

“He Kā Waiho Ho‘ohemahema”: Kanaka Maoli
Responses to King Kalākau’s Tour of the Kingdom
from 1874 Newspapers in Hawai‘i

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THE HAWAIIAN PROVERB, “He kā waiho ho‘ohemahema,” means “A bail left unnoticed,” and was “said of one who could be of help because of his skill and knowledge like an unused canoe bail.”¹ Like a valuable tool left unnoticed, nineteenth-century Hawaiian-language newspapers are now drawing the attention of modern scholars.² Contemporary scholarship about Hawai‘i’s history that draws on these publications can illuminate previously unrecognized blind spots, providing a far fuller representation of our past.

In this study, these newspapers provide access to the kanaka point-of-view about the first mō‘ī [king] who was not a direct descendent of the Kamehameha line, King Kalākau.³ These newspapers, long disregarded, could be the key to better understanding his entire reign, but here they highlight a new perspective on the significance of Kalākau’s royal tour of the kingdom following his 1874 election victory over Queen Emma, as well as how the maka‘āinana, the citizens of the kingdom, applied themselves to maintaining and supporting nationhood.⁴

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The Hawaiian Journal of History, vol. 48 (2014)

Most existing scholarship about the king is in English, and generally does not incorporate the Hawaiian perspective⁵ on this ali'i [chief] found in the Hawaiian-language newspapers.⁶ Two of these English texts, both of which share the same title, *Memoirs of the Hawaiian Revolution*, and the same editor, Andrew Farrell, were written by Lorrin A. Thurston and Sanford B. Dole—the very men who first stole Kalākaua's administrative powers, and then eventually overthrew the Hawaiian kingdom. When those writers asserted Kalākaua's ineptness as a king they were therefore justifying their theft of his kingdom.⁷ For as R. D. K. Herman has remarked, during the nineteenth-century “several distinct themes surfaced again and again to discredit Hawaiians and ultimately show that they were unfit to govern themselves.”⁸

It is also certain that most later English-language authors based their versions of Kalākaua's story on that genre of earlier critical English-language resources.⁹ One of the most well-known examples involves William N. Armstrong's *Around the World with a King*, which “contains a number of inconsistencies of which a very serious one is repeated in Ralph S. Kuykendall's three-volume history of *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, and would have been perpetuated except for an entry contradicting it in Kalakaua's diary.”¹⁰ That Kuykendall's *The Hawaiian Kingdom* and other books have been treated as authoritative texts on Kalākaua's life suggests that a portion of Hawai'i's published history as presented by those writers is incomplete.¹¹ Rona Tamiko Kalualani has written about how empowered forces reinforce power:

Identity articulations created in specific historical moments and by powerful structures [. . .] are hegemonically embedded into social belief and some of these articulations are continually reproduced by structural-dominant power interests.¹²

The genealogy of misrepresentation about the king is challenged here through the examination of a broader range of nineteenth-century published sentiment regarding Kalākaua, including what was recorded in the Hawaiian-language newspapers of that era. The information offers some new insights into nineteenth-century Hawaiian states of mind for a twenty-first century audience, and broadens our present notion of Kalākaua.

The Hawaiian-language newspapers also illuminate the sophisticated national conscience of maka‘āinana then, along with their and Kalākaua’s joint attempts to unify a bipartisan nation following his 1874 election over Emma. That campaign created the first major political division among Hawaiians since the days leading to Kamehameha I’s rule. And finally, those newspapers show the English-language newspapers’ limited coverage of the efforts of maka‘āinana and Kalākaua to rebuild and renew national unity, which obscured Hawaiians’ active engagement in re-crafting their sense of nationhood. These elements rarely made it into those English-language authoritative texts about Kalākaua’s life story, and certainly can not be found in Thurston’s and Dole’s *Memoirs*.

THE METHOD

This article focuses on an event that illuminates the contrast between English- and Hawaiian-language newspapers: Kalākaua’s 1874 tour of the kingdom. These sources reveal that what literate Hawaiians were reading and writing about the king at the time does not generally correspond with what most English-language resources have asserted then and today. The 1874 newspapers examined were those printed at that time of Kalākaua’s tour, the English-language *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (PCA) and *The Hawaiian Gazette* (HG), and the Hawaiian-language *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, *Ko Hawaii Pono*, and *Ka Nuhou Hawaii*.¹³ The *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* and *Hawaiian Gazette* generally supported the American businessmen and, along with *Kuokoa*, supported Kalākaua in the beginning of his reign. *Nuhou*, the king’s main advocate, and *Ko Hawaii Pono* promoted a philosophy of “Hawaii for Hawaiians.” The archives I looked at were *Utukau: The Hawaiian Electronic Library’s Ho‘olaupa‘i* newspaper collection, *Hawaiian Ethnographic Notes* at the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, The Library of Congress’ *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers* collection, and the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* on microfilm at the Hamilton Library, University of Hawai‘i–Mānoa. In lieu of word searchability, I carried out a careful page-by-page search of the digital and microfilm newspaper images during the period of this event. That manual search located 41 articles that refer to Kalākaua’s tour.¹⁴

NINETEENTH-CENTURY SUBSCRIBERS TO THE ENGLISH-
AND HAWAIIAN-LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS

Writers have already documented that Hawai'i had a singularly high literacy rate during the nineteenth century.¹⁵ While national education was the foundation of literacy, Hawaiians also sustained their high level of literacy through reading newspapers, and writing for and publishing their own newspapers in Hawaiian and English. The first decades of newspapers were mostly "received" by the national audience for education or government intent, and later newspapers were more interactive with the national readership and a spectrum of writers, but from the beginning, the newspapers created and maintained a national dialogue that fostered Hawai'i's sense of nationhood.¹⁶

Historians have also confirmed that once the independent newspapers of the 1860s were established, subscriptions to newspapers printed in Hawaiian increased rapidly over the next 40 years, and that many Hawaiians depended on those papers to remain united and informed of their nation's well-being and independence. Helen G. Chapin documents the vivacity of the Hawaiian readership: "No English language paper could claim more than 1,500 to 2,000 circulation, except for the *Advertiser* when Gibson ran it, while a Hawaiian nationalistic press had papers reaching from 4,000 to 7,000 each."¹⁷ Throughout much of this span, these numbers were drawn from a resident population of less than 70,000, so as many as one in ten were subscribers to at least one of the multiple newspapers operating at different times. Puakea Nogelmeier reminds us that readership, or the number of adults who read the newspapers, exceeded paid circulation, or the number of printed newspapers sold, because they were often passed from reader to reader and house to house.¹⁸ Chapin specifically notes that *Kuokoa* "achieved a circulation of 5,000 in the nineteenth century, far beyond that of the *Advertiser*,"¹⁹ and she adds that *Nuhou*, Walter Murray Gibson's vehicle for launching himself into Hawai'i politics and then campaigning for Kalākaua, "was double the size of any other Hawaiian language periodical."²⁰ Since Gibson was stridently pro-Hawaiian, Hawaiians were interested in reading his papers, so the high level of engagement by the Hawaiian-speaking population in publication during the period covered here is of particular interest.

This study of the king’s 1874 tour confirms the political astuteness and involvement of many of Hawai‘i’s residents as well as the complexity of the people’s support for Kalākaua following his election. Like Kalākaua, *maka‘āinana* advocated a specific agenda for their kingdom under this new monarch, hoped for certain changes, and made these wishes publicly known. I argue that the Hawaiian newspaper accounts of the loyal, loving, and steadfast *kanaka* response to their new king, in just about every district of each island he visited, reveals a nationalist alliance of Hawaiians who anticipated and were determined to support the *lāhui*’s [nation’s] independence, whether or not they had supported the choice of Kalākaua in the contentious election of 1874. If national governance was to be under Kalākaua they would negotiate their political resentment with a national resolve. The complexity of the national conscience is that both supporters and non-supporters of Kalākaua participated in ways that supported the kingdom. Sometimes involvement in rallies or shows of support had more to do with rebuilding the nation than with allegiance to a leader. This broad, nation-focused *kanaka* sentiment was apparent from the very day the king began his tour.

