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WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF IOKEPA BADIS

Early Hawaiian Newspapers and Kanaka Maoli Intellectual History, 1834–1855

THIS ESSAY AIMS to provide a fuller history of the characteristics and contents of the first four Hawaiian-language newspapers, *Ka Lama Hawaii* (1834), *Ke Kumu Hawaii* (1834–1839), *Ka Nonanona* (1841–1846), and *Ka Elele Hawaii* (1848–1855). I seek to identify the Kanaka Maoli (Native Hawaiian) writers, describe the kinds of writing they engaged in, and to suggest a few ways in which, from the outset, the newspapers provided a space within (and against) which a distinctively Hawaiian intellectual tradition in writing progressively took shape. Although the value of the Hawaiian-language papers has long been recognized in Hawaiian studies, not enough attention has been paid to the writers themselves as authors, journalists, pundits, and creative

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Ua hānau 'ia 'o Iokepa Badis ma Mākaha, i O'ahu nei. He moho 'o ia i ke kēkelē laeo 'o 'ōlelo Hawai'i ma ke Kulanui o Hawai'i ma Mānoa. 'O ke ola o ka mea kēkau 'o Kahikina Kelekona ('o John Sheldon kekahi inoa ona) ke kumuhana o kāna pepa muli puka laeo 'o. He puni 'o ia i ka hana noi'i i loko o ka nupepa kahiko. [Iokepa Badis was born in Mākaha, O'ahu. He is currently a candidate for a Master's degree in Hawaiian at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. His thesis is a biography of Kahikina Kelekona (John Sheldon). His research interest is Hawaiian language newspapers.]

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artists of literature. Many advanced students in Hawaiian language and history are familiar with only a handful of writers and their works. And that is because the works of that handful, S. N. Hale'ole, Ioane (John Papa) Ii, Samuel Kamakau, Kepelino, and Davida Malo, have been translated into English. Beyond these few well-known writers, there are hundreds more who contributed their works to the papers (table 1). These include, but are certainly not limited to, ali'i nui who penned decrees, spokespeople for the ali'i who crafted public policy and engaged in debates, Native Hawaiian missionaries who wrote of their experiences in foreign lands, ministers who composed Sunday school lessons and debated religious issues, and schoolteachers who shared their knowledge of a number of different subjects. Many of them also created works of literature, ranging from translating traditional mo'olelo into writing to composing fictional stories, and composing all manner of mele (song or chant) from mele inoa (name songs) in honor of ali'i to kanikau (mourning songs) for loved ones.¹

The majority of these works are signed and many of the writers created significant bodies of work. The writers need to be recognized as authors, not merely as passive carriers of the oral tradition, as ethnology and history have sometimes treated them. This can be seen in the books of Nathaniel B. Emerson, for example, who drew heavily upon signed written literature for both *Pele and Hiiaka: A Myth from Hawaii* and *Unwritten Literature of Hawaii*.² Another example can be seen in *Place Names of Hawaii*; in the entry for Kawaluna, an article written and signed by J. H. Kanepuu is cited only by the name and date of the paper.³ The writers also need to be recognized as influential in the

Table 1. Numbers of identified writers in each of the four Hawaiian newspapers

Newspaper	Years Published	Number of Identified Writers	Number of Writers of Multiple Pieces
<i>Ka Lama Hawaii</i>	1834	3	Not applicable
<i>Ke Kumu Hawaii</i>	1834–1839	146	48
<i>Ka Nonanona</i>	1841–1845	72	21
<i>Ka Elele Hawaii</i>	1845–1855	88	8

political events of their time. This historical lack of recognition can be understood as an extension of the colonial project of erasing or diminishing natives as actors in our own history. It also suggests how historians of Hawai'i have ignored the Hawaiian language newspapers as a rich resource and index into the complexities of Hawaiian history and Hawaiian political thought. While the common denominator of the early newspapers discussed here is the desire that their editors had to convert Hawaiians to a radically different system of beliefs and practices, the opening up of spaces for written expression, coupled with the Hawaiian embrace of reading and writing, made the newspapers a vital arena in which crucial questions about culture, knowledge, and politics could begin to be publicly debated. In this sense, the early newspapers anticipate the Hawaiian intellectual tradition that would flourish later in the century. To identify and appreciate the writers who contributed to the early papers is to begin to chart the development of a complex intellectual history in the Hawaiian language.

Because so many of the writers are unknown (as writers—some are known as government officials), I am approaching this task through a fairly comprehensive reading of the newspapers, cataloguing the writers' names and titles of their works, and then examining and reporting on the results. This survey of the first four newspapers published in Hawaiian covers a period of twenty-one years, from 1834 to 1855. This period is important as the first group of writers is seen to emerge. They are the first Kānaka Hawai'i to translate their knowledge from oral forms into writing, and further, from writing to print.

The new technology of print created demands of its own, such as deadlines and a fixed amount of space to fill. The apprehension of time itself had to change for these newspaper writers. It also necessitated re-thinking some values about knowledge: how knowledge is passed on and who is entitled to learn traditional knowledge such as genealogies. In this same period, the lāhui Hawaii was experiencing severe decimation as a result of epidemics and other abrupt changes in lifestyles. The old rules (*kapu*) did not always fit into this new situation. The writers for the newspapers saw opportunities to pass on and preserve knowledge in print. They also created new knowledge, new rules, and new genres of writing in their individual works and, more importantly perhaps, through printed debate and argumentation.

In this paper, I am building, first, on two major bodies of work in the history of the Hawaiian newspapers. The first is *Hawaiian Newspapers* by Esther K. Mookini.⁴ The second is the body of work by Helen Geracimos Chapin: “Newspapers of Hawaii 1834 to 1903: From ‘He Liona’ to the Pacific Cable;” “From Makaweli to Kohala: The Plantation Newspapers of Hawai‘i;” and *Shaping History: The Role of Newspapers in Hawai‘i*.⁵

I am also building on the research of other scholars who have written about Hawaiian intellectual history. Among these are John Charlot’s biography of Moses Nakuina⁶ and Noelani Arista’s introduction to the new publication of *Kepelino’s Traditions of Hawaii*, in which she explains:

Hawaiian intellectuals like Kepelino were wide-ranging in their apprehension of knowledge, and they brought together their education in various schools and branches of Hawaiian knowledge with the training offered through religious seminaries and schools. The writings they left were shaped by plural intellectual traditions of Hawai‘i, Europe, and America. And because their writings emerge out of their negotiation of multiple intellectual traditions, their texts will continue to be compelling sources not only to enrich our knowledge of the Hawaiian past, but also as a window unto [sic] the multi-layered present in which each author lived.⁷

The recognition of this rich, complex intellectual tradition has the potential to substantially revise our collective ideas of Hawaiian history. To the degree that we acknowledge Hawaiian intellectuals as producing and/or influencing all of the events of Hawaiian history, that history becomes more visibly and palpably Hawaiian history and less the history of European and American domination of Hawai‘i (which includes the appropriation of the means to control the production and circulation of history itself). For about a hundred years (1834–1948), Hawaiians produced knowledge, opinions, literature, political and religious discourses, and debates in print, leaving an extensive archive, including nearly 80 newspapers now preserved on microfilm and digitally, and an uncounted number of books. It is time we find out who these Hawaiian writers were and how they influenced history in our land.

Ka Lama Hawaii (1834)

The early newspapers, as suggested, were largely missionary-run, and stamped with the character of their respective editors. The first of them, *Ka Lama Hawaii*, was the school newspaper for Lahainaluna on Maui, more pedagogical (text-book and forum for composition) than it was a newspaper with news meant for wider circulation (although it is an excellent example of how, once committed to print, written expressions can circulate far beyond their intended audience). Lorin Andrews, principal of Lahainaluna and editor of the paper, was the rare missionary who had a lifelong interest in Hawaiian language and literature.⁸ He was committed to building a Hawaiian intelligentsia that would help Hawai'i convert to Christianity. This forms the intent of the paper, as Andrews defined it in a letter:

. . . First, to give the scholars of the High School the idea of a newspaper—to show them how information of various kinds was circulated through the medium of a periodical. Secondly, to communicate to them ideas on many objects . . . Thirdly, it was designed as a channel through which the scholars might communicate their own opinions freely on any subject they chose.⁹

The last point—on the preservation of part of the paper as a free space for student opinion—may not have been literally true, but it stands out in anticipating the role Hawaiian newspapers would come to play. Some of the content of page four, supposedly reserved for students, appears not to have been written by students. Some of the short essays in the column called “No Ka Lama Hawaii” (For *Ka Lama Hawaii*), for example, sound as if they were written by Andrews or one of the teachers.¹⁰ One kanikau (mourning song) was signed by Davida Malo, the famous writer and advisor to the monarchs, who was a student in the first class of 1831.¹¹ One account of a death of a man was signed by Ke'liumiumi, a student who entered the school in the second class, 1833.¹² These are the only two pieces signed by students. It is difficult to determine exactly who might have written the other pieces, since the paper reported 76 students in attendance.¹³ Most of the content of the paper's pages one through three consists of textbook-like instruction on the animals of Europe, Asia, Africa, and

the Americas; the history of the Christian religion; excerpts from the poetry of Solomon; and bible lessons or discussions.

The page four essays, however, often concern the “pono hou” or the new morality or puritanical Christian sense of what constitutes rightness or righteousness. This debate, as conducted in this first paper, alerts us to the complexity that attends adaptation to ways that would eventually become hegemonic. These are the first of many debates on issues that continue until the Hawaiian language papers end in 1948. In other words, these essays in *Ka Lama Hawaii* in 1834 give us an idea of how the Kanaka students contended with the contrast and conflict between the traditional ideas of pono they were raised with and the new ideas of morality brought by the missionaries and taught in their school. In her 2007 dissertation, Leilani Basham explains that the missionaries chose the word “pono” to represent their ideas of right and righteousness but that these do not correspond to the traditional ideas of pono.¹⁴ These two different thought worlds then became entwined in the word pono. Briefly, in the old world sense, pono connoted balance among the strata of society, the ‘āina, and the spiritual realm, i.e., in the words of Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa, “a universe in perfect harmony.”¹⁵ The new pono was everything the puritanical missionaries considered moral or right, including heterosexuality, monogamy, patriarchy, and a disdain for any kind of entertainment.

Basham examines some of these essays to explore how the students articulated their ideas about the “pono kahiko” (the old pono) and the “pono hou” (the new pono). She notes that in the article called “No ka Poe Kuai a me ka Hoolimalima,” the student writer says that when one is selling or renting out something, it is not pono to be greedy and try to get the best price; rather it is best to consider the welfare of one’s “hoa kuai” or trading companion. It is recommended that “kuai laua me ka oluolu, a me ke aloha i kekahi i kekahi; oia ke kuai pono” (they trade kindly, with aloha for each other; that is pono trading).¹⁶ Basham points out how this contradicts the American system of capitalist trading, which depends on each trading partner attempting to maximize profit or get the best bargain. Basham also examines another essay called “No ka Pono Kahiko a me ka Pono Hou” for similar insights.¹⁷ That essay critiques aspects of the pono kahiko—that people could be taxed at the whim of the ali‘i—and of the pono hou—that people are now taxed the same regardless of their ability to pay.

