula performed at the coronation, *Papa Kuhikuhi o na Hula Poni Moi*, is reprinted in Barrère et al, *Hula: Historical Perspectives* (1980) 133-9.
- ⁶⁶ *Papa Kuhikuhi* in Barrère et al, *Hula: Historical Perspectives* (1980) 136. There are several problems with this evidence. The actual text appears not to be extant. Only the first line is listed three times and each with a different classification: *mele ku'i* [*ku'i* song], *mele ulili* [gourd rattle song], and *mele paumauma* [chest-slapping song]. It is not clear whether this first line refers to the same text performed three different ways or to three different texts with the same first line. Another problem arises from the use of the term *mele* [song] rather than *hula* [dance] in the classifications. If Kaonowai adhered to literal definition, his choice of *mele* instead of *hula* means that the text was

sung but not danced. If that is the case, my entire argument is rendered null. However, Kaonowai uses other terminology in ambiguous ways, and several of the first lines in his selections are *hula* dances well-known in the present. This is a matter for further investigation, as is the question which prompted this aside: were *hula ku'i* texts which invoked Christian authority choreographed as *hula*?

⁶⁷ Elbert and Mahoe, *Nā Mele o Hawai'i Nei* 63, who do not cite a source for this statement.