KALĀKAUA’S TOUR OF THE KINGDOM, 1874

Many accounts of Kalākaua’s life story claim that his first significant act as king was hurrying off to Washington DC, in November of 1874 to lobby for the Reciprocity Treaty. Although the king brought to fruition a treaty that had been worked on by the previous four sovereigns, his critics point to this trip as evidence of his pandering to Americans in Hawai‘i and his infidelity to Hawaiians and the land. Because of this supposed duplicitousness, we have been led to believe that Hawaiians had reasons for detesting Kalākaua.²¹

But wait. An important series of events beginning immediately after the election, and well before the king’s visit to the White House offer insight into a different understanding of *kanaka* attitudes toward Kalākaua than what has been presented. In March, April, and May of 1874, the king toured his new realm, visiting Kaua‘i, Hawai‘i, Maui, Moloka‘i, and O‘ahu, meeting with thousands of *maka‘āinana* and conducting business with legislators and influential businessmen. The earliest mention of the king’s tour appears in *Kuokoa*’s March 7, 1874

Huakai Alii i Kauai.

A Kauli loa i ke Waiialeale,
He maka hahalo ia no ka lehua metanoa,
E Uli-e sui ia.

Ana oukou e na makasinana o ka mo-
kupu o Kauai, eia m i ke makana a ou-
kou o ke Alii ka MOI KALAKAUA, ke holo
aku ia e ike a e launa me oukou, a e ha-
hea mai ka pono, oia he Alii ike i ka ha-
haa a me ke kiekeie, ka ilihune a me ka
waiwai.

Ma ka Poakahi la 16 o keia maelema, e
halele au e ka MOI i Honolulu uhi, a e
hea ana malou o ke mokahi "Kilauea" a
holo aku ia Kauai.

FIGURE 1. "Huakai Alii i Kauai."
Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, 2. March 7,
1874. Courtesy: *Ulukou*

edition, which merely informed readers, and the residents of Kaua'i specifically, that the king was on his way to that island (see Figure 1).²² The king had several goals for his tour: to personally thank the people for supporting him and build ties with those who did not, to understand how they wished to rebuild the kingdom, and to announce his motto, "Ho'oulu Lāhui," ["Increase the Nation"] which urged Hawaiians to increase their population and raise agricultural yield and industry throughout the archipelago.

How effective was the king's tour? Its success can presumably be measured in part by the response of the Hawaiian people. The English-language *Hawaiian Gazette*, which only ran a four-column account of the king's visit to the five islands on April 29, 1874, more than a month after the king started his tour, had earlier briefly acknowledged that "Wherever the King has been among the people, he has been welcomed with every evidence of loyalty."²³ The first of the many articles written about the king's royal tour appeared on March 24 in *Kuokoa*, and the last on May 13 in the *Hawaiian Gazette*. The English-language press devoted 19 articles, or about 12 pages, to the king's tour; the Hawaiian-language newspapers printed 21 articles, or roughly 16 pages, of coverage. All 41 articles confirm that a substantial number of maka'āinana embraced the opportunity to show their aloha and loyalty to Kalākaua personally in the events connected to his visits.

DEPARTURE FROM HONOLULU

The first reference to the king’s departure on March 16, 1874 from Honolulu appeared on March 24, 1874 in *Nūhou*. The lack of details suggests that *Nūhou*’s writer was not enthused: “Ma ka Poakahi la 16 o Malaki ma ka hora 5 o ke ahiahi haalele ka Moi ia Honolulu kau aku ma ke Kilauea”²⁴ [On Monday the 16th day of March at 5:00 in the evening the King departed from Honolulu aboard the *Kilauea*.]

Ko Hawaii Ponoī’s account of the king’s departure was more detailed than *Nūhou*’s report. For instance, *Ko Hawaii Ponoī* reported how the *Kilauea* sailed away:

Iwaena konu o na leo huro o ke lehulehu, a me ke kani kui lua mai o na pu o na moku kaua e ku kokoke ana, a me ko Puowaina hoi i kahi mamao [. . .] e pulelo mai ana na hainaka kowelo mawaena o ka moku a me uka—a e puakea mai ana hoi luna o na i-a o na manuwa i na kanaka, a o keia mau mea a pau i ikeia, he mau mea e hiki ole ai ke hoopoina koke ia.²⁵

Amidst the cheers of the crowd, and the booming sounds of the guns of the warships docked nearby, and Pūowaina’s [gun sounds] in the distance. [. . .] the people were waving fluttering handkerchiefs in between the ship and the shore—and spread out [like sails] on top of the masts of the man-of-war were men, all these things that were seen could not be soon forgotten.

The hundreds who sent off Kalākaua that day were pledging their loyalty to the king, and the royal gun salutes, cannons, and yardmen standing atop the masts of the ships would reappear throughout Hawai‘i, the United States, and abroad whenever Kalākaua was welcomed as a king. Those public spectacles or displays for the king first appeared during his 1874 tour as the new mō‘ī of the Hawaiian nation.

KĀUA‘I

Kalākaua started his tour on Kaua‘i, the last of the eight islands to join the kingdom under Kamehameha I’s rule, and the home island of Kalākaua’s wife and queen, Kapi‘olani. The first newspaper to offer

KA NUHOU HAWAII.

is only raid of loot. "Owai kela!" Who goes there! was the peremptory challenge, but as the enemy ambushed among the bushes and probably in large force, did not reply, our raw warriors thinking it unwise to risk fresh levies in a doubtful encounter, and so endanger the germ of our incipient "forces," fired and ran; and as they deemed recruits more precious and difficult to be obtained than muskets (as we have only about 22 so far as whole rank and file of the "army") did not burthen themselves with their pieces as they ran. Their fire drew forth two more shots then four and six other discharges from the guns of discreet sentinels who also discharged themselves from duty in the Palace Grounds for the right. After a time, the Commander-in-Chief appeared on the field of action with the reserves, which consisted of our Specials and some lanterns, who, after a reconnoissance in force, i. e., every man with his billy, they discovered two sheep which had been presented at the Palace by loyal Chinamen on the Saturday previous, and these woolenous animals were stampeding in the grounds, having perhaps scented the sentries sauntering among the trees. However, our braves state a more likely cause of the alarm, and that is an akua, or devil they saw coming from the direction of the Stone Church. We believe in

and that was the hearty unanimous shout of the people. Hardly one in ten lifted up hat or voices, and we were sad to note how feebly Hawaiians in Honolulu honored their King.

On the return from Kauai the reception of His Majesty was we regret to say, far more silent and sullen than the departure.

The Royal Progress at Kauai

Was attended with calm on the sea, and enthusiasm on the land; and the reception of King Kalakaua by his people at Nawiliwili, Hanalei, Waimea and Keolu was all that a ruling Hawaiian Chief could expect of a loving people. At Hanalei the loyal natives improvised wooden guns to give their King a royal salvo; the ancient spirit was infused into the games and hulas at Nawiliwili, and the daylight torches "Kukui o Iwikanikaua," recalled the especial prerogative of the Kalakaua family, that whereas other chiefs might have torches borne before them during the night, the blood of Kalakaua claimed the tribute of an unquenched flambeau both night and day. The natives of Nawiliwili marked their appreciation of the guardianship of foreign ships tendered to their King, by contributing and shipping on board the steamer *Kilauea* ten fat bullocks; to be equally divided between the Americans and

FIGURE 2. "The Royal Progress at Kauai." *Ka Nuhou Hawaii*, 8, March 24, 1874. Courtesy: *Ulukou*

an account of this visit on March 24 was *Nuhou* (see Figure 2), which took particular interest in the floral decorations that were beautifully arranged by Hanalei's folk:

Ua okiia na kumu ohia ka lala ka lau me ka pua a kukuluia iloko o ke kai; mai ke kai aku a hiki i kula a komo iloko o ka lanai ahaaina i hoo-makaukau mua ia.²⁶

The branches, leaves, and flowers of the 'ohi'a were cut and arranged in the ocean from the sea until the dry land and to the entrance of the banquet veranda that had been prepared earlier.

Had these people, after reading *Kuokou's* March 7 announcement of the king's impending visit, collaborated on creating these extravagant displays of royal reception?