LAMA HAWAII.

nui loa e nana. Na Binamu i olelo aku ia lakou ma ka ke Akua olelo. I mai la na kanaka i kaia'i, "Ua hewa maua, ua pono ke alii." Pela io no. O ka hooko i ke kanawai, he pono no ia. Oia kekahi mea e pono ai ka noho ana o na kanaka. Ina aole e hookoia ke kanawai, ua lilo ua kanawai ia i mea hoopunipuni; nolaila ulu nui mai ka hewa. Ina oiaio ke kanawai, makau na kanaka i ka hewa.

NA SOLMONA.
MOKUNA 3.

- E kuu keiki, mai haalele oe i ko'u kanawai,
- E waiho hoi i ka'u mau kanoha ma kou mau.
- 2 No ka mea, oia ka nui ai na la a me na makahiki o kou ola ana.
- A o ka mahu hoi e haawi ia oe.
- 3 I ole e haalele ia oe ka lokomaikai a me ke aloha,
- E hawele ma kou ai,
- E kakau hoi ma ka papa o kou naau.
- 4 E imi i ka lokomaikai a me ka ike oiaio, Imae o Iehova a me kanaka.
- 5 E paulele ia Iehova me kou naau a pau, Mai hilina'i hoi ma kou naauo ana.
- 6 Ma kou aoao a pau e ike oe ia ia,
- A nana no e hoopolelei i kou hele ana.
- 7 Mai hoakamai oe ma kou mana'o iho.
- E Makau ia Iehova a e haalele ika hewa.
- 8 Oia ke ola no kou mau olona,
- A me ka lolo no kou mau iwi.
- 9 E hoonani ia Iehova ma kou waiwai,
- E me na hua mua o kou mea i loa'i a pau.
- 10 A e hoopihaiia kou wahi waihona a hu,
- E hu ae kou mau meakamai i ka wai-na hou.
- 11 E kuu keiki, mai hoole oe i ke aoia mai e Iehova,
- Mai hopohopo oe i kona hooponopono ana mai.
- 12 No ka mea, o ka mea i alohaia e Iehova, nana ia e papai aku,
- E hoela hoi i ke keiki ana i makemake ai.
- 13 Pomaikai ke kanaka ke loa ia ia ke akamai,
- A o ke kanaka hoi i makaukau i ka ike.
- 14 No ka mea, ua oi aku ka maikai o ia mamua o ka maikai o ke kala,
- A o ke kuai ana hoi mamua o ke gula.
- 15 Ua maikai oia mamua o ke ako'ao'a,
- Aole i hikaia kou makemake a pau me ia.
- 16 Aia ma kona lima akau ka loini o na ia,
- A ma kona lima hema hoi ka waiwai a me ka hanohano.
- 17 O kona mau aoao, he mau aoao malumu no,
- Ua pau hoi kona mau alanni i ka maluhia.
- 18 Oia ka laau o ke ola no ka poe e hoopua ana ia ia,
- Pomaikai hoi ka mea e apo ana ia ia.
- 19 Hookumu iho la o Iehova i ka honua i ke akamai,
- Kau paa hoi oia i ka lani ma ka ike.
- 20 Ma kona ike hoi ua wawahia na wahi hohonu,

- A ninini mai no na ao i ka ua.
- 21 E kuu keiki, mai nuli e aku kou mau maka,
- E hoopaa i ka naauao a me ka ike.
- 22 He ola no ia no kou ubane,
- He hanohano no ia i kou ai;
- 23 Alaila, e hele makau ole oe ma kou ala,
- A o kou wawae hoi aole ia e palaha.
- 24 E moe iho no oe, aole oe e makau,
- E moe iho no oe a e oiulu kou hiamoe ana.
- 25 Aole oe e hopohopo i ka mea makau ke emoole mai,
- Aole hoi i ka luku ana i ka poe hewa ke hiki mai.
- 26 No ka mea, o Iehova no kau mea e paulele ai,
- E malama no oia i kou wawae aole ia e heia mai.
- 27 Mai hoopaa oe i ka maikai o ka mea nana ia,
- Ina e hiki i kou lima ke haawi aku.
- 28 Mai olelo oe i kou hoo noho,
- O hele oe a hoi mai, apopo e haawi aku au,
- Ke waiho wale ia mea nau.
- 29 Mai imi hala oe i kou hoo noho a hihia,
- No ka mea, noho mahe no oia me oe.
- 30 Mai hoopapaa oe me ke kanaka hala ole,
- Ina aole oia i hana hewa aku ia oe.
- 31 Mai hoamahut oe i ke kanaka hana hewa,
- Mai koho hoi oe i kona mau aoao.
- 32 No ka mea, he hoopaihua ia Iehova ka aia,
- O ka poe pololei oia kona anaina.
- 33 O ka hooio o Iehova aia ma ka hale o ka mea hewa,
- Ua pomaikai hoi kahi noho ai ka poe pono.
- 34 E hoowahawaha mai oia i ka poe hoowahawaha aku,
- E haawi mai oia i ka lokomaikai i ka poe haahaa.
- 35 E hooilina lakou i ka hanohano a me ke akamai,
- O ke kiekie ana o ka poe hewa he mea ole ia.

HE KANIKAU NO KAAHUMANU.

Mihalana'u i kuakahi ka nawa'na,
Ke kaha'na ka leina aku nei iulu,
Lua paa aku nei i kuanalia,
I anali i andio.
Lilo aku la i ka pialuakane,
I ke alamu'u mauwe ula Kanaloa,
Keeki kulani aku la ka hele ana,
E Malolokihakalukelohua,
Ke 'ii i kuluhilani ani nawa'aku nei,
I lele aku na i ke kahi ana o ka pawa,
I ke anohia kohikohi au'o ka po,
Ka lilo ane'ia; iala, o—i—e.

Oia hoi, he uwe, he aloha ia oe, a—
A aloha lina ho paiauma ka manawa,
Pakoni hui ke aloha toku i ke ake,
Wehe wahi ka pihpaa o ka hoopu,
Naha ka paa, ka pea kua o ke kanaka,
Helele, hiolo ka pua o ka waimaka,
Lele leio, lilo loko i ka miihi.

Mihi o ke alohi o kuu haku maoli,
A kaawale okoa ia'loha ana,
Aloha aku o ke aloha hoohanau,
Aole he hoohanau pono no'u,
He hanauna ku okoa iloi'ka Haku,
I hanania e ka Uhane Hemolole,
E ka Makua hookahi o makou,
I pilikana ilaila e wena aku ai,
Iina inoa kakuwahine no'u,
Auwe no hoi kou kakuwahine,
Kuu hoa hookaika'ka luhio leo e, ia, iala, o—i—e.

Oia no o ke aloha, ka u'a loko a,
A, aloha oe ka hakukau o ka manao,
Ke kookoo'ka leo e ihi aku ai,
E imi pu ai o ka waiwai ka pono e, ia, iala, o—i—e.

O ka wahine alo ua wahila o Kona,
Nihii makani alo ua, kukalahale,
Noho anea kula wela ia o Pahua,
Wahine holo ua hoao nuanua e, ia,
Holo a nele i ka pono, ua paa,
Ua hili aku hili mai, ke aloha ole,
Aole pono, he enemi noho pu e, ia,
Aha, aia'ku ia i he lani,
Ka Uhane a ke kino wailua,
Kinoakalau pahaohao,
Owi haona hiona e,
Hailaka, kino ano lani,
Hoo ane' o ka lani ma,
Ke luana wale la i ka lani,
Ua luakaha ka noho ana,
Ke halelu ia ia ilaila,
Hoko o ka paretaiiso nani,
I ke ao mau loa o ka Haku e, ia,
O ko kakou mau Haku no ia,
O ka Haku mau no ia, oia no,
O ka manao ia loko e ake nei,
E ake aku nei e, e.

MEI 22, 1834. LAHAINALUA.
DAVIDA MALO.

HE UI NO KA HELU 16.

No ka Dia.
He holoholona e ae anei i like me ka Dia?
Pehea kona mau wawae a me ke kino?
Pehea na pepeiao'aoa a me kona poo?
Pehea kona kiekie a me ka loa?
Ehia nihio? Pau pu ehia?
Mahea kahi i loa'i ka Dia?
Pehea ke ano o kona manao?
E hiki anei ke hoolakua mai?
He mea paa mai anei kona pepeiao'aoa?
Pehea ia e ikeia ai kona makahiki?
Pehea ia i ka wa i haulte ai ka pepeiao'aoa?
Ehia makahiki ona?
He mea waiwai anei ka Dia?
Mahea ka like o ka Dia me ka Eleka?
Mahea ka like ole;
Na Solomona.
Heaha ke ano nui o kana olelo?
No Helene.
He aina aha o Helene i ka wa kahiko?
Hookahi anei iahuikanaka nui paha?
He poe akamai anei, he hawawa paha?

A Kanikau (Mourning Song) Written and Signed by Davida Malo and Published on August 8, 1834 in *Ka Lama Hawaii*. The song, titled "He Kanikau No Kaahumanu," was composed by Malo in honor of the ali'i wahine Ka'ahumanu.

Perhaps because of Andrews' interest in Hawaiian language and the emerging literature, and because of the general way in which the paper aimed to encourage student expression, it included several surprising entries, most strikingly, the mo'olelo kahiko (traditional tale) "No ke Kaiakahinalii" (About The Tsunami); an unsigned article in "No Ka Lama Hawaii" (For *Ka Lama Hawaii*) describing the writer's desire to work at a printing house; and a two-part unsigned autobiography called simply "No Ko'u Wa i Hanau mai ai, a Hiki mai nei i nei Manawa" (From the Time I was Born Until Now).¹⁸ "No ke Kaiakahinalii" is the story of Hina'aimalama (Hina who eats the moon), who lives under the sea, and gets taken up to dry land; Kaiakahinalii (the tsunami) is one of her grandmothers who goes searching for her by flooding the land. It includes the episode of Hina desiring to eat the moon, from which she gets her name. This is significant as it appears to be the first mo'olelo kahiko ever published. The autobiography tells the writer's story of being born and growing up in the time of the first missionaries' arrival and of the transition from his young life of games and entertainments to his maturity into marriage, getting schooled, and being converted to Christianity.

KE KUMU HAWAII (1834–1839)

Ka Lama Hawaii ended publication after several months and a new mission paper began called *Ke Kumu Hawaii*. *Ke Kumu* was published out of mission headquarters in Honolulu and was aimed not just at a single school, but at all the mission schools as well as the general public (or at least at that portion of it that was willing to accept evangelism). According to Mookini, "*Ke Kumu Hawaii* represented the broad aim of the Mission to create a nation that was not only Christian in name and spirit but also intelligent and industrious."¹⁹ It was edited by the missionary Reuben Tinker, and most of the articles were written by fellow missionaries. It did not take long, however, before both ali'i and maka'ainana began to use the publication space for their own purposes. *Ke Kumu* eventually published approximately 146 writers, including Davida Malo, Samuel M. Kamakau, Luna Maka'ainana (Rep.) Simiona P. Kalama, Ioane Ii, Debora Kapule, and Gideon Laanui. It thus expanded in scope as well as readership far beyond *Ka Lama Hawaii*. It is difficult to determine an exact count of the writ-

ers as some used variations on their names or sometimes used pen names, such as “Ikemaka” (“Eyewitness”) or “Kinaibaka” (“Extinguish Tobacco”). Many writers signed with a single name, which might actually be shared by another person, or signed with one or more initials. Kalama, for example, signed his articles with his full name (as above), with S. P. Kalama, and with S. P. K.

By the second year, converted Kānaka Maoli begin to write letters to the paper supporting their anti-tobacco campaign, and also occasionally to report the death of a family member, or to ask for a school in a certain area.

Kānaka Maoli commented on the utility of the newspaper for communicating to the entire nation at once, as in this letter by a writer named Kaunahi:

Aloha oe e ke Kumu Hawaii. O oe no ke kumu nui i ko’u manao. E hiki no ia oe ke olelo aku i ka poe nui, a me ka poe uuku. E hiki no ia oe ke olelo i ka mea ma ke kuaaina, a me ka mea hoi ma ke alo o na alii. E hiki no ia oe ke olelo i na kanaka, a me na’lii, i ka poe ekalesia, a me ka poe ekalesia ole; i na kanaka maoli, a me na kanaka o na aina e. Aole hoi e pono i ko’u manao, e hookuli na kanaka i kou leo; no ka mea, o ka leo no ia a ke Kumu Hawaii.²⁰

Greetings to you, ke Kumu Hawaii. You are the important kumu (teacher, source) in my opinion. You can speak to the big people and the little people. You can speak to the people in the countryside and also to those in the court of the ali’i. You can speak to the ordinary people, to the ali’i, to the church members and the non-church members; to the native people and to the people of foreign lands. It is not pono in my opinion to be deaf to your voice because it is the voice of the *Kumu Hawaii*.

The remainder of the letter supports the campaign against tobacco, reporting a story about a woman burned because of smoking. No information is given about who Kaunahi is or where he or she might have been writing from.

The ali’i at this time were persuaded that the formation of a Western-style government was the best way to fend off colonization by any of the major powers. Leading up to the development of a declaration of democratic rights and a constitution, the Mō’i (King) proclaimed

several laws prohibiting murder, theft, and adultery, and others concerning the sale of alcohol, which were published in *Ke Kumu*.²¹

The thoughtful essays that Lorrin Andrews encouraged at *Ka Lama* continued in *Ke Kumu*. Davida Malo published several essays on theological questions—always in support of Calvinist doctrine.²² He also reported on the death of his child. Among his contributions were a skillfully crafted sermon titled “No ka hiki ana mai o ko ke Akua aupuni” (Concerning the arrival of God’s kingdom).²³ This essay argues the arrival of Jehovah’s kingdom based on analogous events in the establishment of Kamehameha I’s rule over all the islands.

Malo also submitted a “mele hoolea” (song of praise or eulogistic song) for Jesus. Although the word ho‘ole‘a implies joy, the mele seems a sad and fearful one. Here is an excerpt with my translation:²⁴

E Iesu e aloha mai,	Jesus, have mercy,
O make au ko kauwa nei.	Or I, your servant, will die.
Ka hunalepo o kou kamaa.	[I am but] the dust on your shoe.
Na weweu o ko ala nei.	The grass upon your path.
Ina haalele mau mai oe,	If you leave us forever,
Oia ko makou make mau,	That will be our death forever,
Ka make loa i ka po,	Death in the pō, ²⁵
Malalo o ka pouli mau.	Under continual darkness.

It appears that some writers in *Ke Kumu* felt that memorializing people and events was very important. Besides kanikau, memoirs and biographies began to appear. Gideon Laanui wrote a short memoir of his life with Kamehameha I, two and a half pages long and untitled.²⁶ Ioane Ii (also known as John Papa Ii) wrote a biography of the Kuhina Nui (Premier) Kina‘u.²⁷ It seems that Ii intended a serialized biography but unfortunately, the paper ended with that very issue. Ii was an ali‘i in the inner circle of Kamehameha III who was greatly influential in the formation of the Western-style kingdom. He later wrote a historical series in *Nupepa Kuokoa* under various titles between 1866 and 1870, most of which was translated into English as *Fragments of Hawaiian History*.²⁸

That many of the authors, like Ii, who published essays and news in *Ke Kumu Hawaii* were appointed or elected officials in the kingdom government suggests that the paper had a political as well as religious

mai la makou, a hele a hiki i kai o Wai-
anae, ma ka hale o Liliha, i Kiowaikaa-
la, malaila makou e noho ai, a noho iho
ia o Tineka, a me Wahinealii, a me Ka-
maukoli, alaila, hele aku la au io Kaa-
puiki la, i mea ai na ka haole, a na ma-
kou no hoi kekahi. Hele aku la au a
hiki, aloha mai la ia'u, aloha aku la au
ia ia, noho iho la au, a iuliu iho, alaila,
uinau aku la au ia ia. "Heaha uanei
kahi mea ai a ka haole?"

"I mai la ia, "He wahi moa no paha."
I aku la au, "Aole paha uanei e moa
wawe?" Alaila, hiki mai kekahi kana-
ka me ka ia, elua ia he kumu, a he ula;
alaila, i mai la ia, "Eia ka ia, o ke ku-
mu."

Alaila, i aku la au, "O ka ula no ke-
kahi?"

Ae mai la ia, "Ae, a o ke kumu, pa-
lai iho la, a o ka ula, koala iho la, a
moa." Alaila, hali aku la au a ka ha-
le o makou, olelo aku la au ia Tineka,
"Ua makaukau ka mea ai."

Ae mai la ia, "Ae."
Alaila, hoomakaukau iho la makou
e ai, he wahi poi, a he wahi papaa ka-
lo ka ai, a he kumu, a he ula, he hee,
ka ia, alaila, hoonani aku la makou i ke
Akua, i ka mea nana ka ai, a meka ia.

Ai iho la makou, a pau ka pule ana, alaila,
noho iho la makou e hiki i ka manawa
e moe ai, alaila, hoonani aku la makou
i ke Akua, no ko makou moe ana, pule
iho la, a pau ka pule ana, alaila, moe
iho la makou i ka po, a ao ae, i ka la
Sabati, me ka maluhia, alaila, hooma-
kaukau iho la makou e ai, a hoonani
aku la makou i ke Akua i ka mea nana
ka ai, a me ka ia. Ai iho la makou, a
pau ka ai ana, pule iho la, a pau ka pu-
le ana, a na ia hope iho, hele aku la
makou makai o Keaupuni, ma kahi e
halawai ai na kamalii e kula, a hiki a-
ku la makou malaila, kukula iho la, a
pau ke kula ana, a ma ia hope iho, a-
koakoa mai la na kanaka, elua haneri
a me kanaha kumamakou paha, 243.
Alaila, halawai iho la makou malaila,
i ka pule kekahiaka, a himeni iho la
makou a pau ka hionei ana, pule iho
ia, a pau ka pule ana, a himeni hou, a
pau ka himeni ana, alaila, wehe ae la
ke kumu i ka buke Kauoha hou, o ka
olelo a ke Akua ma ka Luka, mokuna
umi kumamaono, 16: 19, 20. "O kekahi
kanaka waiwai ua aahuia i ka lolo-ma-
kua e me ka ienani, ua ahaaina olioli ia
i keia la i kela la. A o kekahi kana-
ka iihune, o Lazaro kona inoa, ua
waihoia aku la iama kona ipuka, ua
pu i na mai hehe." Wehe ae la ia, a
heluhelu, a pau ka heluhelu ana, alaila
ia ia ia'u, e kamailio, alaila, kamailio
aku la au ia lakou ma ka pono o ke

Akua, a pauka'u kamailio ana, alaila,
na Tineka no i kamailio aku ia lakou
i ka olelo a ke Akua, a pau ka olelo
ana, pule iho la, a pau ka pule ana,
alaila, hoi mai la Tineka i ka hale
o makou a me Kamaukuli.

Na'u na PUNIHAOLE.

MAKE.

Ua make Sep. 6, Mi. Ioane Holmes,
ma Honolulu.

HE OLELO NO NA KANAWAI.

Ke hai aku nei makou i ka olelo, e
hoolohe mai, e ko kela aina, a me ko
keia aina, e malama no hoi ko keia
aina, a me ko kela aina: o ka mea i lo-
he keia mau olelo, e malama ia; aka, i
malama ole e hewa ia.

1.

Ke papa aku nei makou i ka pepihi
kanaka; mai pepihi ko kela aina ma-
anei, mai pepihi ko keia aina maanei; o
ka mea pepihi wale aku i ke kanaka
me ka manao huhu e make loa, e make
no ia. O ka mea pepihi aku i ke ka-
naka me ka manao huhu, aole nae i
mango e make loa, e paa oia i ka hao i
na makahiki eha.

O ka mea kokua i ka pepihi kanaka
me ka manao e make loa, e make no ia.
O ka mea kokua i ka pepihi kana-
ka me ka manao make ole, e paa oia i
ka hao i na makahiki eha.

O ka mea hookonokono, a me ka hoo-
walewale, me ka huhu e pepihi kana-
ka, a make loa ia ilaila, e make no ia.
O ka mea hookonokono, a me ka hoo-
walewale e pepihi kanaka aole nae i
make, e paa oia i ka hao i na makahiki
eha.

O ka mea hou i ka mea oi oi a me ka
hahau, a me ka pehi, me ka manao hu-
hu a make loa ia ia ia, e make no ia.
O ka mea hou i ka mea oi oi a me ka
hahau, a me ka pehi me ka manao hu-
hu e make, a i make ole ia ia ia, e paa
oia i ka hao i na makahiki eha.

O ka mea i olelo e pepihi i ke kana-
ka, a i make io ia ia, e make no ia. O
ka mea i olelo e pepihi i ke kanaka, a
pepehi io oia, aole i make, e paa oia i
ka hao i na makahiki eha.

O ka mea hookaha i ka waiwai a pe-
pehi i ke kanaka a make, e make no ia.
O ka mea hookaha i ka waiwai, a i ola
mahunehune ke kanaka ia ia, e paa oia
i ka hao i na makahiki eha.

O ka mea pepihi otulo, a me ke ki-
paku i ke kanaka i kahi make loa, o
ka mea umi keiki mai ka hanau ana
mai, o ka mea puhi ka hale i ke ahi; o

keia mau mea a pau, ua kapala he pe-
pehi kanaka. A i manao ua luwehala
la, i paa ai i ka hao e uku mai i ke
dala, e pa kanalima ia no na makahiki
eha, alaila hemu ua pono; aka i ole, e
hooukuia oia i ka hana a pau na maka-
hiki eha alaila hemo. I hewa hou ua
pepehi kanaka ia, e like me keia hewa
ana, e uku oia i hookahi haneri dala o
ka makahi hookahi: pela e uku hooiia'i
a hiki i ka ha o kona hewa, oia ka uku
no ka poe i pakele i keia kanawai.