On March 25, *Ko Hawaii Pono*i ran its account of the king's huaka'i [trip] to Kaua'i. This paper also paid particular attention to the many lehua trees, ferns, and maile adorning the king's path. Large words

made of flowers also welcomed Kalākaua, “Kalakaua ko kakou Moi” [Kalākaua our King] and “Hookahi Puuwai”²⁷ [One Heart.] Flowers were another symbol presented throughout the king’s tour by the people to honor him. John Charlot explains some of this symbolism: “Kalākaua is *ka heke a’o nā pua* ‘the highest of the flowers’ (l. 2); *ka pua i luna* ‘the flower above’ (l. 7),”²⁸ and “‘O Kalākaua, he inoa” “emphasizes his designation as pua (ll. 2f., 11) and links it [. . .] to one of his private names—Kapuamae‘oleikalā ‘The Flower that Wilts Not in the Sun.’”²⁹ The Hawaiian-language newspapers also often referred to Kalākaua as a pua.³⁰

Maka‘āinana were very generous to their new mō‘ī. In Hanalei, the king stayed at the home of Representative Kaukaha, where the people brought him gifts of large pigs, poultry, fish, fruits, and vegetables. When it was time to leave, the king made his way to the beach, and the March 28 edition of *Kuokoa* reported that the people ran on the beach, hats in hand, cheering.³¹

From Hanalei, Kalākaua and his retinue traveled to Waimea, where the newspapers generated differing accounts of the king’s reception. *Ko Hawaii Pono* claimed that few people greeted Kalākaua because they either did not support the new king or were kūpuna [elders], “no laila aole no paha i kupono loa ia lakou ke hana hoochiehie loa i na ike alii ana”³² [and fashioning a highly elegant chiefly greeting was perhaps unsuitable for them.] If this reporting is accurate, then for the first time we are witnessing a district that did not like the new mō‘ī, and in fact, J. Kauai, the Waimea lunamaka‘āinana [representative], did not vote for Kalākaua in the February 12 election. *Kuokoa*, however, said that the people of Waimea “covered the sands,”³³ and showered the king with gifts. When it was time for Kalākaua to leave, the residents filled the entire length of the shore, kneeling, singing, and dispersing flowers before him.³⁴

From Waimea the king traveled to Kōloa. *Ko Hawaii Pono* reported that, as in Hanalei, the people welcomed Kalākaua joyously at Hanaka‘ape. The children were in white with red silk sashes at their waists, and when Kalākaua approached, everyone cheered and the singers sang a song composed for the king. Then:

Iaia i hele aku ai mawaena o na laina, ua kukuli iho la na poe himeni,
a lu mai la i na pua a lakou e paa ana mamua o kona mau wawae, a oiiai

ka Moi e hoohaohao ia ana, ua wehe ae la [oia] i kona papale, a kunou aloha aku la i kela a me keia aoao.³⁵

When he went amidst the lines the singers knelt and threw the flowers they were holding at his feet, and as the King marveled he lifted his hat and bowed in greetings to all sides.

Nearly 100 horseback riders accompanied the king to Judge Lilikalani's house, where archways strewn with flowers welcomed Kalākaua, and when he went to Līhu'e and Nāwiliwili, *Nuhou* reported that an entourage of 159 horseback riders traveled with him for the four hours.³⁶ Like *Nuhou*, *Kuokoa* had the number of riders as 159,³⁷ but *Ko Hawaii Pono* claimed that there were no less than 500 people, not all of whom may have been on horseback.³⁸

After the entourage arrived in Nāwiliwili, the king addressed the people. At 6:00 p.m. when he made his way to the skiffs to head for the *Kilauea* to return to Honolulu, *Nuhou* said:

I kuuwa mai la ka leo aloha o na makaainana e kaohi mai ana no ia Kalani; e Kalani e; hoi mai no kakou; eia ka ai, eia ka hale, eia ke kapa; e aloha auanei e.³⁹

The loving voice of the people resounded in an attempt to detain the Heavenly One, o Heavenly One, come back to us, here is food, here is shelter, here is kapa, here is love.

This kind of pleading demonstrated the people's aloha for their mō'ī, and as the *Kilauea* sailed out of Nāwiliwili harbor, some people made their way on horseback into the water to bid him farewell, and a group of people on horses crowded the cliff side.⁴⁰

When the king arrived at Māmala harbor in Honolulu, a 21 gun salute roared from the cannons of Pūowaina, while greetings from the ships in the harbor and hurrahs from those gathered at the pier welcomed the royal entourage home. *Nuhou* reported that "haawi na lulu lima me na wehe papale no ke aloha; a kau ana ka hae kalaunu ma ka pahu hae o ka Pa alii. E ola ka Moi Kalakaua"⁴¹ [handshakes were offered with tipped hats in love; and the crown flag was raised on the flagpole in the royal yard. Long live King Kalākaua.]

LAHAINA, MAUI

On March 30, the king departed from Honolulu for Hawai‘i island via Lahaina, Maui. The April 8 edition of *Ko Hawaii Pono* reported that the Honolulu wharf was filled with more people than when Kalākaua sailed to Kaua‘i, perhaps an indication that news of his tour had reached readers.⁴² While the *Hawaiian Gazette’s* account of the departure is a brief paragraph, *Ko Hawaii Pono* and *Kuokoa* published lengthier stories. Even though only a brief stop, the towns of Lahaina and Kā‘anapali were not to be outdone in their reception of the new mō‘ī. Before the king arrived in Lahaina, the governor had formed 19 welcome committees and ordered 300 bright lights from Honolulu.⁴³ *Kuokoa* added that such a display was a first for Lahaina, and the people could probably never duplicate it.⁴⁴ That the Lahaina and Kā‘anapali people would engineer such an elaborate and memorable welcome for the king’s brief stop scheduled for after midnight provides overwhelming evidence that the people supported Kalākaua as their new sovereign.

Ko Hawaii Pono noted that late into the evening, bonfires were seen atop the precipices for eight miles (see Figure 3), and the court



FIGURE 3. “Lahaina,” circa 1885. Courtesy: Hawai‘i State Archives.

house was lit up with kukui [candlenut] torches.⁴⁵ When Kalākaua arrived aboard the *Kilauea*, 30 skiffs with passengers bearing burning torches, fruits, flowers, and gifts of every kind encircled it as the sugar mills whistled and church bells tolled.⁴⁶ The sight must have been impressive, with hundreds of people gathered there.⁴⁷ *Ko Hawaii Pono*i said, “o ke kiekie loa aku paha ia o ka nani ma ka nana ana i uka i ka aina i ikeia ana keia mau pae aina”⁴⁸ [it was perhaps the most beautiful sight in the Hawaiian Islands.] Since Lahaina representative Luther Aholo voted for Emma in the election, the people’s reception seems to exemplify maka’āinana negotiation of nationalism above party politics.

HAWAI‘I

The first part of *Ko Hawaii Pono*i’s account of the *Kilauea*’s journey from Makena to Kawaihae across the ‘Alenuihāhā channel was replete with names of people, places, and winds, details not included in the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* or *Hawaiian Gazette*. Kalākaua’s visit to Hawai‘i island was perhaps the most important he made on his tour because Hawai‘i was the home of the Keaweheulu line, from which Kalākaua descended. It is believed that Kamehameha I gave the lands of Ponahawai to Keaweheulu, a beloved and loyal chief.⁴⁹ Kalākaua, not a Kamehameha, needed to foster credibility and alliance as well as honor Kamehameha I here.

Kalākaua began at Kaipalaoa in Hilo, where Kamehameha I had issued the decree later known as “Māmalahoe Kānāwai” or “The Law of the Splintered Paddle.” It was very appropriate then that as Kalākaua and his retinue disembarked at Kaipalaoa the band played “Hawai‘i Pono‘ī,” known then as “Hymn to Kamehameha I.”⁵⁰ On the tour of the kingdom, the band would often play the anthem when Kalākaua arrived in a new district.

As for the English press’ coverage of the king’s reception in Hilo, the *Hawaiian Gazette* focused on the *Kilauea*’s anchorage instead of the splendid details of the king’s visit with residents there. The *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*’s first story about Kalākaua’s visit to Hawai‘i opened with the editor’s admission that the correspondent had not yet turned in his story.⁵¹ Those newspapers therefore left out entirely that the king made his way to Hilo via Kawaihae, north Kohala, and

down the Hāmākua coastline. This route is important because along the way kānaka and haole alike offered their aloha to Kalākaua.