Eia kekahi, o ka mea i ohumu i ke
Alii e make, a hoomakaukau oia i na
mca e make ai ia ia, ua like no ia me
ka pepihi kanaka, e paa oia i ka hao,
a lawe aku ia ia ma ka aina e, malaila
oia e noho ai a make.

KAUIKEAOULI.

2.

Eia ka lua; ke papa aku nei makou i
ka aihue; o ka mea e aihue i ka waiwai,
i kela mea i keia mea ana i aihue ai,
e uku palua ia oia, no ka mea ana i ai-
hue ai; ina paha hookahi dala ana i ai-
hue ai, elua dala ana e uku mai ai, pela
e uku hooiia'i ka aihue a hiki i ka nui
loa o ka mea ana i aihue ai, i ole keia
mau mea e loa ia ia, i waiwai e ae ka
uku, ma ke dala nae ka hoolike ana
o ka waiwai e uku mai ai ka aihue.

Ina i uku mai ka aihue e like me ke-
ia mau waiwai i hoomaopopia ma keia
olelo ana, a i hookaa nui ka aihue i
keia mau uku, na ka mea waiwai ana i
aihue ai, he pono e uku ae ka mea no-
na ka waiwai i aihueia'i, i ka lunaka-
nawai i hookahi shapaha noloko o ke
dala hookahi: pela no i na waiwai a
pau ke uku mai ka aihue i ka mea nona
ka waiwai i aihueia'i. I ole keia uku
e hookaa mai ka aihue, e paa oia i ka
hao, a i ole ia, e hana i ka hana, i ole
ia, e uhanua kona kua i ke kaula, ina he
nui ka waiwai i lilo i ka aihue, he pono
e hoonuia na kaula ma kona kua, a ina
he unku ka waiwai i lilo i ka aihue, he
pono e hooukuia na kaula ma kona
kua. Pela no hoi ka paa ana i ka hao,
a me ka hana ana i ka hana.

KAUIKEAOULI.

HELU 4.

WAIPIO, Hawaii, Augate 29, 1836.

NO KE KULA MA WAIMANU.

Aole i ulu ke kula malaila i keia mau
makahiki i hala iho nei; i keia manawa
ua ulu. O na haumana ma ke kula
kamalii, he 38 lakou. Aole i maopopo
ke kula kanaka makua; ke haunaale
nei no. O na kanaka a pau malaila,
300 lakou.

Aole paha i maopopo loa ka manao o

An Article Signed by Kauikeaouli, Kamehameha III, Proclaims Laws Concerning Mur-
der, Theft, Adultery, and the Sale of Alcohol. The article, titled "He Olelo No Na Kana-
wai," was published in the September 13, 1837 issue of *Ke Kumu Hawaii*.

focus, a context against which many of the articles and essays may have a particular resonance. Among these officials were Barenaba, Kīna‘u herself, Mataio Kekūanā‘o (father of A. Liholiho and Kapuāiwa), Kaisara Kapa‘akea (birth father of Kalākaua and Lili‘uokalani), Paulo Kanoa, and the aforementioned Simiona P. Kalama. Kalama was one of the most prolific writers, contributing about 30 essays to the paper. He was, according to Jonathan Osorio, a representative (Luna Maka‘āinana) from Kaua‘i, who “serve[d] one of the longest continuous terms in office (from 1853 to 1870), [and] was listed as konohiki of Kalihikai . . . As such, he wielded very traditional kinds of authority, with the right to place kapu on fish and timber.”²⁹ Despite that traditional role, Kalama’s essays in *Ke Kumu* were mainly evangelical. He also, perhaps in a blending of the two roles, advised the ali‘i “no oukou na kanawai he umi i loa mai ai ia Mose” (The ten laws received by Moses apply to you [plural]).³⁰ Other writers of interest include Debora Kapule, who wrote an essay encouraging women to convert to Christianity, and Thomas Hopu, one of the original Hawaiian converts who returned home with the first company of missionaries. The first of many genealogies and arguments about them was published in *Ke Kumu Hawaii*. Kepookulou, a relatively early convert in Kapi‘olani’s circle,³¹ contributed a genealogy of Kamehameha III that begins with Hāloa. The genealogy is followed by a series of questions by Binamu (Hiram Bingham). He wanted to know if Kepookulou knew in what years each of these ancestors lived, and what their deeds were; were they pono or not? Bingham disagreed with respecting the Mō‘i based on his mo‘okū‘auhau ali‘i, and ended with “ua oi aku ka Iesu pono mamua o ka lakou,” (The righteousness of Jesus is greater than theirs).³²

It is notable that, although *Ka Lama Hawaii* contained the one mo‘olelo kahiko, “No ke Kaiakahinalii,” no mo‘olelo kahiko were published in *Ke Kumu Hawaii*. A handful of mele were published, including the two by Malo; a kanikau by Kahekili for his aikāne, printed without further explanation; one by Hekekie giving lā‘au lapa‘au (traditional medicinal) treatments for maladies, with a note disavowing the value of the knowledge; and a number of clever Christian songs, at least one, by Ha‘aheo, containing elements of traditional oli.³³ The song is in praise of the newspaper and of Christianity and its bible. Here is an excerpt that shows some of the classical Hawaiian elements:

E ala, e ala,	Wake up, wake up,
E ala e ka hikiku a me ka hikimoe.	Wake up, Kahikikū and Kahikimoe,
E ala e ke apapanuu, e ke apapanani;	Wake up, the high stratum, the stratum of the heavens,
E ala e ka hikina, a me ke komohana.	Wake up, the east and the west,
E ala e ke akau [sic], a me ka hema,	Wake up, the north and the south,
E ala ko kai, a me ka uka,	Wake up, those of the sea and of the shore,
E ala e Kona, me Kau,	Wake up, Kona and Ka'ū,
E ala e Puna, me Hilo,	Wake up, Puna and Hilo,
E ala e Hamakua, me Kohala,	Wake up, Hāmākua and Kohala,
E ala mai oukou, e ala ae lakou la,	Awake, all of you, they should awake,
E ala kakou a pau,	Let us all wake up,
E hele ma kela aoao o ka muliwai nui, i iia'i o Ioredane	To go to the other side of the great river called Jordan.

The “awake” call is used in some chants for Pele, in order to “awaken” the lava flow, but Ha'aheo has adapted it in this song to wake up to Christian enlightenment. This suggests how the writers were meshing traditional forms with their new beliefs, although the missionaries generally wished them to abandon these altogether.

The inclusion of only these few mele and the lack of any mo'olelo kahiko likely speak to the lack of interest on the part of Tinker and perhaps other missionaries in the oral and literary artistry of the Kanaka Maoli. The lack of mo'olelo is also indicative of *Ke Kumu*'s primary purpose: to promote the conversion of Kanaka Maoli to Christianity and, concurrently, to persuade the Kanaka that their values and knowledge systems were inferior to the “new” haole ways.

Ke Kumu Hawaii ended publication in May 1839 with no explanation, although *Ka Nonanona* later implied that the reason was financial.³⁴ The last entry in the paper was an index of stories that had been published. Several important changes happened in the kingdom in 1839 and 1840 that may be related to the end of the paper. Osorio views this as a time in which “the social landscape had altered favor-

ably for the missionaries,” and the missionaries apparently felt that the natives needed not only Christian conversion “but the conversion of the entire Native way of life.”³⁵ As part of increasing its sphere of influence, the mission started Kahēhuna, the Royal School for the children of ali‘i. In addition, the publication of the Rights and Laws of 1839,

made startling changes in the authority of the chiefs and the Mō‘i . . . [in which] the ultimate responsibility for the maintenance of the land and the people in Hawai‘i passed from the ancient line of Ali‘i and the gods they represented to the newer and much less understood authority of law.³⁶

William Richards, Gerrit Judd, Richard Armstrong and perhaps other missionaries were advisors to the Mō‘i, and it was at this time that the first constitution of the kingdom was drafted and became law. It may be that the mission had turned its attention and resources to the government, and *Ke Kumu* was consequently retired. It was not until two years later that *Ka Nonanona*, the next newspaper, started up.

KA NONANONA (1841–1845)

Ka Nonanona was striking in its difference from *Ke Kumu Hawaii*. Its primary intent was to be a newspaper that carried news from the capital, Honolulu, to all the other islands. Although still in the hands of missionaries and still evangelical in some ways, it greatly expanded its scope in content as well as in intended readership. The newspaper became a site for public debate and discourse.

Ka Nonanona was edited by the missionary, Richard Armstrong (called Limaikaika, or Strong arm, in Hawaiian). According to Mookini, Armstrong “had an accurate knowledge of the Hawaiian language, was a skilled translator, and was always connected with some Hawaiian newspaper.”³⁷ It seems he realized the power of the print media to achieve missionary goals and to influence politics. On the first page of the first issue, *Ka Nonanona* is personified, and speaks for itself, saying that it is a teacher and its job “o ka hoonaaauao aku i na kanaka o kela ano, keia ano” (is to educate people of every kind).³⁸ This is followed by a list of what it intends to include: news; support for schoolchildren, teachers, school directors, and parents; a bit of assis-

tance for the pono of the ali'i, in publishing new laws and new positions in the government, as well as "e kuhikuhi aku i na mea e pono ai, a me na mea e poino ai ke aupuni" (to point out the things that will be pono and the things that will harm the government), including criticizing the ali'i; and finally, to testify to the pono of God.³⁹ We can see from this that Armstrong believed in the superiority of his faith and knowledge so much that he felt he could criticize the Mō'i and the other ali'i nui.

Starting with the second issue, Kanaka wrote in to *Ka Nonanona* with their own ideas, although nothing contrary to Limaikaika's mission was printed. In a comprehensive survey of the paper, I catalogued 121 signed pieces, mainly letters, by (approximately) 72 different writers. Many of the letters reported the actions of Catholic missionaries around the islands, with whom the Protestant mission was constantly struggling. Other writers brought important issues to the paper in hopes of having them resolved—one of these was the refusal of the local government authorities to pay school teachers. Many supported the temperance efforts of the missionaries, and several reported news, especially of deaths. The paper thus increasingly became a place to court public opinion, perhaps even to organize to get things done.

As in *Ke Kumu*, many of the writers in *Ka Nonanona* were prominent in government and politics, including Ioane Ii, George L. Kapeau, Davida Malo, and Ioane Richardson. Samuel M. Kamakau, the historian, also submitted pieces to the paper, most notably the mo'okū'auhau of Kamehameha III, which led to a debate with the traditionally trained genealogist, A. Unauna. Iona Kapena, member of the Hale Ali'i (House of Nobles) and later, editor of the important paper, *Ke Au Okoa*, wrote in *Ka Nonanona*.⁴⁰ Other contributors included Kauwahi, who may be the J. W. H. Kauwahi who was the first editor-in-chief of *Ka Hoku O Ka Pakipika*;⁴¹ Pomare, the Ali'iwahine (Queen) of Tahiti, whose letter to Kamehameha III was printed;⁴² and Unauna, whom Kamakau addressed as "ka haumana kuauhau a Auwae ka mea i ike" (the genealogy student of 'Auwae, the knowledgeable one).

Kamakau and Unauna had the first printed battle over ali'i genealogies in *Ka Nonanona*. This battle was merely the first of probably hundreds of debates and arguments in the Hawaiian papers over all kinds of issues, including forms of government, who the Mō'i should be, what language government should be conducted in, and many

Ke kuauhau no na Kupuna kahiko loa mai o Hawaii nei, a hiki mai ia Wakea. Mai ia Wakea mai a hiki mai i keia manawa a kakou e noho nei, i mea e maopopo ai i keia hanauna; a ia hanauna aku ia hanauna aku.

Kane.	Wahine.	Keiki.
O Kamuhonua.	O Haloiho,	O Ahukai.
O Ahukai.	O Holehana,	O Kapili.
O Kapili.	O Alonainai,	O Kawakupua.
O Kawakupua.	O Heleaeiluna,	O Kawakahiko.
O Kawakahiko.	O Kahohaia,	O Kahikolupa.
O Kahikolupa.	O Lukaua,	O Kahikoleikau.
O Kahikoleikau.	O Kupomakaikaelene,	O Kahikoleilulu.
O Kahikoleilulu.	O Kanemakaikaelene,	O Kahikoleihonua.
O Kahikoleihonua.	O Haakookeau,	O Haakoakoalaulani.
O Haakoakoalaulani.	O Kaneiakoakanioe,	O Kupo.
O Kupo.	O Lanikupo,	O Nahaeitekua.
O Nahaeitekua.	O Hanailuna,	O Keakenui.
O Keakenui.	O Laheamanu.	O Kahianahinakii.
O Kahianahinakii,	O Luanahinakiipapa,	O Kolanahinakii.
O Kolanahinakii,	O Hanahina,	O Limanahinakii.
O Limanahinakii,	O Onohinakii,	O Hikuanaahina.
O Hikuanaahina,	O Walaanahina,	O Iwahina.
O Iwahina,	O Lohanakiipapa,	O Welaahilaninui.
O Welaahilaninui,	O Owe,	O Kahiko.
O Kahiko I,	O Kupulanakekau,	O Wakea.
O Wakea,	{ O Papa,	{ O Hoohokukalani.
O Haloa,	{ O Hoohokukalani,	{ O Haloa.
O Owaia,	{ O Hinamanouluae,	{ O Owaia.
O Hinanalo,	O Huhune,	O Hinanalo.
O Nanakaihili,	O Haunuu,	O Nanakaihili.
O Kio,	O Haulani,	O Wailoa.
O Ole,	O Hikawaopuaiaanea,	O Kio.
O Pupue,	O Kamole,	O Ole.
O Manaku,	O Hai,	O Pupue.
O Kahiko II,	O Kamakele,	O Manaku.
O Luanuu I,	O Hikohaale,	O Kahiko II.
O Kii,	O Kaea,	O Luanuu.
O Ulu,	O Kowaamaukele,	O Kii.
O Nanaulu,	O Hinakaula,	{ O Ulu.
O Nanamea,	O Ulukae,	{ O Nanaulu.
O Ulu,	O Puia,	{ O Nanamea.
O Nanaie,	O Kapunuu,	{ O Pehekeulu.
O Nanailani,	O Kahaumokuleia,	{ O Nana.
O Waikulani,	O Hinakinuu,	{ O Kapulani.
O Kuheleimoana,	O Kekaulani,	{ O Nanaie.
O Konohiki,	O Mapunaiaala,	O Nanailani.
O Wawana,	O Hikauleluna,	O Waikulani.
O Akalana,	O Hinamahuia,	O Kuheleimoana.
		O Konohiki.
		O Wawana.
		O Akalana.
		O Mauimua.
		O Mauihope.
		O Mauikiikii.
		O Mauiakalana.

A Portion of a Mo'okū'auhau (Genealogy) Published by S.M. Kamakau in *Ka Nonanona* on October 11, 1842.

other issues. Study of this history of argumentation and debate would surely yield important insights into the workings of the kingdom government, the establishment of certain kinds of institutions and not others, and the influence of Hawaiian discourses on public policy and opinion. This would assist in understanding more clearly how the kingdom government and law contained elements of American, British, and classical Hawaiian values. And it would also help in clearing the misapprehension that 19th century Hawaiians were passive and polite.

The argument started when Kamakau wrote a more elaborated mo'okū'auhau of Kauikeaouli than Kepookulou's, starting with 20 generations before Wākea. He accompanied the genealogy with a short essay explaining the different branches of the genealogy, including which ali'i were associated with which islands. Although there were many ali'i families with many branches, he says, "Hookahi wale no mea nona ia mau kupuna i keia manawa." "There is just one to whom [all] these [different] ancestors belong at this time."⁴³ That person was obviously the Mō'i Kamehameha III (Kauikeaouli). Kamakau's long title tells us that he was concerned about this knowledge being imparted to the youth of his time as well to the Kanaka Maoli of our own time. It translates as something like: "The Genealogy of the Most Ancient Ancestors of Hawai'i to Wākea. From Wākea to the Time We are Living in, in Order that it Be Understood by this Generation, and all the Generations Following."

On November 8, 1842, A. Unauna wrote in to protest Kamakau's publication of this kū'auhau. First, he asserts that it should not be public knowledge. He says, "I ka wa kahiko, he olelo kapu loa keia" (In ancient times, this was very sacred speech). It was only to be passed down to the children of the same family. Furthermore, "Aole e loa keia olelo i ka makaainana; aole i na kanaka kuaaina; aia o na lii ka mea e loa ai" (Maka'āinana did not have this speech, nor did the country people; it was only the ali'i who had it). He explains also that knowledge of the genealogies was a "puuhonua" or a refuge that could save lives in the old days. His final point concerns the next-to-last generation, in which Kamakau had grouped Kamehameha I and Kepookalani together above Kamehameha's and Keōpūlani's children—but the way it was printed made it unclear which line Kepookalani was on. Unauna wonders who this Kepookalani is, or which Kepookalani

it is. He doesn't agree that Kepookalani is of Kamehameha's family, and he ends by demanding of Kamakau, "Mai hana i ke kuauhau me ka lohe ole" (Do not do genealogy without listening). This could be interpreted at least two ways—one being that unless one has received the genealogy through the rules of the oral tradition, one should not repeat it; or it could be a demand that Kamakau not publish another genealogy without listening to or heeding the advice of Unauna himself.⁴⁴

Kamakau replies rather insultingly to Unauna. He begins: "E Unauna e, e noho mua ilalo, e noonoo, e pelu iki mai, e heluhelu iki iho, e noonoo iki no a maopopo loa; alaila e kakau iho me ko akamai" (Unauna, first sit down, think, kneel a little bit, read a little bit, think a bit more until you really understand; then write with your intelligence). Kamakau explains that Kepookalani was another name for Kamehameha's brother, known as Ke'liimaikai. That Unauna did not know or had forgotten this was extraordinary:

He mea e ko kuhihewa a me ka nana pono ole, a maopopo, alaila hooheua wale aku. No hea la ke kuhihewa? No ka maka paha, malie he uuku ka ike, e hoonui hou ae, i mahuahua ka ike; e hoomahuahua hou i ke poo, i nui ka noonoo. O ka mea paio mai ia'u ma keia kuhihewa: e ku no ia ma ka puka o ka hoka, a e haule iho malalo o kuu mau wawae, a e kolo aku ilalo me he naio la.⁴⁵

Your error, lack of observing completely until you understood, and then placing blame are an amazement. Where does this error come from? From the eyes perhaps, or perhaps the knowledge is little, you should increase it some more, so that the knowledge will be greater; and also enlarge your head some more, so that your thinking will increase. The one fighting with me in error: he stands at the door of frustration, and will fall under my feet, and crawl below like a pinworm.

Kamakau then asks Unauna a whole list of questions to test his knowledge and ends with this: "Aka i loa ole ea, e akaaka makou, na haumana o ke Kulanui ia oe, me ka henehene. 'E hele oe mai hana hewa hou aku'" (Should you not get [the answers], we, the students of the School [Lahainaluna], will laugh at you, teasing. "Go and do not do wrong again"). This sounds like he is quoting Jesus saying "Go and do not sin again," because "hewa" is the word adopted to mean sin. It

is also funny because it is the young Lahainaluna students rebuking an elder, a reversal of the normal order of who tells whom where to go and what not to do.

More important, a struggle is going on here between the accepted ways of legitimately knowing important history and genealogy, i.e., the oral tradition and its rules, and the new way, the way Kamakau was being trained at Lahainaluna. Unauna had been trained and lived most of his life adhering to the kapu that regulated genealogies. He knew how those kapu kept the genealogies accurate and also how they could be manipulated. They were to be kept as a sign and a method of ali'i power. Kamakau, on the other hand, while no doubt respecting the classical knowledge (as is obvious in his later body of writing), is sure of his own knowledge and methods, and believes in writing and publishing his work for reasons Unauna likely disagrees with. Kamakau is one of the generation seeing mass death among the lāhui—the mass death that causes a massive loss of knowledge. Writing and especially print were powerful tools to insure that my own generation has some of this knowledge. Moreover, although Kamakau is younger, he takes on the task of keeping Unauna accountable. Keeping genealogists accountable would have taken place orally in the old world, in relatively private venues; here, somewhat embarrassingly for Unauna, it remains in print.

David Malo also contributed pieces in the paper now important to our developing understanding of his time and of him as a pivotal figure of that time.⁴⁶ He wrote of the death of his ali'i, Kuakini, and also the death of his wife, Batesepa Puhia. He wrote a biography of Kuakini a month after the news of his death, and also wrote a kanikau for his wife.⁴⁷ Besides Malo's, several unusual kanikau were published in *Ka Nonanona*, including "Kanikau no Tahiki" by G. L. Kapeau—at this time, Tahiti was being overtaken as a colony by France and the paper kept the public informed of these events.⁴⁸

Ka Nonanona is very valuable as a historical source not only for the question of Tahiti's sovereignty, but, more importantly, for Hawai'i's. As Chapin points out, *Ka Nonanona* was the only paper publishing when the British Captain Paulet threatened the kingdom, and Kamehameha III temporarily ceded sovereignty.⁴⁹ Its pages contain letters from Ke Ali'i Timoteo Ha'alilio, the Mō'i's emissary who, with William Richards, persuaded Great Britain and France to recognize

the kingdom's sovereignty.⁵⁰ The paper also printed the exchanges between the Mō'i and Paulet, the news of the arrival of Admiral Richard Thomas and an account of his act of restoring sovereignty to the Hawaiian Kingdom.⁵¹ These were followed by accounts of the church service and the elaborate 'aha 'aina (feast) that celebrated the return of sovereignty.⁵² The 'aha 'aina was in ali'i nui style—huge. The paper reported the names of the konohiki and what food they contributed to the feast. Then,

A i ka wa i makaukau ai na mea ai ma ka papaaina i haliia i na lau nahelehele, he 32 anana ka loa, 2 anana ka palahalaha. A o ka nui o na mea i kauia ma keia papaaina, 60 puua, 300 moa, 40 palahu, 53 koloa. . . . A pau ka ahaaina; hoi mai la ka nui o na kanaka hele wawae, ke huiia na kane na wahine a me na kamalii 2000, a keu aku paha.