Ko Hawaii Pono and *Nuhou* covered the same level of details from this passage, which included both place names and descriptions of how maka‘āinana paid tribute to Kalākaua as he was passing their district aboard the *Kilauea*. *Nuhou* noted the chief-loving keiki of Kaluaokau in southeastern Hāmākua, when the *Kilauea* sailed past their precipices, crowded the cliff tops and “ike mai la i ka hae kalaunu a huro mai la” [cheered as they saw the royal flag.] The *Kilauea* sounded its whistle to them and the king waved his handkerchief to the children.⁵² In Laupāhoehoe as well, *Nuhou* said, the women and children crowded the seashore and beckoned to the king, offering him bounties of seafood.⁵³

When Kalākaua arrived in Hilo at around noon, *Nuhou* said, “aia na makaainana ke puuluulu mai la”⁵⁴ [the shore was packed solid] with beautifully adorned people in a line with lit torches cheering lustily. A symbol frequently mentioned in newspaper accounts of the royal tour was a torch burning during the day, the hō‘ailona, or sign that King Kalākaua’s ancestor, Iwikauikaua, used on state occasions to assert his right to the throne, and the one that Kalākaua repeated to reaffirm his nobility. George S. Kanahale has explained:

This ceremonial rite was a spectacular custom that evoked the traditional pageantry and awe of Hawaiian royalty, even under a constitutional monarchy. The flaming torch served as authentication of ancient Hawaiian authority and as a dramatic practice for a king of the modern era.⁵⁵

Kuokoa does mention that also among those on the beach that day in Hilo were Emma’s supporters, who, though they were unhappy, were there adding to the numbers and showing a progression of unity.⁵⁶ The king was then received in the home of Thomas “Po‘onāhoahoa” Spencer.⁵⁷ The home was opened to all that day, and so many visitors came to see the king, *Nuhou* explained, that some people climbed on top of the fences, the trees, and the rooftops.⁵⁸ The king was treated to hula performances that evening. On every island the king visited on his tour, Hawaiians honored him with hula, and it was appreciated by viewers. Throughout his reign Kalākaua encouraged its performance

to celebrate Hawaiian culture and because hula was one of his passions.

On the next day of the royal tour, Kalākaua gave a speech at the Haili Church. After his speech, the court house was opened and the people came in crowds to greet the king and offer him their gifts. *Kuokoa* said that “aole kekahi mea hele wale mai”⁵⁹ [no one came empty handed.] *Nuhou* reported that 397 people shook hands with the king; and the total number there on site was 3,000.⁶⁰ Before the king departed, *Nuhou* observed, “Hookahi mea ano nui loa, i na makaainana o Hilo, oia ko lakou aua ana i ka Moi e noho loa i Hilo”⁶¹ [One very important thing to the people of Hilo was namely their detaining the King to remain longer in Hilo.]

From Hilo, Kalākaua traveled south to Ka‘ū, where support for him was overwhelming. On a road in Wai‘ōhinu people had erected beautiful arches. So many residents came to the church there to hear the king’s speech that it was moved outdoors to accommodate everyone.⁶² After Ka‘ū, Kalākaua and his retinue made their way to Kauhakō, in Ho‘okena, where people stood on the beach, swirling their hats, cheering and offering gifts to the king (see figure 4). From there, Kalākaua went to Kaiakeakua, the beach that fronts Hulihe‘e



FIGURE 4. “Hookena Village,” circa 1890. Provided courtesy of the Kona Historical Society.

Palace, where 30 burning torches welcomed the chief.⁶³ The *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* said that the king entered a canoe and the people dragged it over the shore.⁶⁴

On his next stop in Kawaihae, Kalākaua was again welcomed with sounds resembling the cannons of Pūowaina, a noise that maka‘āinana throughout the Hawaiian Islands, as though it was a contest, tried to mimic through different inventive ways.⁶⁵ *Nuhou* reported, “Ma ka auolo o ka uapo he mau huaolelo, ‘Hookahi Puuwai’; me na lalani hua haole, ‘Long Life and Happiness’—aia loihi me ka pomai-kai—me keia kekahi, ‘Peace and Plenty’” [The words, “One Heart” were arranged on a shed on the wharf with the English lines, “Long Life and Happiness”—long life and fortune—with this, “Peace and Plenty.”] The residents of Kawaihae untied the horses from the carriage, and pulled Kalākaua themselves to Samuel Parker’s home. Beautifully-crafted arches also awaited the king there. *Nuhou* also added that a choir, dressed in white clothing with red sashes, sang “Hymn to Kamehameha I.”⁶⁶ In this case, the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* said it best, “Wherever His Majesty went on the large and important Island of Hawaii, He was met by His subjects, both foreign and native, with lively and heartfelt demonstrations of devotion and loyalty.”⁶⁷ And this ended Kalākaua’s progress across Hawai‘i island.

MAUI

At sunset on April 7, Kalākaua and his retinue arrived at Makena, and were welcomed by the king’s good friend, Captain James McKee, at ‘Ulupalakua at around 10 in the evening. The *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* said that about 80 torchbearers accompanied the king up to ‘Ulupalakua,⁶⁸ while *Nuhou* claimed the plains glowed brightly with 200 Hawaiian candlenut torches.⁶⁹ The lavish McKee home was alive with visitors who came to pay tribute to the king, and enjoy festivities of hula and Tahitian dancing, banquets, and even billiards (see Figure 5). Later, maka‘āinana from Waiohuli and Kēōkea arrived on horseback carrying the Hawaiian flag.⁷⁰ Waiohuli is more than six miles from ‘Ulupalakua, and Kēōkea about four miles away.

The next day Kalākaua travelled from ‘Ulupalakua to Waikapū via Wailuku, where beautifully adorned arches greeted him⁷¹ and some 300 horsemen accompanied him.⁷² *Ko Hawaii Pono* added:

Ua hele nui mai la na makaainana e ike i ka Moi a me ka Moiwahine me ka lawe ana mai i ka lakou mau hookupu, a ua muimuia ae la na kanaka ma ke alanui a maloko iho o ka pa me na iini ana e kilohi aku i na helehelena o ka lakou mea i kau nui ai e ike.⁷³

People came from everywhere with gifts to greet the King and Queen, and the people were assembled together along the road and in the yards in hopes of gazing upon the features of the one they wished to see.

Once in Waikapū, Kalākaua met with the reception committee of the Wai‘ehā lands, and they wished him to stay longer. *Kuokoa* then explained that a mānele or special carrier was crafted to convey the king from Waikapū, “i mea hookelakela oi loa ae i ko na apana e”⁷⁴ [in order to put on a greater display than those of other districts.]

Later the king stayed at the home of Judge Kuihelani, where more gifts were offered and a grand ball was given in Kalākaua’s honor. In Wailuku, Kalākaua spoke at the Temperance Union, where *Nuhou*



FIGURE 5. King Kalākaua was again greeted with a floral tribute when he visited Maui in 1882. Courtesy of Bishop Museum.

reported that about 4,000 people gathered to hear him.⁷⁵ *Kuokoa* elaborated: “o ka hele mai la no ia o na makaainana e hookeke a wawahi maoli mai no paha kahi poe i na puka aniani, no ke ake nui no e ike alii mai kuaaina”⁷⁶ [The people crowded in and some broke the windows on purpose in the eagerness of the country folks to see the chiefs.]

On April 13, the king made his way to Lahaina to speak at the court house, but before he could enter maka‘āinana welcomed him at the door.⁷⁷ The correspondent for *Nūhou* said of the king’s address later that day:

He keu ia a ka Haiolelo nani loa, a ua piha pono na puuwai i ka hauoli. Aohe haiolelo ana a ka Moi i ike ia ka maikai e like me ia; a no ka lilo loa o ko’u manao i kamaikai o kona mau kalai manao ana, aole hiki ia’u ke hoomanao a kakau la hoi ma ka’u puke hoomanao.⁷⁸

It was a most beautiful Speech, filling hearts with joy. No other speech of the King’s was seen to be as fine as it; and because my thoughts were so completely absorbed in the excellent way he expressed his thoughts, I am unable to recall and record it in my journal.

Those comments echo many others during that time about Kalākaua’s public eloquence. He was a remarkable speaker, it was said, dignified and highly intelligent. That quality, however, rarely made it into those narratives that opposed the king. Leaving Lahaina, Kalākaua and his retinue boarded the *Kilauea* at four in the morning, “me ka poai puni ana a na lama kukui a na keiki o ka malu ulu”⁷⁹ [completely surrounded by the illuminated torches of the children of the sheltered grove (Lahaina’s poetical name)] and made their way to Moloka‘i. In September, Kalākaua would return to Maui to visit Hana (see Figure 6).⁸⁰

MOLOKA‘I

The king’s visit to Moloka‘i was brief because those of Honolulu were expecting the retinue at 10:00 that evening. Kalākaua first stopped at Pūko‘o and spoke to the people there. They applauded and offered their ho‘okupu [gifts] to the king. Kalākaua then headed to Kalau-papa, the settlement for those afflicted with leprosy. After King

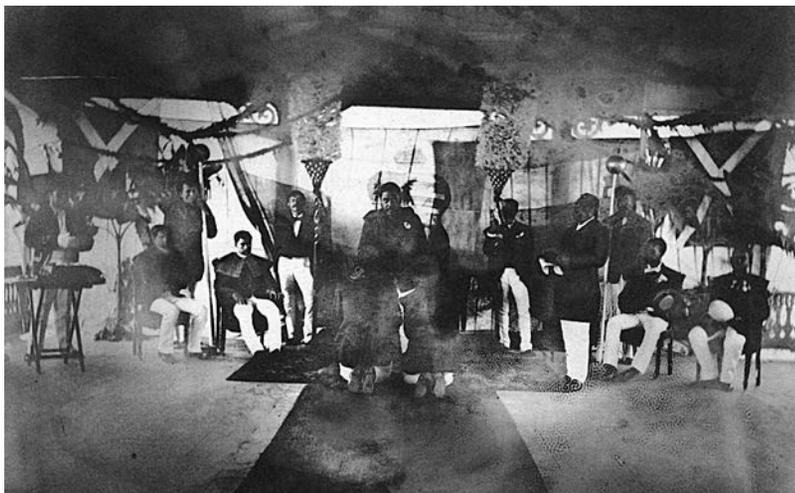


FIGURE 6. "Kalākaua in Hana," Date unknown. Christian J. Hedemann Collection. Courtesy of Bishop Museum.

Kalākaua's speech to Hawaiians at Kalaupapa, *Kuokoa* noted that "ua hoihoi mai lakou i ka pane no ia olelo me na olioli a me na huro i ka ike Moi ana"⁸¹ [they responded with pleasure, joy and cheers at seeing the King.] In that address to the 200–300 Hawaiians who had gathered there the king mentioned that "his heart was grieved at the necessity which had separated these subjects from their homes and families."⁸² Meeting briefly with the patients after his speech, Kalākaua listened to their troubles, including the dreaded spread of influenza,⁸³ and *Nūhou* pointed out that the king allowed, with the doctors' approval, the return of 114 residents to their homes, away from Kalaupapa.⁸⁴ Expediting the departure of these patients was certainly one of the most important results from the king's visit there. Of his own visit to the settlement, the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* correspondent wrote, "We had passed through an experience that was painful and saddening; witnessed scenes of human misery that we shall never forget; and although nothing short of actual duty will tempt us to make another visit to Kalawao, we are far from regretting that we undertook the trip."⁸⁵ From Moloka'i the royal entourage made its way to O'ahu.

RETURN TO HONOLULU

Kalākaua’s return to Honolulu was one of the most exciting segments of his entire tour of the kingdom—a spectacle of unprecedented grandeur, and the perfect finale to the honorary displays offered by the people throughout Hawai‘i (see Figure 7). Honolulu was the capital of the kingdom, and it was most essential for those there to project a nation that was building its unity. *Kuokoa* said: “Aole i ikeia kekahi hoohanohano ano nui launa ole e like me keia, a aole no paha he like e hiki mai ana”⁸⁶ [Such a great honor as this was never seen before and perhaps it will never be seen in the future again.] The pageantry, the lights, and the sheer numbers of maka‘āinana who turned out for the king’s arrival created one of the most striking ali‘i welcomes—a testament not only to the ingenuity, organization, and hard work of the people of Honolulu, but to their united aloha for their mō‘i and to their hope for a thriving lāhui.⁸⁷ Maka‘āinana were

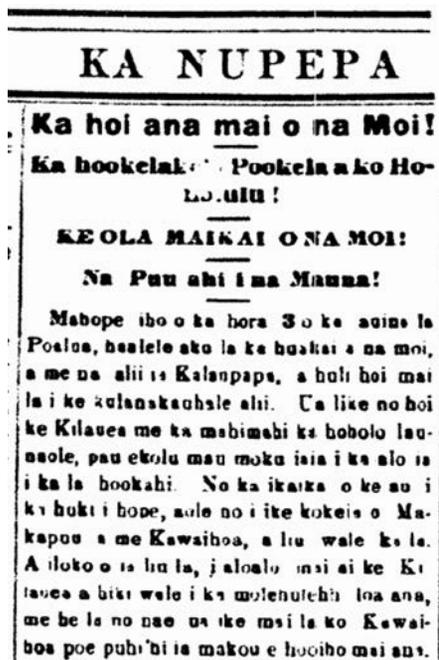


FIGURE 7. “Ka Hoi ana mai o na Moi” *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 2. Apr. 18, 1874. Courtesy: Ulukau

ready to overlook political divisions for the sake of moving forward as a unified whole. When nineteenth-century readers of Hawaiian- and English-language newspapers across the kingdom read the accounts of Honolulu's welcome of Kalākaua, there could have been no doubt that many, many citizens of Hawai'i, partisans of all parties, were truly committed to their new sovereign. This is one of the few places where newspaper coverage was the same.

The first newspaper to run a story about Kalākaua's return to Honolulu was *Hawaiian Gazette*, and its brief account said, "The population of the city turned out *en masse* to receive the royal party."⁸⁸ Most of *Hawaiian Gazette's* stories of the 1874 tour of the kingdom were similarly brief. The April 18 edition of the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* added that fireworks and bonfires were seen,⁸⁹ but the Hawaiian-language newspapers presented by far the most details. As the *Kilauea* rounded O'ahu's southern tip at around 8 in the evening, massive bonfires could be seen atop the summits from Kawaihoa, the point beyond present-day Portlock, to 'Ihi'ihilauākea, the "crater west of Hanauma Bay,"⁹⁰ all the way to Moanalua.⁹¹

As the *Kilauea* pushed along, torches graced the beach from Kalua-hole (a beach along Le'ahi) to Kālia. Of those aboard the *Kilauea*, *Kuokoa* remarked that they "e pioo ana, a he mahalo wale aku no"⁹² [were excited and filled with esteem.] For three hours the king and his retinue passed these stunning fires, with everyone in Honolulu lifting their eyes to these emblems of the king's majesty. Kawaiaha'o's steeple was decorated with lights, like a lei adorning the church: "He hana i hoohiluhilu ole ia i na Aliiaimoku nana i kapili, a eia ka i ka moopuna a Keaweheulu e kahiko pihaiā ai ka Halelaa. Ua hiki!"⁹³ [This was never before done for the rulers who built it, but for the descendant of Keaweheulu, this sacred edifice became fully adorned! So let it be!] *Nuhou* even said, "lohe pono ole ia aku ke kani o na pu o Puowaina i kau a mea he ikuwa o na leo kanaka me ke pahupahu o na mea kani. Hele a hewa i ka wai ua mea he kanaka"⁹⁴ [The cannons of Pūowaina could not be heard because of the clamor of voices and popping of fireworks. One could drown amid the people.]

At 'Āinahou, Hawaiians, haole, and Chinese congregated eagerly waiting to see "ko lakou Moi ike makaainana"⁹⁵ [their King who recognizes the common people.] Here *Kuokoa* touched on something commonly known then—that Kalākaua was a different mō'i. He was

a people’s king. Maka‘āinana could approach, speak, and shake hands with Kalākaua, which occurred throughout his tour of the kingdom.

Once the *Kilauea* arrived in the harbor, Kalākaua and his retinue disembarked, and the people prepared to convey the ali‘i to the palace. Both *Kuokoa* and *Nuhou* said that maka‘āinana offered the ali‘i two ways to travel: children would carry the carriage, or adults would carry a mānele using sticks across their shoulders. Kalākaua chose the carriage; and Kamaka‘eha (Lili‘uokalani) and Governor Dominis rode in the mānele.⁹⁶ Upon the king’s entering ‘Iolani Palace, Hawaiian men and women prostrated themselves. *Kuokoa* pointedly concluded its report, “Ke hoike mai nei keia hana, ua lokahi ka lahui no Kalakaua. Ina pela e pau ka opukekeue, nonohua, a e noho me ka naau aloha alii”⁹⁷ [This welcome shows that the nation has united for Kalākaua. In that case, end the slander and live with chiefly-loving hearts.]