When the food was ready [it was placed] on the table that had been covered with forest greenery, it was 32 anana (approx. 192 feet) long and 2 anana (approx. 12 feet) wide. The amount placed on this table was 60 pigs, 300 chickens, 40 turkeys, and 53 ducks. . . . When the feast was finished, most of the people left on foot, all together, men, women, and children, there were about 2,000 of them, maybe more.

Each year following this, the return of sovereignty was celebrated in the kingdom as a holiday, known as Lā Ho'iho'i Ea. Sovereignty activists today have revived the celebration, gathering each July 31 at Thomas Square.

Although *Ka Nonanona* expanded the mission's scope to include the news of events crucial to the kingdom, it also maintained the editorial policy of not publishing any mo'olelo kahiko or many mele. Richard Armstrong was still a missionary dedicated to changing Hawai'i's culture to make it puritanical and as American as possible. Chapin wrote that "he at first vigorously advocated in his papers that Hawaiian be taught in the schools" but that later "In one of those paradoxes of history, Armstrong's newspapers assisted in determining that . . . the English language would be victorious beyond all expectations."⁵³ I would add that the proselytizing and condemnation of Hawaiian cultural practices affected more than just the language. It worked to instill a sense of inferiority in the native people that was

part of the long-term process of colonization and dispossession. That was the role of *Ka Nonanona*, for the missionaries, but many Kanaka Maoli brought their own specifically Hawaiian sensibilities and intellects to the paper. More in-depth study of this paper will allow us to read and understand the different discourses being deployed by different political actors in the earliest days of the Hawaiian Kingdom.

KA ELELE HAWAII (1845–1855)

After *Ka Nonanona* ceased publication in 1845, it was followed by *Ka Elele Hawaii*, also edited by Limaikaika. *Ka Elele Hawaii* was likely supported more directly by the government and so enjoyed a long life of ten years. Although they shared an editor, *Ka Elele* looked very different from *Ka Nonanona*. It had fewer Sunday school lessons and much more government news, including full texts of treaties and laws.⁵⁴ The comprehensive survey of the paper's contents from June 8, 1848 to January 1855 done by Iokepa Badis (a Hawaiian language MA student in the Hawaiian Research Theory and Methods course) shows that many people wrote in to *Ka Elele Hawaii* with news of conflicts and deaths in their communities, unusual events such as the volcano erupting, and their opinions on politics, religion, and the economy.⁵⁵

Ka Elele served as a site of public debate over the role of foreigners in the government and the sale of lands to foreigners. In 1845, the paper published “Na Palapala Hoopii O Na Makaainana” (Petitions of the Maka‘āinana) and the reply of the Mō‘ī, together with the two legislative houses, written by Keoni Ana and Jeone [sic] Ii.⁵⁶ The petition, not the only one of its type, was signed by 1,600 “makaainana pono i o [ke] aupuni” (the government's own citizens). It asked the Mō‘ī Kamehameha III and his Kuhina Nui, Kekāuluohi, to preserve the independence of the country, to refuse to appoint foreigners to high office, to refuse to allow foreigners to take the oath to become citizens, to disallow the sale of government land to foreigners, and to correct the confusing taxes. They went on to say that the reason for their dislike of foreigners in these positions was because of the “pilikia a me ka makau i ke kaumaha e loohia mai ana” (trouble and fear of the burdens that will befall [them]). They recommended that the Mō‘ī appoint the descendants of his father's (Kamehameha I) advisers.

kou Aupuni. A ua ae ia mai no ke kuokoa o kou Aupuni i na Aupuni nui loa, e Amerika H. a me Beritania Nui a me Farani a me Begeriuma ma Holani. Ma keia olelo okoa, o ka ae ana mai o keia mau aupuni nui e Kuokoa ke aupuni Hawaii; Nohiia, ua akaka loa ia makou; aole e pono kekahi o na aina e mai e komo mai a noho i mea kiekie ma kou aupuni a me kou poe alii a me ou makaainana. Aka, e like me ka na hoopii au i hooona aku ai i na aupuni nui e noi aku e mokuokoa mai i ke aupuni o Hawaii nei. A eia no ia kuokoa ana. O oe no, e ka Moi Kamehameha III ke alii nui, a o na lii o kou aupuni kou mau kokua, a me kou lahui-kanaka pono. A pela no oe a me kou poe alii e hana i pomakai loa ai kou aupuni, a me kou poe kanaka a pau.

Ma keia mau mea a makou i manao ai e hoopii aku ia oe, a me ka nonoi aku imua ou a me kou poe alii, ke kaku nei makou i ko makou mau inoa, na makaainana pono o kou aupuni.

(Ua oleloia he 1600 a ken aku na inoa i kaula i keia palapala hoopii.)

NA MANAO O KA AHOLELO NO NA MEA I HOOPIIA.

Hulai 3, 1845.

E ka Moi, a me na mea Hanohano o ka Aholelo, a me ka poe i kohoia e na makaainana.

Eia ka mau olelo, i imiia no ka hoopii ana o na makaainana o Lahaina a o Wailuku, a me Kailua, aia no ia oukou ka hoopono mai a me ka hoahewa.

Hoopii 1. "No ke kuokoa ana o kou aupuni."

Eia ke ano o ke kuokoa ana; o Kamehameha III, ke Lii o ko Hawaii noi pae aina, aole alii e ae maluna ona. Eia ke kuniu o ke kuokoa ana; "Aia ma Hawaii ke aupuni makaukau i ka hana pu me ko na aina e." wahi a Beritania Nui, a me Farani, a pela no ka manao o Amerika a me Belegiuma.

Pehea la e hiki ai ke hana pu me ko na aina e? Eia wale no; e koho ka Moi i ka poe akamai e like me ke akamai o ko ka aina e, i hoahana me lakou.

Hoopii 2. "Hooileia na Luna haole i kohoia i e oe i mau Luna no Hawaii nei."

Ina lakou e hoopaua, aheha la ke kua naka makaukau i ka hana pu me ko na aina e? Aole no e loa i keia wa; mahiopi paha kupo no ka poe alii hou ke hiki aku i ka wa kanaka makua, a me ko lakou makaukau.

Hoopii 3. "Aole o makou makemaku e hooihiki na haole i kanaka Hawaii."

E hooihiki anei na Lunahaole? Ina aole lakou e hooihiki, he alii ko lakou ma ka aina e, aole i kau pono ke alii ana o Kamehameha III, maluna o lakou, a e paeawewa auanei ka lakou hana me ka hoopii ana ai i ke alii, a me na kanaka o ko lakou aina hanau. Ina lakou e hooihiki, aole anei lakou e manao nui i ko lakou alii hooihiki ai ia Kamehameha III? Aole anei lakou e manao ole i ko lakou mea i haalele ai?

E hooihiki anei na haole e ae?

He aina keia; ua kupo na ke alanui o na moku holo ma ka moana Pakifikani nei. Aole anei e lele mai na haole mauka nei? Lele mai no. Aole anei e hiki i ko lakou ke noho mauka nei? Hiki no e like me ka olelo o na Kuikahi. Owai auanei ke alii pono maluna o lakou? Aole anei e hiki mai ka hihia iwaena o kekahi poe o lakou a me na kanaka o Hawaii? Hiki mai no na hihia, a no ka mea, ua nui na hihia i ka wa mamua a lilo ka aina, aole nae i hewa io ke aupuni a lilo no; lilo no ka imi hala. Aia ka hihia e make ai ke aupuni, o ka mea i hoopiiia na ke aupuni e, e hoopai mai. Hooihiki alii o ka poe haole hooihiki e hoopii aku ai, oia o Kamehameha III, oia ko lakou mea nana e hooponopono me ka maikai, a e kokua maikai no lakou ia Hawaii nei i ko lakou aina.

Ke olelo nei kekahi poe, o ka poe haole maikai wale no ka poe hooihiki. Pehea la hoi ka poe ino? Aole anei lakou e noho mauka nei? Pehea la e kipaku ai? E hooihiki anei maluna o ko hoi moku? Ina pela, o ka haalele no ia o ka poe noia ka moku, a uku ke aupuni. Hooihiki hana ana i like me ia ia Batelo laua o Toretore, a o ka \$20,000, ka hope o ia kipaku ana.

Mai makau oukou e na mea a pau i ka poe haole hooihiki. Ina lakou he pono, alaila, pomakai ka aina ia lakou. Ina

Keoni Ana and John Ii Respond on Behalf of the Government to a Maka'ainana Petition in this Article Titled "Na Manao O Ka Aholelo No Na Mea I Hoopii." Published in the July 3, 1845 in *Ka Elele*, they respond to petitioner's request that foreigners not hold government office, be citizens of the kingdom, or own land.

lakou e hewa, he kanawai koonēi e hoopai pono ai, aole loa e kokua mai na aupuni e ae i ko lakou hoopai ana aku i na hōle ino. Eia wale no ka lokomaikai o na aupuni e, o ke kokua ole i ko lakou poe hana ino mai, a me ka hoopai ole mai i lakou e like me ka wa manua me ka hōle ole.

Hoopii 4. "Aole o makou makemake e kuu hou aku ai i kekahi apana aina o ka mea aupuni i na haole."

Eia ko maua mana, aole loa e pono ke kuai aku i kekahi aina i na haole o ka mea, aole hoi haawi aina ia lakou, no ka mea, no Kamehameha III ka aina, aole alii e ae maluna ona. Aka, ke maua nei maua, e pono ke kuai i ka aina a lilo i na kanaka o ka Moi, i kewa ole ai lakou. Aka, ina i makemake ua poe kanaka kuai aina nei e kuai hou aku i ka haole o ka aina e, aole no e hiki; no ka mea, holokahi no alii maluna o na mea aina; aole, ina i makemake na kanaka e kuai me ka poe haole hooihiki, ua pono ia; no ka mea, o Kamehameha III, ke alii maluna o lakou. Ina i mana o ka Moi, e pono i ka aina a lilo i kona kanaka, e pono nei ia ia ke hoonele i kekahi no kona hōlele ana i ka aina hanau, a me kona hōlele ana, a no kona pili nui ana ma Hawaii nei? Aole pono, no ka mea, he pae-waewa ia. Aole paha i lilo nui ka aina i ke kuaiia, aka, o ka hoopili wale, oia ka mea i loa wale ai ka aina i na haole mamua. E aho ke kuai. Aole i mana nui na kanaka i ke kuai aina, aka, o ka poe holo ma Keomolewa, o lakou ka ike i na pono o ka aina kua, o lakou auanei ua poe makemake aina kuai. Ina paha na hoopii na makaainana, aole e kuai aku i ka aina i na holokahi, aole anei he pae-waewa kela hoopii? Ua pono ke kuai i ka aina i na kanaka maoli, a ua pono hoi ke kuai i ka aina no na haole hooihiki, a e mahiai like lakou, a lilo ka mea akamai i kumuao na ka mea pae-waewa i ka hana.

Hoopii 5. "Aole o makou makemake e hana auhau pohihiki e kuuia ma kou aupuni."