O‘AHU

Following this return, the king travelled throughout O‘ahu, and the newspapers covered different parts of his tour. The *Hawaiian Gazette* was the first to run an account of the king’s departure from Honolulu via Kaluakahu‘a to Waimānalo.⁹⁸ About 30 members of Kalākaua’s retinue dined there with the Honorable John Adams Cummins, a wealthy sugar plantation owner, rancher, noble, and a relative of Kalākaua.⁹⁹ A letter to *Ko Hawaii Pono* from a Waimānalo resident described the people’s welcome, “Ua hoohiwahiwa ia ke alanui hele me na huaolelo—‘Aloha ka Moi”¹⁰⁰ [A pathway was decorated with the words “Beloved King.”] There were also beautiful arches along the road, and people in red suits and white veils upon black horses, bearing the torches of Iwikauikaua. In one area called Kukui “he Pio Lehua e ku ana, me na huaolelo ‘Hele mai ka Moi Kalakaua, ua ola Hawaii” [here was an arch made of lehua with the words, “Come King Kalakaua, Hawaii thrives.”] When Kalākaua walked through another archway all the people immediately prostrated themselves. It was also said that the humble people of Waimānalo did not shake hands with the king, but greeted him with a bow of the head, since “ua menemene lakou i na lima o Kalani Moi” [they revered the hands of

the Heavenly King.] Then children sang three mele to the king, after which maka‘āinana presented ho‘okupu to their mō‘i.

From Waimānalo, Kalākaua and his retinue made their way to Maunawili, where Major Edward H. Boyd welcomed them at his home with a beautifully-adorned archway.¹⁰¹ Following dinner, firebrands sailed through the air above Olomana, and dancers and chanters performed hula in honor of the king. There were bonfires atop Ahiki and Pāku‘i (two of the three summits of Olomana). In Kāne‘ohe the size of the entourage increased to 150. The king then traveled to He‘eia, Ka‘alaia, and Kualoa, where he stopped to dine with Charles H. Judd. At Punalu‘u, many wealthy Chinese rice farmers hosted a dinner in Kalākaua’s honor. Here, 21 bombs exploded in a 21 gun salute to the king and a stream of fireworks burst through the air. He then proceeded to Hau‘ula and Lā‘ie. *Kuokoa* said, “Ma ia po iho, ua owela na pali i na ahi i ho-a ia, he hoike ana ia i ke aloha alii”¹⁰² [That night, the hills [of Ko‘olauloa] glowed with lighted bonfires, expressions of affection for the chiefs.] In Lā‘ie, 200 to 300 native Latter-Day Saints gathered to listen to the king’s speech, and from there the party made its way to Kahuku and Waialua, where maka‘āinana from as far away as ‘Ewa and Wai‘anae had gathered and filled the Waialua church to listen to Kalākaua’s address. From there, the retinue traveled to Mānana and Moanalua. When Kalākaua and his suite returned to Honolulu, the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* reported, “King street, throughout its length up to the Palace gates, was crowded with people, who welcomed their Majesties back to the capital with cheers.”¹⁰³ The tour of O‘ahu ended with a banquet and masquerade ball at the palace that evening. Kalākaua visited Wai‘anae later in May and Ko‘olaupoko in August, completing his royal tour.¹⁰⁴

The reported results of Kalākaua’s royal progress of the kingdom in 1874 underscore its success. While the tour did reveal that a small percentage of maka‘āinana outside of Honolulu did not care for their new mō‘i, the aloha throughout Hawai‘i showed a widespread acceptance and support of Kalākaua. The political division as existed between Emma and Kalākaua supporters was new for the kingdom. Never before did Hawaiians have to make a decision between party and nation, and resolving the new division required a reach of national consciousness. The Hawaiian-language newspapers’ coverage of the tour illuminates the heterogeneity of Hawaiians then, that

they were politically diverse, and that they attempted to unify on a national level because they had to.

The tour also showcases the ingenuity and fervor of the Hawaiian subjects as they organized, constructed, and decorated the ornate displays of welcome. Think for instance about ascending the many high peaks carrying everything needed to ignite and sustain those massive mountain-top bonfires. All of these displays demonstrated the unification of the lāhui in a nationalist maka‘āinana alliance, which was critical during that time. When Kalākaua ascended the throne in 1874, Hawaiians faced a diminished population, the potential cession of Pearl River to the United States, which could signal a growing threat to their independence, and extensive amassing of land and economic power by haole sugar planters. The significance of the tour itself becomes clear. As a symbol of hope, change, and independence, Kalākaua’s physical presence in each district he visited enlivened and revitalized Hawaiians at a precarious time. And the lengthier newspaper accounts of the tour are examples of nineteenth-century political discourse between maka‘āinana throughout the kingdom’s districts who were deliberately using the tour and the newspapers’ coverage to unite themselves as a lāhui.

As the tour confirms, Hawaiians loved and praised their new king. The people of Waimānalo treated him as an akua, or a deity, withholding their hands from him so as to not taint him, but Hawaiians everywhere were eager and anxious to see Kalākaua. Who can forget those of Kēōkea and Waiohuli, who impressed the mō‘ī by arriving from their homes far away; or the children of the Hāmākua coast, who climbed the precipices to catch a glimpse of the king as he sailed by on the *Kilauea*; or those of Lahaina who prepared the eight-mile stretch of bonfires along the shores and summits, and lighted torches to welcome their mō‘ī at 2:30 in the morning, or the hundreds of people of Kōloa who rode their horses for eight hours to accompany the king on his departure from their town? Nor were the kapu of this mō‘ī forgotten. Hawaiians everywhere united in their reverence through the burning of torches during the midday. Reports of the tour also show us that people of all ages and races honored Kalākaua. Though some of the haole, Hawaiians, and Chinese on O‘ahu maintained relative social isolation from other groups, for the reception of their new sovereign these people, pos-

sibly more so for those who were citizens, banded together in their aloha for Kalākaua.

Because of the tour, and the newspapers' continuing coverage of it, Hawaiians from separate islands were inspired to invent entirely new ways to welcome the king to their moku [island], or to replicate another island's pattern of displays for him. All these acts fostered a unity among maka'āinana not just in their love for the mō'ī but for the entire lāhui. The importance of the newspaper articles to this shared understanding cannot be understated. The Hawaiian-language newspapers provided far more details of the entire tour than the English-language newspapers, including information about maka'āinana receptions, banquets, balls, hula, children's choir performances, light and firework shows, and regard for flowers to pay tribute to and honor Kalākaua. The Hawaiian readership was clearly interested in what the sovereign was doing during his tour, in details about who greeted and accompanied him, how many people attended, and possibly how their own displays of welcome could outdo earlier tributes. Additionally, those Hawaiian-language newspaper articles contained a large body of peripheral information that is important today, like nineteenth-century place names, many of which have disappeared from our everyday conversations and spheres of awareness.

At the end of the king's progress through the kingdom, *Kuokoa* printed songs that the students of Lahainaluna had written and sung for the king on his visit to Lahainalalo. The first verse and chorus of the first mele went:

<i>O Kalakaua no ka Moi</i>	Kalākaua the King
<i>O ke Aupuni Hawaii</i>	Of the Hawaiian Kingdom
<i>Kahiko nani hoi o ka Lāhui</i>	A truly beautiful adornment of the Nation
<i>Mai Hawaii hoi a Niūhau.</i>	From Hawai'i to Ni'ūhau.
<i>A he pua oe, no ka Lāhui</i>	You are a blossom for the Nation
<i>He makua hoi no makou</i>	Also a father for us all
<i>A he lei nani, no makou</i>	A beautiful garland for all of us
<i>No kou mau makaainana a pau.</i> ¹⁰⁵	For all of your subjects.

The lyrics of this mele composed for the “pua for the nation,” Kalākaua, echo the aloha of the maka‘āinana throughout the tour, unite the entire aupuni under its new leader, instill hope in those who would be the future leaders of Hawai‘i, and finally, by their publication serve as an example of how maka‘āinana employed the newspapers to present their aloha for their mō‘ī and for the entire lāhui. The increased access to the Hawaiian-language newspapers is an invaluable window to the past, providing us with important details that have been long unavailable.

NOTES

Hawaiian words in this article are not italicized. This is to acknowledge Hawaiian as a native and not foreign language in Hawai‘i. Unless otherwise noted, all translations in this paper are those of the author. Many scholars have been consulted, but the author is responsible for the translations here.

¹ Mary Kawena Pūku‘i, *Ōlelo No‘eau: Hawaiian Proverbs & Poetical Sayings* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum P, 1983), 68o.

² ku‘ualoha ho‘omanawanui, “Hā, Mana, Leo (Breath, Spirit, Voice): Kanaka Maoli Empowerment through Literature,” *American Indian Quarterly* 28.1/2 (2004): 86–91; Noenoe K. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham: Duke UP, 2004); The University of Hawai‘i’s Sea Grant, “Hawaiian Language Newspaper Translation Project.”

³ Kanaka point-of-view comes from and represents the language community, most of whom would be Hawaiian, but not necessarily, as the common language of the kingdom was Hawaiian.

⁴ The term maka‘āinana once signified non-chiefly status, or that of a “commoner.” With the advent of nationhood, the term was used to refer to a citizen of the nation, whether indigenous Hawaiian or an immigrant who had applied for and been granted full citizenship. It can be confusing, but many historical references to “Hawaiians” were regarding citizenship rather than bloodline.

⁵ Or the point-of-view from someone in the Hawai‘i community.

⁶ See Lorrin A. Thurston, *Memoirs of the Hawaiian Revolution* Ed. Andrew Farrell. (Honolulu: Advertiser, 1936); Sanford B. Dole, *Memoirs of the Hawaiian Revolution*. Ed. Andrew Farrell. (Honolulu: Advertiser, 1936); Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom vol. III, 1874–1893* (Honolulu: U of Hawaii P, 1967); Helena G. Allen, *Kalākaua: Renaissance King* (Honolulu: Mutual, 1994); Kristin Zambucka, *Hawaii’s Last King* (Honolulu: Mana, 2002).

⁷ William De Witt Alexander, *Kalākaua’s Reign: A Sketch of Hawaiian History (1894)* (Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette, 1894), 315 and Lucien Young, *The Boston at Hawaii or The Observations and Impressions of a Naval Officer during a Stay of Fourteen Months in Those Islands on a Man-of-War* (Washington D. C.: Gibson Bros.,

- 1898), 9–13 are more examples. See also *John Cameron's Odyssey*, Trans. Andrew Farrell. (New York: Macmillan, 1928), 224.
- ⁸ R. D. K. Herman, "Out of Sight, Out of Mind, Out of Power: Leprosy, Race, and Colonization in Hawai'i," *Hūlili: Multidisciplinary Research on Hawaiian Well-Being* 6 (2010): 271–299. 272.
- ⁹ Kathleen Dickenson Mellen explained this point in *An Island Kingdom Passes: Hawaii Becomes American* (New York: Hastings, 1958), viii–ix; Frances J. Schobel, "David Kalakaua, the Man," U of Hawaii at Hilo. 1984. Anthropology 386; Schobel carried it out.
- ¹⁰ See Kuykendall 687; Masaji Marumoto, "Vignette of Early Hawaii-Japanese Relations: Highlights of King Kalakaua's Sojourn in Japan on His Trip around the World as Recorded in His Personal Diary," *HJH* 10 (1976): 52–63. 53.
- ¹¹ Kuykendall's and A. Grove Day's *Hawaii: A History* and Gavan Daws' *Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands* are examples of other authoritative texts.
- ¹² Rona Tamiko Halualani, *In the Name of Hawaiians: Native Identities and Cultural Politics* (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 2002), xvi.
- ¹³ *Nuhou's* last two to three pages were often in English.
- ¹⁴ Because this topic deals with perspective rather than simple data, I interpreted all the articles on my own, but then sought the help of language professionals (Jon Yasuda, Puakea Nogelmeier, Lalepa Koga, and Craig Howes) to confirm or clarify my findings.
- ¹⁵ "Islanders," *Rocky Mountain News* [Denver], 12. 24 Oct. 1886; John H. Reinecke, *Language and Dialect in Hawaii: A Sociolinguistic History to 1935* (Honolulu: U of Hawaii P, 1969), 28; M. Puakea Nogelmeier, *Mai Pa'a i ka Leo: Historical Voice in Hawaiian Primary Materials, Looking Forward and Listening Back* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum P and Awaiaulu P, 2010), 75.
- ¹⁶ Esther Mo'okini, *The Hawaiian Newspapers* (Honolulu: Topgallant, 1974), xiv.
- ¹⁷ Helen Geracimos Chapin, *Shaping History: The Role of Newspapers in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 1996), 77.
- ¹⁸ Nogelmeier, *Mai* 81; "Telling the Whole Story: Analysis Supports Readership as Key Metric for Planning & Buying Advertising", An Analysis by Scarborough Research & Newspaper National Network (2010), 4.
- ¹⁹ Chapin, *Shaping* 57.
- ²⁰ Chapin, *Shaping* 66.
- ²¹ See Kuykendall 7; Daws 201; and Michael Dougherty, *To Steal a Kingdom* (Waimānalo, HI: Island Style P, 1992), 130.
- ²² "Huakai Alii i Kauai," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* 7 Mar. 1874, 2. *Ulukau: Hawaiian Electronic Library*.
- ²³ "The Royal Progress through the Hawaiian Kingdom," *HG* 1 Apr. 1874, 2. *Chronicling America: Historic American Papers*.
- ²⁴ "Ka Huakai a ka Moi Kalakaua i Kauai," *Ka Nuhou Hawaii* 24 Mar. 1874, 4. *Ulukau*.
- ²⁵ "Ka Huakai a ka Moi i Kauai," *Ko Hawaii Pono* 25 Mar. 1874, 3. *Ulukau*.
- ²⁶ "Ka Huakai," *Nuhou* 24 Mar. 1874: 4.
- ²⁷ "Ka Huakai," *Ko Hawaii Pono* 25 Mar. 1874: 3.

- ²⁸ John Charlot, *The Hawaiian Poetry of Religion & Politics* (Honolulu: Institute for Polynesian Studies, 1985), 9.
- ²⁹ Charlot, 10.
- ³⁰ “Ka Halawai Nui,” *Ko Hawaii Ponoī* 11 Feb. 1874, 3. *Ulukau*; “Na Mele no ka Lani Moi Kalakaua.” *Ko Hawaii Ponoī*. 6 May 1874, 4. *Ulukau*.
- ³¹ “Ka Huakai Ike Makaainana a ka Moi ka Lani Kalakaua no ka Mokupuni o Kauai,” *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* 28 Mar. 1874, 2. *Ulukau*; *Hawaiian Ethnographic Notes vol. I*. 2878–2879, 2881–2883, 2885, 2887–2891, and 2905. 2878. Honolulu: Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum.
- ³² “Ka Huakai,” *Ko Hawaii Ponoī* 25 Mar. 1874: 3.
- ³³ Thrum’s *Almanac & Annual* says natives in Waimea in 1872 numbered about 1,220. Total population was 1,269. Thomas G. Thrum, “Census of the Principal Townships of the Hawaiian Islands Taken December 27, 1872,” *HAA for 1875* (Honolulu: Thrum, 1875), 6.
- ³⁴ “Ka Huakai a Kalani Kalakaua!” *Nupepa Kuokoa*. 4 Apr. 1874, 2. *Ulukau*.
- ³⁵ “Ka Huakai,” *Ko Hawaii Ponoī* 25 Mar. 1874: 3.
- ³⁶ “Ka Huakai,” *Nuhou* 24 Mar. 1874: 4.
- ³⁷ “Ka Huakai Ike,” *Kuokoa* 28 Mar. 1874: 2.
- ³⁸ “Ka Huakai,” *Ko Hawaii Ponoī* 25 Mar. 1874: 3; Government census records say total population of Kōloa in 1872 was 833. Robert C. Schmitt, *Demographic Statistics of Hawaii, 1778–1965*, (Honolulu: U of Hawaii P, 1968), 71.
- ³⁹ “Ka Huakai,” *Nuhou* 24 Mar. 1874: 4; Kapa is left untranslated from Hawaiian because it was a highly-prized, honorary gift offered to chiefs.
- ⁴⁰ “Ka Huakai,” *Ko Hawaii Ponoī* 25 Mar. 1874: 3.
- ⁴¹ “Ka Huakai,” *Nuhou* 24 Mar. 1874: 4.
- ⁴² “Ka Huakai Alii,” *Ko Hawaii Ponoī*. 8 Apr. 1874, 2. *Ulukau*; “The Royal Progress,” *PCA* Apr. 18, 1874: 3.
- ⁴³ “Ka Huakai!” *Kuokoa* 4 Apr. 1874: 2; *HEN vol. I* 2887.
- ⁴⁴ “Ka Huakai!” *Kuokoa* 4 Apr. 1874: 2. *HEN vol. I* 2887.
- ⁴⁵ “Ka Huakai,” *Ko Hawaii Ponoī* 8 Apr. 1874: 2.
- ⁴⁶ “Ka Huakai a ka Moi!” *Ka Nuhou Hawaii* 14 Apr. 1874, 3–5. *Ulukau*.
- ⁴⁷ Thrum’s *HAA* says natives in Lahaina in 1872 numbered about 2,657. Government census records say the total population in 1872 was 3,002.
- ⁴⁸ “Ka Huakai Alii,” *Ko Hawaii Ponoī* 8 Apr. 1874: 2. *Ulukau*.
- ⁴⁹ Marion Kelly, Barry Nakamura, and Dorothy B. Barrere, *Hilo Bay: A Chronological History*, (Honolulu: Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, 1981), 11.
- ⁵⁰ The original was the Prussian hymn, “Heil Dir Im Siegerkranz,” but royal bandmaster Henri Berger rewrote the music in 1872, and in 1874 Kalākaua added the lyrics to honor Kamehameha I.
- ⁵¹ “The Royal Progress,” *PCA* 11 Apr. 1874: 2; All the newspaper could report was, “At Hilo, a ball was given by the residents on the evening at His Majesty’s arrival and the next day he met the people in the Court House.”
- ⁵² “Ka Huakai!” *Nuhou* 14 Apr. 1874: 3.
- ⁵³ “Ka Huakai!” *Nuhou* 14 Apr. 1874: 3.
- ⁵⁴ “Ka Huakai!” *Nuhou* 14 Apr. 1874: 3.