Pela no ka pono, aole no e kuuia ka auhau pohihiki. Ua nui na auhau pohi-

hiki i ka wa manua e liliia ai na makaainana, aka, ua maopopo ma ke kanawai i keia manawa, a pela auanei ka maopopo ke kau hou ia i kanawai hou ma keia ho-pe aku.

Oia ko maua mana, no na olelo hoopii i hoikeia aku ia ia oukou me ka mahalo,

KEONI ANA.

JEONE II.

Hooponoponoia a hooholoia kela olelo e ka Ahaolelo o na lili, a me ka poe i kohoia e na makaainana i ka Hale Ahaolelo 8 o Iulai 1845, me ka mana lokahi, aole me ka hoole.

КАМЕНАМЪНА.

NO KA HOOHIKI ANA O NA HAOLE.

He mea pono anei ka hooihiki ana o na haole? Okoa paha ka mana o na malihini ma keia mea; aka, ua like ka mana o na makaainana, aole kua ko makou mana. Ina he mea pono e lilo na haole i mau alii no makou a e lilo ka waiwai nui wale o keia aupuni ia lakou, he mea pono e hooihiki na haole mamuli o lakou e lilo keia aupuni i aupuni no na haole. Aka, ina no makou keia aupuni, heaha ka pono o ka hoopii ana o ka aina i na haole? E noonoo kakou, o pau e ka aina i ka lilo aku i na haole.

Penei ko makou noonoo ana;

1. *Aole e mahuaia ae ka pono o ka poe haole pono no ka hooihiki ana mamuli o ko makou alii.*

Aole i kua mai ka poe pono ia makou; aole pale lakou i na kanawai o na lili; aole lakou makemake e kuaia a lilo keia aupuni; heaha ka pono o ko lakou hooihiki ana? Aole makou i ike i ka pono o ko lakou hooihiki ana.

2. *O ka hooihiki ana mamuli o keia aupuni he mea ia e nui ae ai ka poe hewa ma keia aina.*

Hele mai na haole puniwaiwai, punitealea a akamai paha i na hana ino; a hooihiki koke lakou i mea e makaikau ai a e lako ai. Ina i makemake kekahi i ka aina maikai, a i ka wahine paha, alaila, hooihiki koke oia i mea e hiki ai ka hookokoke ana i kona makemake. No keia hooihiki ana, noho nui na haole mauka a nui ka

The Mō'i and legislature answered that the government needed haole government officials to be able to make treaties with other governments. They explained that Hawai'i is on the path to Asia and that ships will always come here, and so it was important to protect the kingdom in this way. They also answered that it was better to have foreigners swear their allegiance to the kingdom than not, and also that it was better that they have land so that they are more settled. They said that they did not agree to allow those foreigners to re-sell the land to other foreigners. That all changed shortly thereafter, and those changes were also reported on and discussed in the pages of *Ka Elele Hawaii*.⁵⁷

Besides these views into the workings of the early Hawaiian Kingdom government, Badis's survey reveals about 88 different writers of letters, articles, and kanikau to this paper, including the aforementioned S. N. Hale'ole, S. M. Kamakau, Kapeau, and W. N. Pualewa writing from Kalaupapa. Like *Ka Nonanona* and *Ke Kumu* there are no mo'olelo kahiko and few mele, mostly kanikau. Notably, W. Uaua wrote an article called "O Ka Ike Ana I Na Moolelo Kahiko He Mea Ia E Pomaikai Ai Na Kanaka O Keia Wa" (Knowledge of the Ancient Mo'olelo Is Something That Benefits People Of This Time).⁵⁸ Uaua says that one can learn what is pono and what is hewa (wrong) through the stories in the bible but also through knowledge of Hawai'i's history.

The paper reports on the tremendous loss of life among the Native people and the worry that accompanied it. Many people wrote in to let others know of the deaths of family members, with some accompanied by kanikau.⁵⁹ Missionaries and their native converts believed that the mass deaths were caused by people not heeding the word of God. In one example, when Mataio Kekūānāo'a reported on the number of deaths in December 1848, his report was followed by an editorial claiming that so many deaths were the result of sin:

He leo keia mai ke Akua mai; e pono ia kakou e hoolohe a noonoo. No ka hewa mai ka make, pela mai o Paulo. No ka hewa o kakou paha keia pilikia. E pono e noonoo na 'lii a me na kanaka a e mihi i ka hewa.⁶⁰

This is a voice from God; it is pono that we listen and think. According to Paul, death comes from sin. Perhaps this trouble comes from our sinning. The ali'i and the people should think and repent their sins.

By 1855, when *Ka Elele Hawaii* published its last issue, it had become a lively venue for community interaction, although always with Limaikaika's strong editorial hand. People enjoyed writing and made use of the paper to let the government—now a well-established constitutional monarchy—know their views and issues. Limaikaika would go on to edit one more paper, *Ka Hae Hawaii* (1856–1861) which was a further extension of his scope and audience. *Ka Hae* was a government paper and Limaikaika was “head of the Kingdom’s Department of Public Instruction.”⁶¹ But that is the subject of another essay.

CONCLUSION

I hope that this sketch has given readers a fuller sense of these four early Hawaiian language newspapers and an idea of how each one expanded its readership over the previous paper. We can see how the newspapers were growing into spaces where intellectual traditions could be expressed much more fully. *Ka Nonanona* and *Ka Elele Hawaii* became the primary Hawaiian language venues for public policy debates and struggles over whether the Hawaiian language, epistemologies, cultures, and modes of governance were to remain hegemonic or be subordinated to English and the American ways. Important arguments, narratives, and discourses were printed in these pages that determined the outcomes of those struggles.

Some of the more prolific and important writers in these pages that need to be studied include Ioane Ii, S. P. Kalama, J. P. Ka’uhane, G. L. Kapeau, and Davida Malo for their very early influence on the development of the kingdom government, its institutions, and policies, as well as for styles of thinking and engaging and ways of negotiating change. I am including Ii and Malo, even though they are well-known. Ii’s *Fragments of Hawaiian History* has been published and studied, but these earlier writings deserve study for their influence on government. As for Malo, it seems that, aside from Noelani Arista’s 1998 thesis, Malo’s manuscript *Ka Moolelo Hawaii*, never published in his lifetime, is the focus of the most study, but these political articles are perhaps even more crucial to our understanding of the time.⁶² Many others, including (see table 2) bear study for their reports and opinions of the daily events of the kingdom. In other words, these papers

Table 2. Listing of the most prolific writers in the four Hawaiian newspapers.

Writer	Papers Published In	Total Number of Pieces
Haanio (Haanio, S. & Haanio, Samuela)	<i>Ka Nonanona</i>	13
	<i>Ke Kumu Hawaii</i>	
Hopu, Toma (Thomas)	<i>Ke Kumu Hawaii</i>	4
Kaehu, J. H.	<i>Ka Elele Hawaii</i>	4
Ii, Ioane (Ii, J.)	<i>Ka Nonanona</i>	6
	<i>Ke Kumu Hawaii</i>	
Kaapa	<i>Ka Nonanona</i>	9
	<i>Ke Kumu Hawaii</i>	
Kaiana, Ioane (Kaiana, Ioane B.)	<i>Ke Kumu Hawaii</i>	6
	<i>Ka Nonanona</i>	
Kalama, Simona P. (Simiona, S. P.)	<i>Ka Elele Hawaii</i>	31
	<i>Ke Kumu Hawaii</i>	
Kamakau, S. M.	<i>Ka Nonanona</i>	11
	<i>Ka Elele Hawaii</i>	
	<i>Ke Kumu Hawaii</i>	
Kanoa, Paulo	<i>Ke Kumu Hawaii</i>	7
Kapae	<i>Ke Kumu Hawaii</i>	4
Kapeau, G. L. (Kapeau)	<i>Ka Nonanona</i>	10
	<i>Ka Elele Hawaii</i>	
	<i>Ke Kumu Hawaii</i>	
Kauhane, J. P. (Kauhane, I. P., J. P.N.)	<i>Ka Elele Hawaii</i>	5
Kawailepolepo, H.	<i>Ke Kumu Hawaii</i>	5
Keauiaole, G. H. E. (Keauiaole, H. E.)	<i>Ka Elele Hawaii</i>	5
Kekuanaoa, M.	<i>Ka Nonanona</i>	5
	<i>Ka Elele Hawaii</i>	
Malo, Davida (Malo, D.)	<i>Ka Lama Hawaii</i>	19
	<i>Ke Kumu Hawaii</i>	
	<i>Ka Nonanona</i>	
Nana	<i>Ke Kumu Hawaii</i>	4
Oleloa, Daniela. (Oleloa, D.)	<i>Ke Kumu Hawaii</i>	5
	<i>Ka Nonanona</i>	
Punihaoie	<i>Ke Kumu Hawaii</i>	11
Solomona	<i>Ke Kumu Hawaii</i>	8

are a window into the world of our kūpuna through which we gain a fuller idea of where we come from. One of the benefits that comes from taking in such a view is that we can see how lively the political debates of the early kingdom were—how so many Kānaka Maoli, from the very beginning of this new form of government, actively worked to shape their own world. This helps us to understand that Kānaka Maoli were not passively colonized, nor was the process of putting new laws and government structures into place a simple one in which the ali'i nui's ideas remained stable or hegemonic.⁶³

NOTES

- ¹ I am not italicizing Hawaiian words in keeping with the idea that these words are not foreign to me nor the place in which this article is being published.
- ² See ku'ualoha ho'omanawanui, "Pele's Appeal: Pele and Hiiaka Literature in the Hawaiian Language Newspapers" (Ph.D. diss., U of Hawai'i, 2007); Nathaniel B. Emerson, *Pele and Hiiaka: A Myth from Hawaii* (Rutland, Vermont: Tuttle, 1978 [1915]; *Unwritten Literature of Hawaii: The Sacred Songs of the Hula* (Rutland, Vermont: Tuttle, 1965 [1909])).
- ³ J. H. Kanepuu, "Kaahela ma Molokai," *Ke Au Okoa*, 17 Oct. 1867, 3; Mary Kawena Pukui, Samuel H. Elbert, and Esther T. Mookini, *Place Names of Hawaii* rev. and exp. ed. (Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 1974) 99.
- ⁴ Esther K. Mookini, *The Hawaiian Newspapers* (Honolulu: Topgallant, 1974).
- ⁵ Helen Geracimos Chapin, "Newspapers of Hawai'i 1834 to 1903: From He Liona to the Pacific Cable," *HJH*, vol. 18 (1984) 47–86; "From Makaweli to Kohala: The Plantation Newspapers of Hawaii," *HJH*, vol. 23 (1989) 170–195; Helen Geracimos Chapin, *Shaping History: The Role of Newspapers in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: U. of Hawai'i P, 1996).
- ⁶ John Charlot, "Moses Kuāea Nākuina, Hawaiian Novelist," in *Classical Hawaiian Education: Generations of Hawaiian Culture* CD-ROM (Lā'ie: Brigham Young University-Hawai'i, 2005).
- ⁷ Noelani Arista, "Foreword," *Kepelino's Traditions of Hawai'i* by Kepelino, ed. and trans. Martha Warren Beckwith (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 2007) iv.
- ⁸ Albert J. Schütz, "Lorrin Andrews and His Dictionary," in Lorrin Andrews, *A Dictionary of the Hawaiian Language*, rev. ed. (Waipahu: Island Heritage, 2003) xi–xix.
- ⁹ Lorrin Andrews 1835 quoted in Mookini, *Hawaiian Newspapers*, iv.
- ¹⁰ "No Ka Lama Hawaii," *Ka Lama Hawaii*, 20 Sept. 1834, 4; 27 Sept. 1834, 4.
- ¹¹ Davida Malo, "He Kanikau No Kaahumanu," *Ka Lama Hawaii*, 8 Aug. 1834, 3.
- ¹² Ke'liiumiumi, "No Ka Make," *Ka Lama Hawaii*, 26 Dec. 1834, 4.
- ¹³ "No Ke Kulanui," *Ka Lama Hawaii*, 14 Feb. 1834, 3.
- ¹⁴ Jennifer Jane Leilani Basham, "I Mau Ke Ea O Ka Aina: He Puke Mele No Ka Lahui Hawaii" (Ph.D. diss., U of Hawai'i, 2007).