- ⁵⁵ George S. Kanahale, "Kalākaua and the Renaissance of Hula: Inspiration and Intellectual Motivation for Hawai'i's Cultural Resurgence," *Humu Mo'olelo* 1.2 (2006): 6-27. 13.
- ⁵⁶ "Ka Huakai," *Kuokoa* 11 Apr. 1874: 2; Hawai'i island was also the home of fervent Emma supporters, including Joseph Nāwahi.
- ⁵⁷ See Kaori O'Connor, "Notes & Queries: Thomas Spencer and 'A Visit to Kilauea,'" *HJH* 31 (1998): 208-213.
- ⁵⁸ "Ka Huakai!" *Nūhou* 14 Apr. 1874: 3.
- ⁵⁹ "Ka Huakai," *Kuokoa* 11 Apr. 1874: 2; *HEN vol. I* 2888.
- ⁶⁰ Thrum's *HAA* says natives in Hilo in 1872 numbered about 3,749. Government census records say the total population in 1872 was 4,220.
- ⁶¹ "Ka Huakai!" *Nūhou* 14 Apr. 1874: 4.
- ⁶² "Ka Huakai," *Kuokoa* 11 Apr. 1874: 2; *HEN vol. I* 2889.
- ⁶³ "Ka Huakai," *Kuokoa* 11 Apr. 1874: 2.
- ⁶⁴ "The Royal Progress," *PCA* 11 Apr. 1874: 3.
- ⁶⁵ *HEN vol. I* 2890.
- ⁶⁶ "Ka Huakai!" *Nūhou* 14 Apr. 1874: 5.
- ⁶⁷ "The Royal Progress," *PCA* 11 Apr. 1874: 3.
- ⁶⁸ "The Royal Progress," *PCA* 18 Apr. 1874: 3.
- ⁶⁹ "Ka Huakai a ka Moi!" *Ka Nūhou Hawaii*. 21 Apr. 1874, 3-5. *Ulukau*.
- ⁷⁰ "Ka Huakai!" *Nūhou* 21 Apr. 1874: 3.
- ⁷¹ "Ka Huakai Alii," *Ka Nūpepa Kuokoa*. 18 Apr. 1874, 2. *Ulukau*; *HEN vol. I* 2887-2901.
- ⁷² "The Royal Progress," *PCA* 18 Apr. 1874: 3.
- ⁷³ "Ka Huakai Alii mai ko makou Mea Kakau Manao Kuikawa," *Ko Hawaii Pono* 6 May 1874, 4. *Ulukau*.
- ⁷⁴ "Ka Huakai Alii," *Kuokoa* 18 Apr. 1874: 2; *HEN vol. I* 2887-2901.
- ⁷⁵ "Ka Huakai!" *Nūhou* 21 Apr. 1874: 4; Thrum's *HAA* says natives in Wailuku in 1872 numbered about 3,653. Total population was about 4,060.
- ⁷⁶ "Ka Huakai Alii," *Kuokoa* 18 Apr. 1874: 2; *HEN vol. I* 2887-2901.
- ⁷⁷ "Ka Huakai Alii," *Ko Hawaii Pono* 6 May 1874, 4. *Ulukau*.
- ⁷⁸ "Ka Huakai!" *Nūhou* 21 Apr. 1874: 4.
- ⁷⁹ "Ka Huakai!" *Nūhou* 21 Apr. 1874: 4.
- ⁸⁰ "Ka Moi ma Hana," *Kuokoa* 12 Sep. 1874: 2.
- ⁸¹ "Ka Huakai!" *Kuokoa* 18 Apr. 1874: 2; *HEN vol. I* 2887-2901.
- ⁸² "The Leper Asylum of Molokai." *PCA* 18 Apr. 1874: 2. This article also mentions that there were 675 adults residing at the settlement in the time of the king's visit.
- ⁸³ "Ka Huakai!" *Nūhou* 21 Apr. 1874: 4.
- ⁸⁴ "Ka Huakai Alii," *Ko Hawaii Pono* 6 May 1874: 4.
- ⁸⁵ "The Leper Asylum of Molokai." *PCA* 18 Apr. 1874: 2.
- ⁸⁶ "Ka Hoi ana mai o na Moi," *Kuokoa*. 18 Apr. 1874, 2. *Ulukau*; *HEN vol. I* 2883.
- ⁸⁷ Thrum's *HAA* says natives in Honolulu in 1872 numbered about 12,223.
- ⁸⁸ "Their Majesties," *HG* 15 Apr. 1874, 2. *Chronicling America*.
- ⁸⁹ "The Royal Progress," *PCA* 18 Apr. 1874: 3.

- ⁹⁰ Mary Kawena Pūku‘i, Samuel H. Elbert, and Esther T. Mo‘okini. *Place Names of Hawaii*. (Honolulu: U of Hawai‘i P, 1974), 55.
- ⁹¹ “Ka Hoi!” *Kuokoa* 18 Apr. 1874: 2; “The Royal Progress,” *PCA* 18 Apr. 1874: 3; “Ka Huakai!” *Nūhou* 21 Apr. 1874: 4; The bonfires and lighted torches of this evening would eventually inspire the young David Malo, namesake and nephew of the well-known Lahainaluna graduate, to compose “He Inoa Ahi no Kalakaua,” the famous chant written to remember the king’s return to Honolulu.
- ⁹² “Ka Hoi!” *Kuokoa* 18 Apr. 1874: 2.
- ⁹³ “Ka Hoi!” *Kuokoa* 18 Apr. 1874: 2; *HEN vol. I* 2882.
- ⁹⁴ “Ka Huakai!” *Nūhou* 21 Apr. 1874: 4.
- ⁹⁵ “Ka Hoi!” *Kuokoa* 18 Apr. 1874: 2; *HEN vol. I* 2883.
- ⁹⁶ “Ka Hoi!” *Kuokoa* 18 Apr. 1874: 2; “Ka Huakai!” *Nūhou* 21 Apr. 1874: 4.
- ⁹⁷ “Ka Hoi!” *Kuokoa* 18 Apr. 1874: 2.
- ⁹⁸ “Their Majesties the King and Queen,” *HG* 22 Apr. 1874, 2. *Chronicling America*.
- ⁹⁹ See Rianna M. Williams, “John Adams Cummins: Prince of Entertainers,” *HJH* 30 (1996): 153–168.
- ¹⁰⁰ “Ka Hookipa Moi ana a ko Waimanalo,” *Ko Hawaii Ponoī* 22 Apr. 1874, 2. *Ulukau*.
- ¹⁰¹ “The Royal Progress,” *PCA* 25 Apr. 1874: 3.
- ¹⁰² “Ka Hiki ana o ka Lani i Koolauloa,” *Kuokoa* 2 May 1874, 3. *Ulukau*; *HEN vol. I* 2905.
- ¹⁰³ “The Return of Their Majesties.” *PCA* 2 May 1874: 2.
- ¹⁰⁴ “Their Majesties,” *HG* 13 May 1874, 2. *Chronicling America*; “Nu Hou o ke Alo Alii!” *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* 22 Aug. 1874, 2. *Ulukau*.
- ¹⁰⁵ “Na Mele no ka Lani Moi Kalakaua.” *Ko Hawaii Ponoī* 6 May 1874, 4. *Ulukau*.