- ¹⁵ Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai?* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1992) 25.
- ¹⁶ “No Ka Poe Kuai A Me Ka Hoolimalima,” *Ka Lama Hawaii*, 25 July 1834, quoted in Basham, “I Mau Ke Ea,” 189.
- ¹⁷ “No Ka Pono Kahiko A Me Ka Pono Hou,” *Ka Lama Hawaii*, 25 Jul. 1834, quoted in Basham, “I Mau Ke Ea,” 190–92.
- ¹⁸ “No Ke Kaiakahinalii,” *Ka Lama Hawaii* 18 Apr. 1834, 4; “No *Ka Lama Hawaii*” *Ka Lama Hawaii*, 5 Dec. 1834; 4; “No Ko‘u Wa I Hanau Mai Ai, A Hiki Mai Nei i Nei Manawa,” *Ka Lama Hawaii*, 17 Dec. 1834, 4.
- ¹⁹ Mookini, *Hawaiian Newspapers*, iv.
- ²⁰ Kaunahi, Untitled letter, *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, 23 Dec. 1835, 201.
- ²¹ Kauikeaouli, “Ke Koena O Na Kanawai,” *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, 13 Sept. 1837, 30; 27 Sept. 1837, 36. Kamehameha III, “Ke Kanawai, No Ka Hoole Ana I Ka Pope,” *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, 3 Jan. 1838, 62–63; “He Kanawai No Ka Hooponopono Ana I Ke Kuai Rama,” 11 Apr. 1838, 89; “Kanawai No Ke Kuai Ana I Ka Rama, A Me Ka Hoouku Ana I Ka Waina,” *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, 12 Sep. 1838, 29.
- ²² Davida Malo, “He Wahi Manao Kumu,” *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, 19 Jul. 1837, 13; 2 Aug. 1837, 19–20; “No Ka Hiki Ana Mai O Ko Ke Akua Aupuni,” 22 Nov. 1837, 51–52.
- ²³ Davida Malo, “No Ka Make Ana o Ke Kaikamahine,” *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, 23 May 1838, 101; Davida Malo, “No Ka Hiki Ana Mai O Ko Ke Akua Aupuni” and “Kahi Mele: He Mele Hoolea,” *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, 22 Nov. 1837, 51–52.
- ²⁴ In many ways, it is nearly impossible to translate thought from Hawaiian to English. I have merely attempted to give the reader a sense of how the Hawaiian sounds. The same is true for all translations in this article.
- ²⁵ It would not make sense to translate “pō” with one word here. In the Pukui, Elbert dictionary the entry for pō begins: “Night, darkness, obscurity; the realm of the gods; pertaining to or of the gods, chaos, or hell; . . . benighted . . . *Fig.*, ignorance; ignorant.” The entry continues for four more inches of the page. Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, rev. and enl. ed., (Honolulu: U of Hawai‘i P, 1986) 333.
- ²⁶ Gideona Laanui, [Untitled], *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, 14 Mar. 1838, 81–84.
- ²⁷ Ioane Ii, “He Moolelo No Kinau, Helu 1,” *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, 22 May 1839, 102–103.
- ²⁸ John Papa Ii, *Fragments of Hawaiian History*, trans. Mary Kawena Pukui, ed. Dorothy Barrère, rev. ed. (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1983).
- ²⁹ Osorio, *Dismembering Lahui*, 34.
- ³⁰ Kalama, “He Kuhihewa,” *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, 24 Oct. 1838, 40.
- ³¹ Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau, *Ke Aupuni Mō‘ī* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools Press, 2001) 221.
- ³² Kepookulou, “No Na Alii O Na Moku O Hawaii: Ke Kuauhau No Na Alii O Hawaii,” with comment by Binamu, *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, 19 Aug 1835, 133–134.
- ³³ Davida Malo, “Kahi Mele: He Kanikau No Kaahumanu,” *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, 28 Oct. 1835, 176; “Kahi Mele: He Mele Hoolea,” *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, 22 Nov. 1837,

- 52; Kahekili, "Kahi Mele: He Mele Kanikau Na Kahekili No Ka Make Ana O Kana Aikane," *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, 18 Feb. 1835, 64; Hekekie, "He Mele Kahiko Paha," *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, 11 Nov. 1835, 179–180; Haaheo, "He Mele No K. H. [*Ke Kumu Hawaii*]," *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, 27 Mar. 1839, 88.
- ³⁴ [Untitled], *Ka Nonanona*, 6 Jul. 1841, 1.
- ³⁵ Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui*, 19.
- ³⁶ Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui*, 25.
- ³⁷ Mookini, *Hawaiian Newspapers*, v.
- ³⁸ [Untitled], *Ka Nonanona*, 6, Jul. 1841, 1.
- ³⁹ [Untitled], *Ka Nonanona*, 6 Jul. 1841, 1.
- ⁴⁰ Chapin, *Shaping History*, 62.
- ⁴¹ "Ka Hoku O Ka Pakipika," *Ka Hoku O Ka Pakipika*, 3 Oct. 1861, 3.
- ⁴² Pomare, "Ka Palapala A Ke Alii Wahine o Pomare Ia Kamehameha III," *Ka Nonanona*, 4 Feb. 1845, 96, 99–103.
- ⁴³ S. M. Kamakau, "Ke Kuauhau O Na Kupuna Kahiko Loa Mai O Hawaii Nei, A Hiki Mai Ia Wakea. Mai Ia Wakea Mai A Hiki I Keia Manawa A Kakou E Noho Nei, I Mea E Maopopo Ai I Keia Hanauna; A Ia Hanauna Aku Ia Hanauna Aku," *Ka Nonanona*, 25 Oct. 1842, 49–52.
- ⁴⁴ A. Unauna, "No Ke Kuauhau," *Ka Nonanona*, 8 Nov. 1842, 63–64.
- ⁴⁵ S. M. K., [Untitled letter] *Ka Nonanona*, 14 Feb. 1843, 91–93.
- ⁴⁶ See Denise Noelani Manuela Arista, "Davida Malo, Ke Kanaka o ka Huliau: David Malo, a Hawaiian of the Time of Change," (MA thesis., U of Hawai'i, 1998)
- ⁴⁷ Davida Malo, "Ka Make O Kuakini," *Ka Nonanona*, 24 Dec. 1844, 85–86; D. Malo, "Ka Moolelo O Kuakini," *Ka Nonanona*, 7 Jan. 1845, 89–90; Davida Malo, "Ka Make Ana O Batesepa Puhia, Ka Wahine A D. Malo," and "Eia Kona Wahi Kanikau," *Ka Nonanona*, 18 Mar. 1845, 113–114.
- ⁴⁸ G. L. Kapeau, "Kanikau No Tahiki," *Ka Nonanona*, 9 Jan. 1844, 79.
- ⁴⁹ Chapin, *Shaping History*, 30.
- ⁵⁰ Timoteo Haalilio, [Untitled], *Ka Nonanona*, 17 Jan. 1843, 81.
- ⁵¹ "No Ka Lilo O Ke Aupuni," *Ka Nonanona*, 7 Mar. 1843, 96–100; "Ka Hoihoi Ana O Ke Aupuni," *Ka Nonanona*, 8 Aug. 1843, 25.
- ⁵² "Halawai Hoomaikai I Ke Akua," *Ka Nonanona*, 8 Aug. 1843, 26; I. H. Paehewa, "Ahaaina A Ke Alii," *Ka Nonanona*, 8 Aug. 1843, 29–30.
- ⁵³ Chapin, *Shaping History*, 30, 31.
- ⁵⁴ See, for example, "Kuikahi Me Denemaka," *Ka Elele Hawaii*, 2 Jul. 1848, 16; "He Kanawai Hou," *Ka Elele Hawaii*, 28 Oct. 1851, 77–78
- ⁵⁵ Badis, Iokepa, "Ka Elele Hawaii" unpublished paper for HAW 612, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, Spring 2006.
- ⁵⁶ "Na Palapala Hoopii o Na Makaanana," *Ka Elele Hawaii*, 15 Jul. 1845, 57–58; Keoni Ana and Jeone Ii, "Na Manao O Ka Aholelo [*sic*] No Na Mea I Hoopiia," *Ka Elele Hawaii*, 15 Jul. 1845, 58–59.
- ⁵⁷ See, for example, G. L. Kapeau, [Untitled list of names of ahupua'a of island of Hawai'i], *Ka Elele Hawaii*, 26 Aug. 1848: 25–26; Ikemaka, "Palapala Alodio," *Ka Elele Hawaii*, 26 Aug. 1848: 27.

- ⁵⁸ W. H. Uaua, "O Ka Ike Ana I Na Moolelo Kahiko He Mea Ia E Pomaikai Ai Na Kanaka O Keia Wa," *Ka Elele Hawaii*, 2 Feb. 1849, 56.
- ⁵⁹ Examples are: Kauwealoha, "No Ka Make Ana O Kapakea," *Ka Elele Hawaii*, 16 Jan. 1849, 49; W. P. Nahakualii, "He Kanikau Aloha No Heneria Maikai," *Ka Elele Hawaii* 1 Sep. 1854, 52.
- ⁶⁰ M. Kekuanaoa, "Ka Make Ana O Na Kanaka," and KI (*sic*) [Untitled], *Ka Elele Hawaii*, 22 Dec. 1848.
- ⁶¹ Chapin, "Newspapers of Hawai'i," *HJH*, vol. 18 (1984) 52.
- ⁶² Davida Malo, *Ka Moolelo Hawaii (Hawaiian Antiquities)* (Honolulu, Hawaii: Folk Press, Kapiolani Community College, 1987); Davida Malo, *Ka Moolelo Hawaii: Hawaiian Traditions* transl. Malcolm Nāea Chun (Honolulu, Hawaii: First People's Press, 1996)
- ⁶³ Mahalo nui loa to the School for Advanced Research on the Human Experience and Jonathan Goldberg-Hiller, Chair, Political Science Department at UH Mānoa for research support and to Anne Keala Kelly, Paul Lyons, and Albert Schütz for reading and commenting on the drafts.